

Rubens and the Dominican Church in Antwerp

Art and Political Economy in an Age of Religious Conflict

Volume 1 of 2: Main Text

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Almost everything inside – altars, columns, tombs – is marble. What was the good of pouring out so much money to enable a few lone monks to sing in a marble church which even to them is a burden, not a benefit, because it's constantly overrun with visitors who collect there merely to see that marble church?

Desiderius Erasmus, “The Godly Feast”.¹

¹ Desiderius Erasmus and Craig Thompson (trans.), *The Colloquies of Erasmus* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1965): 70.

Abstract

This thesis is about the Dominican Church in Antwerp, today the Sint-Pauluskerk and the role of the artist Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) in shaping its seventeenth-century paintings scheme. It is structured around three works of art, the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* cycle (in situ), Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and Rubens' high altarpiece *Saints Dominic and Francis Saving the World from the Wrath of Christ* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon). All were acquired during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621) a period of intensive ecclesiastical regeneration in the Spanish Netherlands. Within the lifetime of Rubens the church and monastery were completely rebuilt, the choir having been demolished during the Calvinist Republic (1577-1585). The result was a church that was said to surpass many others in 'beauty and majesty' in northern Europe. This thesis reconceptualises sacred space as a theatre of political economy in which artworks indexed the social capital of their sponsors and creators. Using methodologies at the cutting edge of the humanities including cultural memory, object biography and network theory the place of the Dominican Church is restored to the crux of Antwerp's mercantile and civic life. The monastery wanted paintings such as the *Mysteries* cycle for their didactic value but also to attract further investment from an affluent bourgeoisie. Meanwhile the *Wrath of Christ* was engineered to articulate the proselytising mission of the Dominican Order which in the early modern period acquired global outreach. The author advances an original approach to cultural production in a time of war. By incorporating a plethora of visual material in multi-media, by bringing new archival discoveries to light and by treating paintings as objects rather than images the author shows how meaning in religious art was produced exogenously in its architectural setting with the active participation of patrons and audiences.

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3.12. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *The Calling of St Matthew*, c. 1600. Oil on canvas, 322 x 340 cm. San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.

3.13. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Mocking of Christ*, 1602. Oil on panel, 224 x 180 cm. Grasse Cathedral.

3.14. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *The Martyrdom of St Matthew*, c. 1600. Oil on canvas, 323 x 343 cm. San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.

3.15. Chapel of the Pietà, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.

3.16. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *The Entombment*, 1603-1604. Oil on canvas, 300 x 203 cm. Pinacoteca, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City.

3.17. Peter Paul Rubens after Caravaggio, *The Entombment*, c. 1609. Oil on panel, 88.3 x 66.5 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

3.18. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Descent from the Cross: Triptych (central panel)*, 1611-1614. Oil on panel, 421 x 311 cm. Antwerp Cathedral.

3.19. Peter Paul Rubens after Raphael, *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, 1632. Oil on panel, 67.5 x 90.2 cm. Courtauld Gallery, London.

3.20. Peter Paul Rubens after Titian, *The Andrians*, 1630s. Oil on canvas, 200 x 215 cm. Nationalmuseet, Stockholm.

3.21. Peter Paul Rubens after Titian, *The Worship of Venus*, 1630s. Oil on canvas, 195 x 210 cm. Nationalmuseet, Stockholm.

3.22. Pablo Picasso after Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, 1957. Oil on canvas, 194 x 260 cm. Museu Picasso, Barcelona.

3.23. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *The Death of the Virgin*, 1606. Oil on canvas, 369 x 245 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

3.24. Carlo Saraceni, *The Death of the Virgin*, 1610. Oil on canvas, 459 x 273 cm. Santa Maria della Scala, Rome.

3.25. Galleria della Mostra, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.

3.26. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Ecstasy of St Gregory*, 1608. Oil on canvas, 550 x 363 cm. Musée de Grenoble.

3.27. Camerino delle Dame, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.

3.28. Louis Finson, *Judith and Holofernes*, c. 1607. Oil on canvas, 140 x 160 cm. Intesa Sanpaolo, Palazzo Zevallos Stigliano, Naples.

3.29. Louis Finson, *The Resurrection*, 1610. Oil on canvas, 218 x 168 cm. Église Saint-Jean-de-Malte, Aix-en-Provence.

3.30. Louis Finson, *The Four Elements*, 1611. Oil on canvas, 179 x 170 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

3.31. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *The Crucifixion of St Andrew*, c. 1606-1607. Oil on canvas, 202.5 x 152.7 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art.

4.1. Willem van Haecht II, *The Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*, 1628. Oil on canvas, 100 x 130 cm. Rubenshuis, Antwerp.

4.2. Van Haecht II, *The Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest (details)*.

4.3. Pieter de Jode I after Robert Colijns de Nole, *Pietà*, c. 1607-1634. Engraving, 403 x 280 mm. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.

4.4. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Four Philosophers*, c. 1611. Oil on canvas, 167 x 143 cm. Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

4.5. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Family of Jan Brueghel I*, 1613-1615. Oil on panel, 95.2 x 125.1 cm. Courtauld Gallery, London.

4.6. Jan Brueghel I and Peter Paul Rubens, *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*, c. 1615. Oil on panel, 74.3 x 114.7 cm. Mauritshuis, The Hague.

4.7. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Giving of the Keys*, c. 1613-1615. Oil on canvas, 182.5 x 159 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

4.8. David Teniers III, *Funeral Epitaph of Pieter Brueghel I and Maria Coecke*, 1676. Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle, Brussels.

4.9. Jan Brueghel I, *Mary by the Cross at Calvary*, c. 1606. Watercolour on ivory, 3.5 x 5 cm. Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

4.10. Rubens, *The Family of Jan Brueghel I (detail)*.

4.11. Jan Brueghel I, *Allegory of Fire (detail)*, 1608. Oil on copper, 46 x 66 cm. Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

4.12. Jan Brueghel I, *Still Life with a Tazza*, 1618. Oil on panel, 49.5 x 52.5 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.

4.13. Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait with Isabella Brant ("The Honeysuckle Bower")*, c. 1609. Oil on canvas, 178 x 136.5 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

4.14. "In Fidem Uxoriam", 1584. From Alciati, *Emblemata*, 262. Library, University of Glasgow.

4.15. Rubens, "The Honeysuckle Bower" (*detail*).

4.16. Tryphon, *Cameo with the Wedding of Cupid and Psyche*, 50-25 BC. Onyx, 37 x 45 mm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

4.17. Jan de Labaer, *The Triumph of Jerusalem (fragments)*, 1633. Stained glass. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

4.18. Jan de Labaer, *Window with The Triumph of Jerusalem (fragments)*, c. 1900. Photograph. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp.

4.19. Cornelis de Vos, *Portrait of Abraham Grapheus*, c. 1619-1620. Oil on panel, 102 x 12 cm. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

4.20. Hendrick van Balen, Jan Brueghel I, Frans Francken II and Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Blazon of the Chamber of Rhetoric "the Violieren"*, 1618. Oil on panel, 73 x 73 cm. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

4.21. Van Balen et al., *Blazon (detail)*.

4.22. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of Ferry Carondelet with his Secretaries*, c. 1510-1512. Oil on panel, 112.5 x 87 cm. Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

4.23. Pieter Lastman, *Odysseus before Nausicaa*, 1619. Oil on panel, 91.5 x 117.2 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

5.1. Choir, Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.2. Peter Paul Rubens, *St Flavia Domitilla (oil sketch)*, c. 1606. Oil on paper mounted on panel, 88.5 x 67.5 cm. Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.

5.3. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Miracle of St Ignatius of Loyola (detail)*, c. 1617-1618. Oil on canvas, 535 x 395 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

5.4. Peter Paul Rubens, *Head of a Woman in Profile*, c. 1617-1618. Black chalk on paper with white highlights, 28 x 23.9 cm. Musée Pincé, Angers.

5.5. After Peter Paul Rubens, *Saints Dominic and Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ (oil sketch)*. Pen and ink, 53.5 x 39 cm. Whereabouts unknown.

5.6. Cornelis Cels, *The Deposition*, 1807. Oil on canvas, 555 x 372 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.7. *Funeral Monument to Michaël Ophovius*, c. 1637-1731. Stone and whitewash, 265 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.8. Rubens, *Wrath of Christ (detail)*.

5.9. Antoon Gheringh, *Interior of the Burchtkerk (detail)*, 1661. Oil on canvas, 116 x 123 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.10. Detail from Bonaventura Peeters, *View of the Port of Antwerp (Pageant on the Scheldt Celebrating the Surrender of Breda)*, c. 1625. Oil on canvas, 170.3 x 293.3 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk.

5.11. Coat of arms of the city of Antwerp, on the south choir stalls, 1639. Oak. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.12. Pieter Neefs I, *The Interior of the Dominican Church in Antwerp (detail)*, 1636. Oil on panel, 68 x 105.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

5.13. Theodoor Boeyermans, *The Martyrdom of St Paul*, 1670. Oil on canvas, 558 x 365 cm. Église de la Madeleine, Aix-en-Provence.

5.14. Pieter Verbruggen I and Pieter Verbruggen II after Franciscus van Sterbeeck, *High Altar Retable*, 1669-1670. Marble. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.15. Verbruggen I and II after Sterbeeck, *High Altar Retable (detail)*.

5.16. Pieter Verbruggen II; after Pieter Verbruggen I and Theodoor Boeyermans, *The High Altar of the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp*, 1670. Etching, 603 x 387 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

5.17. Louis Serrure after Antoine Cardon after Pieter Verbruggen I, *Rood Screen of the Dominican Church in Antwerp*, 1846. Lithograph. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp.

5.18. Gaspar de Crayer, *The Virgin Appears to St Dominic*, c. 1655. Oil on canvas, 335 x 212 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.19. Gaspar de Crayer, *The Lamentation*, c. 1655. Oil on canvas, 330 x 215 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.20. *St Dominic of Soriano*, before 1636. Oil on panel, 130 x 85 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.21. Choir, Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerp.

5.22. Capitulation agreement of 's-Hertogenbosch to the States-General, 14 September 1629. Manuscript. Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Den Bosch.

5.23. Crispijn van de Passe II, *Allegory of the Surrender of 's-Hertogenbosch to Frederik Hendrik (detail)*, 1629. Engraving, 281 x 369 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

5.24. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Resurrection of Christ*, c. 1610-1611. Oil on canvas, 488 x 278 cm. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.

5.25. Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Michael Ophovius*, c. 1615-1617. Oil on canvas, 111.5 x 82.5 cm. Mauritshuis, The Hague.

5.26. Nicolas van den Bergh after Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Michael Ophovius*, c. 1735-1774. Etching, 286 x 217 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

5.27. *The Orator*, c. 110-90 BC. Bronze, 179 cm. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.

5.28. Workshop of Peter Paul Rubens, *Study Head of a Friar, Looking Up*, c. 1615-1620. Oil on panel, 47.5 x 37.7 cm. Private collection.

5.29. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Virgin and Child with St John, Worshipped by Repentant Sinners and Saints*, c. 1619. Oil on canvas transferred to panel, 258 x 204 cm. Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel.

5.30. Verbruggen I and II after Sterbeeck, *High Altar Retable (detail)*.

5.31. A. V. Schoop, frontispiece to Janssenboy, *Vita S. P. Dominici*, 1622. Engraving. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent.

5.32. Theodoor Galle after Pieter de Jode I, *The Vision of St Dominic*, 1611. From Joannes Nys, *Vita et Miracula S. P. Dominici*, 13. Engraving, 90 x 150 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

5.33. Raphael Sadeler II after Paolo Piazza, *The Vision of St Dominic*, 1607. Engraving, 52.4 x 30 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

5.34. Michelangelo Buonarotti, *The Last Judgement (detail)*, 1536-1541. Fresco. Sistine Chapel, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City.

5.35. Rubens, *Wrath of Christ (detail)*.

5.36. Gallery of Maps, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City.

5.37. Terza Loggia, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City.

5.38. Interior, Santo Stefano Rotondo, Rome.

5.39. Rubens, *Wrath of Christ (detail)*.

5.40. Adriaen van de Venne, *Heusden on the River Maas (from an Album of 102 Drawings)*, 1626. Watercolour with bodycolour over black chalk, 96 x 150 mm. British Museum, London.

5.41. Adriaen van de Venne, *An Old Poacher (from an Album of 102 Drawings)*, 1626. Watercolour with bodycolour over black chalk, 96 x 150 mm. British Museum, London.

5.42. Theodor Matham, *The Occupation of Heusden by Militia from Haarlem and The Hague*, 1625. Etching and engraving, 260 x 745 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

5.43. Ridderkamer, Gevangenpoort, The Hague.

5.44. Ophovius' coat of arms. From Jonghe, *Desolata Batavia Dominicana*, 124. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent.

5.45. Abraham Lissau, *Reliquary Containing Relics of the Crown of Thorns and the True Cross (detail)*, 1648. Silver, 40 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.46. Claes Jansz. Visscher II, *Large Map with the Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch by Frederik Hendrik*, 1629. Etching and engraving, 950 x 1086 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

5.47. Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp, *Allegory of the Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch with Frederik Hendrik as David*, 1630. Oil on canvas, 138 x 216 cm. Noordbrabants Museum, Den Bosch.

5.48. Visscher II, *Large Map with the Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch (detail)*.

5.49. Abraham Bloemaert, *Christ and Mary Interceding with God the Father*, 1615. Oil on canvas, 429 x 310 cm. Sint-Janskathedraal, Den Bosch.

5.50. Zoete Lieve Vrouw of 's-Hertogenbosch. Sint-Janskathedraal, Den Bosch.

5.51. Zoete Lieve Vrouw of 's-Hertogenbosch. Frontispiece to Zyl, *Historia Miraculorum*, 1632. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

5.52. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *The Choir and High Altar of the Sint-Janskathedraal, 's-Hertogenbosch*, 1646. Oil on panel, 128.9 x 87 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

5.53. Royal Chapel of the Treasury of San Gennaro, Naples Cathedral.

5.54. Stefano Maderno, *St Cecilia*, 1600. Marble, 131 cm. Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome.

5.55. Guillaume du Tielt, frontispiece to Torsellini, *Lavretanæ Historiæ*, 1600. Engraving. British Museum, London.

5.56. Pilgrimage shrine, Basilica della Santa Casa, Loreto.

5.57. Interior, Jeruzalemkerk, Bruges.

5.58. Geldrop Castle.

5.59. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of St Anthony Abbot*, c. 1615. Oil on canvas, 204 x 146 cm. Schloss Weißenstein, Pommersfelden.

5.60. Rubens, *The Virgin and Child with St John (detail)*.

5.61. After Peter Paul Rubens, *The Virgin and Child with St John, Worshipped by Repentant Sinners and Saints*, 1600s. Oil on canvas, 210 x 211 cm. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

5.62. Peter Paul Rubens, *Albert Rubens in Profile*, c. 1618-1619. Black and red chalk and pen and brown ink, 246 x 202 mm. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.

5.63. Peter Paul Rubens, *Nicolaas Rubens with a Coral Necklace*, c. 1619. Black, red and white chalk, 252 x 202 mm. Albertina, Vienna.

5.64. After Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Michaël Ophovius as Bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch*, 1600s. Oil on canvas, 149 x 118 cm. Bisschoppelijk Paleis, Den Bosch.

5.65. Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Michaël Ophovius as Bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch*, c. 1626-1629. Pen and brown ink with black, red and white chalk, 233 x 190 mm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

5.66. Hans van Mildert, *High Altar of the Sint-Janskathedraal*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1620. Marble. Heeswijk Castle.

5.67. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *The Choir and High Altar of the Sint-Janskathedraal*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1632. Pen and brown ink with grey wash and watercolour, over black chalk, 407 x 320 mm. British Museum, London.

5.68. The high altar of the Sint-Janskathedraal, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1620. From Bergé, "Voormalige Hoogaltaar", p. 462.

5.69. Rubens, *The Miracle of St Ignatius of Loyola*.

5.70. After Peter Paul Rubens, *High Altar Retable*, c. 1621. Marble. Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Antwerp.

5.71. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1624. Oil on panel, 447 x 336 cm. Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

5.72. Hans van Mildert after Peter Paul Rubens, *High Altar Retable for St Michael's Abbey*, Antwerp, c. 1624. Heilige Trudo, Zundert.

5.73. Peter Paul Rubens, *Design for the High Altar Retable of the Jesuit Church*, Antwerp, c. 1621. Pen and brown ink over graphite, 519 x 261 mm. Albertina, Vienna.

5.74. Peter Paul Rubens, *St Norbert Trampling the Heretic Tanchelm (oil sketch)*, c. 1624. Oil on panel, 66 x 46 cm. The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp.

5.75. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Archangel Michael Defeating Lucifer (oil sketch)*, c. 1624. Oil on panel, 64.8 x 49.6 cm. Private collection.

5.76. Coenraet Norenburg II, *Rood Screen for the Sint-Janskathedraal*, 's-Hertogenbosch, c. 1610-1613. Marble, alabaster and Caen stone, 780.1 x 1044 cm. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

5.77. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *Rood Screen, Transept and Nave of the Sint-Janskathedraal*, 's-Hertogenbosch from the Choir, 1632. Pen and brown ink with watercolour and black chalk, 361 x 255 mm. Musées des Tissus et des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon.

5.78. Choir stalls (detail), mid-fifteenth century. Sint-Janskathedraal, 's-Hertogenbosch.

5.79. Jean de Juploy, North choir stalls, c. 1632-1638. Oak. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.80. Jean de Juploy, Choir stalls from the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp, c. 1632-1638. Oak. Adare Manor, Co. Limerick.

5.81. Andries de Nole, *St Dominic*, c. 1635. Marble, 244 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.82. Andries de Nole, *St Thomas Aquinas*, c. 1635. Marble, 244 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.83. *Funeral Monument to Gisbertus Masius, Bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch*, 1614. Alabaster and whitewash. Sint-Janskathedraal, Den Bosch.

5.84. *Funeral Monument to Ophovius (detail, effigy)*.

5.85. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *Funeral Monument to Gisbertus Masius, Bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch*, 1632. Pen and brown ink with watercolour, 207 x 214 mm. Noordbrabants Museum, Den Bosch.

5.86. *Funeral Monument to Ophovius (details)*.

5.87. *Mitra pretiosa* of the bishops of 's-Hertogenbosch, c. 1569-1570. Gold fabric, red silk, pearls and jewels, 36 x 37 cm. Noordbrabants Museum, Den Bosch.

5.88. *Funeral Monument to Ophovius (detail, mitre)*.

5.89. Former north entrance to the crypt with Ophovius' epitaph. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.90. *Funeral Monument to Ophovius (detail, putto and urn)*.

5.91. Saenredam, *The Choir of the Sint-Janskathedraal (painting, detail)*.

5.92. Saenredam, *The Choir of the Sint-Janskathedraal (drawing, detail)*.

5.93. *Funeral Monument to Ophovius (detail, face)*.

5.94. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *Design for The Visitation Window*, 1622. Blue-grey pen, brown wash and pencil, 216 x 169 mm. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.

5.95. Peter Paul Rubens and Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Defenders of the Eucharist*, c. 1625. Oil on canvas, 434.3 x 444.5 cm. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota.

5.96. Abraham van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio, *The Companions of Ulysses Opening the Bag of the Winds*, c. 1632. Black chalk, 232 x 506 mm. Albertina, Vienna.

5.97. Pieter Verbruggen II; after Pieter Verbruggen I and Theodoor Boeyermans, *The High Altar of the Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp*, 1670. Pencil, grey wash and black chalk, 552 x 355 mm. Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp.

5.98. Choir windows, Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.99. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Conversion of Saul (oil sketch, first version)*, c. 1633. Oil on panel, 47.4 x 29.4 cm. Stadtmuseum Neuburg an der Donau, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

5.100. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Conversion of Saul (oil sketch, second version)*, c. 1635. Oil on panel. Private collection.

5.101. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Conversion of Saul (oil sketch)*, c. 1610-1612. Oil on panel, 120.5 x 146 cm. Courtauld Gallery, London.

5.102. Michelangelo Buonarotti, *The Conversion of Saul*, c. 1542-1545. Fresco. Cappella Paolina, St Peter's Basilica, Vatican City.

5.103. Cornelis Bos, *The Life of St Paul, 5: Ananias Baptises Saul*, 1546. Engraving, 85 x 115 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

5.104. Maerten de Vos, *St Paul Cured of his Blindness*, c. 1590. Pen and brown ink with grey-brown wash heightened with white, 167 x 126 mm. British Museum, London.

5.105. Cornelis Bos, *The Life of St Paul, 7: Barnabas Brings St Paul to the Apostles*, 1546. Engraving, 85 x 115 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

5.106. Maerten de Vos, *The Escape of St Paul from Damascus*, 1590. Pen and brown ink with grey-brown wash heightened with white, 168 x 129 mm. British Museum, London.

5.107. After Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Escape from Damascus*, c. 1670-1690. Tapestry. Newhailes House, Musselburgh.

5.108. After Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Sacrifice at Lystra (damaged)*, c. 1670-1690. Tapestry. Speke Hall, Merseyside.

5.109. Raphael, *The Sacrifice at Lystra*, c. 1515-1516. Bodycolour on paper mounted onto canvas, 320 x 390 cm. The Royal Collection, on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

5.110. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Scourging of St Paul (oil sketch, first version)*, c. 1635. Oil on panel, 21.6 x 19.7 cm. The Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp.

5.111. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Scourging of St Paul (oil sketch, second version)*, c. 1635. Oil on panel, 37.7 x 28 cm. Schloss Ludwigsburg. Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg.

5.112. Pieter van Aelst after Raphael, *St Paul in Prison*, c. 1515-1521. Tapestry, 479 x 128 cm. Apostolic Palace, Vatican City.

5.113. Raphael, *St Paul Preaching at Athens*, c. 1515-1516. Bodycolour on paper mounted onto canvas, 320 x 390 cm. The Royal Collection, on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

5.114. After Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *St Paul in Prison*, c. 1670-1690. Tapestry. Peterborough Cathedral.

5.115. After Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *St Paul Preaching at Athens*, c. 1670-1690. Tapestry, 242 x 410 cm. Great Chalfield Manor, Wiltshire.

5.116. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *St Paul Healing the Young Man (oil sketch)*, c. 1635. Oil on panel, 43.18 x 29.85 cm. The Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY.

5.117. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Rescue of St Paul on Malta (oil sketch, first version)*, c. 1635. Oil on panel, 34.5 x 27.5 cm. Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp.

5.118. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Rescue of St Paul on Malta (oil sketch, second version)*, c. 1635. Oil on panel, 38 x 28 cm. Schloss Ludwigsburg. Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg.

5.119. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Rescue of St Paul on Malta*, c. 1635-1640. Pen and ink with black chalk and white heightening, 226 x 398 mm. Städel Museum, Frankfurt.

5.120. St Michael's Bastion, Valletta.

5.121. Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome.

5.122. Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *The Visitation*, 1644. Stained glass. Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerp.

5.123. Pieter Saenredam, *Window with Bishop Gisbertus Masius in St Peter's Church, 's-Hertogenbosch*, 1632. Pen and brown ink with grey wash and watercolour, 394 x 248 mm. Noordbrabants Museum, Den Bosch.

5.124. Franz Ertlinger, *Zevenbergen Castle, Ranst*, 1663-1678. Engraving, 113 x 214 mm. British Museum, London.

5.125. Coat of arms of Antonie Schetz II, Count of Grobbendonck, Baron of Wezemaal, Knight of Santiago and Governor of 's-Hertogenbosch, on the north choir stalls, c. 1635-1641. Wood. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.126. Coat of arms of Martinus-Ignatius van Horne, Lord of Geldrop Antonie Schetz II, Count of Grobbendonck, Baron of Wezemaal, Knight of Santiago and Governor of 's-Hertogenbosch, on the south choir stalls, c. 1650-1691. Wood. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.127. Funeral monument to Hendrik van Varick and Anna Damant, c. 1630-1641. Marble and sandstone, 483 x 259 x 82 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

5.128. François Harrewijn, *Funeral Monument to Hendrik van Varick and Anna Damant*, 1734. From Sanderus, *Grand Théâtre Sacré*, p. II.i.116. Engraving. British Library, London.

5.129. Huis Bergh Castle, 's-Heerenberg.

5.130. After Abraham van Diepenbeeck, *Saints Albert of Jerusalem and Francis of Assisi*, 1655. Stained glass. Carmelite Monastery, Boxmeer.

X.1. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*, c. 1609. Oil on panel, 377 x 246 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

X.2. Anthony Van Dyck, *Crucifixion with St Catherine of Siena and St Dominic*, c. 1629. Oil on canvas, 314 x 245 cm. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

X.3. Exterior, AMUZ, Antwerp (formerly the Augustinian Church).

X.4. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Virgin Adored by Saints*, 1628. Oil on canvas, 564 x 401 cm. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

X.5. Anthony Van Dyck, *St Augustine of Hippo in Ecstasy*, 1628. Oil on canvas, 398 x 227. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

X.6. Jacob Jordaens, *The Martyrdom of St Apollonia*, 1628. Oil on canvas, 409 x 225 cm. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

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A note on the text

This thesis is divided into three parts. The first chapter of each part begins with a historical overview of the artwork in question which serves as the basis for interpretation in the following chapter as well. Each chapter is then divided into component sections. All translations from the Dutch, French, German, Italian and the Latin are my own unless otherwise stated with the original text included in the footnotes. “The author” refers to the author of this thesis.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and that I am the sole author. This work has not been previously presented for an award at the University of York or any other university. All sources are acknowledged as references

Introduction

Entering from a basketball court on the cusp of Antwerp's red-light district, the parish church of St Paul or the Sint-Pauluskerk with its soaring gothic nave and impressive paintings collection is a happy discovery for any art enthusiast (cover illustration and ill. 0.1). Along the north aisle hangs the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* a cycle of paintings by Peter Paul Rubens and his contemporaries. Further along in the transept are two altarpieces within handsome marble retables including Rubens' *Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament* and a copy of Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* (ill. 0.2). The Sint-Pauluskerk was built to serve Antwerp's Dominican community whose monastery was founded in 1276 by Albert the Great.¹ Described as 'without contest the most beautiful Dominican church preserved in Belgium' in a recent survey the monastery enjoyed considerable prominence in Catholic Europe in the seventeenth century.²

This thesis is the first to investigate the baroque paintings scheme in extenso and in situ. In doing so it asks larger questions about the display of art in a liturgical setting and in turn the role of churches in early modern cities. With many of the best examples hanging in galleries religious art is often subsumed under secularising narratives of stylistic development or indeed the broad-brush themes of popular exhibitions. This is a legacy of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars during which many churches and monasteries were suppressed and looted. As Willibald Sauerländer put it the altarpieces torn from ecclesiastical soil were 'elevated to the pantheon of autonomous art' where they remain in much art-historical discourse.³ To all intents and purposes the nineteenth-century public museum constitutes a vacuum in which chronological organisation by national school all but

¹ For the foundation of the monastery see Floris Prims, *Kerkelijk Antwerpen in het Laatste Kwart der XIII^{de} Eeuw* (Antwerp: Boekhandel der Bijdragen, 1928): 216-230, 313-320; Floris Prims, "Onze Eerste Predikheeren". *Antwerpiensia* (1927): 99-103.

² Thomas Coomans, "L'Architecture Médiévale des Ordres Mendians (Franciscains, Dominicains, Carmes et Augustins) en Belgique et aux Pays-Bas". *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 70 (2001): 63.

³ Willibald Sauerländer, *The Catholic Rubens: Saints and Martyrs* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2014): 9.

erases the site-specificity of devotional art. As Gail Feigenbaum argues in relation to Roman palaces, display as a means of ‘organizing attention’ in the early modern period can bring a ‘new critical dimension to our understanding of art [because] individual objects and features acquire new import from their aggregation in larger spatial surroundings ... Objects that we are accustomed to think of as solo actors ... are revealed to have functioned quite differently as ensemble players in an articulated and complex setting’.⁴ Paintings in early modern Catholic churches likewise stood in dialogue with architecture, sculpture, stained glass and a kaleidoscope of liturgical paraphernalia. Altarpieces were not merely a backdrop for rituals like the Eucharist but had an active role in shaping them when for example the priest raised the host in parallel with a painted Corpus Christi. The value of reconstructing ecclesiastical settings for paintings has begun to be recognised by museums including the National Gallery in London which holds the *Virgin of the Rocks* by Leonardo da Vinci. Painted for the lost church of San Francesco Grande, Milan in the 1490s it used to be part of a larger sculpted altarpiece which was recreated using digital projection in a recent exhibition (ill. 0.3).⁵ If the act of display ‘entails a self-conscious showing of things’ and ‘assumes an audience’ as Feigenbaum argues, religious paintings spoke to theirs as complex visual sermons as Ulrich Heinen demonstrates in relation to Rubens’ altarpieces.⁶ In churches the agents of display i.e. clerics and lay patrons had an ‘active share in the interpretation of works of art’ beginning with the act of commission.⁷ In the Dominican Church individual friars and lay brotherhood members worked closely with Rubens to realise their bespoke requirements for the decorative scheme.

⁴ Gail Feigenbaum, “Introduction: Art and Display in Principle and in Practice”. *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750*, Gail Feigenbaum and Francesco Freddolini, eds. (Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2014): 1.

⁵ Leah Kharibian, *Leonardo: Experience a Masterpiece* (London: National Gallery, 2019): 56-61. See also Jennifer Sliwka, *Visions of Paradise: Botticini’s Palmieri Altarpiece* (London: National Gallery, 2015): 57-75.

⁶ Feigenbaum, “Art and Display”, 15; Ulrich Heinen, *Rubens zwischen Predigt und Kunst: Der Hochaltar für die Walburgenkirche in Antwerpen* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1996).

⁷ Feigenbaum, “Art and Display”, 2. See also Pamela M. Jones, *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

This thesis is about the political implications of ecclesiastical display in early modernity. It focuses on three works of painting that were acquired with Rubens' direct involvement between 1616-1620: in Part 1 the multi-artist *Mysteries* cycle; in Part 2 Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna); and in Part 3 Rubens' high altarpiece *Saints Dominic and Francis Saving the World from the Wrath of Christ* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon). They are studied in relation to the monastery, the city of Antwerp and the politics of the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648) from the perspective of the "Counter-Reformation" or Catholic Revival. By reinvesting these artworks with the social and cultural capital they once had the Dominican Church can be reimagined as a theatre of political economy as much as of sacred drama. The term "political economy" which has various meanings in the social sciences is here defined as a corollary of the early modern merchant economy in which social values relating to culture and morality could be exchanged and accumulated through the medium of art.⁸ Artistic patronage and other conspicuous acts of altruism such as gift-giving helped an upwardly mobile bourgeoisie to project their newly-acquired status within Antwerp's civic forums, prominent among which were churches and lay brotherhoods. In this context merchants and city councillors could pose as the new aristocracy whose nobility was earned rather than inherited (see Chapter 4). As Elizabeth Honig argues the economic boom of the sixteenth century turned Antwerp into a 'society of merchants' in which the values governing the polis were an extension of those governing the marketplace. Within this new order, 'Goods [such as paintings] are not merely seen as useful necessities but are invested with values perceived by the people who trade them. The market is the site where a seller's personal "value" is confirmed when he or she displays wares to the judgment of others: the seller finds, as Hannah Arendt writes, "his proper relationship to other people only by exchanging his products with theirs". The process

⁸ See Naazneen H. Barma and Steven K. Vogel (eds.), *The Political Economy Reader: Markets as Institutions* (London: Routledge, 2008): 3-9.

of commodity exchange thus endowed objects with social meaning'.⁹ Financed chiefly by merchants the refurbished Dominican Church was suffused with what An Kint describes as their 'ideology of commerce'.¹⁰ Thus did it become a microcosm of Antwerp's political economy in which artworks like Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* came to embody marketplace values such as rarity which in turn reflected the cultural capital of their discerning sponsors (see Chapter 3).

Using concepts from history, literature and philosophy but also anthropology, economics and sociology the author approaches the Sint-Pauluskerk with an interdisciplinary mindset. As Karl Popper observed, 'We are not students of some subject matter, but students of problems' and art history is no exception.¹¹ As well as particular individuals the display of art was always shaped by competing forces within a given society be they political, economic or cultural. Moreover a good scholar always knows their limitations. By taking an interdisciplinary approach the assumptions of a particular discipline can be tested and improved through exposure to the wider intellectual community.¹² For artworks to gain more traction as objects of historical inquiry one must broaden the landscape of knowledge in which they are situated. In *Enlightenment Now* (2018) public intellectual Steven Pinker advocates a 'deeper integration' between the humanities and the sciences.¹³ By applying quantitative methods to the arts such as statistics, 'The possibilities for theory and discovery are limited only by the imagination, and include the origin and spread of ideas, networks of intellectual and artistic influence [and] the contours of historical

⁹ Elizabeth Honig, *Painting & the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998): 10-11.

¹⁰ An Kint, "The Ideology of Commerce: Antwerp in the Sixteenth Century". *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th-16th Centuries): Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure*, Peter Stabel et al., eds. (Leuven: Garant, 1997): 218.

¹¹ Cited in Lucas Rutting et al., *An Introduction to Interdisciplinary Research: Theory and Practice* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016): 13.

¹² Rutting, *Interdisciplinary Research*, 31-32, 41-43.

¹³ Steven Pinker, *Enlightenment Now: The Case for Reason, Science, Humanism and Progress* (London: Penguin, 2018): 405-409.

memory'.¹⁴ Networks, the spread of ideas and the nature of historical memory are central to this thesis and the author uses comparative price indexing to reconceptualise Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* as an economic asset in quantitative terms (see Chapter 3). As a humanities scholar the author has endeavoured to cultivate a more scientifically-informed understanding of human nature based on Pinker's work as an evolutionary psychologist which is both cutting-edge and accessible to the layman.¹⁵ Within such a framework art can be seen in more fundamental terms as a pleasure technology that engages with the psychology of status by virtue of its biological uselessness and ergo its symbolic power as a form of conspicuous consumption.¹⁶ Nuance can be added with recourse to cognitive neuroscience and anthropology to show how art has been used and interacted with over the course of history as David Freedberg and Alfred Gell pioneered and the philosopher Denis Dutton set out further in *The Art Instinct* (2009) with specific recourse to Pinker.¹⁷ Understanding how images work through the lens of evolutionary psychology helps one to avoid the pitfalls of postmodernist discourse in which images are commonly held to 'shape our view of reality, or to *be* our view of reality, or to *be* reality itself'. Rather as Pinker explains, images are 'labeled and linked to a vast database of knowledge' within which they are 'evaluated and interpreted' contextually.¹⁸ Freedberg calls a similar process "response" which he defines as the 'symptoms of the relationship between image and beholder'. In an ecclesiastical context in particular the power of art was activated exogenously through the participation of its

¹⁴ Pinker, *Enlightenment Now*, 408.

¹⁵ Steven Pinker, *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (London: Penguin, 2019); Steven Pinker, *How the Mind Works* (London: Penguin, 1998).

¹⁶ Pinker, *The Blank Slate*, 404-408; Pinker, *How the Mind Works*, 521-528.

¹⁷ David Freedberg, "Memory in Art: History and the Neuroscience of Response". *The Memory Process: Neuroscientific and Humanistic Perspectives*, Suzanne Nalbantian et al., eds. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011); Denis Dutton, *The Art Instinct: Beauty, Pleasure, & Human Evolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

¹⁸ Steven Pinker, *The Blank Slate*, 213-218.

audiences.¹⁹ In their confessionalising strategies to win hearts and minds Dominican friars used images not as tools of coercion but a means of emotive persuasion.

This thesis can be described as “microhistory” namely the ‘intensive historical investigation of a relatively well-defined smaller object’ such as an event, community or individual. The microhistory and its art-historical equivalent the object-focused case study are gaining traction.²⁰ By choosing to write a case study as Gary Thomas and Kevin Myers argue, the ‘inquirer can escape from a tendency ... to obfuscate with abstractions rather than to clarify with specificity’ as thematic approaches are liable to do.²¹ Through the prism of individual artworks this thesis studies the social life of a building in the space of three decades with a focus on the years 1616-1620. By dedicating so much attention to three works of art the author has sought to develop what Michel Foucault called a ‘polyhedron of intelligibility’ and give multiple vantage points to high-status objects with complex histories.²² Particular foci can help produce a ‘more rounded, richer, more balanced picture’ of seventeenth-century Antwerp by virtue of the granular detail they afford.²³ Over the course of five chapters the author treats each of the three works of art as a cipher for wider historical trends including Catholic confessionalisation, the merchant economy and the Early Christian revival (see Chapter 5). This is not a story of vast and impersonal economic forces but history on a human scale made by individuals working in tightly knit clusters to build communities and shape their urban environment. Prominent among these were the monastery priors Joannes Boucquet and Michaël Ophovius and the artist Rubens (see

¹⁹ Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, xxii, 82-191.

²⁰ See for example Matthew Dimmock, *Elizabethan Globalism: England, China and the Rainbow Portrait* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019). For more on microhistories see Matti Peltonen, “What is Micro in Microhistory?”. *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life Writing*, Hans Renders and Binne de Haan, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 105-118; Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijártó (eds.), *What Is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013): 4.

²¹ Gary Thomas and Kevin Myers, *The Anatomy of the Case Study* (London: SAGE, 2015): 8.

²² Michel Foucault et al., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1991): 77.

²³ Thomas and Myers, *Case Study*, 8.

Section 2). Within this narrative the artworks in the Dominican Church can be described as ‘objects that made history’. As Stefan Hanß explains in relation to the relic of Sant Christ de Lepant in Barcelona Cathedral objects associated with particular individuals or events became part of history itself as a mnemonic construction. Social practices in the early modern period rooted objects in memory which gave them power to shape ‘communities and people’s experiences of subjectivity’ in turn (see Chapter 1).²⁴ In this sense art is not a merry diversion from the earnestness of existence to adjust a quote from Friedrich Nietzsche but a means of realising one’s worldly priorities.²⁵

Section 1 of this prefatory preamble reviews the existing literature explaining what contribution this thesis makes while giving further details about the author’s methodological rationale. The historical background is then outlined: Section 2 recounts the early history of the monastery; Section 3 discusses one of the thesis’ key visual resources, an interior view of the church painted by Pieter Neefs I while Section 4 explores Antwerp’s early modern sacred topography and establishes the place of the monastery within it. Finally the content of each chapter is proposed and the corresponding research questions are set out.

1: The state of the field and the author’s contribution

The former monastic churches of Antwerp are rich sites of inquiry for historians of baroque art as Valérie Herremans and Bert Timmermans attest.²⁶ So far only the Jesuit Church has attracted longstanding scholarly attention in line with Jesuit-sponsored art more broadly (see below).²⁷ The nearest equivalent to this thesis is *St Jacob’s Antwerp* (2016) Jeffrey Muller’s

²⁴ Stefan Hanß, “Objects that Made History: A Material Microhistory of the Sant Crist de Lepant (Barcelona, 1571-2017)”. *Forum Kritische Archäologie* 7 (2018): 22.

²⁵ Friedrich Nietzsche et al., *The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music* (London: Penguin, 1993): 13.

²⁶ Valérie Herremans, *Paintings from Lost Antwerp Churches* (Ghent: Snoeck, 2013); Bert Timmermans, *Patronen van Patronage in het Zeventiende-Eeuwse Antwerpen: Een Elite als Actor binnen een Kunstwereld* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2008): 185-223.

²⁷ Piet Lombaerde (ed.), *Innovation and Experience in Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); Anna C. Knaap, “Seeing in Sequence: Peter Paul Rubens’ Ceiling Cycle at the Jesuit Church in Antwerp”. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004): 155-195; John Rupert Martin, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part I: The Ceiling Paintings for the*

seminal study of Rubens' parish church.²⁸ The book is comprehensive in its *longue durée* and multi-media scope. Rather than a 'history of masterpieces' Muller studies the Sint-Jacobskerk as an integrated whole describing the decorative scheme as a 'collective enterprise ... a network of signs and material symbols inside which the parish community formed its identities'. This includes 'Paintings, pipe organs, sculptures, sacred vessels, priestly vestments, liturgical books, reliquaries, bells, devotional prints, confessionals, pulpits, stained glass windows, roodscreens, wreaths of artificial flowers, marble fences, embroidered banners, tombstones, and checkered pavements'.²⁹ The emphasis for the Dominican Church must be different. The paintings it acquired from Rubens and his contemporaries during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621) are singularly outstanding; they command attention as only a few artworks do in the Sint-Jacobskerk. Moreover the interior in which the paintings were installed was much less physically stable because during the Calvinist Republic (1577-1585) the choir was vindictively demolished. Between 1571-1639 the church and monastery were under ceaseless construction. While historic churches often acquire a sense of singularity with the passage of time historians should look for seams in the building fabric.³⁰ By prising them apart in the Sint-Pauluskerk this thesis brings to light the chaotic manufacture of sacred space to give leverage to the interpretation of the artworks within.

In the Sint-Jacobskerk, 'Hundreds of art works remain in the settings for which they were designed. A glory of sacred objects ... fills in the liturgy and ceremony of religion at a

Jesuit Church in Antwerp (London: Phaidon, 1968). See also Mia M. Mochizuki, "Jesuit Visual Culture in a Machine Age". *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, Ines G. Županov, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019): 449-486; Linda Wolk-Simon and Christopher Johns (eds.), *The Holy Name: Art of the Gesù. Bernini and His Age* (Philadelphia, PA: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2018); Wietse de Boer et al. (eds.), *Jesuit Image Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

²⁸ Jeffrey Muller, *St. Jacob's Antwerp: Art and Counter Reformation in Rubens's Parish Church* (Leiden: Brill, 2016). See also Eelco Nagelsmits, Review of Jeffrey Muller, *St. Jacob's Antwerp: Art and Counter Reformation in Rubens's Parish Church*. *Historians of Netherlandish Art Reviews* (February 2018).

²⁹ Muller, *St. Jacob's Antwerp*, 5-6.

³⁰ See Marvin Trachtenberg, *Building-in-Time: From Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

deeper level. And the complete archive of the church remains intact to document everything'.³¹ The same cannot be said for any other Antwerp church including the Sint-Pauluskerk which suffered great damage after the French Revolutionary Army invaded the Austrian Netherlands. All the best paintings were seized and transported to Paris some of which were never recovered.³² The monastery was suppressed in 1796, sold to Cornelius Peltiers a heroic former prior and remodelled into a parish church in the early nineteenth century.³³ Around the pivotal events of the Belgian Revolution in 1830 numerous works of baroque decorative art including stained glass, the rood screen, choir stalls and the pulpit were dismantled or destroyed.³⁴ Just as calamitous was the fate of the monastery archives which were scattered in the 1790s.³⁵ A smattering of records are held by the Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, the FelixArchief Antwerp, the Riksarchief Antwerp-Beveren and the Riksarchief Leuven (the Dominikaans Provinciaal Archief). Some important documents have been transcribed by local historians.³⁶ Invaluable information is preserved in various antiquarian tomes, most importantly Antonius Sanderus' *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae* (1659, expanded 1726-1727), Bernardo de Jonghe's *Belgium Dominicanum* (1719) and the series *Verzameling der Graf- en Gedenkschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen* (1856-1903).³⁷ All of Rubens' paintings for the Dominican Church have been catalogued as part of the *Corpus*

³¹ Muller, *St. Jacob's Antwerp*, 1.

³² Charles Piot, *Rapport à Mr le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les Tableaux Enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et Restitués en 1815* (Brussels: E. Guyot, 1883): 22-23, nos. 39-47.

³³ Ambrosius Bogaerts, *Cornelius Jozef Peltiers O.P. 1744-1821: Laatste Prior van het St.-Paulusklooster te Antwerpen* (Brussels: Dominicaans Archief, 1970).

³⁴ Jan van Damme, "Van Kloosterkerk tot Parochiekerk". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 832-838.

³⁵ Floris Prims, "De Antwerpsche Predikheeren en hun Archief". *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* 2, no. 3 (1928): 55-64; Bogaerts, *Cornelius Jozef Peltiers*, 10-14.

³⁶ Claire Baisier, "De Documentaire Waarde van de Kerkinterieurs van de Antwerpse School in de Spaanse Tijd (1585-1713)" (PhD thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2008): 179-199, 399-400, app. 42-43; Jan van Damme, "De Bouw van de Sint-Pauluskerk na 1585". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1041-1048; Jos van den Nieuwenhuizen, "Oorkonden van de Antwerpse Predikheren (1243-1639)". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1466-1512.

³⁷ Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae* (The Hague: 1726-1727): III.1-6; Bernardo de Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum sive Historia Provinciae Germaniae Inferioris Sacri Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum* (Brussels: 1719): 200-261; Various, *Verzameling der Graf- en Gedenkschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1856-1903): V.

Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Overviews of the monastery's history are provided in Claire Baisier's PhD thesis of 2008 and elsewhere.³⁸ A wealth of research articles were published in the in-house magazine *Sint-Paulus-Info* (1982-2010) including a complete inventory of the church compiled by Raymond Sirjacobs.³⁹ This thesis is rooted in primary research. It presents neglected sources from rare books and manuscripts and translates many of them into English for the first time. While much of the documentation including artists' contracts and confraternity records is simply missing, an optimist sees the opportunity in every difficulty. Comparisons with Italian churches for example can not only compensate for the lack of source material but serve to internationalise the Dominican Church in an age of religious wars and Catholic global mission. Even where deeper primary research is possible a critically-informed, interdisciplinary methodology helps make this microhistory more relevant to the humanities at large (see above).

The seventeenth-century paintings scheme has so far been studied as the sum of its parts. To understand it as the 'collective enterprise' that Muller advocates the author takes a biographical angle. As well as Rubens himself the focus is on fellow-artists and clergymen including local bishops and monastery priors. Just as important were the church's mercantile patrons together with Rubens' political contacts in Antwerp city council and at the Brussels court. Between them the artists, donors and recipients engendered a 'biographical relation' with the paintings scheme. To apply Gell's line of argument a mendicant order could never reciprocate the paintings they received as gifts in cash or in kind (see Section 2); such 'unfinished business' became the 'essence of exchange' as a 'binding social force' between the clergy and laity.⁴⁰ The paintings in the Sint-Pauluskerk not only indexed its social

³⁸ Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 179-199. See also Rudi Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus, de Antwerpse Dominicanenkerk: Een Openbaring* (Antwerp: Toerismepastoraal Antwerpen, 2014). See also Floris Prims, "De Grote Lijnen van de Geschiedenis van St-Pauluskerk". *Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van Antwerpen: Jaarboek* 24-25 (1951): 57-68.

³⁹ Raymond Sirjacobs and Annemie van Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris van het Patrimonium van de Antwerpse Sint-Pauluskerk". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1737-1960.

⁴⁰ Gell, *Art and Agency*, 80-81.

network but actively maintained it. With Rubens' help the church became a crucible of identity-formation and community-building from the grassroots as exemplified by the procurement of Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* by a broad consortium of art-lovers 'out affection' for the church, the painting, each other and ultimately the city of Antwerp (see Chapter 4).

How has religious art of the early modern period been interpreted in recent decades? Among the most influential accounts are Hans Belting's *Likeness and Presence* (1990) and in particular Victor Stoichita's *The Self-Aware Image* (1993). Together they describe an 'era of art' forged in the white heat of Protestant iconoclasm of which the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566 in the Low Countries was the most spectacular example. In Antwerp Cathedral as contemporary accounts had it, 'The statues, images, pictures and ornaments, as they lay upon the ground were broken with sledge hammers, hewn with axes, trampled, torn and beaten into shreds ... The noblest and richest temple of the Netherlands was a wreck'.⁴¹ By violently disproving the intercessory power of images the *Beeldenstorm* marked a paradigm shift in the way paintings were made and used. As Stoichita argues, 'The *tableau* [became] an object that is not primarily defined either by its liturgical function or by its display in a predetermined space'.⁴² While in many ways revelatory Stoichita's teleological assumptions frame paintings not as physical objects but as disembodied images. As Christopher Wood notes *The Self-Aware Image* is hampered by the author's 'unwillingness to advance historical arguments' and his neglect of in situ viewing contexts.⁴³ Meanwhile Belting's claim that art in Catholic churches 'could not escape its metamorphosis into the work of art' has some

⁴¹ Cited in David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609* (New York City, NY: Garland, 1988): 10-11.

⁴² Victor Stoichita et al., *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Metapainting* (London: Harvey Miller, 2015): 34.

⁴³ See Christopher Wood, Review of Victor Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Metapainting*, *CAA Reviews*, 24 September 1999; Ivan Gaskell, Review of Victor Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Metapainting*, *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1145 (1998): 570-571.

truth to it but is likewise problematic.⁴⁴ Although made in the afterword to *Likeness and Presence* which is about medieval icons, Belting's remarks about the so-called 'era of art' are widely cited.⁴⁵ As Muller summarises this thesis 'ignores the deeper historical context of confessionalization, imposes the rupture of sharply separate periods when continuity of practice remained unbroken, exaggerates the autonomous position of art that was still enmeshed in the strategies of religious conversion, fails to take into account for the wide diversity of audiences and responses, and turns a blind eye to local conditions'.⁴⁶ The assumptions of historical periodisation which some authors continue to take for granted have been subject to longstanding debate.⁴⁷ Early modernists like to stress a break with the Middle Ages when life was supposed to have been even more nasty, brutish and short in order to promote their field as the seedbed of a global, industrial modernity.⁴⁸ Yet the early seventeenth century was characterised by continuity as much as change most obviously where medieval institutions such as monasteries were concerned.

As Alexander Nagel and Wood argue in *Anachronic Renaissance* (2010) the 'diagrammatization of time' as a linear chronology was 'not an obvious concept' in the pre-modern era. Instead societies saw 'myriad interconnections between events and people' which resulted in time being perceived as 'folding over on itself' in Christian eschatology,

⁴⁴ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1994): 458-459. See also Robert Maniura, Review of Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. *The Burlington Magazine* 137, no. 1108 (1995): 462-463.

⁴⁵ Amy Powell, "A Point 'Ceaselessly Pushed Back': The Origin of Early Netherlandish Painting". *The Art Bulletin* 88, no. 4 (2006): passim.

⁴⁶ Jeffrey Muller, "Rubens's Altarpiece in the Antwerp Dominican Church: How Visitors and Guidebooks Saw It". *Le Rubénisme en Europe aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles*, Michèle-Caroline Heck, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005): 69.

⁴⁷ See for example Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York City, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004); Kathleen Davis, *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008): 77-102; Asa Briggs and Daniel Snowman (eds.), *Fins de Siècle: How Centuries End, 1400-2000* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁴⁸ See Hamish Scott, "Introduction: 'Early Modern' Europe and the Idea of Early Modernity". *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750. Volume 1: Peoples and Place*, Hamish Scott, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 16-21.

biblical exegesis and the predominant view of history as cyclical.⁴⁹ Concerning the Dominican Church no friar ever thought that things could only get better. The successes of the seventeenth-century decorative scheme were defined by comparison with the Order's medieval glory days which had long faded from living memory and passed into legend. Within this alternate temporal regime the paintings by Rubens and his contemporaries generated a 'bending of time' to apply Nagel and Wood's line of argument. While made at a precisely identifiable moment they pointed backwards to the monastery's 'remote ancestral foundation' by Albert the Great while simultaneously looking forwards to instruct successive generations of novices.⁵⁰ Installed in the choir c. 1639 the *Wrath of Christ* high altarpiece and its decorative surrounds refracted space as well as time by symbolically collapsing Rome in the Early Christian era together with 's-Hertogenbosch when Ophovius was bishop there in the 1620s, with the aim of constructing a politically potent *lieu de mémoire* in the context of the Eighty Years' War (see Chapter 5).

If painting did become more "self-aware" i.e. more intellectually sophisticated from the sixteenth century onwards this can be partly explained by advances in information technology which put artists in dialogue with a growing body of printed criticism including in the religious sphere as Christian Hecht outlines.⁵¹ However one can argue that market forces were a greater catalyst because they encouraged painters to compete with one another in productivity and technical refinement. In this vein artists like Rubens opted for a quasi-industrial division of labour in the studio to keep up with demand. Market forces had also transformed the ecclesiastical landscape. The integration of church and marketplace since the later Middle Ages blurred the boundaries between the sacred and profane which only

⁴⁹ Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York City, NY: Zone, 2010): 9.

⁵⁰ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 9.

⁵¹ Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie der frühen Neuzeit : Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2012): 17-70.

became distinct again in the nineteenth century.⁵² As Andrew Spicer and others demonstrate naves ‘acquired importance as intermediary spaces between the church and the street’; despite the ‘strenuous efforts’ of the authorities to ‘demarcate the two spheres’ the outside world ‘could, and often did ... penetrate’.⁵³ This was something the Order actively encouraged (see Section 2).

The Dominican Church was the architectural nexus of a religious vocation combining the *vita activa* with the *vita contemplativa*. It was effectively two churches separated by a rood screen, the choir or *ecclesia fratrum* and the nave or *ecclesia laicorum*. Observing the canonical hours in the former the Order hosted confraternities and preached to the laity in the latter. While friars did administer the sacraments like Eucharist and confession in the nave brotherhood membership was an opportunity for the professional classes to network in an impressive architectural setting. The decorative scheme while outwardly pious was intended to appeal to their mercantile ethos to the extent that several attempts were made to purchase an integral component, Caravaggio’s *Rosary Madonna* (see Chapter 3). Thus did the ritual spaces of churches become assimilated into the early modern political economy. As Alyssa Abraham and others have studied, religious confraternities were agents of social cohesion and political mobilisation on top of their eschatological purpose to reduce time in purgatory.⁵⁴ The confessional affiliations and ritual calendars of brotherhoods helped turn churches in the Low Countries into civic spaces where Catholic identities could take root as

⁵² Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, “Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe”. *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 5-11.

⁵³ Beat Kümin, “Sacred Church and Worldly Tavern: Reassessing an Early Modern Divide”. *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 17-19; Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, “Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space”. *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005): 10-11.

⁵⁴ Alyssa Abraham, “Iconography, Spectacle, and Notions of Corporate Identity: The Form and Function of Art in Early Modern Confraternities”. *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities*, Konrad Eisenbichler, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 406-432.

Judith Pollmann and others examine.⁵⁵ This was certainly what happened in the *ecclesia laicorum* of the Dominican Church. As for the *ecclesia fratrum* its decorative scheme was engineered to endorse the Order's missionary recruitment drive as a crusade against the heretical Dutch (see Chapter 5).

This thesis is conceived as a contribution to two major fields, religious conflict in the Low Countries from the perspective of the Catholic Revival and the artist Rubens. Hailed by contemporaries as the 'Apelles of our Age' and the 'most famous painter in the world' with only some exaggeration, Rubens' formidable workshop operation and popularity with the courts of Europe give his oeuvre tremendous efficacy as a subject of historical inquiry.⁵⁶ In the religious sphere as Freedberg comments, 'To survey Rubens' output ... in the decade that followed his return from Italy [in 1608] is to have one's breath taken away'.⁵⁷ For the art historian these pickings are rich indeed (see Conclusion). As this thesis argues Rubens was central in coordinating the *Mysteries* cycle, procuring Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* and installing the *Wrath of Christ* in the choir two decades after he had painted it. Rubens' work for the Order was essentially collaborative. It saw him team up with Jan Brueghel I and Hendrick van Balen to produce the *Mysteries* cycle, work with monastery priors to meet their bespoke requirements and lead members of the laity as a tastemaker for Italian art. Rubens' artistic ability was matched by his social connections. As Gitta Bertram argues in relation to title pages, there was 'always a good reason to involve Rubens' in artistic and

⁵⁵ See for example Erika Kuijpers and Judith Pollmann, "Turning Sacrilege into Victory: Catholic Memories of the Calvinist Iconoclasm in the Low Countries, 1566-1700". *Rhythms of Revolt: European Traditions and Memories of Social Conflict in Oral Culture*, Éva Guillot et al., eds. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018): 151-170; Andrew Spicer, "After Iconoclasm: Reconciliation and Resacralization in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1566-85". *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 411-433; Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 175-178.

⁵⁶ Dominicus Baudius to Rubens, 4 October 1611: 'Macte Apelles nostri ævi'. Max Rooses and Charles Ruelens (eds.), *Correspondance de Rubens et Documents Épistolaires concernant sa Vie et ses Œuvres (Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus)* (Soest: Davaco, 1887-1909): II.44; Philippe Chifflet to Balthasar Moretus, 6 June 1940: '...nous pouvons dire, pour sa mémoire, qu'il a été le plus savant peintre du monde'. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, VI.303.

⁵⁷ David Freedberg, "Painting and Counter Reformation in the Age of Rubens". *The Age of Rubens*, Peter Sutton, ed. (Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1993): 134.

intellectual projects on the strength of his network.⁵⁸ Nowhere was this truer than in the Dominican Church. The work of Rubens has undergone significant reappraisal in recent decades.⁵⁹ He is a well-established subject for exhibitions and monographs if too rarely in the religious sphere.⁶⁰ Ongoing since 1968 the *Corpus Rubenianum* project is a knowledge base like no other in art history. What has emerged from it is the extraordinary versatility of Rubens' artistic talents which he applied to festival architecture, tapestries and architectural façades as well as retables for his altarpieces. This thesis adds a new string to Rubens' bow by arguing afresh that he coordinated a paintings cycle between eleven local artists, raised funds for an international art purchase and influenced the designs for ten monumental stained glass windows executed by his protégé Abraham van Diepenbeeck (see Chapter 5). Rubens was often praised as a *pictor doctus* whose pleasures lay in collecting antique cameos and having Tacitus read out to him while at work in the studio.⁶¹ Indeed much of his oeuvre reflects a profound interest in Antiquity and Renaissance humanism. Yet beneath the neo-stoic façade of moderation in all things were Rubens' human traits including tight-fistedness when hosting a banquet and the occasional lapse into sarcasm. Far from debasing his

⁵⁸ Gitta Bertram, *Peter Paul Rubens as a Designer of Title Pages: Title Page Production and Design in the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century* (Heidelberg: arhistoricum.net, 2018): 98-99.

⁵⁹ Nils Büttner, *Herr P. P. Rubens: von der Kunst, berühmt zu werden* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006): 7-12; Mariët Westermann, "Introduction: Rubens and the Capital of the North". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004): 7-15; Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Rubens* (London: Phaidon, 1998): 326-328.

⁶⁰ For recent exhibitions see Júlia Tátrai and Ágota Varga (eds.), *Rubens, Van Dyck and the Splendour of Flemish Painting* (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2019); Gerlinde Gruber et al. (eds.), *Rubens: The Power of Transformation* (Munich: Hirmer, 2017); Nico van Hout (eds.), *Rubens and His Legacy* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2014). For recent books see Alexander Marr, *Rubens's Spirit: Art and Ingenuity in Early Modern Europe* (London: Reaktion, forthcoming); Cordula van Wyhe (ed.), *Rubens and the Human Body* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018); Catherine Lusheck, *Rubens and the Eloquence of Drawing* (London: Routledge, 2017); Ruth S. Noyes, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis of the Beati Moderni* (London: Routledge, 2017); Herremans, *Lost Antwerp Churches*.

⁶¹ 'Wir besuchten auch den weitberühmten vnd kunsttreichen Mahler Rubbens, welchen wir eben in seiner Arbeit antraffen, vnd daß er zugleich den Tacitum für sich lessnen liesse, vnd einem andren einen brieff dictirte. Vnd weiln wir still schwiegen, vnd mit reden Ihm nicht vorhinderlich seyn wolten, hub er selbs an zu reden mit vns, vnd fuhr doch immer fort in seiner arbeit, ließ für sich lessnen, vnd vnterließ nicht den Brieff zu dictieren, vnd vns zu antworten, wodurch er sein großes ingenium vns zeigen wolte'. Erich Ebstein (ed.), *Ärzte-Memoiren aus vier Jahrhunderten* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1923): 29-30.

achievements, an element of realism can help bring Rubens' oeuvre further into mainstream history as Nils Büttner does in his matter-of-fact overview of the artist's earnings.⁶²

This thesis gives new meaning to aspects of the Catholic Revival. The conventional idea of the “Counter-Reformation” as reactionary and top-down has been challenged by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, Simon Ditchfield and others in a global context.⁶³ As Mary Laven summarises ‘local conditions ... were hugely significant in shaping religious communities’; while the ‘power of popes, councils, officials or bureaucrats to exert control over human behaviour’ is often exaggerated, ‘individuals and communities without formal powers were often a force to be reckoned with’ as the activities of the Antwerp rosary brotherhood go to show.⁶⁴ Moreover as Ditchfield argues Tridentine Catholicism should be understood less in terms of dogma than for ‘what it did’.⁶⁵ As this thesis demonstrates a medieval order in a provincial city could pursue innovative confessional strategies and acquire artistic riches that were the envy of Europe. As Helen Hills identifies, “peripheries” like Antwerp and Naples are no less ‘crucial for the investigation of sanctity’ as the Rome of the popes.⁶⁶ As Clare Copeland emphasises, holiness and piety were always the ‘product of negotiation and exchange between the centre and the periphery, and between the clergy and the laity’.⁶⁷ The Italianate idiom of the baroque was likewise implemented in trickle-down fashion taking on distinctly local characteristics by for example preserving the traditional panel triptych format. In the relentless focus on new orders like the Jesuits, Oratorians and Capuchins a

⁶² Büttner, *Herr P. P. Rubens*, 128-136.

⁶³ Simon Ditchfield, *Papacy & Peoples: The Making of Roman Catholicism as a World Religion, 1450-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming); Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Simon Ditchfield, “What’s in a Title? Writing a History of the Counter-Reformation for a Postcolonial Age”. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 108, no. 1 (2017): 255-263; Simon Ditchfield, “Tridentine Catholicism”. *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, Alexandra Bamji et al., eds. (London: Routledge, 2016): 30-43.

⁶⁴ Mary Laven, “Introduction”. *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, Alexandra Bamji et al., eds. (London: Routledge, 2016): 31.

⁶⁵ Ditchfield, “Tridentine Catholicism”, 69.

⁶⁶ Helen Hills, *The Matter of Miracles: Neapolitan Baroque Architecture and Sanctity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016): 31-35.

⁶⁷ Clare Copeland, “Sanctity”. *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, Alexandra Bamji et al., eds. (London: Routledge, 2016): 699.

recognition of continuity with the Middle Ages is often absent.⁶⁸ Far from rolling over the Dominicans emerged from the ‘momentous crisis’ of the Reformation reinvigorated to consolidate their strength within the apostolic hierarchy.⁶⁹ The Jesuits have attracted disproportionate interest because of their novelty, hierarchical organisation and taste for political intrigue.⁷⁰ They are justly credited with turning architecture and visual media into proto-industrial technologies of conversion such as mechanical altarpieces.⁷¹ However without confessional biodiversity Catholicism would never have won grassroots support to achieve European hegemony and become the world’s first global religion.⁷² The artistic contributions of older orders have begun to be recognised in this context.⁷³

2: *Conventus PP. Prædicatorum Antverpiæ*

In the courtyard off the Sint-Paulusstraat are the ruins of the former monastery (ill. 0.4). While ravaged by a disastrous fire in 1968 certain parts are still accessible.⁷⁴ The old entrance hallway which can be visited from the choir retains original floor tiles, an early-seventeenth-century statue of the Virgin and most intriguingly a pump-operated tap and washbasin (ill. 0.5). The rest of the property is either under development or still dust and rubble. Within the nave vestiges of the church’s former monastic purpose abound such as images of dogs with torches in their mouths.⁷⁵ Interpreted by Jacobus de Voragine to mean ‘guarded by the Lord’

⁶⁸ See for example Wilhelm Ribhegge, “Counter-Reformation Politics, Society and Culture in the Southern Netherlands, Rhineland and Westphalia in the First Half of the 17th Century”. *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 49 (2000): 117.

⁶⁹ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770: Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 28.

⁷⁰ See Hsia, *Catholic Renewal*, 1-7.

⁷¹ See Mochizuki, “Jesuit Visual Culture”.

⁷² Ditchfield, “Tridentine Catholicism”, 90-95.

⁷³ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “Missionary Art and Architecture of the Society of Jesus between China and Brazil”. *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, Ines G. Županov, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019): 489.

⁷⁴ See Frans Baudouin, “De Brand van de Sint-Pauluskerk te Antwerpen in 1968 en de ‘Goedbedoelde’ Evacuatie van de Kunstwerken”. *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 319-334; P. Vandenberghe, “De Brand van de Sint-Pauluskerk te Antwerpen”. *Dominikaans Leven* 24, no. 3 (May-June 1968): 125-134.

⁷⁵ Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 32-33, 191.

St Dominic's name acquired the association *Domini canis* or the Lord's dogsbody from a legend of his birth.⁷⁶ As narrated by Jordan of Saxony c. 1233, 'Before his mother conceived him, she saw a vision that she would bear in her womb a dog who, with a burning torch in his mouth and leaping from her womb, seemed to set the whole earth on fire. This was to signify that her child would be an eminent preacher who, by "barking" sacred knowledge, would ... scatter throughout the world the fire which the Lord Jesus Christ came to cast upon the earth'.⁷⁷ The Order of Preachers considered themselves the torchbearers of Pentecost. Their vocation combined study and prayer with the ethos of 'military Orders and the Orders of Ransom' which they put into action through preaching and missionary work.⁷⁸ The crusading zeal of Antwerp's *Predikheren* (preacher-friars) was never greater than during the Eighty Years' War and the Dominican Church was at the crux of this conflict.⁷⁹ Converted into a Protestant temple during the Calvinist Republic its reconstruction and refurbishment began in earnest during the Twelve Years' Truce.⁸⁰ This temporary ceasefire allowed partial economic recovery and the spiritual rearmament of churches in the form of refurbishment and clerical recruitment to take place.⁸¹ In the final years of the Truce the *Mysteries* cycle and Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* were acquired and installed. Meanwhile enormous funds

⁷⁶ Jacobus de Voragine and William Grainger Ryan (trans.), *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012): 430.

⁷⁷ Francis Lehner (ed.), *Saint Dominic: Biographical Documents* (Washington, DC: Thomist Press, 1964): 7.

⁷⁸ William Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order* (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965-1973): I.123-124.

⁷⁹ For surveys see Anton van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands: The Eighty Years War, 1568-1648* (London: Reaktion Books, 2018); Marjolein 't Hart, *The Dutch Wars of Independence: Warfare and Commerce in the Netherlands 1570-1680* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014); Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008); Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995): 169-230; Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (London: Pelican, 1977). For the religious history of Antwerp in this period see Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550-1577* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Marie Juliette Marinus, *De Contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585-1676): Kerkelijk Leven in een Grootstad* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1995); Alfons Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot Katholiek Bolwerk: Maatschappelijke Betekenis van de Kerk in Contrareformatorisch Antwerpen* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990).

⁸⁰ See Paul Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000): 203-244.

⁸¹ See Ruben Baetens, "Between Hope and Fear". *Antwerp: Twelve Centuries of History and Culture*, Karel van Isacker and Raymond van Uytven, eds. (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1986): 164-182.

were spent on building a new choir which was only consecrated in 1639 (see Chapter 5). While fortifying themselves against a second Protestant invasion the Dominicans were simultaneously competing with rival orders for professions and lay patronage. In Antwerp the old monastic houses of the Franciscans, Premonstratensians and Calced Carmelites had to vie with newcomers like the Discalced Carmelites and Jesuits.⁸² In order to maintain their eminent position the Order sought new loyalties by carving a distinct visual identity that articulated their zealous oratory while marketing their church to the metropolitan elite as a worthy civic investment. To this end the friars sought the services of Rubens.⁸³

An engraving by Lucas Vorsterman II published in 1661 depicts the monastery in its heyday when the rambling coenobitic complex covered swathes of Antwerp real estate (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 0.6). In addition to dormitories, a library and refectory its facilities included a brewery, granary, bakery, pharmacy, launderette, tailor and haberdashery. A formal garden is enclosed within the cloisters and behind is an orchard and to the right is a cemetery through which two friars stroll while others tend the *hortus conventus* which was an allotment for growing vegetables.⁸⁴ Within this self-contained village no friar had to go begging. Such apparent luxury may seem to contradict the Order's moral commitment to destitution as confirmed by Rome in 1216. St Dominic's fanatical asceticism travelling 'on foot, penniless and poorly clothed' and begging for food and lodging was fine in principal but not a long-term economic plan. Praised by Pope Honorius III for casting aside 'earthly riches' his successors actively acquired them for the purpose of

⁸² See Herremans, *Lost Antwerp Churches*; Lombaerde, *Jesuit Church*.

⁸³ For an overview of Rubens' work for the Order see L. van Nueten, "Rubens en de Dominikanen (I)". *Dominikaans Leven* 33, no. 3 (May-June 1977): 136-145; L. van Nueten, "Rubens en de Dominikanen (II)". *Dominikaans Leven* 33, no. 4 (July-August 1977): 174-178; L. van Nueten, "Rubens en de Dominikanen (III)". *Dominikaans Leven* 33, no. 5 (September-October 1977): 231-238; L. van Nueten, "Rubens en de Dominikanen (IV)". *Dominikaans Leven* 33, no. 6 (November-December 1977): 300-310.

⁸⁴ *Ecclesia; Primus introitus ad Ecclesiam; Secundus introitus ad Ecclesiam; Porta Conventus; Locutorium; Porta currium; Aedes ad plateam; Ambitus; Dormitorium super ambitum; Hortus infra ambitum; Domus Novitiorum; Bibliotheca; Dormitorium; Sub una parte illius refectorii; Sub altera schola et sacristia; Pomarium; Hortus Conventus; Hortus pharmacopae; Braxatorium; Dormitorium nouum; Sub illo cubicula hospitum; Granarium; Sub illo infirmaria; Pharmacopolium; Domus sartoria; Domus Lauatoria; Pistrinum; Domus fabrilis; Domus sutoria; Caemiterium*. See also Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 185-189.

establishing monasteries.⁸⁵ The Order did enforce a moderate regime of austerity but as Anthony Lappin makes clear no friar was destitute for any longer than their apprenticeship.⁸⁶ The general chapter needed to make the vocation appealing to recruits so they authorised monasteries to store food and cultivate wine; considering themselves theologians the Order regarded books ‘as necessary as clothes’ on which principle they amassed great libraries. The Dominican preference for large communities demanded regular upsizing which was financed by revenues from rented land.⁸⁷

While their Franciscan co-mendicants preferred countryside retreats like Assisi the Dominicans established themselves in cities to ‘take greatest advantage of the economic resources offered’ as Antonio Rigon shows. The very fact of building in a metropolis then as now ‘triggered complex financial operations, first and foremost in real-estate’ requiring friars to ‘sell, trade, and transfer goods’ with acumen. The Order reconciled the apparent conflict of interest in being penitent preachers one day and men of the market the next by turning property accumulation into an extension of begging. The conventual economy was ‘based on offerings, consonant with certain aspects of town-style exchange and circulation of goods in trade’. Located in the great mercantile hubs of Venice, Cologne and indeed Antwerp Dominican monasteries were in effect spiritual bank branches where the fruits of commerce could be invested to reap interest in the form of indulgences. By professing absolute poverty the Order persuaded wealthy elites to finance the ‘maintenance, restoration, and embellishment of churches and convents’ on their behalf. Trusted for the same reason

⁸⁵ Hinnebusch, *Dominican Order*, I.146, 152, 260-263.

⁸⁶ Anthony Lappin, “From Osma to Bologna, from Canons to Friars, from the Preaching to the Preachers: The Dominican Path towards Mendicacy”. *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, Donald Prudlo, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 57; Hinnebusch, *Dominican Order*, I.147.

⁸⁷ Hinnebusch, *Dominican Order*, I.158, 160-161, 279-281. The library of the Dominican monastery in Ghent is part of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent. Martine De Reu, ‘De Geschiedenis en de Rijkdommen van de Bibliothecae Dominicanae’. *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* (1996): 189-212.

their monasteries were used as ‘depositories where money and precious objects could be securely kept’.⁸⁸

The Order had outposts across the Spanish Netherlands: in Bornem, Braine-le-Comte, Bruges, Brussels, Ghent, Kalkar, Leuven (which had two, one being Irish), Lier, Luxembourg, Maastricht, Mechelen, Mons, Namur, Roermond, Sittard, Tongerloo and Vilvoorde as well as Ypres (see Chapter 1).⁸⁹ To plot these on a map illustrates the Order’s inherent urbanity (fig. 0.1). Clustered in Flanders and Brabant their churches formed an urban axis with Antwerp as the fulcrum to the extent that the monastery could establish satellites in Bornem and Lier in the seventeenth century (see Chapter 2).⁹⁰ Antwerp’s Dominican population was one of the largest in northern Europe. Their fortunes rose with those of the city’s merchants who paid to have the Sint-Pauluskerk modernised c. 1517-1571.⁹¹ Once the Revolt had been quelled in the Southern Netherlands hopes for ecclesiastical rejuvenation were set firmly on Antwerp. Between 1586-1698 the city’s cloistered population grew from thirty-three to 1,421.⁹² The Dominican share was considerable. Numbering sixty-four in 1629 it was the second-largest monastic community after the Franciscans; the same year there were just fifty-four Jesuits. Between 1585-1700 the Dominicans had 421 professions against whom 301 were buried (fig. 0.2).⁹³ New recruits increased annually as the century progressed with as many as fourteen joining in 1639.

⁸⁸ Antonio Rigon, “Mendicant Orders and the Reality of Economic Life in Italy in the Middle Ages”. *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, Donald Prudlo, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 247-248, 250-258. See also Joanna Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches: Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013): 16-21.

⁸⁹ Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum*, *passim*.

⁹⁰ Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum*, 301-304. The oldest in the region was Ghent. Walter Simons, “Het Dominicanenklooster te Gent: 1228-1796”. *Het Pand: Acht Eeuwen Geschiedenis van het Oud Dominicanenklooster te Gent*, Guido Bral, ed. (Tielt: Lannoo, 1991): 50; Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum*, 16.

⁹¹ Prims, “Grote Lijnen”, 60.

⁹² Thijs, *Katholiek Bolwerk*, 64-73.

⁹³ Marinus, *Contrareformatie te Antwerpen*, 154; Ambrosius Bogaerts, “De Professielijsten van het Predikherenklooster te Antwerpen (1586-1796)”. *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 49, nos. 1-2 (1966): 9-34; Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.125-129.

Vorsterman II's etching pictures a bucolic cloistered life by mid-century but this was not always so. According to Sanderus a 'truly horrible storm of heresy' struck Antwerp in 1579. After a 'disrespectful iconoclastic fury' the friars were evicted only to be brought back by 'divine benevolence' i.e. Alessandro Farnese's *Reconquista* of 1585. In the intervening years Antwerp had been 'shaken' and 'tyrannised' by 'rebels and heretics' who 'furiously laid waste to every monastery' including the Order's.⁹⁴ Beginning in 1582 the Calvinist-controlled city council built three streets through the monastery; in a surviving plan the path of demolition is outlined in red (FelixArchief, Antwerp) (ill. 0.7).⁹⁵ The Order's confiscated land was carved up and sold.⁹⁶ On 23 June 1584 the city council requisitioned the ground of the choir for the same purpose.⁹⁷ While claiming to be working to improve the 'efficiency, beauty, safety and profit of the city' along Vitruvian lines the Reformed mayoralty targeted monasteries as a scorched-earth tactic to prevent the papists from returning.⁹⁸ Yet return the papists did. Restored of their thirteenth-century inheritance the Order set to work 'labouring in the Lord's vineyard' by rebuilding their monastery and congregation from the ground up. Through 'most fervent preaching ... tenacious confession, administering the venerable Sacrament and visiting the sick' according to Sanderus the friars won an annuity of 1,000 gulden from the re-Catholicised city council in 1608.⁹⁹ Securing some 20,000 gulden over

⁹⁴ 'Verum horrida haereseon tempestate, & repetito Iconoclasticae impietatis furore ad annum 1579. Antwerpium concutiente, sedibus suis hic pulsi sunt Dominic qui anno tamen 1585 divina benignitate restituti sunt, unde dominante per annos intermedios rebellium & haereticorum ferocia cum omnia coenobii loca vastata, aedificiaque diruta essent'. Sanderus, *Chorographia*, III.2-3.

⁹⁵ FelixArchief Antwerp, Plan of the Dominican monastery, 18 July 1582 (12.5449)

⁹⁶ FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Valerius van Dale and Cornelius Daems, 26 September 1581 (KK 483). See Jochen de Vylder, "The Grid and the Existing City. Or how New Civic Buildings and Interventions on Confiscated Grounds Transformed the Medieval City in Early Modern Times: A Focus on Antwerp (1531-84)". *Early Modern Urbanism and the Grid: Town Planning in the Low Countries in International Context*, Piet Lombaerde and Charles van den Heuvel, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011): 86-87; Jochen de Vylder, "Typo-Morphological Studies: Morphological Research into the Re-Use of Confiscated Land Located in Cities in the Low Countries: Case Study Antwerp, During the Calvinist Administration, 1577-1585". *The European City: Architectural Interventions and Urban Transformations*, Frank Claessens and L. van Duin, eds. (Delft: Delft University Press, 2005): 203-204.

⁹⁷ '...het erf aan het koor'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Valerius van Dale and Cornelius Daems, 23 June 1584 (KK 484): unpaginated.

⁹⁸ Vylder, "The Grid", 83-87.

⁹⁹ '...strenui in vinea Domini ... praedicationi ferventissimae ... insistentes confessionis itidem, & venerabilis Sacramenti administrationi infirmorum visitationi'. Sanderus, *Chorographia*, III.3.

the course of the Truce the Dominicans received the second-highest subsidy of the regular orders; by comparison 35,000 gulden was spent on all the parish churches combined.¹⁰⁰ The Order built not just what ‘necessity’ demanded but also facilities for the ‘enjoyment of civilised life’; to make it ‘pleasing to the city’ no ‘expense and labour’ were spared.¹⁰¹ The greatest phase of expansion began in the 1610s under the successive priorships of Ophovius and Boucquet who turned the monastery into a ‘public academy and university of sacred Christian theology’.¹⁰² The church was their most visible achievement (see chapters 2 and 5). On account of ‘holy favour’ and more importantly fiscal contributions from the magistracy and an ‘affectionate’ laity the Order ‘at last perfected this venerable basilica’ which surpassed many other churches in ‘beauty and majesty’ according to Sanderus.¹⁰³ Given its alterations over the centuries how did the Sint-Pauluskerk look in Rubens’ day?

3: Pieter Neefs I’s interior view

Signed and dated *Peeter Neefs Anno 1636 the Interior of the Dominican Church in Antwerp* is a unique survival (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 0.8).¹⁰⁴ As Baisier contends it ‘represents the actual situation of the interior in that year’ at least for the most part. Although in need of restoration at the time of writing many details are visible to the naked eye. Looking towards the east end Neefs I’s panorama is angled slightly leftwards to give prominence to the north aisle. Beneath the latter-day whitewash is in fact muted grey stonework. The chequered floor (destroyed in 1968) is dotted with epitaphs while the lost stained glass on

¹⁰⁰ Marinus, *Contrareformatie te Antwerpen*, 80.

¹⁰¹ ‘...alias officinas quasdam, ut usus humanae vitae ac necessitas exigebat, suis impendiis, & industria excitassent, ab urbe grata, & Magistratu munifico subsidium annum bis mille florenorum, ab anno videlicet 1608’. Sanderus, *Chorographia*, III.3.

¹⁰² ‘...de Biblioteca etiam bene meritus ... Floruerunt etiam studia, & ex hoc conventu plures assumpti, qui in publicis Academiis & Universitatibus sacras Theologiae Christianae’. Sanderus, *Chorographia*, III.3.

¹⁰³ ‘Cum autem in dies pius favor, & affectus in hanc familiam tam Magistratus, quam praecipuorum mercatorum ac Civium cresceret, novis Chorus, qui ad 130. pedes longus protenditur ... cum lapidea turri, & novus alis, vulgo het cruys-werck, & quidem altissimus anno 1618 mense Martio inchoatus fuit, tandemque perfecta augusta haec Basilica, pulchritudine sua ac majestate multas ejusdem Ordinis in Belgio & alibi superans, & nescio an ulli cedens, unde & hic typum suum habere meruit’. Sanderus, *Chorographia*, III.3.

¹⁰⁴ My thanks to Dennis Kemper at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam for arranging an off-site viewing.

the south side pictures the Adoration of the Magi and the Assumption. The pulpit with angelic caryatids was sold in 1874 and the church has since recovered eight of its panels. The rood screen pictured was replaced in the 1650s and dismantled in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 5).¹⁰⁵ Above the row of confessionals hangs the *Mysteries* cycle in elaborate frames with Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* at the centre. Further along can be glimpsed Rubens' *Adoration of the Shepherds* (ill. 0.9).¹⁰⁶ Paintings can be seen between windows, attached to columns and against the rood screen. Yet one should bear in mind that Flemish interior views such as this make for a 'relatively rose-tinted view of the structural condition of Catholic churches after 1600'. For decades worship had to take place in dilapidated ruins; with the economy in tatters the restoration of churches was in fact long in the making.¹⁰⁷ Neefs I's interior view was not a snapshot but an idealised portrait plausibly made as a take-home present for the Dominican provincial chapter which met in the Antwerp monastery in 1637.¹⁰⁸ At least until 1639 when the choir was eventually finished the Sint-Pauluskerk should be thought of as a perpetual building site (see chapters 1 and 5).

A procession is taking place through the nave fronted by deacons and sub-deacons (ill. 0.10, details). Novices in white habits with hooded scapulars hold candles and swing thuribles accompanied by well-to-do candle-bearers and a sizeable lay congregation. The faithful kneel piously on either side fondling rosaries the signature attribute of Dominican spirituality (see Chapter 1). It is a feast day and everyone is wearing their best clothes with men in black and to the right a woman in red. Certain characters could be portraits including the old man who dips his fingers into a basin of holy water under the artist's signature who

¹⁰⁵ Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 181-183, 193, 199; Jan van Damme, "Van Kloosterkerk tot Parochiekerk". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 832-838.

¹⁰⁶ Hans Devisscher and Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part V (1): The Life of Christ before the Passion. The Youth of Christ* (London: Harvey Miller, 2014): 62-65, cat. no. 10. See also Sirjacobs and Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris", 1806, inv. no. E17.

¹⁰⁷ Ursula Härtung, "Catholic Life in the Churches of Antwerp". *Divine Interiors: Experience Churches in the Age of Rubens*, Claire Baisier, ed. (Leuven: BAI, 2016): 26.

¹⁰⁸ Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 199.

is surely Neefs I himself.¹⁰⁹ The rood screen marks the boundary between the *ecclesia fratrum* and the *ecclesia laicorum*. While Dominican churches had maintained this division since the Middle Ages it became sharper in the seventeenth century with clerics seeking to ‘define their sacred spaces from their more profane surroundings’. According to Spicer and Sarah Hamilton the rood screen also articulated the ‘professionalization of the clergy, emphasising their sacramental duties and setting them apart from the local community’.¹¹⁰ During Rubens’ lifetime the function of artworks in the Sint-Pauluskerk depended on which side of the rood screen they were on.

The friars enjoyed significant prosperity in this corner of Brabant. As Sanderus noted the greatest donations after the city council came from ‘merchants in particular as well as burghers’ i.e. Antwerp’s upper bourgeoisie.¹¹¹ If the Sint-Pauluskerk had one advantage over its competitors it was a prime commercial location. Rather than ‘something associated with the divine that is protected by regulations [and] rites from things that are not holy [or] sacred’ as Harry Munt argues in relation to the Islamic holy city of Medina, Antwerp’s sacred topography stood in osmotic relation to the city’s commercial and political life.¹¹²

4: Antwerp’s sacred topography

A painting by Hendrick van Balen and Abel Grimmer dated 1600 showcases Antwerp’s dual identity as mercantile metropolis and Catholic bulwark (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone

¹⁰⁹ For the artist’s biography see Baisier, “Kerkinterieurs”, 289-292.

¹¹⁰ Spicer and Hamilton, “Defining the Holy”, 15-16; Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, 7-9. See also Bert Timmermans, “Mapping the Role of Commemorative Space in Processes of (Re)Territorialization: Elite Families and Spatialities of Enclosure in Counter-Reformation Antwerp”. *Reformations and their Impact on the Culture of Memoria*, Truus van Bueren et al., eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016): 279-311; David Jenkins, “*Holy, Holier, Holiest*”: *The Sacred Topography of the Early Medieval Irish Church* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

¹¹¹ ‘...praecipuorum mercatorum ac Civium cresceret’. Sanderus, *Chorographia*, III.3.

¹¹² Harry Munt, *The Holy City of Medina: Sacred Space in Early Islamic Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 5. See also Sukanya Sarbadhikary, *The Place of Devotion: Siting and Experiencing Divinity in Bengal-Vaishnavism* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015).

Kunsten, Antwerp) (ill. 0.11).¹¹³ On the left stands the Dominican Church's distinctive gothic façade. Further to the right is Antwerp's oldest church Sint-Walburgis or the Burchtkerk (demolished in 1817). Next is the Cathedral of Our Lady with its iconic clock tower. Clustered nearby are the Sint-Jacobskerk, the steeple of Sint-Andries and several other churches; the Premonstratensian St Michael's Abbey which was demolished in 1830 stands prominently on the waterfront. In Grimmer's rendition of the cityscape church spires stand like spiritual lighthouses calling the panoply of ships on the Scheldt to worship. Presiding over this city of God and Mammon is the Holy Trinity painted by Van Balen. Flanked by Christ and the Virgin God raises his right hand in benediction and casts his eyes on Antwerp. A choir of angels express their excitement at the earthly vision below, a third Rome and new Jerusalem which was apparently the envy of heaven.

What were Antwerp's claims to sanctity? The city did have some hagiographic gravitas. The Burchtkerk was consecrated c. 655 by St Amandus and St Eligius was supposed to have preached there; St Willibrordus passed through the city years later as did St Norbertus in 1122.¹¹⁴ This was a slender catalogue by international standards so Antwerp had to manufacture its sense of holiness. Publications such as *Antverpiæ Antiquitates* (1610) and *Kerckelycke Historie van Neder-Landt* (1623) repackaged the city's medieval past for present-day consumption.¹¹⁵ In the former Jean-Baptiste Gramaye hailed the arrival of mendicant orders in Antwerp while the latter told the history of the Burchtkerk claiming that its patron saint Walpurga or Walburgis was present at the consecration ceremony.¹¹⁶ A shrine therein was 'attended with great devotion' that intensified with the acquisition of the saint's

¹¹³ Bettina Werche, *Hendrick van Balen (1575-1632): Ein Antwerpener Kabinettbildmaler der Rubenszeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004): 154-155, cat. no. A55.

¹¹⁴ Floris Prims, *De Antwerpsche Heiligen* (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1943): 16-18, 27-54.

¹¹⁵ Jan-Baptiste Gramaye, *Antverpiæ Antiquitates et Opidorum, Mvniciporum, Pagorum, Dominorum* (Brussels: 1610); Henricus Spondanus, *Kerckelycke Historie van Neder-Landt* (Antwerp: 1623). See also Edward Wouk, "Semini and His Progeny: The Construction of Antwerp's Antique Past". *Local Antiquities, Local Identities: Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Europe, c. 1400-1700*, Kathleen Christian and Bianca de Divitiis, eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018): 209-236.

¹¹⁶ Gramaye, *Antverpiæ Antiquitates*, 60-64.

oil-excreting jawbone which the Archdukes Albert and Isabella came to kiss in 1615.¹¹⁷ The merchant Cornelis van der Geest had renovated the shrine after sponsoring an archaeological dig for St Walburgis' tomb in the crypt (see Chapter 2). The high altar was surmounted by Rubens' *Raising of the Cross* triptych. When closed it displayed full-length images of Amandus, Walburgis and Eligius on the verso as if to affirm the claims of local ecclesiastical historians (Antwerp Cathedral) (ill. 0.12).¹¹⁸

In Antwerp confessionalisation was not just a religious policy, it was an industrial strategy. The destruction of papist furnishings during the *Beeldenstorm* created urgent demand. In a 'climate of conspicuous consumption' altarpieces, liturgical vestments and silver chalices were produced for export as well as domestic use. A thriving economy based on trade and manufacturing with luxury textiles a particular strength encouraged the urban population to replenish.¹¹⁹ Antwerp's subsequent conventional invasion had a profound impact on the cityscape as visualised in a map of 1678 (British Museum, London) (fig. 0.3). At least sixty-five religious buildings are included: the Cathedral, abbeys, monasteries, convents, chapels, beguinages, seminaries and alms-houses (*godshuizen*) to say nothing of street shrines, Marian statuary and crucifixes such as the one on the Meir.¹²⁰ The number of steeples is striking and they dominate an otherwise low-rise skyline. As Spicer and Hamilton argue early modern churches stood as 'beacons of order' within cities.¹²¹ In Antwerp streets were given Catholic names to signpost the location of the nearest church. For example to enter St Michael's Abbey one walked down Clooster Straet or disembarked at Sint Michiels

¹¹⁷ 'Dese Capelle wort met groote devotie besocht; alwaer in grooter eeren bewaert wordt een stuck van het kaecksbeen der seler H. Maghet; het welck onse godtvuchtige Princen van Nederlandt / Albertus saligher memorien / ende Isabella sijne huys-vrouwe in 't jaer onses Heeren 1615 besocht ende ghekust hebben'. Spondanus, *Kerckelycke Historie*, 64.

¹¹⁸ Cynthia Lawrence, "Rubens's *Raising of the Cross* in Context: The 'Early Christian' Past and the Evocation of the Sacred in Post-Tridentine Antwerp". *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005): 251-252, 262.

¹¹⁹ Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, "Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries". *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis: 16th-17th Century*, Jan van der Stock, ed. (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993): 20-29.

¹²⁰ See Tátrai and Varga, *Splendour of Flemish Painting*, 118, cat. no. 2.

¹²¹ Spicer and Hamilton, "Defining the Holy", 9-12.

Bolwerck if arriving by boat. As can be seen on the map Antwerp Cathedral stood at the centre of religious and civic life. Adjacent were the episcopal palace, cemetery and diocesan seminary and encircling them south-eastwards were the Jesuits and Beguines. In the next concentric ring between Rubens' house and the Sint-Jacobskerk were three Carmelite establishments (Calced and Spanish and English Discalced), the Poor Clares, Minims, the Benedictine Cellites of St Maurus and the Priory of St Margaret's Valley (*Nonnekens*) together with numerous alms-houses. To the south between the parish churches of Sint-Andries and Sint-Joris were the Norbertines, White Sisters, Augustinians, Carthusians, the Tertiaries of Luithagen and the Capuchin Sisters. On the waterfront were St Michael's Abbey, the Burchtkerk and the Pieter Potklooster a Cistercian abbey from 1652. The Dominicans were situated north of the Cathedral adjacent to the Burchtkerk and the Black Sisters; close by was the second order Dominican convent of the Dominikanessen which was founded by Boucquet in 1621 (see Conclusion). Further from the Scheldt were the Augustinian Facontines, the Franciscans or Friars Minor, Capuchins, Annuncliates, the Augustinian Nuns of Oostmalle (erroneously labelled Westmalle) and a beguinage.¹²² Such was Antwerp's confessional biodiversity by mid-century. In a European context religious dominance of the built environment was not uncommon. According to Janine Maegraith and Craig Muldrew the 'high number of newly constructed or refurbished churches' could constitute up to a third of buildings in a Catholic town. Antwerp's sacred topography was augmented by rival organisations competing 'for the newest, most beautiful' building in the city.¹²³ To this end a touch of brilliance from Rubens was an ace up one's sleeve. During the Truce Rubens' religious paintings came to adorn seven major churches: the Cathedral, the Burchtkerk and those of the Jesuit, Capuchin, Franciscan, Carmelite and Dominican orders.

¹²² Antonius Sanderus, *Le Grand Théâtre Sacré du Duché de Brabant* (The Hague: 1734): II.i. My thanks to Jos van den Nieuwenhuizen for his assistance.

¹²³ Janine Maegraith and Craig Muldrew, "Consumption and Material Life". *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750*, Hamish Scott, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): I.389.

Prior to 1620 the Sint-Pauluskerk had the running flush outstripping even the Cathedral with its concentration of Rubens' work.¹²⁴

As defined by Simon Sebag Montefiore a holy city is a 'place on earth for communication' between God and man.¹²⁵ By recreating the archetypes of Jerusalem and Rome non-holy cities could at least provide the faithful with an indirect line to God (see Chapter 5).¹²⁶ After *Reconquista* holy relics were rapidly amassed including those of Catholic martyrs of the Revolt. The torture and execution in 1582 of Dominican friar Antoninus Timmermans who had absolved William of Orange's would-be assassin produced the relics of his severed head and arm which were enshrined in the monastery to ward off heretics (see Chapter 1).¹²⁷ Its so-called "seven hills" made Antwerp no more of a third Rome than Sheffield yet the city's disproportionate ecclesiastical population, Catholic manufacturing base and narrative of righteous liberation made for a convincing enough analogy. At a time when 'commerce overflowed the boundaries of the market and penetrated all aspects of life' in a place where sanctity was produced rather than revealed, holiness in Antwerp was commodified, traded and accumulated.¹²⁸ This was especially true of the Schipperskwartier where both the Order and the Oosterlingen Dom (the local headquarters of the Hanseatic League) were situated. Just north of the monastery were streets named after millers, brewers, weavers and linen bleachers (*graen*, *brouwers*, *verwers* and *bleijcker*) (fig. 0.4, detail). In the same spirit the monastery played host to a covered market the Predikheerenpand until the sixteenth century (see Chapter 3).

As transitory as the commercial life that flowed through it may have been the *ecclesia laicorum* also had social efficacy as a place where confraternities took root. The fostering of civic identity by these micro-communities was politically significant in the context of early

¹²⁴ Thomas Glen, *Rubens and the Counter Reformation: Studies in His Religious Paintings between 1609 and 1620* (New York City, NY: Garland, 1977): 234-254.

¹²⁵ Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem: The Biography* (New York City, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011): xxii.

¹²⁶ Lawrence, "Raising of the Cross", 264.

¹²⁷ Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum*, 218-222.

¹²⁸ Honig, *Painting & the Market*, 3-4.

modern nation-building in which confessional diversity played an important role (see Chapter 1). Confraternities were a major source of artistic patronage for the Sint-Pauluskerk which hosted those of the Sweet Name of Jesus (*Soeten Naam*) and the rosary among others. The high status and financial liquidity of their members were harnessed to further the Order's evangelical and missionary agendas. In the case of the choir its decoration was partly financed by noblemen in North Brabant whose territories were now overlorded from The Hague (see Chapter 5). In an age of religious conflict the decorative scheme of the Dominican Church turned it into a theatre of political economy for which Rubens acted as impresario. By embodying the values of the individuals and micro-communities which it played host to the church was also a crucible of identity-formation like few others in the early seventeenth century.

* * *

This thesis is organised chronologically around the chosen artworks that were procured in quick succession between 1616-1620. In terms of historical context it has three distinct phases all of which were encompassed by Rubens' lifetime. In Part 1 this is the onset of the Revolt and the Calvinist Republic, in Part 2 the "interbellum" years of the Truce and in Part 3 the resumption of hostilities with the Dutch Republic after 1621. While organised chronologically for the benefit of the modern reader the author has tried to avoid the pitfalls of periodisation as outlined above. Moreover the thesis is informed by concepts advanced by Nagel and Wood in *Anachronic Renaissance* such as the pre-modern "folding" of time and space in churches (see Section 1).

Chapter 1 examines the *Mysteries* cycle in light of the "memory wars" of the Revolt which kicked off during the Truce and the political impetus given to rosary devotion after victory over the Ottomans at the battle of Lepanto in 1571. It asks, what role could artworks play in the construction of historical memory? Chapter 2 investigates the manufacture and patronage of the *Mysteries* cycle c. 1617 against this background and in the context of the archducal programme of Catholic renewal in the Spanish Netherlands. It asks, how could

artworks carry political meaning by the very fact of their existence? Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* was acquired contemporaneously. Chapter 3 charts the "social life" of the altarpiece as a "sacred commodity". It asks, to what extent was the monetary value of high-status artworks determined socially? Chapter 4 investigates the Truce-time friendship networks that facilitated the painting's purchase and gifting to the Order 'out affection' for their church. It asks, to what extent was altruism reciprocal in the early modern period and how could the self-interested pursuit of profit, fame and love benefit a city like Antwerp? Chapter 5 examines the portrayal of Ophovius as St Dominic in the *Wrath of Christ* for which the new choir was built; in the 1630s the high altarpiece was installed within a decorative palimpsest which included an earlier sculpted retable and Van Diepenbeeck's stained glass windows depicting the life of St Paul. It asks, how could sacred history be employed as political rhetoric and to what extent could decoration serve to fold time and space within one site?

Part 1: The *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* cycle



Hendrick van Balen, Antonis de Bruyn, Anthony Van Dyck, Frans Francken II, Jacob Jordaens, Peter Paul Rubens, David Teniers I, Matthijs Voet, Cornelis de Vos, Arnout Vinckenborch and Artus Wolffort, *The Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary*, c. 1617.
Oil on panel, 214-224 x 162-166 cm. Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerp.

Paintings of the 15 Mysteries

1. The Annunciation, given by Monsieur Peeter Sproenck, made by van Bael, cost – 216
2. The visitation given by Monsieur Peeter Bouvreij, and Jan Baptista de Vos, made by Franck – 120
3. The birth of Christ given by Miss Wissekercke, made by Cornelis de Vos – 138
4. The purification
5. Jesus before the doctors procured by various chaplains, made by Matthijs Voet – 96
6. The garden given by Vloers' widow, made by David Teniers – 102
7. The flagellation given by Milord Lowies Clarisse made by Milord Peeter Rubbens – 150
8. The Crowning of Christ given by Milord Adam Verjuijs, made by Antoni de Bruijn – 96
9. The Carrying of the Cross given by Milord Jan van den Broeck, made by van Dijck – 150
10. The Crucifixion of Christ, given by Miss Magdalena Lewierter, made by Jordaens – 150
11. The resurrection of Christ given by prior magister Boucquet, made by Arnout Vinckenborgh – 66
12. The ascension of Christ given by Milord Colijns made by Arnout Vinckenborgh – 120
13. The sending of the Holy spirit given by monsieur Cornelis Verbeeck made by Matthijs Voet – 102
14. Assumption of Mary by diverse chaplains, made by Aertsen – 66
15. Coronation of our dear lady given by Capello's widow, made by Aernout Vinckenborgh – 66.¹

¹ 'Schilderijen van de 15 Mijsterien/ 1. De Bodtschap, ghegeven van monsr. Peeter Sproenck, ghemaect door van Bael, cost – 216/ 2. De visitatie ghegeven van monsr. Peeter Bouvreij, en Jan Baptista de Vos, ghemaect van Franck – 120/ 3. de gheboorte Christi ghegheven van joufr. Wissekercke, ghemaect van Cornelis de Vos – 138/ 4. De purificatie/ 5. Jesus onder de doctoren door verscheijde almoessen gheprocureert, ghemaect van Matthijs Voet – 96/ 6. het hofken ghegeven van de weduwe Vloers, ghemaect door David Teniers – 102/ 7. de gheesselingh ghegeven van mijn Heer Lowies Clarisse ghemaect van mijn heer Peeter Rubbens – 150/ 8. De Crooninghe Christi ghegeven van mijn heer Adam Verjuijs, ghemaect van Antoni de Bruijn – 96/ 9. De Cruijsdraeghinghe ghegeven door mijn heer Jan van den Broeck, ghemaect van Dijck – 150/ 10. De Cruijsinghe Christi, ghegheven van joffr. Magdalena Lewierter, ghemaect door Jordaens – 150/ 11. De verijssenis Christi ghegeven van P magr. Boucquet, ghemaect door Arnout Vinckenborgh – 66/ 12. de hemelvaert Christi ghegeven van m. Heer Colijns ghemaect van Arnout Vinckenborgh – 120/ 13. de seiijndinghe van den H. gheest ghegeven van monsieur Cornelis Verbeeck ghemaect door Matthijs Voet – 102/ 14. Hemelvaert van Maria van diverse almoesen, ghemaect van Aertsen – 66/ 15. Crooninghe van onse lieve vrouw ghegheven van de weduwe van Capello, ghemaect van Aernout Vinckenborgh – 66'. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Loose Documents, 1243-1773 (PR A.1/9): recto. First published in Max Rooses, *Jacob Jordaens: His Life and Work* (London: J. M. Dent, 1908): 10-11.

Chapter 1: Guns and rosaries. Constructing the north aisle as a realm of memory

The *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* is the Sint-Pauluskerk's most extraordinary survival (in situ) (frontispiece). A cycle of paintings by eleven Antwerp masters made c. 1617 the panels narrate fifteen key episodes from the Nativity, Passion and Resurrection of Christ through the eyes of his mother the Virgin Mary. The cycle hangs along the north aisle above a row of ornately carved confessionals. The first five panels depict the joyful mysteries: the *Annunciation* by Hendrick van Balen, the *Visitation* by Frans Francken II, the *Birth of Christ* and the *Presentation in the Temple* by Cornelis de Vos and *Christ Among the Doctors* by Matthijs Voet (ills. 1.1-5). The second five depict the sorrowful mysteries: the *Agony in the Garden* by David Teniers I, the *Flagellation* by Peter Paul Rubens, the *Crowning with Thorns* by Antonis de Bruyn, the *Carrying of the Cross* by Anthony Van Dyck and the *Crucifixion* by Jacob Jordaens (ills. 1.6-10). The third five depict the glorious mysteries: the *Resurrection* by Arnout Vinckenborch, the *Ascension* by Artus Wolffort, *Pentecost* by Voet, the *Assumption* by Wolffort and the *Coronation of the Virgin* by Vinckenborch (ills. 1.11-15).¹ Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* was installed between the *Crowning with Thorns* and the *Carrying of the Cross* having been purchased for the cycle contemporaneously. In 1651 the altarpiece was extracted and hung above the newly-constructed rosary altar in the north transept (see Part 2). The *Mysteries* cycle remained in situ until 1794 when the *Flagellation*, the *Carrying of the Cross* and the *Crucifixion* were transported to the Louvre in Paris; they

Research for this chapter was presented as part of the Art History Research Seminar series at the University of Manchester on 20 February 2019. I would like to thank Ed Wouk for inviting me to speak and Stefan Hanß for extensive feedback.

¹ Raymond Sirjacobs and Annemie van Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris van het Patrimonium van de Antwerpse Sint-Pauluskerk". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1804-1806, inv. nos. E1-15.

were restored to the Sint-Pauluskerk in 1816.² The cycle was cleaned and technically examined in 1998.³

No other Belgian church has a paintings cycle of like scale or quality.⁴ The extant literature inadequately reflects its art-historical importance. The panels by Rubens, Van Dyck and Jordaens have attracted varying degrees of interest.⁵ Hans Vlieghe and Erik Duverger have reconstructed the careers of lower-calibre artists like Wolffort, Vinckenborch, Teniers I and De Bruyn.⁶ Yet nobody has attempted to interpret the cycle as a coherent whole.⁷ Zirká Zaremba Filipczak and Nils Büttner cite the “15 Mysteries” document (translated above) when discussing broader price trends for pictures in the period.⁸

² Charles Piot, *Rapport à Mr le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les Tableaux Enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et Restitués en 1815* (Brussels: E. Guyot, 1883): 2-15; 22-23, cat. nos. 39-41.

³ Marijse van der Voort, “De Restauratie van de Suite van de ‘Vijftien Mysteries van de Rozenkrans’”. *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1323-1330; Nico van Hout, “Schilderkunstige Kanttekeningen bij de Rozenkransreeks in de Sint-Pauluskerk te Antwerpen”. *Munuscula Amicorum: Contributions on Rubens and his Colleagues in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, Katlijne van der Stighelen, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006): 443-477.

⁴ Rubens’ thirty-nine ceiling paintings for the Jesuit Church were destroyed in 1718. John Rupert Martin, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part I: The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (London: Phaidon, 1968): 44. Sixteen anonymous paintings depicting the life of St Augustine were installed in the Augustinian Church c. 1650 (AMUZ, Antwerp). Ferdinand Peeters, *L’Église St-Augustin à Anvers* (Antwerp: Veritas, 1930): 66-79. Neefs I painted a ‘continuous row of canvases showing scenes from the life of Christ’ in a fictitious interior view of c. 1650 which is said to be based on the Dominican Church (Staatliches Museum Schwerin, inv. no. G380). Claire Baisier (ed.), *Divine Interiors: Experience Churches in the Age of Rubens* (Leuven: BAI, 2016): 89, cat. no. 17.

⁵ See for example J. Richard Judson, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VI: The Passion of Christ* (London: Harvey Miller, 2000): 59-63, cat. nos. 11-11a; Friso Lammertse and Alejandro Vergara (eds.), *The Young Van Dyck* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012): 149-151, cat. no. 21; Alexis Merle du Bourg, “Aux Sources d’un Chef-d’Oeuvre: Climat Religieux, Sources d’Inspiration et Précédents”. *Jacques Jordaens, la Crucifixion*, Guillaume Kazerouni and Alexis Merle du Bourg, eds. (Rennes: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2013): 20-27.

⁶ Hans Vlieghe, “Zwischen van Veen und Rubens: Artus Wolffort (1581-1641), ein vergessener Antwerpener Maler”. *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 39 (1977): 93-136; Erik Duverger, “Arnout Vinckenborch, een Wenig Bekend Schilder te Antwerpen uit het Begin van de XVIIde eeuw”. *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1973): 233-246; Erik Duverger and Hans Vlieghe, *David Teniers der Ältere: Ein vergessener flämischer Nachfolger Adam Elsheimers* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1971); Hans Vlieghe, “Artus of Antoni de Bruyn?”. *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1969): 169-199.

⁷ Hout, “Rozenkransreeks”; Raymond Sirjacobs and Guido Coolens, *Antwerpen Sint-Pauluskerk: The Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 1993); Mark Robbroeckx, “De Vijftien Rozenkransschilderijen van de Sint-Pauluskerk te Antwerpen” (MA Thesis, University of Ghent, 1972).

⁸ Nils Büttner, *Herr P. P. Rubens: von der Kunst, berühmt zu werden* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006): 129; Zirká Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987): 78-79.

Otherwise the critical emphasis has been either iconographic, antiquarian, connoisseurly or technical. In the case of Van Dyck's *Carrying of the Cross* the overriding scholarly objective has been to put all the preparatory drawings in the correct order.⁹ Questions of genesis and the bigger historical picture have yet to be addressed. This ambitious project required strong and stable leadership. Who instigated the cycle and who coordinated the work of eleven rival artists? The monastery prior Joannes Boucquet and Rubens have been tentatively proposed but never investigated in extenso.¹⁰ The *Mysteries* cycle should be understood with reference to devotional literature about the rosary written in-house notably by friars Vincent Hensbergh and Hyacinthus Choquet.¹¹ Several such pamphlets were overtly political. With reference to the battle of Lepanto and the impetus which Catholic victory gave to the cult after 1571 the Order mobilised the rosary and sent it into battle. Marian devotion was aggressively promoted to defend Antwerp's Catholic bulwark from Protestant heretics whose rejection of Habsburg and papal authority made them analogous with the Ottoman infidel (see Section 4). These tracts helped to galvanise the monastic community by pitching the Order against the forces of evil, namely Calvinism with reference to the profanation of their church under Protestant rule. Antwerp friars used rosary tracts to communicate with other monasteries in the province of Lower Germany as well as the laity whose rosary brotherhoods were thriving in Dominican churches across the Spanish Empire.

The “15 Mysteries” document exists in two versions, the first dated 1651 on the verso and the second 1671. Both are nineteenth-century copies.¹² Owing to its greater detail the second version is translated above. On the recto artists, donors and prices are listed alongside

⁹ For the most recent attempt see Vergara and Lammertse, *Young Van Dyck*, 138-148, cat. nos. 17-20. See also Claire Baisier (ed.), *Antoon Van Dyck Anders Bekijken. Over 'registers en contrefeytsels, tronies en copyen' in Antwerpse Kerken en Kloosters* (Antwerp: Toerismepastoraal, 1999): 63-66.

¹⁰ Hout, “Rozenkransreeks”, 472-475; Raymond Sirjacobs, *Antwerpen Sint-Pauluskerk: Historische Gids* (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2001): 24-25.

¹¹ See Ambrosius Bogaerts, *Repertorium der Dominikanen in de Nederlanden* (Leuven: Dominikaans Archief, 1981): I.68-71, cat. no. 207; I.96-99, cat. no. 246.

¹² Robbroeckx, “De Vijftien Rozenkransschilderijen”, 8. My thanks to Jos van den Nieuwenhuizen for confirming this.

each Mystery while the verso narrates the acquisition of Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* by 'diverse art-lovers' and 'diverse others' (see Part 2). The "15 Mysteries" text has little in common with this jubilant epigram and is not by the same author. Rather the document was drawn up after the cycle's completion c. 1617 and was subsequently combined with the verso text by a modern copyist. Both versions of the recto text are partially corrupted. Mystery number four 'The purification' is otherwise left blank. Painted by De Vos the donor was in fact Prior Boucquet the *Mysteries* cycle's instigator whose portrait features in the panel (see Chapter 2). The artist Wolffort is not mentioned. The *Assumption* is misattributed to 'Aertsen' the name "Aert" being a variation of Wolffort's Christian name as Vlieghe argues; meanwhile the *Ascension* is misattributed to Vinckenborch despite having clear stylistic affinities with the *Assumption* and other works by Wolffort.¹³ In 1626 the painter Andries Andriessen confirmed that only the *Resurrection* and the *Coronation of the Virgin* were painted by Vinckenborch.¹⁴ Otherwise the document is presumably faithful to the original text. It indicates that the cycle was sponsored by the Antwerp rosary brotherhood; owing to the fragmentary nature of their records the motives behind its commission have to be surmised.¹⁵

As discussed in the Introduction, the Order acted as custodians of lay property in order to furnish the *ecclesia laicorum* with artworks without having to pay for them. None of the paintings appear in the inventory of 1786 the year Emperor Joseph II abolished all confraternities in his dominions and forced them to surrender their property.¹⁶ To retain as much as possible the brotherhoods 'escaped by legal maneuver, claiming that what they

¹³ Vlieghe, "Artus Wolffort", 110, 124.

¹⁴ 'Item noch eenen *Verryssenisse Ons Heeren* ende een ander van Crooninge van *Onse-Lieve-Vrouwe*, beyde staende binnen den Goidtshuyse van de Predickheeren alhier in Onser-Liever-Vrouwenchoor aldaer'. Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie van België, 1984-2009): II.94, no. 344.

¹⁵ Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Ledenboek van de Broederschap van de Rozenkrans, 1688-1771 (PR 9).

¹⁶ FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Inventarissen der Vernietigde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen (KK 1980): 73-77.

owned actually belonged to the church or chapel'.¹⁷ While property of the rosary brotherhood the cycle was instigated by its custodians the Order who wanted a bespoke preaching tool. The installation of the *Mysteries* cycle along the north aisle is liturgically significant. Directly below are rows of confessionals where monastery friars administered the sacrament of penance to the laity. While other monastic houses had "privatisation" as a source of income as Bert Timmermans outlines the Sint-Pauluskerk made few architectural concessions to family and guild chapels (see Section 1).¹⁸ By contrast the Order exerted firm control over the *ecclesia laicorum* and invigilated the rosary brotherhood through the office of prefect. While private property the highly site-specific nature of the cycle made it a gift from the brotherhood to the monastery in all but name.

How did the north aisle look in Rubens' day? A key source is Pieter Neefs I's interior view in which the *Mysteries* cycle takes pride of place (ill. 1.16, detail). No other artworks are afforded such prominence or legibility suggesting that they were the Dominican Church's main draw.¹⁹ The interior view highlights significant changes in furnishings since 1636. The *Mysteries*' frames are markedly more elaborate and heraldic blazons can be seen within the vaulting. By contrast the confessionals are much plainer than their replacement built in 1658. Those depicted by Neefs I were sold to Sint-Pieterskerk, Turnhout which disposed of them in 1740.²⁰ The pulpit is pictured facing the north aisle. From there preachers

¹⁷ Jeffrey Muller, *St. Jacob's Antwerp: Art and Counter Reformation in Rubens's Parish Church* (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 418-419.

¹⁸ Bert Timmermans, "Mapping the Role of Commemorative Space in Processes of (Re)Territorialization. Elite Families and Spatialities of Enclosure in Counter-Reformation Antwerp". *Reformations and their Impact on the Culture of Memoria*, Truus van Bueren et al., eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016): 296-300.

¹⁹ For engravings after Van Dyck's *Carrying of the Cross* and Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* see Simon Turner and Carl DePauw, *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: Anthony Van Dyck* (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision, 2002): VII.50-59, cat. no. 522; Christiaan Schuckman and Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer (ed.), *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700. Volume 43: Lucas Vorsterman I* (Roosendaal: Koninklijke Van Poll, 1993): 53-54, cat. no. 47. See also Adam Sammut, "Caravaggio *cum privilegio*: Lucas Vorsterman and the *Madonna of the Rosary* in Antwerp's Dominican Church" (conference paper, Recasting Reproduction, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 18 November 2017).

²⁰ Claire Baisier, "De Documentaire Waarde van de Kerkinterieurs van de Antwerpse School in de Spaanse Tijd (1585-1713)" (PhD thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2008): 187-188; Jan van Damme, "Het Koorgestoelte van de Antwerpse Sint-Pauluskerk". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1048.

would have had direct recourse to the cycle as a visual reference for their sermons (see Section 3).

The Antwerp friar Vincent Hensbergh described the rosary prayer as a ‘spiritual offering honouring the worthiest Mother of God’.²¹ That being so the *Mysteries* cycle is interpreted here for its secular rather than devotional value. For one the paintings are installed high above eye level. Not only did this cause difficulties when saying one’s chaplet; rosary prayer derived much of its appeal from the tactile use of beads but here the paintings were strictly “look but don’t touch” and were set apart from the faithful in what resembles a gallery installation. While the placement of the *Mysteries* would have reminded the laity to say their chaplet after confession the monastery treated the cycle more like a prize possession than a devotional aid. High-status church art had a political role during the Eighty Years’ War as Jeffrey Muller demonstrates in relation to parish confraternities in the Sint-Jacobskerk.²² Physical reminders of conflict within the Dominican Church such as the demolished choir put the Order’s history in parallel with the life of Christ as depicted in the cycle, which in a highly charged political climate may have been read as an allegory for the times. Chapters 1 and 2 interpret the *Mysteries* cycle through the prism of Antwerp’s history, first the Calvinist Republic and second the Twelve Years’ Truce. While this chapter is more contextually-oriented Rubens’ role in coordinating the project is the subject of Chapter 2. If the past is never dead or not even past, it was a living reality in the minds of the Order. The *Mysteries* cycle was a supra-geographical construction which telescoped Lepanto and the Revolt within the same discourse. As a self-consciously paradigmatic example of the art of Truce-time Antwerp the cycle was also a cipher for the prosperity which peace could bring.

²¹ ‘Het Roosenkransken is eene gheestelijcke oeffeninghe / in de welcke de alderweerdichste Moeder Godts ghe-eert wort met hondert ende vijftich Ave Maria / ende vijfthien Pater nosters’. Vincent Hensbergh, *Den gheestelycken Rooselaer der alderweerdichste Moeder Gods* (Antwerp: 1632): 3. For more on rosary devotion see Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997): 111-116; Abigail Brundin et al., *The Sacred Home in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018): 97-100.

²² Muller, *St. Jacob’s Antwerp*, 477-487.

The paintings were tailored to address three audiences or users, the Order, the rosary brotherhood and the wider laity who each had a share in the cycle's site-specific meaning.

* * *

This chapter examines the *Mysteries* cycle from the standpoint of place (*lieu*) and society (*milieu*) as created by the Order. These concepts were first advanced by Pierre Nora in *Realms of Memory* (1981-1992) a collection of essays about the cultural history of France through her sites and symbols.²³ This is a touchstone of historical memory studies and the field has enjoyed exponential growth ever since.²⁴ Scholars have applied Nora's ideas to pre-modern contexts while also problematising his more teleological assertions (see Section 2).

The Dominican Church was a politically resonant site which the Order turned into the early modern equivalent of a *lieu de mémoire*. With reference to reminders of trauma elsewhere on the premises the *Mysteries* cycle embodied the tragic past of Antwerp's Catholic *milieux* of which the Order considered itself representative. Going forward the paintings' visual rhetoric narrated how the friars managed to make triumph out of disaster. Memorials are not an exclusively modern phenomenon. Victims of the siege of Haarlem in 1572 were commemorated in the Grote Kerk on the back of the *Last Supper* a Protestant "text painting" (ill. 1.17). Installed when Haarlem was firmly under the control of the States-General this monumental panegyric 'recalled the hardships endured' and gave thanks for the city's deliverance from 'Spanish violence' according to Mia Mochizuki. By roping together Christ's sacrifice and the suffering of Haarlemers within a pseudo-altarpiece the Grote Kerk helped strengthen Haarlem's Protestant identity which rested on a 'renewal of spiritual life

²³ See Pierre Nora, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History". *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past. Volume I: Conflicts and Divisions*, Pierre Nora, ed. and Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (New York City, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996): I.1.

²⁴ Hue-Tam Ho Tai, "Remembered Realms: Pierre Nora and French National Memory". *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (2001): 906. See also Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 1-7.

[and] a rebirth of civic life'.²⁵ In churches throughout the Low Countries the aura of sacred space helped realise their potency as *lieux* i.e. as nexuses of political and confessional partisanship. In the early modern period artworks played an active role in generating historical narratives and their associated memory cultures. While Nora's representational concept of a memorial assumes a passive spectatorship, early modern material symbols had the power to mobilise 'emotions and political actions' giving 'narratives about the past a historical presence that affected the course of future events' as Stefan Hanß argues.²⁶ Anchored in the *Mysteries* cycle the material culture of the *ecclesia laicorum* asserted the importance of the monastery to Antwerp's sacred topography. Victory at Lepanto and the city's *Reconquista* in 1585 were both attributed to Habsburg sea-captains and ultimately the Virgin; this gave the cult of the rosary and ergo the Sint-Pauluskerk a role in maintaining Antwerp's defences against Protestantism.

As Cicero wrote '*tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis*' or great is the memory that resides in places and nowhere more so than in churches.²⁷ In their hallowed premises marks of rupture such as shattered stained glass or grooves in stonework where soldiers' swords were sharpened were uniquely disturbing.²⁸ As such Antwerp's war-scarred topography belied any attempt at enforced amnesia. Moreover the clauses of *oubli du passé* included in Farnese's capitulation treaties which were supposed to 'take away the causes of mistrust and dissidence' lapsed during the Truce.²⁹ By selectively deploying traumatic memory the Calvinist Republic was made to look even worse than the Spanish Inquisition under the duke

²⁵ Mia M. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566-1672* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008): 189. See also Mia M. Mochizuki, "The Dutch Text Painting", *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 23, no. 1 (2007): 78-81.

²⁶ See Stefan Hanß, "Objects that Made History: A Material Microhistory of the Sant Crist de Lepant (Barcelona, 1571-2017)". *Forum Kritische Archäologie* 7 (2018): 37.

²⁷ See Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 295-296.

²⁸ Examples can be seen in Wells Cathedral and St Mary's Cathedral, Limerick. See Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War* (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2003): 181-182.

²⁹ Violet Soen, "Reconquista and Reconciliation in the Dutch Revolt: The Campaign of Governor-General Alexander Farnese (1578-1592)". *Journal of Early Modern History* 16 (2012): 10-11; Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017): 143-144.

of Alva.³⁰ For their part the Order exhumed memories of the Revolt to atone for Antwerp's rebellious past and enact *damnatio memoriae* upon Habsburg enemies.³¹ The monastery's wounds especially the missing choir were flaunted as the stigmata of righteous persecution. During the so-called "memory wars" of the Truce the friars used the paradigm of Lepanto to make rosary devotion a badge of loyalty to Spain as Jasper van der Steen notes.³² In response to anti-Spanish propaganda the Catholic south repeatedly equated Calvinism with Islam.³³ The rebel slogan '*Liever Turks dan Paaps!*' meaning better Turkish than papist was cited as evidence that the Dutch were in league with the Ottomans and were likewise bloodthirsty infidels.³⁴ To many Antwerpians a second Calvinist Republic was about as desirable as an Ottoman siege. Such moral equivalence found a receptive audience in the aftermath of *Reconquista* when Antwerp's ruined churches stood shorn of ornament.

This chapter investigates the Order's construction of a collective memory for the purpose of self-promotion just as their church was being rebuilt and furnished with new paintings by Rubens and his contemporaries. Section 1 looks at iconoclasm in the previous Dominican Church and the formation of "iconic memory" which could be triggered by the sight of the demolished choir, a concealed fresco or a shrine to a martyred friar. Section 2 proposes that the north aisle was conceived as a memorial to the Revolt which helped the Order build a congregation and thus new *milieux de mémoire*. The rosary brotherhood emerges as an "imagined community" with a distinctive memory culture shaped by the politicised rosary literature produced in-house. Section 3 interprets the north aisle as a mnemotechnical device based on the classical tradition of *ars memoriae*. While preachers

³⁰ Pollmann, *Memory*, 150.

³¹ For the example of Oliver Cromwell's posthumous execution see Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010): 534.

³² Jasper van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 87-88.

³³ Judith Pollmann, "'Brabanters do fairly resemble Spaniards after all': Memory, Propaganda and Identity in the Twelve Years' Truce". *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 224-225.

³⁴ See Lauren Beck, *Transforming the Enemy in Spanish Culture: The Conquest through the Lens of Textual and Visual Multiplicity* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2013): 173-179.

had recourse to the *Mysteries* during their sermons the panels by themselves told a vivid story of sacrilege and redemption by which means the Passion could be correlated with the fate of the Sint-Pauluskerk. Section 4 looks at the “glocalization” of the Lepanto paradigm along the north aisle and how a sea-battle in the Aegean was assimilated into Antwerp’s own story of Catholic triumph. By equating Calvinism with Islam the monastery was deterring Antwerpians from heresy and rebellion in advance of the Truce’s expiry in 1621. By celebrating victory for the Holy League the Order was broadcasting their supra-Catholic support for Rome during the global struggle for papal hegemony.

1: Iconoclasm and the Revolt

This monastery’s appearance had been ruined by the detestably foul madness of the heretics. They levelled the cloisters, which were truly exceptional, having been constructed from solid marble. They built a street through the middle of the monastery and divided the great refectory into prison cells. They razed the ancient church which [Albert the Great] once consecrated, they wasted and shattered the chapter house and the library built inside it. As such, with the Dominicans’ buildings in a state of utter hopelessness, the piles of rubble compelled the help of those despairing to raise a voice to God.

Hyacinthus Choquet, *In Fvnere Michaelis Ophovii Oratio*.³⁵

This section looks at the Dominican Church when it was a theatre of sacrilege in the years 1566-1585. As well as desecrating the premises the Calvinist Republic made a martyr out of the friar Antoninus Timmermans who had been embroiled in a conspiracy to assassinate William I “the Silent”, Prince of Orange. Enshrined in the cloisters Friar Timmermans’ relics

³⁵ ‘Primus in ordinem Praedicatorum cooptatus hic est OPHOVIVS, cum huius coenobii facies per haereticorum rabiem, foedissime lacerata esset: monasticum peristylum (claustrum vulgo dicunt) egregium sane, & e solido marmore constructum, solo aequarant, viam seu vicum per coenobii medium aperuerant, maximum coenaculum in varios carceres distinxerant: veteris templi, quod ter Magnus Albertus noster Ratisbonensis Episcopus olim sacrarat, odeum deiecerant: locum quem Capitulum appellant, & bibliothecam illi superstructam penitus spoliarant, perfregerantque: ut deploratissimae prorsus Praedicatorum res hic essent, & rudera ipsa vocem attollere ad Dei miserentis opem impellerent’. Hyacinthus Choquet, *In Fvnere Michaelis Ophovii ex Ordine Praedicvi. Silvae-Dvcensivm Episcopi Oratio* (Antwerp: 1638): 13. My thanks to Joshua Ravenhill at the University of York for his assistance.

gave the monastery a tangible connection with the events of the Revolt. The *Mysteries* cycle was framed by physical evidence of Protestant iniquity which would have triggered “iconic” memories of violence for clergy and congregation.³⁶ As Koenraad Jonckheere discusses absent artworks and other ‘open wounds of social unrest’ in Netherlandish churches made iconoclasm an enduring ‘mental marker’ after 1566.³⁷ During the Truce the Order harnessed this psychological power for political ends.³⁸ By the time of Ophovius’ funeral in 1638 the Dominican Church contained some of Antwerp’s most handsome paintings. Yet recalling the old monastery’s destruction still aroused Choquet’s wrath despite having only professed in 1591. As Judith Pollmann argues the past in early modernity was the ‘main frame of moral, political ... and social reference’ and was kept alive using a variety of mnemonic practices.³⁹ Reminders of the church’s desecration such as a whitewashed mural from the 1570s which could have been visible beneath the overpaint made the Calvinist Republic a living presence on the premises.

As visualised along the north aisle the sorrowful mysteries resonated particularly strongly with the Order. Sandwiched in between scenes of joy and glory the cycle’s dramatic and artistic focus is the Passion. The tortured Corpus Christi was emblematic of the monastery’s own fate in the hands of unbelievers.⁴⁰ In contrast with the joyous scenes that came before such as Van Balen’s *Annunciation* which depicts the Holy Spirit appearing in a radiant cloudburst to perform the Immaculate Conception with the help of fluttering putti,

³⁶ See also David Freedberg, “Memory in Art: History and the Neuroscience of Response”. *The Memory Process: Neuroscientific and Humanistic Perspectives*, Suzanne Nalbantian et al., eds. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011): 337-358.

³⁷ Koenraad Jonckheere, “The Power of Iconic Memory: Iconoclasm as a Mental Marker”. *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 131, no. 1 (2016): 150.

³⁸ Erika Kuijpers and Judith Pollmann, “Turning Sacrilege into Victory: Catholic Memories of the Calvinist Iconoclasm in the Low Countries, 1566-1700”. *Rhythms of Revolt: European Traditions and Memories of Social Conflict in Oral Culture*, Éva Guilloré et al., eds. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018): 151-170.

³⁹ Pollmann, *Memory*, 1.

⁴⁰ See John R. Decker and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives (eds.), *Death, Torture and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300-1650* (London: Routledge, 2015); Andrew Louth, “The Body in Western Catholic Christianity”. *Religion and the Body*, Sarah Coakley, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 121-127; Freedberg, “Memory in Art”, 343-345.

the *Agony in the Garden* shows Jesus accepting the cup of suffering in the dead of night. The *Flagellation* meanwhile has Christ whipped and scourged by henchmen, his bare back lashed with vivid streaks of wet-on-wet red paint which also spatters his loincloth.⁴¹ De Bruyn's *Crowning with Thorns* shows the Corpus Christi being defiled by heathens two of whom prod his downcast face while sticking out their tongues. Van Dyck's *Carrying of the Cross* is no less emotionally affective while Jordaens' *Crucifixion* frames the ultimate sacrifice with three sobbing women in brooding darkness (see Section 2). In the context of the Sint-Pauluskerk the cycle could have been insinuating that the Calvinist Republic had re-enacted Christ's Passion with comparable brutality on Antwerp's monastic orders. The Order were coming to terms with tragedy exactly when their monastery was being rebuilt. What shaped their political agenda were memories of atrocities against Catholic clergy who had lived 'in constant fear' of marauding rebels.⁴²

The impact of the 1566 iconoclasm on Antwerp's monastic houses was recorded by Gerard Brandt. Massed hordes descended upon them like invading barbarians 'where they not only mishandled stocks and stones, but living creatures too, among whom the Franciscans fared the worst ... Some of the images were kicked up and down; others they thrust through with swords or chopped off their heads with axes; they put others in armour, and then tilted against them with spears out of wantonness'.⁴³ Iconoclasts were fuelled by more than excess drink.⁴⁴ Calvinists called Dominicans 'persecutors, who like cannibals devour human flesh' because of their reputation as inquisitors.⁴⁵ *Ecce Homo* by Gillis Mostaert dated 1578 substitutes mendicants for Jews at Christ's trial who are shown baying

⁴¹ Hout, "Rozenkransreeks", 455.

⁴² Erika Kuijpers, "Fear, Indignation, Grief and Relief: Emotional Narratives in War Chronicles from the Netherlands (1568-1648)". *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of Apocalypse, 1400-1700*, Jennifer Spinks and Charles Zika, eds. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016): 97.

⁴³ Alastair Duke et al. (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1610: A Collection of Documents* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992): 151.

⁴⁴ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008): 90-124; Duke et al., *Calvinism in Europe*, 151.

⁴⁵ Arnade, *Beggars*, 161.

for his blood outside Antwerp City Hall (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp) (ill. 1.18).⁴⁶ The attacks on the Sint-Pauluskerk during the sixteenth century may have been acts of political vengeance. The sack of the Dominican monastery in Ghent (Het Pand) is partially representative of what happened in Antwerp.⁴⁷ From raided cells pages were torn out of books and thrown into the canal so thick and fast the scene resembled a blizzard.⁴⁸ Household items were smashed while ‘new ... outstanding and most artful’ stained glass was shattered.⁴⁹ As for the church the ruination was ‘unspeakable’ and ‘all that could be broken’ was dashed in pieces leaving it a ‘confusing heap of rage and crime’.⁵⁰ In 1568 the restoration of ‘sacked and despoiled churches and monasteries’ was ordered so that ‘divine services ... could be celebrated with decency and reverence’.⁵¹ On 16 February 1572 the Bishop of Haarlem-in-exile Godefridus van Mierlo dedicated altars in the Sint-Pauluskerk to the Virgin Mary, saints Eligius and Anthony, the Eucharist and the True

⁴⁶ Koenraad Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm: Experiments in Decorum, 1566-1585* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2012): 57.

⁴⁷ Marcus van Vaernewyck, *Van die Beroerlicke Tijden in die Nederlanden en Voornamelick in Ghendt 1566-1568* (Ghent: Ferdinand Vanderhaeghen, 1873): II.113-121; Walter Simons, “Het Dominicanenklooster te Gent: 1228-1796”. *Het Pand: Acht Eeuwen Geschiedenis van het Oud Dominicanenklooster te Gent*, Guido Bral, ed. (Tielt: Lannoo, 1991): 53-54. Iconoclasm in Ghent ‘took on punchier, more direct political tones’ than its Antwerp equivalent. Arnade, *Beggars*, 148-163.

⁴⁸ ‘...achter in die Leije was uit die cellen zoo veel pampiers (dat uit die boucken gheschuert was) uitgheworpen, dat scheen dat zeer groote sneevlocken van boven af int water vielen, ... welcke sneevlocken waren (zoo dhijstorie zecht) groot als schaepsvachten’. Vaernewyck, *Beroerlicke Tijden*, II.113-114.

⁴⁹ ‘...ende braken die steenen potkins, kannekins, gjolien, glasen, stoelen, schabbelen, schapprijkins: twart al in sticken ghesmeten ... Daer en bleef nieuwers een glaesveinster gheheel. Hier ghijnck die zeer uitnemende ende constighe ghelaesveinster te ruijne, die inden eenen pant stont, wesende dhijstorie vande drij coninghen’. Vaernewyck, *Beroerlicke Tijden*, II.114.

⁵⁰ ‘De keercke wart zoo ghehandtiert dattet onsprekelic ware. Niet en bleeffer gheheel, twart al in sticken ghecloven, ghestoelte, siegen, docsael, afsluutsel ... Ander waren zoo butertieren, dat zij steenen colonnen van veinsteren, metcassijnen ende glasen, poochden uit te smijten; want men bract al dat breken conde’. Vaernewyck, *Beroerlicke Tijden*, II.114-115; David de Boer, “Picking up the Pieces: Catholic Material Culture and Iconoclasm in the Low Countries”. *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 131, no. 1 (2016): 60.

⁵¹ Cited in Andrew Spicer, “After Iconoclasm: Reconciliation and Resacralization in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1566-85”. *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 418.

Cross.⁵² The St Eligius altar belonged to the silversmiths' guild.⁵³ As Andrew Spicer explains only the 'spilling of bodily fluids' or the 'interment of an infidel or a pagan' required full reconciliation by canon law but as far as the laity were concerned their places of worship had been profaned.⁵⁴ Assaults on church property were tantamount to spilling blood and among the relics in El Escorial is a host which apparently bled when Netherlandish iconoclasts stepped on it.⁵⁵ Moreover, rites of purification had major symbolic capital for ecclesiastical authorities to perform.⁵⁶

The Sint-Pauluskerk's pre-Rubensian decoration was a profusion of riches. According to the records of the silversmiths' guild their chapel was stuffed with heraldry and textiles.⁵⁷ In 1567 they repaired masonry and furnishings, repainted statues and replaced two silver candlesticks. The altarpiece meanwhile acquired two new wings by Maerten de Vos.⁵⁸ At once mercantile warehouse and perpetual trade fair during Antwerp's commercial zenith hence the candlesticks, the Sint-Pauluskerk's proliferation of ornament almost invited plunder. Before the Order's exile in 1579 a painting was commissioned on the west wall (ill.

⁵² '...una cum altaribus quinque, primum videlicet in honorem Beate Virginis, cum reliquiis Beate Barbare et Sancte Elizabeth, vidue, impositis, secundum vero in honorem Sancti Eligii, cum reliquiis divi Thimothei, martyris, tertium in honorem Sancti Antonii, cum reliquiis eiusdem et Sancti Blasii, martyris, quartum in honorem Venerabilis Sacramenti corporis et sanguinis Christi, cum reliquiis Beati Cornelii, martyris, quintum in honorem Sancte Crucis, cum reliquiis Sancti Quintini, martyris'. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Loose Documents, 1243-1773 (PR A.1/5). Published in Jos van den Nieuwenhuizen, "Oorkonden van de Antwerpse Predikheren (1243-1639)". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1508-1510, no. 43.

⁵³ Floris Prims, "De Familie de Rasiers en ons Zilversmedenambacht". *Antwerpiensa: Losse Bijdragen tot de Antwerpse Geschiedenis* 3 (1929): 126.

⁵⁴ Spicer, "After Iconoclasm", 421-422.

⁵⁵ Boer, "Picking up the Pieces", 62-63.

⁵⁶ Spicer, "After Iconoclasm", 423; Boer, "Picking up the Pieces", 75.

⁵⁷ Prims, "Zilversmedenambacht", 125.

⁵⁸ 'Item betaelt te Prekeren aan zekere aerbeyders ende metsers die den outaer repareren ende die den steen op den outaer leyden ... zekere reparatie aan lynwaet ende canefas ... aan den schilder die de dry beelden gestoffeert heeft ... voor twee candelers diendende totten outaer ... Item doen maken twee deuren totten outaer van St-Eloy, soo aan bert ende arbeyt ende leën, costen tsamen 10 s. 11 d./ Item betaelt aan Merten de Vos voer de deuren te scilderen ende te stofferen, costen 1 l. 1 s. 4 d.'. Prims, "Zilversmedenambacht", 126. See also Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen, "Rebuilding Reality: Three Guild Altarpieces by Marten de Vos for Post-Iconoclasm Antwerp" (PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1999); Prims, "Zilversmedenambacht", 126; Floris Prims, *De Groote Cultuurstrijd* (Antwerp: N.V. Standaard, 1943): II.32-34.

1.19).⁵⁹ Symbolically depicting the Eucharist within a Renaissance tabernacle this man of sorrows is copied from Albrecht Dürer's *Engraved Passion* series (British Museum, London) (ill. 1.20).⁶⁰ Dürer brought the series with him when visiting Antwerp in the 1520s.⁶¹ The appropriation of his work half a century later was perhaps meant to evoke the city's former glory.⁶² If iconoclasm in Antwerp was Calvinism's *acte de présence* as Guido Marnef argues the appearance of this image on the west wall represented heresy's interim suppression.⁶³ Whitewashed during the Calvinist Republic the mural may still have been visible in the seventeenth century through the paint layer.

Protestantism was practiced openly in Antwerp after the Pacification of Ghent. In 1578 the Dutch minister Thomas Tilius relished how the '[Protestant] Lord's Supper was celebrated at St Andrew's and the Dominicans' Church. The total number of communicants was 1,240'.⁶⁴ The city's former sacred topography was gradually erased as Calvinists and Lutherans were granted an 'increasing number of church buildings'.⁶⁵ The Sint-Pauluskerk came under Reformed control with the "eternal" religious peace (12 June 1579).⁶⁶ In 1581 the city council enacted a "silent iconoclasm" during which Catholic paraphernalia was

⁵⁹ Martin Bailey, "Dürer in Antwerp". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1529; Christine Bertrand et al., *Antwerpen – St.-Pauluskerk. Restauratie van het Interieur: Conservatie en Restauratie van Muurschilderingen op de Westwand* (Antwerp: VandenBorre-Lauwers BVBA, 1999): 3.

⁶⁰ Bertrand et al., *Muurschilderingen*, 32.

⁶¹ Albrecht Dürer et al., *Dürer's Record of Journeys to Venice and the Low Countries* (New York City, NY: Dover Publications, 1995): *passim*.

⁶² See Andrea Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer: The Appropriation of Art, 1528-1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Dagmar Eichberger, "Dürer and the Netherlands: Patterns of Exchange and Mutual Admiration". *The Essential Dürer*, Larry Silver and Jeffrey Chipps Smith, eds. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010): 152-154.

⁶³ Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550-1577* (Baltimore, MA: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996): 89, 109-132.

⁶⁴ Cited in Guido Marnef, "The Changing Face of Calvinism in Antwerp, 1550-1585". *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, Andrew Pettegree et al., eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 156.

⁶⁵ Guido Marnef, "The Process of Political Change under the Calvinist Republic in Antwerp (1577-1585)". *Des Villes en Révolte: Les "Républiques Urbaines" aux Pays-Bas et en France pendant la Deuxième Moitié du XVI^e Siècle*, Monique Weis, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010): 28.

⁶⁶ Guido Marnef, "The Dynamics of Reformed Religious Militancy: The Netherlands, 1566-1585".

Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585, Philip Benedict et al., eds. (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999): 66.

either sold off or destroyed; that year the Order's entire inventory was requisitioned.⁶⁷ Before its demolition the church choir was sealed off by a "Sea-Beggar wall" which remained in place until the 1630s (see Chapter 5).⁶⁸ By levelling the spatial hierarchy and wiping the decorative slate clean, the interior space of the Dominican Church was radically reconceived in ways that the returning Order did not entirely abandon.

However violently Protestants treated Catholic property this rarely escalated into physical assaults on the clergy.⁶⁹ Iconoclasm was nevertheless an attack on the body politic during which symbols of authority such as tombs of Flemish counts were targeted.⁷⁰ For many it was tantamount to violence on the living as Alastair Duke makes clear. Popular devotion rested on images harbouring the "real presence" of their prototypes in pseudo-Eucharistic fashion; likewise Calvinists were 'in fact deeply conscious that images and sacraments possessed powers'.⁷¹ Iconoclasm was anticlerical violence in surrogate form. In Ghent for example image-breaking was claimed to have been 'vengeance ... because the clergy have inflicted far more damage and injury on us' through the Inquisition.⁷² The equation of iconoclasm with dismemberment found literal expression in the fate of Friar Timmermans.⁷³ In 1580 Philip II outlawed William the Silent as a 'plague of Christendom' offering a bounty of 25,000 crowns.⁷⁴ In 1582 an impoverished Spanish merchant Gaspar de Añastro ordered his Basque servant Jean Jaureguy to assassinate the Dutch leader but his

⁶⁷ "...dat de altaren, beelden, ornamenten en meubelen, nog wezende in de kerken van die van de Roomsche religie, met al hetgeen daarvan is dependerende, zouden worden afgedaan, gedemolieerd, verkocht en gebeneficieerd, om de penningen daaraf geëmployeerd te worden tot onderstand van de armen en anderszins". Prims, *Groote Cultuurstrijd*, II.32-34. See also Floris Prims, "De Beeldenstormerij van 1581". *Antwerpiensa: Losse Bijdragen tot de Antwerpse Geschiedenis* 13 (1939): 183-189.

⁶⁸ Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 18-19. For more on *guese mueren* see Jeffrey Muller, *St. Jacob's Antwerp: Art and Counter Reformation in Rubens's Parish Church* (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 13.

⁶⁹ Alastair Duke et al., *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009): 185.

⁷⁰ Boer, "Picking up the Pieces", 77-78; Arnade, *Beggars*, 113-120.

⁷¹ Duke, *Dissident Identities*, 189-190.

⁷² Cited in Duke, *Dissident Identities*, 185.

⁷³ Prims, *De Groote Cultuurstrijd*, I.189.

⁷⁴ Koenraad Swart et al., *William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1572-84* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003): 186-188.

pistol misfired and the bullet passed through Orange's cheek.⁷⁵ In Hogenberg's print the would-be assassin is felled by bodyguards (ill. 1.21). This incident made European headlines because it left Orange at death's door.⁷⁶ According to a Protestant pamphlet of 1616 Timmermans was tried and convicted as a 'traitor, accomplice and co-conspirator of so abominable a murderer'.⁷⁷ The friar acted as Jaureguy's confessor and supposedly absolved him of revolutionary intent. Innocent or not Timmermans' widely-reported trial granted the Antwerp monastery a role in the Catholic resistance.⁷⁸ According to the same pamphlet this 'Jacobin Monk' absolved the assassin 'very willingly, since [Jaureguy] undertook this to honour God, and by a zeal to promote the Catholic Faith. See how this villainous Priest supported the assassin in his mischief, and thereby administered the Eucharist unto him'.⁷⁹ Timmermans' death was excellent publicity for the Order. The scene of his martyrdom which illustrates the pamphlet shows another of Añastro's servants being butchered (ill. 1.22). To ward off any further Habsburg conspirators who fancied their chances their body parts were displayed at the city gates.⁸⁰

Timmermans' relics were recovered after *Reconquista*.⁸¹ The monastery commemorated his death with epitaphs and a shrine in the cloisters.⁸² Choquet devoted a

⁷⁵ Swart, *William of Orange*, 222; Lisa Jardine. *The Awful End of Prince William the Silent: The First Assassination of a Head of State with a Handgun* (London: HarperCollins, 2005): 64-65.

⁷⁶ Swart, *William of Orange*, 222-223.

⁷⁷ '...il fut condamné, comme traître, complice & coadjuteur d'un tant abominable meurtrier'. Guillaume Baudart, *Les Guerres de Nassau* (Amsterdam, 1616): 398.

⁷⁸ For Friar Timmermans' supposed innocence see Léon-Marie Lotar, *Le Cas du P. Antoine Temmerman. Mémoire sur l'Affaire Jauregui. Anvers, Mars 1582* (Brussels: Édition Universelle, 1937); Albert de Meyer, *Le Procès de l'Attentat commis contre Guillaume le Taciturne, Prince d'Orange, 18 mars 1582* (Brussels: Édition Universelle, 1933).

⁷⁹ 'Mais il descouvert au paravant cette sienne si meschante entreprise à un Moine Jacobin d'Anvers, qui avoit nom Antoine Charpentier. Cestui-cy l'absoult tresvolontiers, puis qu'il entreprenoit ceci à l'honneur de Dieu, & par un zèle de promouvoir la Religion Catholique. Voire ce meschant Prestre conferma l'assassin en sa malice, & luy administra sur ceci le Sacrement de l'Autel'. Baudart, *Nassau*, 391.

⁸⁰ '...à estre pendu & etranglé, & puis apres mis en quatre pieces, lesquelles avec la teste seroient attachées à des pieux, dressez devant les portes de la ville'. Baudart, *Nassau*, 398-400.

⁸¹ Jardine, *Awful End*, 71-72.

⁸² 'R. P. F. ANTONINO TIMMERMANNO, alias FABRO, Duynkerckano, Dominicano Antuerpiensi, qui alii Religiosis expulsis, Catholicorum in summa aede cum summa laude Ecclesiastes singularis fuit: hic dum Confessionem Sacramentalem reuelare nollet (ô egregiam constantiam!) quaestionibus tortus, ac demum strangulatus, publiceque in foro dissecatus, martyrii coronam obtinuit, anno Christianae salutis [MDC]LXXXII. v. kal. April ... Ancipiit praebebas dum membra necanda securi, Noxia in innocuo corpore

chapter of *Sancti Belgi Ordinis Prædicatorum* (1618) to the red-haired priest. Timmermans' innocence was attested by his body's incorruptibility; concerning the friar's holy head 'No eye was plucked out by an encircling raven, nor did the sun's intensity, rain and wind ... peel off the skin, neither did worms consume the brain'.⁸³ Judged to have been preserved by divine grace his relics were illustrated in Bernardo de Jonghe's *Belgium Dominicanum* (1715) by which time the head had been given its own 'monument'; before they were stolen in the 1970s Timmermans' relics were photographed (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent) (ills. 1.23-24).⁸⁴ As 'everyone is able to observe' in the cloister according to Choquet the shrine issued a gruesome warning: allow heresy back into Antwerp and lives would be lost.⁸⁵ Just as the relics of St Frederick acquired in the Middle Ages became relics of iconoclasm in Utrecht so Timmermans' limbs became relics of the Calvinist Republic.⁸⁶ His shrine and the damaged church fabric correlated with Christ's broken body as depicted in the cycle's sorrowful mysteries especially the *Flagellation* where his naked flesh is viscerally smote by

flagra luens:/ Tartareo infestus populo ANTONINVS, alumnus/ Ordinio, excelsi qui documenta ionat;/ Non hominum fregere illum tormenta malorum/ In terris, caeli dum fuit astra pius./ Nullae illum paenae conturbauere cruentae./ Vitae dum torter lumina morte fugat./ Sola Fides, solus feruor Pietatis & aequi./ Tanta mouent fortem tormina ferre virum:/ In tetro Antuerpae dum carcere clauditur urbis,/ Mille alacer praebens membra necanda modis./ Elegit peccata rei confessa silere,/ Regis & aetherei non violare fidem,/ Mortifero dum te petit ictu fortis Iberus/ Auriace, in vanum te retrahente caput./ Nunc gaudet faelix rutilo ANTONINVS olympos,/ Suscipiens meritis digna trophya suis'. Franciscus Sweertius, *Monumenta Sepulcralia et Inscriptiones Pvblicæ Privatæque Dvcatvs Brabantiae* (Antwerp: 1613): 155-156; Meyer, *Guillaume le Taciturne*, 73.

⁸³ '...in claustro coenobii Antuerpiensis sacrum Venerabilis Antonini caput, diu quidem alto stipti ad infamiam ab haereticis infixum; sed cui nec circumuolitantes corui oculos eruerint, nec solis ardor, pluiae venti, grandines; ullave caeli inclemencia pellel detraxerit, nec vermes cerebrum exederint; sed quod, carne, pelle, cerebro, oculisque exsiccatis dumtaxat saepius circumdederit nocturna lux, insederintque; innocentiae testes columbae, ut mihi qui viderunt plures testati sunt'. Hyacinthus Choquet, *Sancti Belgi Ordinis Prædicatorum* (Douai: 1618): 121.

⁸⁴ 'Die 23 Augusti ab incarnato Dei verbo 1715 ... venerabilis P. Antonini caput ego, licet indignus, manibus attrectavi, exactissime examinavi, & non sine magna admiratione inveni sequentia, hic merito annotanda ... Asservatur Caput hoc in pariete Claustri, in monumenta marmoreo, clauso porta lignea sculpta, & deaurata ... Brachii ... attamen non eodem loco cum capite, sed in Sacristia asservatur'. Bernardo de Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum sive Historia Provinciæ Germaniæ Inferioris Sacri Ordinis FF. Prædicatorum* (Brussels: 1719): 221-222. In the nineteenth century the relics were transferred to a plainer oak casket. Sirjacobs and Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris", 1762, inv. no. A160. See also Raymond Sirjacobs, "De Zaak Temmerman (Antwerpen 1582)". *Sint-Pauluskrantje* 23, no. 8 (December 2013): unpaginated.

⁸⁵ 'Vidi ego manibusque attrectaui, & nunc quoque ab omnibus conspici potest'. Choquet, *Sancti Belgi*, 121.

⁸⁶ Boer, "Picking up the Pieces", 65.

brutish muscle-men. Such parities of violence were a defining trope of the Dominican Church as a *lieu de mémoire*.

2: *Lieux and milieux de mémoire*

Memory situates remembrance in a sacred context ... The less memory is experienced from within, the greater its need for external props and tangible reminders of that which no longer exists except *qua* memory.

Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History”.⁸⁷

The *ecclesia laicorum* was a generator of cultural memory stoked by *lieux* (realms) and *milieux* (societies) *de mémoire* in tandem. This section explains how the Order used rosary devotion to politicise memory. Today cultural memory studies is a flourishing academic sub-industry.⁸⁸ Pollmann in particular has applied its methodology to the Revolt to put the formation of a southern, Habsburg, Catholic identity into interdisciplinary perspective.⁸⁹ Within the Dominican Church the *lieu* of the north aisle and its corresponding *milieu* the rosary brotherhood turned cultural memory into a concrete frame of reference. Material traces of the Revolt have since been built out of the Sint-Pauluskerk. During the Truce however iconoclasm was physically just beneath the surface. The shambolic state of the church and the rawness of the Revolt in living memory gave the north aisle the power to incite anger.⁹⁰ As the wounds began to heal an increasing number of what Nora calls ‘external props and tangible reminders’ were installed to keep the narrative alive through the decades. A comparable dynamic between personal and historical memory is at play in Robert Rauschenberg’s *Erased de Kooning Drawing* of 1953 (San Francisco Museum of Modern

⁸⁷ Nora, “Memory and History”, I.8.

⁸⁸ For a recent summary see Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010).

⁸⁹ See for example Pollmann, *Memory*; Steen, *Memory Wars*; Raingard Esser, *The Politics of Memory: The Writing of Partition in the Seventeenth-Century Low Countries* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

⁹⁰ For a possible comparison see Leo Mellor, *Reading the Ruins: Modernism, Bombsites and British Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Art) (ill. 1.25). Rauschenberg requested a drawing from Willem de Kooning to rub out and did so iconoclastically but meticulously.⁹¹ The resultant sheet is a perplexing matrix of erased pencil marks. While the original drawing existed only in a few people's minds the contemporaneous inscription by Jasper Johns makes its absence present as does the traditional frame identifying the unassuming piece of paper as an artwork; without these taxonomic signposts the naked eye struggles to compute the smudged and erased lines. Likewise the Dominican Church's iconoclastic transformation into a Protestant temple obliterated much of its sixteenth-century appearance which continued to exist in the minds of the Order. The *Mysteries* cycle and other signposts helped bridge the cognitive gap reminding later generations of lay *milieux* that the Revolt happened within these walls.

Cultural memory practices have changed dramatically since the seventeenth century. For modernists like Nora the French Revolution was a paradigm shift before which memory was a 'real part of everyday experience' rooted in 'space, gesture, image, and object'. The culture of *milieux* gave way to *lieux* when the nation-state replaced parochial loyalties with *la Patrie* at which point commemoration became the job of the professional historian.⁹² This is something of an over-simplification.⁹³ For early modernists the French Revolution was not unique but one of a series of crises that gradually transformed cultural memory.⁹⁴ The Revolt is a case in point.⁹⁵ The Antwerp Dominicans suffered a transformative memory crisis in the sixteenth century. With the material culture of sacred space under attack manuscripts

⁹¹ Hal Foster, “‘Made out of the real world’: Lessons from the Fulton Street Studio”. *Robert Rauschenberg*, Leah Dickerman and Achim Borchardt-Hume, eds. (London: Tate, 2016): 89-117.

⁹² Nora, “Memory and History”, 1-14. For wider trends in this vein see Brecht Desure and Judith Pollmann, “The Experience of Rupture and the History of Memory”. *Memory Before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, Erika Kuijpers et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 315-318.

⁹³ Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, “Introduction. On the Early Modernity of Modern Memory”. *Memory before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, Erika Kuijpers et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 1-2; Desure and Pollmann, “Experience of Rupture”, 317-318.

⁹⁴ Desure and Pollmann, “Experience of Rupture”, 328-329.

⁹⁵ For the Dutch answer to Nora's *Lieux de Mémoire* see Herman Pleij and Wim Blockmans (eds.), *Plaatsen van Herinnering, I: Nederland van Prehistorie tot Beeldenstorm* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2007); Maarten Prak (ed.), *Plaatsen van Herinnering. II: Nederland in de Zeventiende en Achttiende Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006).

were also condemned to oblivion including the archives of the rosary brotherhood. In 1577 the monastery prior packed ‘all the best ornaments of the convent together with all its documents’ and sent them to Cologne in fear that political tensions would escalate.⁹⁶ At ‘s-Hertogenbosch ‘young marksmen’ got into their heads that papist paraphernalia was being smuggled to Don Juan of Austria the enemy of the Dutch people (see Section 4). The chests were never recovered.⁹⁷ Much more egregious was how the Revolt cost the Sint-Pauluskerk its lay *milieux*. Antwerp’s demographic nadir four years after *Reconquista* left many churches bereft of a congregation. As the population recovered the Order sought to build a new one through unique social incentives including the rosary brotherhood. In the seventeenth century rosary brotherhoods were a virtual Dominican monopoly. According to the Jesuit Henry Garnet, ‘The first Founder and beginner therof [sic] was the glorious light of Gods Church S. DOMINICK who about 400. yeeres ago … did also extend his charitable care and prouidence euen to all sortes of people, and … by the inspiration no doubt of the holye Ghost, and speciall reuelation of the same glorious Virgin, knit togither in one band of a mutuall Societie, all kind of devout Christians’.⁹⁸ Marian cults played a key role in Catholic identity formation through which local communities established personalised relationships with the Virgin.⁹⁹ In Antwerp the Order used the rosary to ‘knit togither’ a lay support base from the grassroots.

⁹⁶ ‘De Prior vande Conventen vande Predicaren ordre tot Antwerpen / hadden in Novembri 1577 alle de beste ornamenten vanden Convente met alle de selve brieven by den anderen ghepactt in twee Kofferen / ende de selve ghesonden op ‘s Hertogenbosch aenden Prior vanden Convente aldaer / ten eydne omme de selve Kofferen voorts te bestellen op Niemegen in de Predicaren Convente aldaer / van waer de selve voorts souden ghesonden worden in een schip tot Colen / om aldaer bewaert te werden’. Pieter Bor, *Gelegenthelyt van ‘s Hertogen-Bosch, Vierde Hooft-Stadt van Brabant* (The Hague: 1630): 39.

⁹⁷ ‘…zo was het selve te ooren ghecomen vande jonghe Schutters van ‘s Hertogenbosch/ de welcke aenghiedient was dat de selve Kofferen metter kerckelijcke ornamenten gesonden werden aan Don Jan/ om daer mede volck aen te nemen teghen dese landen/ waerom dese daer op hebben toegheleyt datse de voorsz. drie Kofferen uytten schepe ghehaelt hebben/ sustinerende de selve verbeurt te sijn’. Bor, *Gelegenthelyt*, 39-40.

⁹⁸ Henry Garnet, *The Societie of the Rosary: Newly Augmented* (London: 1596): 2.

⁹⁹ Pollmann, *Memory*, 96-102.

The rosary was the product of late medieval piety. The first brotherhood was founded in 1475 by the Cologne Dominican Jakob Sprenger who won imperial and papal recognition for the cult.¹⁰⁰ Brotherhoods were in principle “classless societies” being constitutionally egalitarian, mixed-sex and free to join. Long-distance membership afforded the ‘benefit of prayers, access to indulgences, and the receipt of printed images and literature’ to those outside the locality which as Christopher Black demonstrates explains the rosary’s extraordinary popularity.¹⁰¹ The cult acquired a new lease of life after Lepanto, victory in which was attributed to the rosary by the Dominican Pope Pius V. The battle’s anniversary on 7 October became Our Lady of the Rosary’s feast day.¹⁰² According to Nathan Mitchell Lepanto entrenched the links between ‘praying the rosary, enlisting the Virgin’s protection in perilous situations, and securing her assistance in the pursuit of the post-Tridentine church’s socio-political agendas’.¹⁰³ The Antwerp brotherhood promoted the rosary as the Order’s exclusive preserve. As stipulated in Jacob Buyens’ user manual (1605) only they could set up confraternities St Dominic having devised the ‘meditations and mysteries’ with guidance from the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁴ Buyens was here referring to the vision attributed to St Dominic by Alanus de Rupe in which the Virgin gave him a *psalterio* instructing her ‘most

¹⁰⁰ Henri Saffrey, “La Fondation de la Confrérie du Rosaire à Cologne en 1475: Histoire et Iconographie”. *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (2001): 143-164; Christopher Black, “Introduction: The Confraternity Context”. *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Christopher Black and Pamela Gravestock, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006): 10-11; Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 122.

¹⁰¹ Black, “The Confraternity Context”, 10-11.

¹⁰² “Institutio festivitatis sub invocatione Rosarii B. Mariae Virginis”. Francesco Gaude (ed.), *Bullarum Diplomaticum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum* (Turin: Sebastiano Franco and Enrico Dalmazzo, 1857-1872): VIII.44-45, no. 17.

¹⁰³ Nathan Mitchell, *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Reinvention of Catholicism* (New York City, NY: New York University Press, 2009): 22-23.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Also dat het H. Roosen-kransken ende dese broederschap het erf-goet is vande Predic-heeren oorden. Ende hieronen heeft Pius den vijfden / scherpe lijc vervode / dat dese broederschap niewers en mach sonder consent vande Predic-heren opgherecht worden. Want alist dat de vorigen sommige scher manieren ghehouden hebben van Mariam te groeten: nochtans so is het H. Roosen-kransken van dit getal me de nauolgende meditatien ende misterien aldereerst van onsen H. Vader S. Dominicus geuonden’. Jacob Buyens, *Den Costelijcken Schadt der Broederschap vant H. Roosen-Kransken vande alder eer weerdichste Moeder Godts inde Predic-heeren worden inghestelt* (Antwerp: 1605): 2-3; Bogaerts, *Repertorium*, I.49-51, no. 154.

blessed groom' to meditate on the beads with 'devotion, penitence and lamentation'.¹⁰⁵ According to Hensbergh the Virgin thereby invested St Dominic with the power to put 'over a hundred thousand heretics' on the path of righteousness.¹⁰⁶ While actually Carthusian in origin the myth of St Dominic receiving the rosary was accepted by seventeenth-century Catholics 'without question'.¹⁰⁷ *Se non è vero è ben trovato* because the Order succeeded in refashioning the rosary in their own image.¹⁰⁸ The fifteen mysteries were devised by Dominicans in Venice c. 1480 around which time the earliest picture rosaries were printed.¹⁰⁹ A miniature altarpiece associated with Goswijn van der Weyden uses the standard format of such woodcuts with the mysteries compartmentalised into three rows of five (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (ills. 1.26-27).¹¹⁰ Encircled by a rose garland and flanked by St Dominic is the Virgin of the Rosary below who in grander-scale altarpieces takes centre stage (see Chapter 2).

If the rosary cult was reinvented by the Order its brotherhoods were their "imagined communities". As Benedict Anderson related, 'Members of even the smallest [community] will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion ... Regardless of the actual inequality ...

¹⁰⁵ 'Et hos articulos, qui sunt numero centum et quinquaginta, beatissimus sponsus meus Dominicus die omni semel ad minus dicebat vocaliter, sed saepius eos mentaliter ruminabat summa cum devotione, poenitentia et lamentis. Itos autem per quindecim partes distinguas secundum ordinem alphabeti, ut eo facilius dici possint, et non confuse sicut tu antea solebas. Et hii sunt, o fili et dulcis spose – dicebat Virgo Maria – C et L articuli, tamquam praesenti divina amicitia fruetur cum gratiarum immensarum copia, et aeterna potetur gloria'. Cited in Thomas Esser, "Über die allmähliche Einführung der jetzt beim Rosenkranz üblichen Betrachtungspunkte". *Der Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* 30, no. 9 (1904): 284-285.

¹⁰⁶ '...hy op eenen kerten tijdt / ouer de hondert duysent / soo ketters als andere boose menschen / bekeert heeft tot beternisse huns Ieuens'. Vincent Hensbergh, *Wonderlijcke Schoone Gratien ende Mirakelen Bewesen van Godt almachtigh door de verdiensten van het heyligh Roosen-Kranksen sijnder alder-weerdigste Moeder ende altijdt Maghet Maria* (Antwerp: 1610): 4.

¹⁰⁷ Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 16-17, 72-73; Mitchell, *Mystery of the Rosary*, 24.

¹⁰⁸ Karl Joseph Klinkhammer, "Die Entstehung des Rosenkranzes und seine ursprüngliche Geistigkeit". *500 Jahre Rosenkranz. 1475 Köln 1975*, Hatto Küffner and Walter Schulzen, eds. (Cologne: Erzbischöfliches Diözesan-Museum, 1975): 41-44; Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 73-80.

¹⁰⁹ Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, 69-71, 75.

¹¹⁰ Maryan Ainsworth and Keith Christiansen (eds.), *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York City, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998): 347-349, cat. no. 91.

that may prevail in each, [communities are] always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship'.¹¹¹ This was certainly true for confraternities in which members hedged each other's salvation by praying for the souls of their dead. The Antwerp brotherhood could rally its living members around the story of their foundation. Established in 1571 and begun anew 'after the conquest of the city by the Prince of Parma' according to the brotherhood register the confreres pitted themselves against their common enemy, Calvinism.¹¹² 1585 was effectively year zero because of Antwerp's demographic crisis.¹¹³ Yet when Joannes Malderus the Bishop of Antwerp wrote his diocesan report in 1615 he praised the Order's 'piety and learning' and their 'great diligence' in strengthening the Catholic faith and converting heretics, adding 'in that wonderful church flourishes ... the [Soeten Naam] and the Rosary of the blessed Mary in which over 22,000 are enrolled'.¹¹⁴ The rosary brotherhood took the lion's share as Muller confirms.¹¹⁵ Regardless of how many were long-distance members over 10,000 is an astonishing figure in a population of 50,000.¹¹⁶ The brotherhood's rapid expansion was spurred by the rosary's cultic militarisation. Buyens opened his manual by casting the Order as the scourge of heresy and brought events home by recounting a miracle of 1578 the year of Antwerp's republican takeover.¹¹⁷ A citizen

¹¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006): 6-7.

¹¹² 'NAEMEN VANDE HEEREN CAPPELMEESTERS vant' Broederschap van den H. ROOSENKRANS, naert' overgaen der Stadt door den Prins van Parma Anno 1585'. *Ledenboek van de broederschap*, unpaginated.

¹¹³ For more on Antwerp's demographic crisis see Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, "Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries". *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis: 16th-17th Century*, Jan van der Stock, ed. (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993): 20-21.

¹¹⁴ 'Primus Praedicatorum, in quo multi viri insignes pietate et doctrina in convertendis haereticis et confirmandis ac iuvandis catholicis, tum instructionibus privatis, tum concionibus publicis et doctrina catechistica, magna diligentia et sollicitudine operam praestant. In eorum ecclesia mirifice floret societas sanctissimi Nominis Dei et Rosarii beatae Mariae cui ultra 22,000 sunt inscripti'. Joannes Malderus, "Rapport Adressé au Souverain Pontife, Paul V, sur l'État de son Diocèse, en 1615". *Analectes pour Servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, Pierre de Ram, ed. (Leuven: Peeters, 1864-1914): I.105-106.

¹¹⁵ Muller, *St. Jacob's Antwerp*, 264.

¹¹⁶ Wee and Materné, "Antwerp as a World Market", 21, fig. 2.

¹¹⁷ '...ende in wat manieren dat hy het Roosen kransken soude instellen ende vercondigen: so heeft hy dat seer neergelijc gedaen / voegede by zijn predicatien dese maniere van Godt ende Mariam te bidden: ende daer zijn veel broederschappen door de predic-heeren op verscheyden plaatzen opgerecht. Ende terstont heeft men geken onsurekelijcke boose menschen / hun quaet leven laten/ ende de ketterije is also gesmolten / dat

made a ‘pact with the devil’ (i.e. converted to Calvinism) but was saved from fire and brimstone through brotherhood membership.¹¹⁸ More so than arms the rosary functioned as a prophylactic against ‘devilish inspiration’.¹¹⁹

In the fifteen miracles invented for it the rosary was turned into spiritual chainmail. These miracles were compiled by Hensbergh in *Wonderlijcke Schoone Gratien ende Mirakelen* (1610) for which Theodoor Galle supplied illustrations; naturally the fifteenth miracle was Lepanto (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 1.28).¹²⁰ Two miracles had the rosary protecting Christian soldiers under siege. The sixth engraving shows a ‘pious captain’ fighting Albigensian heretics (ill. 1.29).¹²¹ Having put the rosary ‘on all his banners and coats of arms’ the Virgin intervenes and rains ‘flaming stones’ on a ‘great crowd of armed men’.¹²² The seventh engraving is captioned *The Shipwreck Survivor is Saved* and it accidentally splices this miracle together with the previous one (ill. 1.30).¹²³ A marooned man and a hostile army fight on the beaches and the castaway is saved at sword-point by rosary prayer while the queen of heaven launches another blitzkrieg on his adversaries.¹²⁴ Hensbergh’s miracles are emotionally affecting in word and image. The thirteenth captioned *A Girl’s*

door de predicatie van S. Dominicus / over de hondert duvsent ketters/ ende ander ontallijcke voose mensen vekeert zijn’. Buyens, *Den Costelijcken Schadt*, 1.

¹¹⁸ ‘Als ooc t’Antwerpen ontrent t’iaer 1578 een eenen persoone geschiet is / die door seker oorsaecken met den duvuel een verbont gemaectt hadde / dat selue ondertecknen de met hare evgen vloet / de welcke ingeschreven wesende namaels in dese broederschap / heeft tielf de contract wederom verere genbanden bvandt: bedwongen zijnde door de Moeder Godts / gelijc hy selve heeft moetien belijden’. Buyens, *Den Costelijcken Schadt*, 2.

¹¹⁹ ‘...van also haest als sy door onsen raedt / van ons in dese broederschap geschrevenis geweest / so is zy terstont van dese helsche tentatie ende openvaringhe verlost’. Buyens, *Den Costelijcken Schadt*, 2.

¹²⁰ Hensbergh, *Wonderlijcke Schoone Gratien*, 28; Theodoor Galle, *Miracyla et Beneficia SS. Rosario Virginis Matris Devotis A Deo Opt. Max. Collata* (Antwerp: 1610): 15.

¹²¹ *MILES AB HOSTIBVS CIRCVMCINCTVS PROTEGITVR.*

¹²² ‘Het welck hy volbraght hebbende / is naemaels gheworden eenen vromen Capiteyn ende voorvechter der Ghelouighen teghen de Albigoosen / ende stelde in alle sijne wapenen ende banieren het Roosen-kransken van Maria. Ende op eenen tijdt onder sijne vijanden gestelt zijnde / hebben sy ouer hen sien nederdaelen wt den hemel vierighe steenen / ende op een ander tijdt vierighe pijlen / ende oock een groote menichte van ghewaepende mannen / die hen over-vielen ende ter aerden sloeghen’. Hensbergh, *Wonderlijcke Schoone Gratien*, 14-15.

¹²³ *PATIENS NAVFRAGIVM LIBERATVR.*

¹²⁴ ‘Als hy ten Heylijgen lande reyde / heeft hy schip-brekinghe gheleden / ende niet vindende om sy-seluen te salueren ... Ende comende in sijn landt / heeft hy hem beghenen tot de Predicheeren orden / ende is gheworden een vierigh predican van het H. Roosen-kransken’. Hensbergh, *Wonderlijcke Schoone Gratien*, 14-15.

Breasts are Torn Off by a Wolf is uniquely horrible (ill. 1.31).¹²⁵ Despite the miracles' apparent sensationalism this rosary tract was intended for a middle-class audience to read at home, hence the relatively fine quality of Galle's engravings. For the educated as much as the illiterate the rosary's associated mysteries and miracles served to broaden its appeal to the laity.

In his aforementioned user manual Buyens encouraged rosary confreres to picture the sorrowful mysteries thus. 'The first as the Lord praying to his heavenly Father in the garden, sweating water and blood through anguish. The second as him ungraciously bound to the column being grievously flagellated. The third as him being piteously crowned with a sharp crown of thorns. The fourth as him carrying the heavy beam of the holy cross, meeting his sorrowful mother Mary. The fifth as him in the presence of his mother being crucified on the cross, his spirit falling into the hands of his heavenly Father'.¹²⁶ This adjective-laden passage is highly emotive making Buyens' user manual an essential point of reference for painters of the *Mysteries* cycle. Coming just before the *Crucifixion*, Van Dyck's *Carrying of the Cross* is brimming with human drama and propelled by thrusting diagonals.¹²⁷ The semi-

¹²⁵ *PVELLÆ ABRVPTIS VBERIBVS A LVPO.* 'Ontrent den iaere 1459. woonde ontrent Beauuais in Vranckrijck een godvruchtige dochter / seer deuoot tot het H. Roosen-kransken. Welcke op eenen tijdt wt-gaende met een ander dochter / tot een dorp / al waer het kerck-misse was / om haere vrienden te besoecken; zijn haer-lieden twee hongherighe woluen aen-ghecomen/ de welcke elck een dochter byder kelen hebben ghegrepen: ende de ander dochter is t'eenemael verscheurt gheweest. Maer als de voorghenoemde godvruchtige dochter haer heeft beuonden in dese groote benauwtheydt / ende dat nu haer borsten waeren af-ghebeten / ende haeren buyck open ghescheurt / ende een deel van het inghewant op-gheten: heeft sy haer toevlucht ghenomen tot de glorieuse koninghinne des hemels / haer biddende dat sy niet en soude toelaeten / dat sy sonder biechte van dese weerelt soude scheyden ... Ende in haer wterste heeft haer de Koninghinne des hemels Maria besocht ende vertroost / ende heeft haer siele mede op-ghevoert tot het eeuwigh leuen'. Hensbergh, *Wonderlijcke Schoone Gratien*, 26.

¹²⁶ 'Noch zijnder ander boue verborgentheden oft misterien die genoemt worden droeffelijcke oft weemoedighe / besluytende in hun de droefheden ende t'lijden ons heeren ende zijns Moeders. D'eerste was / als de heere biddende zijnen hemelschen Vader int hofken / heeft ghesweet door benautheyt om b / water ende bloet. Het tweede als hy ongenadelijck gebonden zijnde aende colomne is deerlijck ghegheesselt gheweest. Het derde als hy jammerlijck gecroont is geweest met een scherpe doornecroene. Het vierde als hy was draghende den swaren balck den heylich Cruys / hem te ghemoete quam zijn bedrukte moeder Maria. Het vijfde als hy inde teghenwoordicheyt zijns moeders was sternende aenden Cruyce / zijnen heeft heeft beuolen inde handen van zijnen hemelschen Vader. In gedenkenisse van elck lijden / salmen lesen eenen pater noster ende thien Aue Maria'. Buyens, *Den Costelijcken Schadt*, 5.

¹²⁷ Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (eds.), *The Bible: Authorized King James Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): NT.143, John 19:17.

naked executioner with his back turned drives the momentum with almost ballistic contrapposto; pointing upwards his left leg turns sharply on the ball of his foot. Nestled at the composition's base is Jesus looking outwards with his robes smeared with blood; the Virgin piteously clasps her hands in prayer as tears roll down her cheeks.¹²⁸ The empathy this encourages is amplified by the callousness of Christ's executioners one of whom grabs him by the shoulders in front of his weeping mother. The care Van Dyck took in capturing this moment is demonstrated by a preparatory drawing which shows the artist making several attempts to convey the brute force of the man's grip from a studio model (Courtauld Gallery, London) (ill. 1.32).¹²⁹

The *Carrying of the Cross* is but one affective panel in the *Mysteries* cycle the aim of which was to root congregation to church. As the monopoly of the Order the rosary made the *ecclesia laicorum* uniquely attractive to its adherents. By permitting 'all Christian men' to enrol in the brotherhood including the 'rich and poor in spiritual as worldly affairs, young or old, men and women' the Order created a broad support base that the *Mysteries* cycle was commissioned to sustain and expand.¹³⁰ The north aisle was used to instruct the laity using visual rhetoric. In comparing Christian art to oratory the Bolognese cardinal Gabriele Paleotti stated that a good painter should strive to 'supply delight, to instruct, and to move the emotions [*affetto*] of the observer'; citing St Augustine Paleotti claimed that to 'delight is a matter of sweetness, to instruct a matter of necessity, to sway a matter of victory'.¹³¹ The Order of Preachers wanted paintings in the *ecclesia laicorum* to do the same.

¹²⁸ Vergara and Lammertse, *Young Van Dyck*, 149-151, cat. no. 21. For further uses of empathy in Van Dyck's religious art see Sarah Joan Moran, "A cui ne fece dono": Art, Exchange, and Sensory Engagement in Anthony Van Dyck's *Lamentation for the Antwerp Beguines*". *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 248-252.

¹²⁹ Vergara and Lammertse, *Young Van Dyck*, 146, cat. no. 20.

¹³⁰ 'Ende al ist sake dat alle Christene menschen in dese broederschap mogen comen / so geestelyt als wereltlijc rijck en arm / ioncen out: man en vrou'. Buyens, *Den Costelijcken Schadt*, 6.

¹³¹ Gabriele Paleotti and William McCuaig (trans.), *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2012): 111.

3: *Ars memoriae* and *ars prædicandi*

Such is the evocative power that locations possess. No wonder the training of memory is based on them.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*.¹³²

This section proposes that the north aisle was set up as a rhetorical instrument through which the Order could communicate with the laity. Central to rhetoric in classical and scholastic thought was mnemotechny which like a *lieu de mémoire* was site-specific. In *De Oratore* Cicero credited the invention of *ars memoriae* (the art of memory) to the poet Simonides of Ceos. When he was called to the door at Scopas' Thessalian banquet the roof collapsed killing Scopas and leaving the bodies of his family mutilated beyond recognition; on the plus side Simonides was 'enabled by his recollection of the place in which each of them had been reclining at table to identify them for separate interment'.¹³³ From this morbid episode Cicero concluded, 'The best aid to clearness of memory consists in orderly arrangement ... Persons desiring to train this faculty must select localities and form mental images of the facts they wish to remember and store those images in the localities, with the result that the arrangement of the localities will preserve the order of the facts, and the images of the facts will designate the facts themselves, and we shall employ the localities and images respectively as a wax writing tablet and the letters written on it'.¹³⁴ Since Antiquity speeches had been memorised using systems of *loci* (places) and *imagines* (images). An orator compressed his subjects (*topoi*) into mental images before arranging them in the physical space of the auditorium for easy "unzipping" when moving from topic to topic. Classical mnemotechny is striking for the interchangeability of text and the visual to the extent that places were wax tablets and images the writing upon them. In this sense visual art could

¹³² Marcus Tullius Cicero et al., *On Moral Ends* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 118, V.2.

¹³³ Marcus Tullius Cicero et al., *On the Orator* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942): I.465-467, II.351-353. See also Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Pimlico, 1992): 17-18.

¹³⁴ Cicero, *On the Orator*, I.467, II.354.

make for not just an analogy but the very apparatus of *ars memoriae*. As the owner of books on rhetoric by Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian Rubens knew this well.¹³⁵

Memory (*memoria*) was paramount to Ciceronian rhetoric being the fourth of five canons which included invention (*inventio*), arrangement (*dispositio*), expression (*elocutio*) and delivery (*pronuntiatio*). Defined as the ‘firm mental grasp of matter and words’ memory fixed thoughts in the mind by ensuring one’s ‘resources of vocabulary [were] neatly arranged’.¹³⁶ Sight the ‘keenest of all our senses’ was *memoria*’s steward; subjects ‘conveyed to our minds by the mediation of the eyes’ were thought to be imprinted upon them. An invisible *topos* such as virtue translated into a ‘sort of outline and image and shape so that we keep hold of as it were by an act of sight things that we can scarcely embrace by an act of thought’.¹³⁷ While images do not have this much psychological efficacy in reality (see Introduction) Cicero’s line of thought was highly influential. Classical mnemotechny was the bedrock of *ars prædicandi* or the art of preaching as practised by the Order.¹³⁸ As Frances Yates commented, ‘If Simonides was the inventor of the art of memory, and “Tullius” its teacher, Thomas Aquinas became something like its patron saint’. The Thomist *ars memoriae* can be summarised as follows: order the objects of memorisation clearly, ‘adhere to them with affection ... reduce them to unusual similitudes’ and ‘repeat them with frequent meditation’.¹³⁹ The *imagines* of the *Mysteries* cycle were intended as ‘memorial notes’ or signposts towards gospel truth. Enhanced by an emotive pull they conveyed through exempla ‘sanctity, perversity, benignity, cruelty’ and so forth. In visually declaiming the Virgin’s sorrows and glories the *Mysteries* cycle was meant to help the laity ‘assiduously remember the invisible joys of Paradise and the eternal torments of Hell’.¹⁴⁰ This was aided

¹³⁵ Catherine Lusheck, *Rubens and the Eloquence of Drawing* (London: Routledge, 2017): 51.

¹³⁶ James Herrick, *The History and Theory of Rhetoric: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2016): 93-96; Cicero, *On the Orator*, I.467, II.355.

¹³⁷ Cicero, *On the Orator*, I.469, II.357.

¹³⁸ Herrick, *Rhetoric*, 124-125. See also Siegfried Wenzel, *The Art of Preaching: Five Medieval Texts & Translations* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013): xi-xvii.

¹³⁹ Yates, *Art of Memory*, 93-96.

¹⁴⁰ Cited in Yates, *Art of Memory*, 71.

rather than hampered by the cycle's stylistic *varietas*; painted by eleven different artists the diversity this brought was less confused than strategic. In contrast with the gloomier palette of the sorrowful mysteries, many of the joyful and glorious ones are brightly coloured with red for Christ's robe and azure for the Virgin's mantle to give the viewer pleasure in witnessing scenes of Christian triumph. The settings are enlivened by classicising features such as the grotesque plinth in the *Visitation* and the Roman sarcophagal frieze in the *Assumption* which gave more elite viewers food for thought. As such the cycle can be compared to the rhetorical skill of *copia* or abundant style as advocated by Cicero and Erasmus.¹⁴¹ As a *loci* system the north aisle's visual rhetoric could work unaided by preachers because it was also automotive.

Rubens' altarpieces were informed by early modern preaching practices as well as Tridentine notions of art as oratory. As Ulrich Heinen argues the *Raising of the Cross* triptych painted in 1610 for the Burchtkerk was built to function like a sermon (Antwerp Cathedral) (ill. 1.33). Prefaced by an *exordium* (fruit ornamentation on the closed outer wings) this comprised a *narratio* (the Crucifixion taking place in the central panel) which Rubens explained with an *argumentatio* (supplementary details in the central panel and predella) and finished with a *peroratio* (the saints on the closed outer wings) (see Introduction).¹⁴² While Heinen's interpretation is too literal religious artworks did draw inspiration from preaching and classical oratory in the spirit of *ut pictura poesis* as Vlieghe confirms.¹⁴³ Christian orators and painters were thought to share a vocation. As stated by Paleotti the 'purpose of images [is] to move individuals to the obedience and subjection they owe to God' on the clergy's behalf.¹⁴⁴ As with the *Raising of the Cross* each panel in the

¹⁴¹ See Thomas Sloane, "Schoolbooks and Rhetoric: Erasmus's *Copia*". *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 113-129.

¹⁴² Ulrich Heinen, *Rubens zwischen Predigt und Kunst: Der Hochaltar für die Walburgenkirche in Antwerpen* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1996): 30-39, 45-73.

¹⁴³ Hans Vlieghe, review of Ulrich Heinen, *Rubens zwischen Predigt und Kunst: Der Hochaltar für die Walburgenkirche in Antwerpen*, *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 25, no. 2/3 (1997): 250-252.

¹⁴⁴ Paleotti, *Discourse*, 110-111.

Mysteries cycle could have functioned as a mute sermon. In fulfilment of Thomist criteria Voet's *Christ Among the Doctors* sets wisdom against ignorance.¹⁴⁵ A crowd of temple elders dispute the scriptures with the Son of God expressing incomprehension at the twelve-year-old's 'understanding and answers'.¹⁴⁶ In the foreground a bearded man points at an open book and behind, another puts on spectacles in case he missed something. A man with bare shoulders holds up the Hebrew while a turbaned figure gestures as if in mid-argument. The enthroned Christ has no need for books for he is the Word incarnate. In St Luke's Gospel the Jewish elders are 'astonished' at the boy's learning.¹⁴⁷ Voet's spin was to portray the very same doctors responsible for the Crucifixion as incredulous and blind. Moreover there is the ominous detail of two men dressed as Ottomans whispering furtively in the shadows (see Section 4).

As a *lieu* for manufacturing memories of the Revolt the Dominican Church was itself an *aide-mémoire*. According to Quintilian 'when we return to a place after a considerable absence, we not merely recognise the place itself, but remember things that we did there'.¹⁴⁸ According to Cicero the 'stimulus of place considerably sharpens and intensifies the thoughts we have about famous individuals' as reading alone cannot.¹⁴⁹ Oblivion was the sister of *ars memoriae* and an equally useful tool. Themistocles would rather have learned to 'forget what he wanted than [be taught] to remember' and *damnatio memoriae* was the ultimate disgrace in Antiquity.¹⁵⁰ Walking through the ruins of Rome Petrarch described how 'at each step there was present something which would excite our tongue and mind ... Here occurred the death of Remus, here the circus games and the rape of the Sabines'.¹⁵¹ For

¹⁴⁵ For Heinen's remarks on the *Mysteries* cycle and Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* in relation to Paleotti see Heinen, *Predigt und Kunst*, 41-42.

¹⁴⁶ Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible*, NT.74, Luke 2:42-52.

¹⁴⁷ Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible*, NT.74, Luke 2:47, 52.

¹⁴⁸ Cited in Yates, *Art of Memory*, 37.

¹⁴⁹ Cicero, *On Moral Ends*, 117-119, V.1-4.

¹⁵⁰ Cicero, *On the Orator*, I.427, II.299. See Harriet Flower, *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

¹⁵¹ Cited in Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 293-294.

humanists ruins embodied memory and oblivion by displaying the ravages of time as well as evoking past greatness as Aleida Assmann relates.¹⁵² In the Dominican Church memory and oblivion were both employed in the construction of a political narrative. Seventeenth-century chronicles for example explain the monastery's prosperous present as a continuation of its medieval glory days (see Introduction).

The 'contesting histories' of Dutch Protestant churches are revealed in interior views by the artist Pieter Saenredam as Angela Vanhaelen investigates. The paintings' whitewashed walls 'give visual access to the violent founding events of the Dutch Republic' by 'meticulously reproducing the contradictory archaeological layers' and allowing an erased Catholic history to peep through the whitewash. In incorporating 'traces of a damaged past' such as murals, stained glass and tombstones Protestant church interiors contested iconoclasm's 'always incomplete imposition of forgetfulness'.¹⁵³ A reverse dynamic was at work in the Spanish Netherlands where iconoclasm was never supposed to have happened. The formation of "iconic memories" of trauma whereby Catholics were reminded of religious turmoil by a 'volatile mental image' was a legacy of 1566. Although smashed images had been cleared away memories of violence and former greatness lingered on; the acute sense of loss formed an 'image with an enormous visual, cognitive and emotional charge'.¹⁵⁴ In the Dominican Church iconic memory was on standby in reminders of conflict such as Timmermans' shrine and the demolished choir which worked in dialectic with the sacred space under construction. The visual rhetoric of the north aisle appealed not only to past events in the Low Countries but a distant threat from across the seas: the Ottoman Empire, whose moral equivalence with Calvinism and the role accorded to rosary devotion at Lepanto gave the *Mysteries* cycle a unique pulling power within Antwerp's sacred topography.

¹⁵² Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 294-295.

¹⁵³ Angela Vanhaelen, *The Wake of Iconoclasm: Painting the Church in the Dutch Republic* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012): 9-10.

¹⁵⁴ Jonckheere, "Iconic Memory", 141-142, 149.

4: The enemy within – Lepanto and Calvino-Turkism

As you, for your part, do not worship idols, you have banished the idols and portraits and “bells” from churches, and declared your faith by stating that God Almighty is One and Holy Jesus is His Prophet and Servant, and now, with heart and soul, are seeking and desirous of the true faith; but the faithless one they call Pāpā does not recognise his Creator as One, ascribing divinity to Holy Jesus (upon him be peace!), and worshipping idols and pictures which he has made with his own hands, thus casting doubt upon the Oneness of God and instigating how many servants of God to that path of error.

Sultan Selim II to members of the “Lutheran sect” in Flanders, 1574.¹⁵⁵

This section examines the rhetoric of Calvino-Turkism and its role in turning the Dominican Church into what Dagmar Freist and others call a “glocal memoryscape”.¹⁵⁶ The significance of Lepanto was simultaneously universal and local as Hanß explores in extenso.¹⁵⁷ The legend of the battle was adapted to site-specific customs and preoccupations across the Catholic world which made it a paradigm of early modern “glocalisation”.¹⁵⁸ As victory in the Aegean was proclaimed by Giorgio Vasari on the walls of the Sala Regia in the Vatican, the battle was being woven into Antwerp’s story of Revolt and *Reconquista*.

Catholic military victories were celebrated in churches during the Thirty Years’ War. In Rome the mother church of the Discalced Carmelites was dedicated to Our Lady of Victory following success at the battle of White Mountain in 1621. A hoard of trophies and Habsburg battle standards were deposited there in a grand procession including drums and harquebuses which apparently made Santa Maria della Vittoria look ‘more like an arsenal

¹⁵⁵ Cited in Susan Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578-1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977): 37.

¹⁵⁶ See Dagmar Freist, “Lost in Time and Space? Glocal Memoryscapes in the Early Modern World”. *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, Erika Kuijpers et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 206-213.

¹⁵⁷ Stefan Hanß, *Lepanto als Ereignis: dezentrierende Geschichte(n) der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571)* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2017).

¹⁵⁸ See Hanß, “Objects that Made History”, 21.

than a church'; later in the seventeenth century frescoes were added to the nave depicting heretics vanquished by the Virgin.¹⁵⁹ Likewise Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri in Pisa is decorated with the spolia of Ottoman sea-battles which was said to have been 'brought back at the cost of the sweat and wounds of the knights [of St Stephen]' in order to '[serve] as stimulation to the knights present, to imitate [their forbears]'.¹⁶⁰ In the Spanish Netherlands traditional Marian cults were militarised by the archdukes as part of their ecclesiastical regeneration programme (see Chapter 2). In the aftermath of Lepanto Sultan Selim II wrote to Antwerp's Calvinist community (see above). Mistaking them for Lutherans he equated their distaste for 'idols' and Transubstantiation with the Islamic doctrine of Tawhid proclaiming the indivisibility of God; in doing so the sultan was trying to make friends with his enemy's enemies. This and other mutual endorsements formed the basis of the *damnatio memoriae* enacted on the Calvinist Republic. In the Sint-Pauluskerk's north aisle Islam and by extension Calvinism were cast as anathema by way of the *Mysteries* cycle; this was later supplemented by carvings on the confessionals and a paintings series marking Lepanto's centenary (see below). The lynchpin of the Order's political identity was loyalty to the Spanish crown for whom the monastery served as a minor ministry of propaganda. Texts written there such as Choquet's *Trivmphvs Rosarii* (1641) extolled the Habsburg subjugation of 'Mohammedans, Calvinists and Lutherans' described as 'emissaries of Orcus'.¹⁶¹ The decorative scheme of the north aisle was an extension of this rhetoric.

¹⁵⁹ Giacinto Gigli and Manlio Barberito (ed.), *Diario di Roma* (Rome: Editore Colombo, 1994): I.105. Cited in Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012): 467. Some of the standards are still intact. Guglielmo Matthiae, *S. Maria della Vittoria* (Rome: Marietti, 1965): 86-89. A fire destroyed the frescoes in 1833. Olivier Chaline, *La Bataille de la Montagne Blanche (8 Novembre 1620): Un Mystique chez les Guerriers* (Paris: Éditions Noesis, 1999): 528.

¹⁶⁰ Cited in Sean Nelson, "Relics of Christian Victory: The Translation of Ottoman Spolia in Grand Ducal Tuscany". *The Grand Ducal Medici and the Levant*, Maurizio Arfaioli and Marta Caroscio, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016): 78.

¹⁶¹ 'Sane qui pro tuenda Christi Fide, illiusque & caelitum gloria, aduersus Antichristi prodromos, & furentis Orci emissarios, Mahometis, Caluini Lutheri, idque genus rabularum pullos, bella suscipiunt, certi aut vincere, aut cruentem ipsum vitamque pro caelo fundere'. Hyacinthus Choquet, *Trivmphvs Rosarii a Sede Apostolica Decretvs Soldalitati B. Virginis Mariæ* (Antwerp: 1641): 118.

The Ottoman Empire was a Muslim superpower encompassing Turkey, the Barbary Coast, the holiest sites of Islam and European territories as far west as Buda. As Edward Said put it Islam in this period ‘[came] to symbolize terror, devastation, the demonic [and] hordes of hated barbarians’.¹⁶² The ‘Euro-Ottoman symbiosis’ visible in international trade did not make the threat of Ottoman expansion any less terrifying.¹⁶³ Between 1526-1606 most of Hungary was prised from Habsburg control placing the imperial capital of Vienna on the Ottoman horizon.¹⁶⁴ Notwithstanding Jerry Brotton’s recent polemic popular opinion of Islam was at least suspicious and humanists were often hostile.¹⁶⁵ As Mark Greengrass puts it the ‘antagonism in Christendom towards the Ottomans was fundamental, the evidence for it pervasive’.¹⁶⁶ The sixteenth-century Mediterranean was plagued by Muslim corsairs and beset with Ottoman-Catholic clashes that culminated in the siege of Malta (1565). With Chios, Tunis and Cyprus under Muslim rule Selim II enjoyed ‘total domination of the Aegean’ before Lepanto.¹⁶⁷ In 1571 the sultan’s fleet was stationed between Crete and Albania which set the stage for a major sea-battle. After ‘eleven months of alternately rancorous and stagnant negotiations’ Pius V cobbled together the Holy League, a fractious coalition between Spain, Venice and the Papal States. Supreme naval authority was granted to King Philip II’s half-brother Don Juan who had vanquished the Morisco rebellion in Granada; papal commander Marcantonio Colonna was appointed his deputy while

¹⁶² Cited in Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 5.

¹⁶³ Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, 9.

¹⁶⁴ Palmira Brummett, “Ottoman Expansion in Europe, ca. 1453-1606”. *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 2: The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453-1603*, Suraiya Faroqhi and Kate Fleet, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 52-54.

¹⁶⁵ Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (London: Penguin, 2017); Palmira Brummett, “The Lepanto Paradigm Revisited: Knowing the Ottomans in the Sixteenth Century”. *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, Anna Contadini and Claire Norton, eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013)

¹⁶⁶ Mark Greengrass, *Christendom Destroyed: Europe 1517-1648* (London: Allen Lane, 2014): 503.

¹⁶⁷ Kate Fleet, “Ottoman Expansion in the Mediterranean”. *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 2: The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453-1603*, Suraiya Faroqhi and Kate Fleet, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 159-167.

Sebastiano Venier took charge of the Venetian fleet.¹⁶⁸ A triple portrait of the admirals with Lepanto in the background presents the league as a united front however fragile in reality (Ambras Castle, Innsbruck) (ill. 1.34).

Vanquishing the Ottomans was Rome's new crusade to which 'Protestant and Catholic Christian princes jointly subscribed, even though little else united them'.¹⁶⁹ As Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini wrote in 1596 the Holy League was the 'true means of exterminating heresies and subjugating the Turk'.¹⁷⁰ For many contemporaries Lepanto was a religious victory demonstrating the superiority of Catholicism over Islam.¹⁷¹ The papal galleys were each assigned a Capuchin or Dominican chaplain and on the morning of the battle mass was celebrated onboard every ship.¹⁷² As they advanced the Ottomans could be heard praying to Allah while Italian sources described Catholic ships 'invoking the Trinity and the Virgin' as the trumpets sounded.¹⁷³ That afternoon in Rome Pius V had a premonition of victory.¹⁷⁴ Lepanto's prize was the green standard of Mecca said to make all Muslims fighting under it invincible; flown from Ali Pasha's flagship the *Sultana* it had Allah's name embroidered on it 28,900 times. After the battle Don Juan sent it to El Escorial.¹⁷⁵ For the Order victory belonged to the Virgin whose protection was invoked at a pre-battle vigil in

¹⁶⁸ Noel Malcolm, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World* (London: Allen Lane, 2015): 151-155; Andrew Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain". *The American Historical Review* 74, no. 1 (1968): 16.

¹⁶⁹ Greengrass, *Christendom Destroyed*, 504.

¹⁷⁰ Cited in Greengrass, *Christendom Destroyed*, 504.

¹⁷¹ For details of the battle see Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, 160-163; Fleet, "Ottoman Expansion", 167-168; John Guilmartin Jr., *Gunpowder & Galleys: Changing Technology & Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the 16th Century* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2003): 262.

¹⁷² Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, 158; Andrew Wheatcroft, *Infidels: A History of the Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (London: Penguin, 2004): 25.

¹⁷³ 'I Turchi vedendo questo motiuo (in tempo che poteuano esser lontani da nostri circa dieci miglia) gridarono Hallà Hallà, il che s'interpreta ò grand'Iddio, ò grand'Iddio'. Girolamo Catena, *Vita del Gloriosissimo Papa Pio Quinto* (Rome: 1587): 33; Rick Scorza, "Vasari's Lepanto Frescoes: 'Apparati', Medals, Prints and the Celebration of Victory". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 75 (2012): 164.

¹⁷⁴ '...il Papa, ch'era corso à uno altarino, et gittatosi inginocchioni ringratiava Dio con le man giunte'. Catena, *Pio Quinto*, 216.

¹⁷⁵ Wheatcroft, *Infidels*, 4; Stefan Hanß, *Die materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571): Materialität, Medialität und die historische Produktion eines Ereignisses* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2017): 377-378.

the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.¹⁷⁶ With a touch of spin the Antwerp Dominicans put their Order at the centre of events. According to Friar Petrus Vloers in *Wonderbaere Mirakelen vanden H. Roosen-Crans* (1658-1659) the chaplains on board were ‘principally ... from our Order’.¹⁷⁷ Don Juan triumphed at Lepanto ‘through help from Our Lady’ while the rosary ‘or rather the rose-helmet [ROOSEN-HOET, a play on *hoedekin* meaning chaplet], for us won the upper hand, by way of soldiers’ blood’.¹⁷⁸ Lepanto has been described as a ‘battle without strategic consequences’.¹⁷⁹ More important was the battle’s symbolic capital which empowered Catholics to turn their guns on the enemy within. At the Sala Regia’s north end Vasari inserted two frescoes narrating the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre in 1572; juxtaposed with sweeping battle panoramas the domino effect of Lepanto was shown to have resulted in piles of Huguenot corpses (Apostolic Palace, Vatican City) (ill. 1.35).¹⁸⁰ When Lepanto was celebrated in Antwerp the city emphasised the Spanish and by extension its own contribution to the war effort. Bishop Franciscus Sonnius declared Lepanto a sign of redemption in a sermon of 15 November and the following Sunday the Cathedral staged a thanksgiving procession. Meanwhile in the Dominican Church the rosary brotherhood was founded.¹⁸¹ An anonymous painting dated 1571 depicts the ordination of Godefridus van Mierlo as Bishop of Haarlem-in-exile on 11 February (Antwerp Cathedral) (ill. 1.36).¹⁸² The candidate being Dominican the action takes place in

¹⁷⁶ Mitchell, *Mystery of the Rosary*, 22.

¹⁷⁷ Bogaerts, *Repertorium*, I.123-125, cat. no. 310. ‘De principaelst hier van die waeren van ons Oorden’. Petrus Vloers, *Wonderbaere Mirakelen vanden H. Roosen-Crans* (Antwerp: 1658-1659): II.11.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Den zee-slagh van Don Ian door hulp van ons Liev’ Vrou,/ Nae dat ick speuren kan, noch swaerder weghen sou ... Soo dat den ROOSEN-CRANS, oft wel den ROOSEN-HOET,/ Voor ons kreegh d’overhandt, door het soldaeten bloet’. Vloers, *Wonderbaere Mirakelen*, II.24, 28.

¹⁷⁹ Fleet, “Ottoman Expansion”, 168-170; Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, 175.

¹⁸⁰ Jan de Jong, *The Power and the Glorification: Papal Pretensions and the Art of Propaganda in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013): 144-149.

¹⁸¹ Hanß, *Lepanto als Ereignis*, 93-94.

¹⁸² Stefaan Grieten et al., *De Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal van Antwerpen: Kunstpatrimonium van het Ancien Régime* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996): 378-379, inv. no. 926.

the Sint-Pauluskerk which Van Mierlo dedicated five days later (see Section 1).¹⁸³ Although eight months before Lepanto the inauguration of the rebuilt nave was a fortuitous synchronicity. Just as Lepanto and the massacre of Huguenots were militarily unrelated, events to Catholicism's advantage such as restoration of Spanish authority in the Low Countries could be tied together with hindsight.

In a bid to tighten his grip on the region Philip II appointed Don Juan and his lieutenant-at-sea Farnese successive governors-general of the Netherlands.¹⁸⁴ As the king informed Don Juan, 'There is not, and could not be, anyone other than you ... because of the gifts God has given you and those you have acquired through experience [i.e. in Granada and at Lepanto]'.¹⁸⁵ Just when Don Juan began his regency in 1577 the Army of Flanders disintegrated and sacked Antwerp. Don Juan was an unlikely peace-maker.¹⁸⁶ At his death Protestants jeered that the 'conqueror of the Turks' had become the 'scourge of Christians'; indeed as Peter Arnade relates 'Antwerp's fire-damaged town hall ... stood as proof of a fatherland whose household and livelihoods were in peril by an unchecked tyranny'.¹⁸⁷ An engraving from 1578 set out the 'probably Calvinist' position (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 1.37).¹⁸⁸ Don Juan is felled by death on horseback while Alva crawls Nebuchadnezzar-like on all fours. Delegates from the States-General hold up the Book of Job warning that the 'mirth of the godless does not last long'.¹⁸⁹ For many, Spanish regents were latter-day Babylonian tyrants.

¹⁸³ Raymond Sirjacobs, "Godefridus van Mierlo O. P. (1518-1587): Tweede Bisschop van Haarlem, Wijbisschop van de Antwerpse Sint-Pauluskerk". *Sint-Pauluskrantje* 23, no. 4 (July-August 2013); Anton van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands: The Eighty Years War, 1568-1648* (London: Reaktion Books, 2018): 75.

¹⁸⁴ Hanß, *Lepanto als Ereignis*, 21; Soen, "Reconquista and Reconciliation", 6.

¹⁸⁵ Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014): 231.

¹⁸⁶ Parker, *Imprudent King*, 238, 240-241. See also Gustaaf Janssens, *Brabant in het Verweer: Loyale Oppositie tegen Spanje's Bewind in de Nederlanden van Alva tot Farnese, 1567-1578* (Kortrijk-Heule: UGA, 1989): 317-349.

¹⁸⁷ Hanß, *Lepanto als Ereignis*, 95; Arnade, *Beggars*, 258.

¹⁸⁸ Daniel Horst, *De Opstand in Zwart-Wit: Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand (1566-1584)* (Zutphen: Walburg, 2003): 252-254.

¹⁸⁹ ...de beroeminge der godlooser niet lange en staet ... Job 20.

Of like currency during the Revolt was the insult ‘Turk’. Speaking of the ‘barbarous cruelties of the Beggars in the Low Countries’ the Catholic polemicist Richard Verstegan claimed that the ‘Scythian was not as cruel, nor the Barbarians who inhabit the rocks of the Caucasus as proud ... as [followers] of that lunatic rascal Calvin’ (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent) (ill. 1.38).¹⁹⁰ Turks were considered descendants of Scythians not only for their shared reputation for cruelty but also in ‘antient testimonies of reverend antiquitie’ as Christopher Highley explains.¹⁹¹ The insult worked both ways and the inscription on Frans Hogenberg’s print depicting the siege of Antwerp reads ‘Their overweening tyranny is alien to Turkey’.¹⁹² The Prophet Muhammad was an effective straw man for demonising Protestants. For William Rainolds Protestants and Muslims were one and the same as he sought to prove in *Calvino-Turcismus* (1597) whose title reads ‘of Calvyns Religion leading to Turcisme [sic]’; its publication popularised the ‘formula of yoking together the religion of one’s Christian adversary and the Turkish infidel’.¹⁹³ Calvino-Turkism was an insult that stuck hence Don Juan’s motto as governor ‘*In hoc signo vici Turcos, in hoc vincam hæreticos*’.¹⁹⁴ In tandem with their strategic alliances the views of Protestants and Muslims on idolatry overlapped somewhat (see above).¹⁹⁵ Not only were Calvinists like Turks; sooner or later they would convert to Islam. If the ‘lawe of Mahomet [sic]’ originated in Early Christian heresies so Calvinism was but one step from Mohammedanism. As one story went

¹⁹⁰ ‘Le Scythe tant cruel, ny les Barbares fiers,/ Qui du mont Caucasin habitent les rochers, ... Comme a la rauissant canaille de Caluin’. Richard Verstegan, *Theatre des Cruautez des Hereticques de nostre temps* (Antwerp: 1588): 67.

¹⁹¹ Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018): 72.

¹⁹² ‘... Dern ubergroße tijrannej,/ Nitt ist gehurt in der Turchey’. Leon Voet, *Frans Hogenberg: De 80-jarige Oorlog in Prenten* (The Hague: Van Goor Zonen, 1977): unpaginated, cat. no. 42.

¹⁹³ Highley, *Catholics*, 60-62, 67; Clinton Bennett, “William Rainolds”. *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 6: Western Europe (1500-1600)*, David Thomas and John Chesworth, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 860-865.

¹⁹⁴ Jean-Pierre Bois, *Don Juan d’Autriche, 1547-1578: “Le Héros de Toutes les Nations”* (Paris: Tallandier, 2008): 347.

¹⁹⁵ Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2007): 306.

a band of central European heretics ‘became Turckes and went to Constantinople ... and protested that the religion of Calvinistes, tended directly to Turcisme’.¹⁹⁶

Dutch rebels “turned Turk” to express dissent. They were christened Beggars (*Les Gueux*) at the Compromise of Nobles having “begged” Margaret of Parma to revoke anti-heresy edicts on that occasion. At dinner the Beggars decided on a uniform of begging props and moustaches ‘curled up after the Turkish fashion’ which to judge from a surviving drawing were enormous (Nationaal Archief, The Hague) (ill. 1.39).¹⁹⁷ This conceit gained wide traction and a Beggar supporter is recorded carving such a moustache on the statue of a saint in a village church.¹⁹⁸ As with beggars the Turk was a play on the ‘theme of the outsider’ as Henk van Nierop demonstrates. Dressing like one highlighted the iniquities of Habsburg persecution in contrast with Ottoman religious tolerance. At Antwerp’s hedge-preaching the same year Protestant Beggars started wearing crescent-shaped medals with the cheeky slogan *EN DESPIT DE LA MES* (in spite of mass) *LIEVER TURCX DAN PAUS* embossed along the edges (British Museum, London) (ill. 1.40).¹⁹⁹ Feigned sympathy for the sultan was a running theme in rebel songs. One informs us ‘While the Turk is no Christian,/ He never led anyone to believe otherwise,/ Like the Papists do all day,/ [in which case] Herod was never such a tyrant’.²⁰⁰ The Habsburg fist was so steely that occupation by Spain’s arch-enemies would have been preferable. Interpreted literally such rhetoric played into Catholic hands. According to Henricus Spondanus a certain Cornelius Verhagen ‘who (so they say) had himself circumcised, renounced the Christian faith’. Arriving foreskinless in Constantinople Verhagen ‘made an alliance with the Turks, making the Calvinists friends

¹⁹⁶ Highley, *Catholics*, 62-64.

¹⁹⁷ Henk van Nierop, “A Beggars’ Banquet: The Compromise of the Nobility and the Politics of Inversion”. *European History Quarterly* 21 (1991): 431-432; Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Handschriftenverzameling Rijksarchief in Zuid-Holland, Tweede Serie, Tekeningen en Kaarten, Drawing of a Beggar (3.22.01.02.1462).

¹⁹⁸ Arnade, *Beggars*, 117.

¹⁹⁹ Nierop, “A Beggars’ Banquet”, 432.

²⁰⁰ ‘Al is den Turck gheen Christen genaemt,/ Hy en heeft niemant om tgelooove gebrant,/ Als die Papisten doen alle dage,/ Herodes en was noyt sulcken tyrant’. E. T. Kuiper and P. Leendertz Jr. (eds.), *Het Geuzenliedboek* (Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie, 1924): 245.

of the Turks, which they rejoice in and must honour'.²⁰¹ By forging an unholy alliance Protestants in the Netherlands were conspiring to overthrow the Spanish government from without and within. The north aisle in the Dominican Church was ingrained with such rhetoric which coloured its decoration with what Marnef calls the 'diabolization of the heretical "other"'.²⁰² By incorporating the Lepanto paradigm the space became a glocal memoryscape. In early modernity world-historical events were decontextualized and displaced while 'global frameworks and national memory discourses' were spliced together to serve political ends.²⁰³ According to Van der Steen Lepanto celebrations in the Netherlands focused attention 'on the things Southern people could be proud of in the period 1566-1585' including events across the seas. The north aisle's perpetual commemoration of victory against the Ottomans demonstrated the 'durability of this memory culture' through which tensions between the 'desire to forget and the apparent urge to remember' the Revolt could be worked out.²⁰⁴

The north aisle was the Order's "Project Fear". By violently stirring their emotions the monastery encouraged Antwerpians to join the rosary brotherhood in solidarity against enemies of Spain. Voet's *Christ Among the Doctors* includes two Ottomans in the top left who cannot believe true religion when they see it made flesh (see Section 3). Similarly De Bruyn's *Crowning with Thorns* shows Christ mocked by pagan low-life egged on by a Sanhedrin doctor on whose forehead a Hebrew inscription reading 717 יְהוָה or Son of David is attached (ill. 1.41, detail).²⁰⁵ Within a former Calvinist temple De Bruyn's anti-Semitic trope

²⁰¹ 'Tot desen eynde sonden sonden sy eenen genaemt Cornelius Verhaghen / die (soo men houdt) sich heeft laten besnijden / ende het Christen gheloove versaeckt. Als hy te Constantinopelen ghearriveert was / heeft een verbondt met de Turcken ghemaect / waer over de Calvinisten / als wesende vrienden der Turcken / hen verheughen ende moedt dragen'. Henricus Spondanus, *Kerckelycke Historie van Neder-Landt* (Antwerp: 1623): 204.

²⁰² Guido Marnef, "Protestant Conversions in an Age of Catholic Reformation: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Antwerp". *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, Arie-Jan Gelderblom et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 44.

²⁰³ Freist, "Glocal Memoryscapes", 206-209.

²⁰⁴ Steen, *Memory Wars*, 87-88.

²⁰⁵ My thanks to Tali Kot-Ofek at the University of York for her assistance.

was an analogy for other infidel persecutors of the Order.²⁰⁶ Rubens' *Flagellation* meanwhile has Christ whipped by a Moor who is radically cropped to the right; mounting his shackled calf the thick-lipped Roman soldier raises a birch rod above his head while grinning manically (ill. 1.42, detail).²⁰⁷ Nobody since the Romantic painter Eugène Delacroix has given this figure much thought.²⁰⁸ His face was adapted from the oil sketch *Four Studies of the Head of a Moor* painted c. 1615 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels) (ill. 1.43). Rubens' Moorish model appears in various guises in paintings from the 1610s.²⁰⁹ The thug in the *Flagellation* has the same moustache, goatee and cropped hair as the Brussels prototype. Moreover his head's three-quarter tilt, upturned nostrils and taut lips correspond with the fourth study in sequence. For many Europeans North Africa was synonymous with Islam because the Barbary Coast was Ottoman-controlled. As such Rubens' black figures often wear turbans as various authors have observed.²¹⁰ Involvement in the African slave trade made black men an ubiquitous Muslim demographic. As Paul Kaplan relates Venetians spoke of "black Turks" (*turchi mori*) which appear frequently in their art.²¹¹ In a post-Lepanto rosary cycle not much encouragement was needed to picture Jesus' black assailant as Muslim. His racial otherness is brought to the fore against the pallid whiteness of Christ's

²⁰⁶ See Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).

²⁰⁷ Judson, *CRLB VI*, 59-62, cat. no. 11.

²⁰⁸ 'En sortant le Jésus flagellé de St-Paul, chef-d'œuvre de génie s'il en fut ... À gauche ... à peine visible, un nègre ou mulâtre qui fait partie des bourreaux et qui est digne du reste'. Eugène Delacroix and Michèle Hannoosh (ed.), *Journal (1822-1857)* (Paris: José Corti, 2009): I.519.

²⁰⁹ Elizabeth McGrath, "Black Bodies and Dionysiac Revels: Rubens' Bacchic Ethiopians". *Rubens and the Human Body*, Cordula van Wyhe, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018): 298-299; Julius Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980): 607-609, cat. no. 441; Julius Held et al., *Rubens and His Circle: Studies by Julius Held* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982): 149-155.

²¹⁰ Jean Michel Massing et al., *The Image of the Black in Western Art. Part III.2: From the "Age of Discovery" to the Age of Abolition. Europe and the World Beyond* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012): 135-137; Elizabeth McGrath, "Rubens and his Black Kings". *Rubens Bulletin: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, no. 2 (2008): 88-89, 97, 99; Held, *Rubens and His Circle*, 3-8.

²¹¹ Paul Kaplan, "Black Turks: Venetian Artists and Perceptions of Ottoman Ethnicity". *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, James Harper, ed. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011): 41-66.

back.²¹² Conflating Ottoman religion with the curse of Ham made this black torturer doubly repellent in the eyes of Rubens' contemporaries.

The *Mysteries* cycle's insinuation of a Protestant Antwerp infested with Turks, Jews and Moors can be described as a scare tactic but simultaneously the joyful and glorious mysteries offered hope. Such "populist" rhetoric was renewed by the confessionals underneath which combine symbols of infidel persecution with life-saving rosary miracles. Carved by Pieter Verbruggen I the confessionals feature five relief carvings and ten full-length saints.²¹³ The furthest figure west is John of Cologne (ill. 1.44). One of nineteen clerics known as the Gorkum Martyrs who were hanged by Sea-Beggars in 1572 the Dominican friar stood as life-size testimony to the iniquities of Calvinism-Turkism.²¹⁴ In 1615 the martyrs' relics were smuggled from Den Briel by command of the archdukes and reinterred in the Franciscan monastery in Brussels.²¹⁵ The martyrs' fate was echoed in the shrine to local hero Timmermans in the cloister (see Section 1). The reliefs meanwhile match engravings from volume one of Vloers' *De Wonderbaere Mirakelen* (1658). As brotherhood prefect he was surely behind the choice of miracles. The carvings show the rosary thwarting a jealous husband's murder attempt, curing Blanche of Castile's infertility, summoning the Virgin of Antipolo to a shipwrecked castaway and saving the citizens of Limoges from plague (ill. 1.45).²¹⁶ The fourth carving shows the Florentine Dominican Antonius de Rispolis stoned to death by Ottomans in Tunis (ill. 1.46). As two turbaned men attack him with boulders the Virgin of the Rosary appears top-left; chiselled behind is the Duomo of

²¹² Hout, "Rozenkransreeks", 453-455.

²¹³ Sirjacobs and Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris", 1748-1750, inv. nos. A38, 46-50.

²¹⁴ Raymond Sirjacobs, *De Triomf der Beelden: De Biechtstoelen van de Antwerpse Sint-Pauluskerk* (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 1993): 46-47; Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Das Beichtgestühl der Antwerpener St. Pauluskirche und der Barockbeichtstuhl in den Südlichen Niederlanden* (Brussels: Arcade, 1970): 49-51.

²¹⁵ Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 159-161.

²¹⁶ Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Beichtgestühl*, 81; Jozef de Coo, "Ontraadseling van Barok-Sculptuur in de St.-Pauluskerk te Antwerpen". *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1965): 223-241.

Florence which can be seen more clearly in the engraving (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent) (ill. 1.47). According to Vloers the Muslims who hijacked his ship were Mauritanians but in the original hagiography Rispolis' executioners were not Ottoman but medieval Berber Muslims.²¹⁷ Vloers' contemporary twist is more obvious in the engraving where an approaching executioner sports a plumed *ketché* identifying him as a Janissary.²¹⁸

If picturing Ottomans in the cycle and on the confessionals left too much to the imagination Jan Peeters I's *Lepanto* series was installed in the north transept between 1665-1672.²¹⁹ The series made explicit the north aisle's longstanding iconographic themes when hanging in frieze formation adjacent to the rosary altar; in sequence they are the *Embarkation*, the *Battle*, *Victory* and *Pius V in Thanksgiving* (ills. 1.48-51).²²⁰ The *Embarkation*'s architecture looks Netherlandish while the skyline of Lepanto i.e. Naupactus 'vaguely resembles that of Antwerp'; Ottoman ships fly Dutch standards including 'that of Zeeland with the demi-lion' and the *Battle* even shows the crescent moon woven into an orange stripe which symbolises the house of Orange-Nassau. The Dominican contribution to the war effort is highlighted by the inclusion of St Catherine of Siena praying to the Virgin of the Rosary in the *Embarkation* (ills. 1.52-53, details).²²¹ The aggregate decoration of the north aisle demonstrates that the *Mysteries* cycle and its visual *topoi* had lasting political

²¹⁷ 'Als dese jonghelingh moest vaeren naer Toscanen,/ Sijn schip is aen-gheklampt van Turksche Mauritanien'. Vloers, *Wonderbaere Mirakelen*, I.175-177.

²¹⁸ Christoph Neumann, "Political and Diplomatic Developments". *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, Suraiya Faroqhi, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 45-50.

²¹⁹ Sirjacobs and van Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris", 1808-1809, inv. nos. E30-33; Hanß, *Materielle Kultur*, 764-765.

²²⁰ 'Aldernaest den Autaer van den Roosenkrans, hanghen verschyde klyne schilderyen verbeeldende ZEEGEVEGHTE der Christenen tegens de Turcken, dese syn alle door Peeters geschildert'. Jacob de Wit, *De Kerken van Antwerpen: Schilderijen, Beeldhouwwerken, Geschilde Glasramen, enz., in de XVIII^e Eeuw Beschreven* (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1910): 54-55. Each painting measures 110 cm in height and would have fitted along the north wall of the transept. See also Beatrijs van der Wey, "De 'Maagschap van Maria' uit de Voormalige Lepantokapel van de Antwerpse Sint-Pauluskerk. Een Schilderij van Maarten Pepyn?". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1679; Peter Eyskens, "De Restauratie van de Schilderijenreeks: 'De Slag van Lepanto' van Ioannes Peeters". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 898-902; Sirjacobs, *Antwerpen Sint-Pauluskerk*, 80-81.

²²¹ Steen, *Memory Wars*, 88; Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 195-196.

resonance. The confessionals and the *Lepanto* series renewed the militant rhetoric of Calvino-Turkism after the Peace of Münster for no pressing purpose. The Order's Project Fear did not clamour for war but was intended to unite their congregation around a common enemy. With thousands more joining the rosary brotherhood during the seventeenth century the campaign appears to have been effective.

Conclusion

The visual rhetoric of the north aisle was engineered for one purpose above all – to take back control. Antwerp's Catholic bulwark required constant vigilance to root out Protestant heresy warnings against which were built into the church fabric. Through Project Fear the Order could consolidate popular support and give their evangelical mission a political edge. The north aisle thereby signalled the monastery's loyalty to Rome and the Habsburg regime in contradistinction to heretics and infidels. Playing the victim card was crucial for turning sacrilege into victory. By lamenting their fate at the hands of Calvinists in the 1580s the Order were eliciting sympathy to encourage donations for the monastery's restoration especially while their *ecclesia fratrum* was still missing behind a Sea-Beggar wall. Conversely Timmermans' relics were thought to have what Kuijpers and Pollmann describe as 'exceptional power in the face of the devil' hence their enshrinement in the cloisters.²²² The memory culture fostered by the *ecclesia laicorum* employed Calvino-Turkish rhetoric to make guns out of rosaries. This had a literal precedent. In 1584 Farnese used rubble from the demolished choir as ballast when blockading the Scheldt to take Antwerp out of rebel hands.²²³ With the *Mysteries* cycle at its heart the Order installed a sophisticated visual scheme within the north aisle to keep Antwerp Catholic.

²²² Kuijpers and Pollmann, "Sacrilege into Victory", 168-169.

²²³ Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 19.

Chapter 2: The mystery machine. The cycle as the product of peace, piety and prosperity

In these days, art flourished in the Netherlands ... The advancing peace would silence Bellona, enemy of the Arts ... Now one could see the citizens create a new love for art; one became the other's patron ... Art lovers and artists reached out their hands – and hearts.

Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*.¹

This chapter looks at the genesis of the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* cycle as instigated by Joannes Boucquet, prior of the Dominican monastery between 1613-1617, coordinated by Rubens in collaboration with Jan Brueghel I and Hendrick van Balen and paid for by the rosary brotherhood. While the survival of the “15 Mysteries” document makes the latter claim incontrovertible the leading roles played by Boucquet and Rubens are supported only by circumstantial evidence (see Chapter 1). However a plausible sequence of events can still be constructed. This chapter argues that the *Mysteries* cycle was a grassroots initiative and the product of pious, artisanal and mercantile communities working together. The broad spectrum of people who invested in the project made it resonate with wider political issues in Antwerp when the Twelve Years’ Truce was approaching expiry. While Chapter 1 was about architectural space the focus of this chapter is squarely on the *Mysteries* cycle which is interpreted as an exemplum of *pictura sacra* produced in Antwerp’s Catholic workshop

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¹ Translated in Marika Keblusek, “*Mercator Sapiens*: Merchants as Cultural Entrepreneurs”. *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe*, Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Vera Noldus, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 96-97. ‘In dezen tyd bloeide de Konst in Nederland ... De Vrede stond voor de deur, die Bellona vyandin der konsten aan band zouw leggen ... Thans zag men de Stedelingen een nieuwe konstlust scheppen ... Konstlievenden en Konstenaren reikten nu elkander hart en hand’. Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen* (Amsterdam: 1718-1721): III.329.

of the world. By virtue of its scale, accomplishment and indeed its very existence the *Mysteries* cycle was an effective cipher for the benefits of peace in the region. By the mid-1610s that peace looked increasingly fragile. The archdukes were without an heir, Albert was suffering from severe ill-health and war-mongering factions at the courts of Madrid and The Hague were poised to take over. Antwerp's industrial revival was therefore in jeopardy.² A more pressing concern than foreign invasion was the threat of civil war. Antwerpians who resented Spain needed to be reconciled with the prospect of direct rule from Madrid because the inevitable resumption of hostilities with the Dutch Republic could only exacerbate domestic tensions; after 1612 what Werner Thomas calls 'strategies of pacification' were implemented across the Spanish Netherlands.³ This chapter asks whether the *Mysteries* cycle may have helped to advance this agenda.

The archdukes laid the groundwork for pacification through their patronage of Marian cults. The signing of the Truce in 1609 was underwritten by fervent veneration of the Casa Santa in Loreto (see Chapter 5).⁴ Three months later the archdukes laid the foundation stone for the Basilica of Our Lady at Scherpenheuvel, the heptagonal ground plan of which symbolised the seven sorrows of the Virgin (ill. 2.1). This multi-faceted devotion came to represent the Spanish Netherlands as a federal polity because of its associations with unity as Luc Duerloo makes clear.⁵ Generally speaking the Virgin stood for peace in the region rather than a Habsburg "generalissima" on the warpath.⁶ By association with the battle of Lepanto the rosary as promoted by the Order became a token of Catholic identity (see Chapter 1). With members numbering in the tens of thousands any artwork intended for

² See Steven Lobell, *The Challenge of Hegemony: Grand Strategy, Trade, and Domestic Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005): 122-151.

³ Werner Thomas, "Isabel Clara Eugenia and the Pacification of the Southern Netherlands". *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, Cordula van Wyhe, ed. (London: Paul Holberton, 2011): 181-185.

⁴ Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012): 187-188; Luc Duerloo and Marc Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel: Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2002): 29-32.

⁵ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 212; Duerloo and Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel*, 146-155.

⁶ See Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 104, 465.

the Antwerp rosary brotherhood was guaranteed an audience. The *Mysteries* cycle was not an obvious political manifesto. Its ostensible purpose was to help rosary confreres imagine the fifteen mysteries in high resolution after confession (see Chapter 1). Nevertheless the cycle was conceived and executed at a critical juncture. In the summer of 1615 the archdukes made their long-awaited official visit to Antwerp which was celebrated with an *ommegang* or procession. In a series of coded *tableaux vivants* Antwerp city council expressed their discontent about the failure of the childless archdukes to preserve the constitutional independence of the polity. The *ommegang* warned that a Spanish power grab was a serious threat to peace in the region and if this was the general feeling the latter years of the Truce were febrile indeed. By contrast the *Mysteries* cycle was supposed to be indicative of the ultimate benevolence of Habsburg rule. Recent studies have shown how artists responded to the post-*Reconquista* settlement by subtly advancing pacifistic agendas in their oeuvres.⁷ The *Mysteries* cycle was not used to coerce Antwerpians into forfeiting their sovereignty; rather as the fruit of piety and commerce it stood as a symbolic guarantor that peace would be maintained under direct rule from Madrid.

The *Mysteries* cycle is traditionally dated 1617 on the basis of a pre-modern inscription painted onto a nineteenth-century frame for the *Flagellation* which reads, ‘This lively image of the Flagellation of Our Saviour Jesus Christ was painted by P. P. Rubens with exquisite art for the Church of St Paul in the year 1617’.⁸ Whatever its origin the

⁷ See Ralph Dekoninck, “Peace through the Image from Van Barrefelt to Van Veen”. *Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft aus Kunst: Antwerpener Malerei und Graphik in und nach den Katastrophen des späten 16. Jahrhunderts*, Eckhard Leuschner, ed. (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2016): 39-44; David Jaffé, “From Youthful Violence to Pleas for Peace: Rubens’s Political Development, and the Influence of His Master, Otto van Veen”. *Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft aus Kunst: Antwerpener Malerei und Graphik in und nach den Katastrophen des späten 16. Jahrhunderts*, Eckhard Leuschner, ed. (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2016): 167-183.

⁸ ‘Hanc vividam Flagellati Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi Imaginem,/ exquisitissima arte depictam Ecclisiae S^{ti} Pauli Dicavit P. P. RUBENS anno MDCXVII’. Various, *Verzameling der Graf- en Gedenkschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1856-1903): V.105; Raymond Sirjacobs and Annemie van Dyck, “Integrale Inventaris van het Patrimonium van de Antwerpse Sint-Pauluskerk”. *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1812, inv. no. E53.

inscription is probably accurate. The cycle was commissioned following Boucquet's return from Bologna in January 1616. Representing Lower Germany as provincial definator at the Order's general chapter there Boucquet received not only a special dispensation for his monastery to receive gifts. In the Cappella del Rosario in San Domenico the Order's mother church where the defisors convened, he also would have seen the composite rosary altarpiece that most likely inspired the cycle (see Section 2). The paintings were most likely completed before the end of Boucquet's priorship.⁹ The cycle's *terminus ante quem* is 1620 the year Arnout Vinckenborch died; this can be narrowed to 1617 when Van Dyck became master. As Justin Davies shows the date of February 1618 recorded in the registry of the artist's guild of St Luke (the *Liggeren*) refers not to Van Dyck's enrolment as master as previously thought but the payment of his membership fee.¹⁰ Having come of age in March 1617 Van Dyck could have sold the *Carrying of the Cross* independently that year in line with guild regulations.¹¹ In 1617 the triumvirate most likely purchased Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* in Amsterdam (see Chapter 4). The haste with which the *Mysteries* cycle was assembled may have been spurred by knowledge of Archduke Albert's impending death which would have changed the political agenda. With direct lines to the Brussels court Rubens and the Order were acutely aware of this.

The *Mysteries* cycle may have been conceived in response to the *ommegang* staged on the Grote Markt on 16 August 1615. As Joanna Woodall interprets its floats packaged 'signs of discord' within conventional representations of archducal rule as a marriage of peace, piety and prosperity. Most lurid of these was a float containing Ottomans, heretics

⁹ See also Ambrosius Bogaerts, *Repertorium der Dominikanen in de Nederlanden* (Leuven: Dominikaans Archief, 1981): I.91-92, cat. no. 235.

¹⁰ Alejandro Vergara and Friso Lammertse (eds.), *The Young Van Dyck* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012): 149, cat. no. 21. 'Anthonio van Dick (Van Dyck), schilder ... gul. 23. 4'. Philip Rombouts and Theodoor van Lerius (eds.), *De Liggeren en Andere Historische Archieven der Antwerpse Sint Lucasgilde* (Amsterdam: Israël, 1961): I.545.

¹¹ Justin Davies, "Rubens? Van Dyck? Jordaens? – New Findings on Five Panels in the Szépművészeti Múzeum" (conference paper, Rubens, Van Dyck and the Splendour of Flemish Painting, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, 10 February 2020).

and devils which warned of rebellion in Antwerp's midst. The solution as the city council appears to have been arguing was for States-Brabant to retain their constitutional privileges and the city its time-honoured liberties. While angry that these had not been ringfenced the city council pledged their loyalty to the archdukes with a parting gift namely four pictures by Jan Brueghel I worth over 2,000 gulden; this series or quadriptych has not been identified.¹² This undoubtedly generous tribute gave license for the councillors to criticise their sovereigns through the *ommegang*. Another smokescreen was the 'remarkably ingratiating' speech delivered when Brueghel's paintings were bestowed; as orated by pensionary Joos de Weerdt, 'The magistrates of this city, who most humbly kiss Your [Albert's] hands, offer You these four paintings, wonderfully made by the hand of the painter Brueghel, here today. The Lords beg Your Majesty to overlook the meanness of the gift, but to accept it with pleasure, as a token of loyalty, by which they will endeavour, in all circumstances, to please and serve Your Illustrious Highness'.¹³ The city council was there to serve the archdukes to whom they offered the cream of Antwerp's art industry in gratitude for nearly a decade of peace. Yet as implied by the *ommegang* Antwerp's loyalty was conditional. Three years later the city council pledged their allegiance for a second time again using Brueghel's art. 'My lords Burgomasters and Aldermen have ordered the Treasurers and Steward to buy from Jan Brueghel, painter, two artful paintings representing the Five Senses on which twelve different, leading masters of this city have worked, in order

¹² Joanna Woodall, "'Greater or Lesser?' Tuning into the Pendants of the *Five Senses* by Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Companions". *Cambridge and the Study of Netherlandish Art. The Low Countries and the Fens*, Meredith Hale, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016): 88; Marcel de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst: Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van de XVII^e-eeuwseschilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1955): 151, 315, app. 103.

¹³ 'De magistraeten dezer stad, die U allernederigst de handen kussen, bieden U deze vier schilderijen, wonderbaar gemaald door de hand van den schilder Breughel, hier tegenwoordig. De Heeren smeeken Uwe Doorluchtigheid de geringheid der gift niet in aanmerking te nemen, maar haar met welgevallen te aanvaarden, als blijk der verkleefdheid, met welke zij in alle omstandigheden zullen trachten Uwe Doorluchtige Hoogheid te behagen en te dienen'. Jos van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpse Schilderschool* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1883): 651; Woodall, "Greater or Lesser?", 98, note 114.

to be given to their Illustrious Highnesses, our gracious Lords and Princes'.¹⁴ The 'two artful' *Five Senses* pendants were destroyed in 1731; however their appearance is recorded in workshop replicas entitled *Sight and Smell* and *Taste, Hearing and Touch* (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid) (ills. 2.2-3).¹⁵ As lead artist of the pendants Brueghel was paid 2,200 gulden; among his collaborators were Rubens, Hendrick van Balen and Frans Francken II who were authors of some of the *Mysteries* panels.¹⁶ The *Five Senses* pendants and the *Mysteries* cycle had clear affinities as this chapter is first to recognise. Painted at exactly the same time by almost as many Antwerp masters the cycle was not a *hommage aux souverains* as the pendants ostensibly were. Destined for open display in the *ecclesia laicorum* of the Dominican Church the cycle expressed trust in the providence guaranteed by Habsburg overlordship. This major investment of labour and capital effectively called the city council's bluff on the prophecies of doom expressed in the *ommegang*. By virtue of depicting the mysteries of the rosary the cycle invoked the Virgin's militarised protection of Antwerp under whose mantle the faithful were not only safe but could prosper. By making itself vulnerable to iconoclasm should history have repeated itself the *Mysteries* cycle was also a warning against the alternatives.

The Antwerp monastery had direct links with the Brussels court through Albert's Dominican confessor Íñigo de Brizuela who was the archdukes' de facto prime minister.

¹⁴ 'Mijnen Heeren Borgemeesteren ende Schepenen hebben geordonneert den Tresoriers ende Rentmeestere, te coopen van Jan van Breugel, schilder, twee constige schilderijen, representerende de Vijff Sinnen, waerinne gevrocht hebben tweelf diversche van de principaelste meesters deser stadt, om geschenken te worden aan Hare Doorluchtichste Hoocheden, onse genadige Heeren en Princen'. Translated in Woodall, "Greater or Lesser?", 69, note 1.

¹⁵ Woodall, "Greater or Lesser?", 69.

¹⁶ 'Mijnen Heeren Borgemeesteren ende Schepenen hebben den Tresoriers ende Rentmeestere, te wetene Jan de Ram, Tresorier ende Ontfanger van de consomptien deser stadt, te betalen aan Jan van Breugel, schilder, de somme van tweeduysent tweehondert guldens, voor den prijs van de twee constige schilderijen, representerende de Vijff Sinnen, van hem gecocht, om te schencken, van dese stadtswegen, aan Hare Doorluchtichste Hoocheden, onse genadige Heeren ende Princen, volgende de collegiale acte van den 8 Octobris lestleden. Actum in Collegio 16 Novembris 1618'. Branden, *Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, 652. See Christine van Mulders, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXVII (1): Works in Collaboration. Jan Brueghel I & II* (London: Harvey Miller, 2016): 71, cat. nos. 15-16; Bettina Werche, *Hendrick van Balen (1575-1632): Ein Antwerpener Kabinettbildmaler der Rubenszeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004): 27-31.

Brizuela first visited the Antwerp monastery in the company of the archdukes on the feast of St Dominic in 1603.¹⁷ If the *Mysteries* cycle did have a pacificatory agenda it could have been his idea. Brizuela passionately advocated peace in the region and kept pushing to bring Spain and the Dutch Republic to the negotiating table albeit in vain and he may have gone to Antwerp with the archdukes in 1615 because a terminally ill Albert needed a confessor at hand.¹⁸ Given Boucquet's outstanding success in expanding membership of the rosary brotherhood Brizuela would have then paid a visit to the monastery; together Brizuela and Boucquet could have discussed ideas for refurbishing the Sint-Pauluskerk. If so this dramatically raised the stakes for the north aisle's decoration. To realise a paintings cycle their first port of call would have been Rubens whom both friars already knew well (see Section 2).

The willingness of the laity to pay for the *Mysteries* cycle was a sign of civic pride and solidarity. The monastery made a conscious effort to make Antwerp the Order's base in Lower Germany (see Introduction). While the city may have been the economic capital of the Spanish Netherlands it had neither court nor archbishopric to boast of. The rivalry with Brussels was so intense it made Antwerpians feel 'extremely ill-disposed' towards the archducal regime just before the Truce expired. Religious cults in and around Brussels enjoyed the lion's share of court patronage including the statue of Notre-Dame du Sablon which had been abducted from Antwerp in the fourteenth century on a miraculous pretext.¹⁹ The belated visit of 1615 was supposed to restore faith in the regime.²⁰ In her progress through Antwerp's sacred topography Isabella gave herself pseudo-intercessory powers on

¹⁷ 'Anno quoque 1603. in Festo S. Dominici hic fuere *Albertus & Isabella*, & divinis interfuere, ea peragente M. N. Patre *Inaco de Brizuela* Dominicano, qui Principis Alberti Confessarius, & Consiliarius erat'. Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae* (The Hague: 1756-1757): III.3.

¹⁸ My thanks to Pierre-François Pirlet at the University of Liège for confirming this.

¹⁹ Thøfner, *A Common Art*, 48, 246.

²⁰ 'La démonstration que ceux du Magistrat, les bourgeois et habitans de vostre ville d'Anvers, ont faict de la joye receuë par vostre venue, est fort petite et nullement à esgaler avec la bonne affection qu'ils ont de s'employer a leur royal service'. Pieter Various, "Redevoeringen en verwelkomingen der Stadspensionarissen van Antwerpen". *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* 6 (1873): 371-372, no. 123; Woodall, "Greater or Lesser", 88.

the strength of a personal affiliation with the Virgin who was also Antwerp's patroness.²¹ To emphasise this the archdukes timed their visit with the feast of the Assumption. Isabella demonstrated her commitment to ecclesiastical patronage beyond the Truce by allowing one of her ladies-in-waiting to take the veil in a local convent.²² Evidently not all Antwerpians were convinced so to further the pacificatory agenda after their departure the archdukes needed help from local leading lights.

The idea that any artist directed the *Mysteries* cycle is refuted by Nico van Hout in his 2006 article.²³ This chapter argues that Rubens did so in collaboration with Brueghel and Van Balen the triumvirate of 'art-lovers' who are documented procuring Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* c. 1617 (see Part 2). Brueghel had already directed the many-handed *Five Senses* pendants and Van Balen who was paid the highest for his contribution enjoyed artistic pre-eminence in the 1610s (see Section 3 and Chapter 4). The *Mysteries* cycle is a consummate example of the booming collaborative sector within Antwerp's art industry.²⁴ In this context the paintings' stylistic incoherence can be considered an asset (see Chapter 1 and Section 4). Just as Rubens led the acquisition of Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* many contributors to the cycle came from his immediate circle while some of the artists who also collaborated on the *Five Senses* pendants were undoubtedly recruited with Brueghel's help. Brueghel and Rubens were the closest of friends as were Brueghel and Van Balen and a large part of Van Balen's output comprised collaborative artworks (see Chapter 4). In 1621 he produced a cycle of his own, the eight-scene *Life of the Virgin* painted on stone in a side chapel of the Jesuit Church.²⁵ As court painters Rubens and Brueghel if not Van Balen would

²¹ Alfons Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot Katholieke Bolwerk: Maatschappelijke Betekenis van de Kerk in Contrareformatorisch Antwerpen* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990): 107.

²² Thomas, "Isabel Clara Eugenia", 187.

²³ Hout, "Rozenkransreeks", 443-477.

²⁴ Elizabeth Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998): 178-189.

²⁵ See Anna C. Knaap, "Marvels and Marbles in the Antwerp Jesuit Church: Hendrick van Balen's Stone Paintings of the *Life of the Virgin* (1621)". *Jesuit Image Theory*, Wietse de Boer et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 352-393.

have been present at the 1615 *ommegang* (see Chapter 4). Whether or not the cycle was conceived in response it effectively inverted the language of this doomsday machine as this chapter is the first to suggest. Both cycle and procession framed scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin within broader political agendas. In the *Mysteries*' case this was anti-Protestant propaganda (see Chapter 1). The paintings did not placate Antwerp's rebels-to-be by beating them into submission but through persuasion. If Boucquet and Rubens had a pacificatory agenda they advanced it by showcasing a strong and stable manufacturing base through fifteen panels by eleven local artists.

Pre-modern Catholic confraternities are an established field of research including as sites for artistic patronage.²⁶ Louise Marshall details how medieval confraternities responded to a crisis by commissioning artworks namely images of the Virgin of Mercy which enlisted her protection against the plague while Alyssa Abraham examines how brotherhoods commissioned artworks to express their corporate identity.²⁷ As Nicholas Terpstra points out early modern confraternities functioned as 'commercial networks' and took it upon themselves to subsidise 'church construction, decoration, and repair' making them 'important players in local society' also by presiding over 'religious worship, sociability and

²⁶ Konrad Eisenbichler, "Introduction: A World of Confraternities". *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities*, Konrad Eisenbichler, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 1-19. See also Diana Bullen Presciutti (ed.), *Space, Place, and Motion: Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City* (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 273-389; Nicholas Terpstra et al. (eds.), *Faith's Boundaries: Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); Christopher Black, "The Development of Confraternity Studies over the Past Thirty Years". *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, Nicholas Terpstra, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 22-23; Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Nicholas Terpstra (ed.), *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl (eds.), *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); John Patrick Donnelly and Michael W. Maher (eds.), *Confraternities & Catholic Reform in Italy, France & Spain* (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999); Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

²⁷ Alyssa Abraham, "Iconography, Spectacle, and Notions of Corporate Identity: The Form and Function of Art in Early Modern Confraternities". *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities*, Konrad Eisenbichler, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 406-432; Louise Marshall, "Confraternities and Community: Mobilizing the Sacred in Times of Plague". *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image*, Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 20-45.

institutional charity'.²⁸ This chapter contributes to the scholarship by drawing attention to the more worldly concerns of elite members. In Chapter 4 the confraternity of saints Peter and Paul (the Romanists) is discussed in like terms.

Section 1 begins with a consideration of the archducal patronage of Marian cults and finishes with a detailed look at the *ommegang*. Section 2 examines Boucquet's ministry up to the expiry of his priorship in 1617 by which time he had founded other rosary brotherhoods in Lier and Mechelen; it argues that the rosary altarpiece in San Domenico was the *Mysteries* cycle's prime inspiration. Section 3 makes a case for Rubens, Brueghel and Van Balen's directorship of the *Mysteries* cycle; as Brueghel did with the *Five Senses* pendants this triumvirate used the cycle to present a 'cross-section of the entire Antwerp school of painting' and position themselves at the centre.²⁹ The cycle's apparent success made Rubens indispensable to the Order and soon after he was commissioned by Michaël Ophovius to paint the high altarpiece (see Chapter 5). Just as importantly the cycle was the product of corporate patronage which is detailed in the "15 Mysteries" document. This chapter concludes by asking how the paintings engaged with iconoclasm the enactment of which had far-reaching effects on the status of Catholic art. Paintings in Netherlandish churches especially those glorifying the Virgin were used to signal higher loyalties; concerning the Dominican Church this was to an empire on which the sun never set.

1: The archdukes and the 1615 *ommegang*

This section situates the *Mysteries* cycle within the archducal programme of Catholic renewal known as *Pietas Albertina*.³⁰ Through intense personal devotion Albert and Isabella

²⁸ Nicholas Terpstra, "Boundaries of Brotherhood: Laity and Clergy in the Social Spaces of Religion". *Faith's Boundaries: Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities*, Nicholas Terpstra et al., eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012): xviii, xxix, xv.

²⁹ Mulders, *CRLB XXVII (1)*, 72, cat. nos. 15-16.

³⁰ See Luc Duerloo, "Pietas Albertina: Dynastieke Vroomheid en Herbouw van het Vorstelijk Gezag". *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 112, no. 1 (1997): 1-18.

forged a political alliance with the Virgin which they articulated by patronising a constellation of Marian cults including Our Lady of the Rosary. Duerloo, Annick Delfosse and Cordula van Wyhe have each studied this phenomenon.³¹ The most important pilgrimage sites in the region were Laken, Halle and Scherpenheuvel; not by coincidence all three were in the orbit of Brussels within which Albert and Isabella fostered a pantheon of Marian cults and showered the shrines with patronage much to Antwerp's chagrin. While the archdukes actively encouraged devotion to the Virgin across their polity the religious infrastructure was blatantly Brussels-centric. As touched upon in the previous chapter Habsburg devotion to the Virgin was 'shaped by the resounding victories' at Lepanto and White Mountain yet the archdukes like the Order recruited the Virgin for defensive purposes.³² As Monica Stensland relates Albert gave thanks to Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel when enemy sieges at 's-Hertogenbosch and Ostend failed.³³ The town of Halle to which the archdukes were 'regular pilgrims' was saved from a Beggar attack by the local Black Madonna who according to legend caught cannonballs in her lap on the ramparts.³⁴ The Virgin of the Rosary featured prominently within the archducal pantheon. An altarpiece by Rubens for the Dominican church in Brussels showed the Virgin distributing rosaries to the archdukes through St Dominic's intercession with Philip III receiving his from Santiago the patron saint of Spain (destroyed 1695) (ill. 2.4, copy).³⁵ The altarpiece was displayed in the Spanish chapel of the

³¹ Luc Duerloo, "Archducal Piety and Habsburg Power". *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621*, Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998): 267-283; Annick Delfosse, *La "Protectrice du Pays-Bas": Stratégies Politiques et Figures de la Vierge dans les Pays-Bas Espagnols* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009): 111-147; Cordula van Wyhe (née Schumann), "Humble Wife, Charitable Mother and Chaste Widow: Representing the Virtues of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1599-1633)" (PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2001): 139-180.

³² Delfosse, *Protectrice*, 9-11, 38-43, 115-120, 166, 204-237; Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 61-62; Duerloo, "Archducal Piety", 271-273; Duerloo, "Pietas Albertina", 5-7, 11-16. For image-based Marian cults in their wider European context see Larry Silver, "Full of Grace: 'Mariolatry' in Post-Reformation Germany". *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach, eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009): 289-315.

³³ Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012): 142.

³⁴ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, 143.

³⁵ Fiona Healy, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part IV: The Holy Trinity, Life of the Virgin, Madonnas, Holy Family* (London: Harvey Miller, forthcoming). 'Picturae tres potissimum excellunt, ea quae in principe ara sacelli Hispanorum, quae a Rubenio ... Prima Divam Virginem in solio cum Jesulo residentem

royal confraternity of the rosary which was founded by ‘three *tercios*’ who were miraculously rescued at the siege of Zaltbommel in 1599.³⁶ Consequently many Spanish soldiers stationed in the Netherlands were persuaded to join.³⁷ Rubens emphasised the archdukes’ doctrinal fidelity by painting them suppliant at the Virgin’s feet.³⁸

The Antwerp monastery’s patronage model was very different. While the Brussels Dominicans could rely on the favours of court the Sint-Pauluskerk received corporate sponsorship from the lower-ranking but still wealthy rosary brotherhood. The *Mysteries* cycle was assembled from the grassroots between laity and clergy. This fiscal strategy was much more innovative than a royal commission stemming as it did from the profit economy (see Chapter 3). Both rosary brotherhoods had a connection with Brizuela who secured court patronage for the Spanish chapel. One of the ‘strong men of the regime’ according to Dries Raeymaekers he helped enlist prominent Spanish noblemen as Brussels confreres who made the Marian shrine so magnificent ‘nothing was found wanting’.³⁹ Brizuela was intimately involved in the peace process as Jonathan Israel and others show. After securing Philip III’s ratification of the Truce in Madrid on behalf of the archdukes the king promoted Brizuela to the Council of State on account of his ‘prudence’.⁴⁰ Brizuela aligned himself with the pro-

refert, accendentibus hinc inde Sanctis Dominico, Thoma Aquinate & Sancto Jacobo Apostolo a dextris, Sanctis Francisco, Catharina Martyre, item & Senensi a sinistris; inferius vero Hispaniae Rege a dextris, *Albertoque & Isabella Belgarum Principibus a sinistris, quibus Angelii Rosaria porrigitur*’. Sanderus, *Chorographia*, III.11-12.

³⁶ ‘Huic sodalitio deputatum est regium sacellum, vulgo *Capella Hispanorum*, quod ex refectorio dicti Conventus factum est, & Templo junctum anno 1593’. Sanderus, *Chorographia*, III.9. See also Duerloo and Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel*, 83-84.

³⁷ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 90; Duerloo, “*Pietas Albertina*”, 83-84.

³⁸ Sabine van Sprang, “Rubens and Brussels, More Than Just Courtly Relations”. *Rubens: A Genius at Work*, Joost vander Auwera and Sabine van Sprang, eds. (Tielt: Lannoo, 2007): 14.

³⁹ Dries Raeymaekers, *One Foot in the Palace: The Habsburg Court of Brussels and the Politics of Access in the Reign of Albert and Isabella, 1598-1621* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013): 240. By contrast, Isabella’s confessor – the Franciscan Andrés de Soto – meddled in affairs of state much less directly. Cordula van Wyhe, “Court and Convent: The Infanta Isabella and Her Franciscan Confessor Andrés De Soto”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35, no. 2 (2004): 416. ‘*P. F. Inacus de Brizuella, Confessarius Archiducis Alberti, Vicariusque Generalis ordinis Dominicani per Inferiorem Germaniam cum Patre Matthaeo de Guando aliisque plurimis primatibus Hispаниcis edidit statuta, pro regimine dicti sacelli, in quibus nihil, quod ad Hispanorum faciat splendorem, deest*’. Sanderus, *Chorographia*, III.9.

⁴⁰ Pierre-François Pirlet, *Le Confesseur du Prince dans les Pays-Bas Espagnols (1598-1659): Une Fonction, des Individus* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2018): 97-102.

peace faction at court.⁴¹ On strength of being ‘one of the most influential people at the heart of the political machine’ according to Pierre-François Pirlet Brizuela kept working for peace. Alongside Ambrogio Spínola the captain-general of the Army of Flanders, Brizuela was appointed to a *junta* which debated how the Truce could be renewed.⁴² The opportunity soon passed to give peace a chance. By 1615 ‘in Madrid, as well as in Brussels, the defenders of a strong and militarily active monarchy had prevailed’. The fall of the duke of Lerma in 1618 ‘reinforced the anti-Spínola faction’ who then re-established the Council of War.⁴³ In false hope Brizuela kept up peace talks until his death in 1629.⁴⁴

The Netherlands returned to the Spanish crown in 1621 the year Albert died and Philip IV became king; the widowed Isabella stayed on as governess-general and retained the symbolic vestiges of sovereignty but little else.⁴⁵ This moment had been long in the making. In 1614 one contemporary described Albert as ‘so thin that he has no more than the frame of bones covered in skin’.⁴⁶ Thenceforth a Spanish power grab hung over the region like the sword of Damocles. Madrid’s chief worry was having to suppress another rebellion so each of the provinces was made to swear loyalty to the Spanish crown.⁴⁷ All the same Netherlanders remained hostile. Spain had to ‘change Flemish public opinion in its favour ... decreeing that “the hearts of the Flemings should be won”’. Isabella was marketed as a symbol of continuity after direct rule because popular affection for her was genuine.⁴⁸ The archdukes’ visit to Antwerp in 1615 was part of a nationwide tour to canvas support. In Brussels Isabella won a shooting competition hosted by the great crossbow guild hitting a

⁴¹ Raeymaekers, *One Foot*, 238-241; Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982): 69.

⁴² See also Pirlet, *Le Confesseur*, 110-114; Israel, *Hispanic World*, 75.

⁴³ Werner Thomas, “The ‘Spanish Faction’ at the Court of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella”. *A Constellation of Courts: The Courts and Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555-1665*, René Vermeir et al., eds. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014): 220-221. See also Israel, *Hispanic World*, 62-63.

⁴⁴ Israel, *Hispanic World*, 155, 158-160, 225-226.

⁴⁵ Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 518-520.

⁴⁶ Thomas, “Isabel Clara Eugenia”, 181.

⁴⁷ Raeymaekers, *One Foot*, 243-248.

⁴⁸ Thomas, “Isabel Clara Eugenia”, 181-182, 185-186; Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 407.

stuffed parrot set on the spire of Notre-Dame du Sablon as Emperor Charles V had done; proclaimed “queen” of the guild for life ‘elite citizens and princes were again conjoined in a satisfactorily conventional manner’.⁴⁹ By appropriating rituals and traditions from the Burgundian court Isabella’s orchestrated progress through the polity proclaimed archducal rule to be another golden age.⁵⁰ The subsequent *ommegang* held in Brussels and the paintings series by Denijs van Alsloot that commemorates it have been subject to extensive study by Sabine van Sprang, Thomas and Thøfner.⁵¹ Watched by the archdukes from the Maison du Roi the central panel represents in effect Isabella’s coronation as “queen” of the great crossbowmen (Victoria & Albert Museum, London) (ill. 2.5 and details).⁵² With a mock-up court in tow a boy dressed as a parrot could be seen ‘teaching many doves [also wearing parrot-plumage] to say: “Isabella is Queen”’; watched by King Psapho of Libya who legend has it did likewise to proclaim himself God the “parrots” would symbolically spread the word of her coronation throughout the Netherlands.⁵³ Van Alsloot’s panels memorialised the Brussels *ommegang* on an impressive scale.⁵⁴ The panel depicting the militia guilds represented the ultimate guarantee of peace by showing corps of armed citizenry; rather than turn on their sovereigns the crossbowmen drill with their weapons ready to defend them (Victoria & Albert Museum, London) (ill. 2.6).⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007): 234-235.

⁵⁰ See Steven Thiry and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, “Burgundian Afterlives. Appropriating the Dynastic Past(s) in the Habsburg Netherlands”. *Dutch Crossing* 43, no. 1 (2019): 1-6.

⁵¹ Thøfner provides more historical detail about the procession whereas Van Sprang analyses the paintings most comprehensively. Sabine van Sprang, *Denijs van Alsloot (vers 1568-1625/26): Peintre Paysagiste au Service de la Cour des Archiducs Albert et Isabelle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014): 269-424; Thomas, “Isabel Clara Eugenia, 185-188; Thøfner, *A Common Art*, 234-244.

⁵² Sprang, *Denijs van Alsloot*, 383-394, 448-449, cat. no. F5.

⁵³ Thøfner, *A Common Art*, 239.

⁵⁴ See Sprang, *Denijs van Alsloot*, 452-460, cat. nos. FR1-10.

⁵⁵ Sprang, *Denijs van Alsloot*, 446-447, cat. no. F2.

No visual record was made of the Antwerp *ommegang*.⁵⁶ The programme was published in advance in Spanish as well as Dutch so courtiers in Brussels got its message.⁵⁷ Intended to help bystanders make sense of the complicated allegories it can be treated as a reliable description of the procession and is worth examining in detail. The first six floats praised the archdukes unexceptionably. First came the maid of Antwerp, whose servants stood for commerce and manufacturing which were lubricated by the Scheldt whose water flowed from an antique jug.⁵⁸ Second came the Truce whose spirit of concord clothed war in peace's garb.⁵⁹ Third came an elephant representing Hannibal's Punic war machine vanquished 'near the lady-observer' Isabella.⁶⁰ Fourth came a whale spraying water standing for Belgium quelled of inner turmoil by Arion's lyre.⁶¹ After more sea imagery in the form of Neptune and Triton the Muses were heard serenading the archdukes from Mount Parnassus.⁶² As an accompanying inscription explained, 'If Mars and Bellona dominate, so

⁵⁶ Woodall, "Greater or Lesser?", 88.

⁵⁷ Anonymous, *Declaracion de las Representaciones que se haran en la Procesion y Fiesta de la Ciudad de Amberes* (Antwerp: 1615); Anonymous, *Verclarinhe, ofte Bedietsel vande Verthooninghen die Ghedaen Sullen Worden in den Ommeganc die Men tot Antwerpen sal Houden* (Antwerp: 1615).

⁵⁸ 'D'eerste representatie. Eenen Triumphanten waghen daer op sidt een Maecht int wit ghecleet met eenen versiluerden Laurier Boom inde hant representerende de stadt van Antwerpen / ende beneden haer op dueuersche stoelen met vele Maechdekens representerende de Trafficque ende Ambachten der seluer stadt met de teecken van heure exercitien ofte ampten in handen hebbende / ende int middel sal ligghen de Riuiere Schaldis verthooft in figuere van eenen ouden man met lis bedeckt met eenen Antijcken Cruycke daer wt water bloeyen sal'. Anonymous, *Verclarinhe*, unpaginated.

⁵⁹ 'De Tweede representatie. Den Keuse eenen Titel die wordt voor ghedraghen / In teecken van blijschap hebbe ick verandert koen, / Mijn habijt ende late voorts mijn ghevveyr af doen. / Voor int quadraet daer op den Keuse is sittende kont gheschreuen. / *CONCORDIÆ / GENIIS ADIVVANTIBVS / BELLV / SAGVM EXVO, / PACIS / TOGAM INDVO*'. Anonymous, *Verclarinhe*, unpaginated.

⁶⁰ 'De derde representatie. Den Oliphant niet de Fortuyn / Opt quadraet daer op staet de Fortuyne aen elcke zijde gheschreuer vlermael. / *SORS OMNIA VERSAT.* / Int Tabel voor den Oliphant hangende in goude Letteren. / *Bellua bellatrix quondam nunc foederis adsum / Spectatrix, quoniam rerum sic vertitur ordo*'. Anonymous, *Verclarinhe*, unpaginated.

⁶¹ 'De vierde representatie. Den Walvisch bouen water wtspruytende / hier op sidt Arion ghecleet int Zeebroen spelende op een Viole oft Cithere. Onder den Walvisch in eenen schilt kont gheschreuen. / Vt citharam pulsans / Concordi pectine Arion/ Delphinus mouit, pelagique/immania cete/ Sic animos odiis infestos/ Pectora placas/ Aspera & vnanimes reddit/ Concordia Belgas'. Anonymous, *Verclarinhe*, unpaginated.

⁶² 'De vijfde representatie. Den waghen van Neptunus den Titel werdt ghorepresenteert op den waghen met de twee inscriptien die twee Tritonis houden ... De seste representatie. Eenen waghen representerende den Berch van Parnassus met de fonteyne van Aganippe springende/ Phoebus met zijn Cithere spelende ende sittende inden stoel van Mars ende Pallas beneden neffens haer liggende als verwonnen/ Bellona de Museum wacker zijnde ende elck zijn instrument hanterende ende harmonienslijck spelende int musieck diuersche liedeckens ter reren vande Doorluchtighe Eerts-Hertoghen'. Anonymous, *Verclarinhe*, unpaginated.

Phoebus and Pallas must give way, the Muses sleep and the arts must cease because the Barbarian reigns in all kingdoms. But if PAX overcomes Mars, and Bellona takes away her hellish power, one sees the Muses awake from their sleep, and the free arts flower day and night'.⁶³

The *ommegang*'s true intent was hammered home in subsequent floats. Number seven had actors playing the archdukes enthroned outside the Temple of Janus. This was another Truce allegory recalling the Roman king Numa Pompilius who according to Livy built the temple as an 'index of war and peace' so that his 'warlike people' could be 'softened by the disuse of arms'.⁶⁴ The provincial estates were represented by heraldry; having presumably sponsored the float these nobles could pitch themselves as keepers of the peace.⁶⁵ Number eight represented peace and justice. With Mars subdued the rule of Pax and Justitia was shown to breed good things like the cardinal and theological virtues as Father Time kept watch over his prisoner Mars. Unless the Truce was renewed it was implied the Pandora's box of civil war would be opened.⁶⁶ Number nine represented the Church Militant.

⁶³ 'Als Mars ende Bellona domineren/ Soo moet Phoebus ende Pallas wijcken/ De Musen die slapen die consten cesseren/ Barbarus regneert in alle rijcken/ Maer als PAX can Mars ouerwinnen/ Ende Bellona benemen haer helsche cracht/ Men siet de musen wt den slaep ontspringen/ De vrye Consten floren dach/ ende nacht'. Anonymous, *Verclaringhe*, unpaginated.

⁶⁴ 'De zevenste representatie. Den Tempel van Janus op de manieren soomen die inde oude Medalien vint viercantich die gefloten sal zijn met een ijseren kerene die gehouden sal worden by twee personagien aen beyde zijden vanden Tempel in twee Flouweelen stoelen sittende representerende de Eerts-hertogen / in sulcker boegen nochtans dat de deure met een splete somtijts sal open gaen daer wt haer hoofden sullen steken furor & seditio, die daer inne ghesloten sullen zijn ende maecken groot ghetier van roopen / ende lamenteren ... Bouen den tempel sal ghestelt worden een ghesneden ront vert bouen met een cleyn cornice / daer inne sal staen geschreuen Foederi Belgico'. Anonymous, *Verclaringhe*, unpaginated. Livy et al., *History of Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919): 67-69, I.19.

⁶⁵ 'Voor den tempel sal staen eenen ronden autaer op sijn antijekx rontsomme met een serpent sal ghenoemt sijn Ara salutis, aen elcke sijde sulen staen oft sitten twee nimphen representerende d'eeene de prouincien sijnde onder de gehoorsaemheyt vande Eerts-Hertogen met een wapen neffens haer/ daer inne sulen gheschildert sijn de wapenen vande Prouincien/ ende d'ander representerende de gevneerde Provincien hebbende inde hant elck een silueren schotelken ghelyck men op de kelcken legt/ t'selue houdende op den outaer ... ende beneden *BELGICI FOEDERIS BENEFICIO IANI TEMPLO/ A SERENISSIMIS ARCHIDVCIBVS/ ALBERTO ET ISABELLA/ CLAVSO, INCLVSISQVE, ET FRVSTRA FRENDENTIBVS/ FVRORE, ET SEDITIONE PRO CONCORDIAE/ PERENNITATE IN SALVTIS ARA VOTA FACIVNT/ BELGICÆ PROVINTIAE*'. Anonymous, *Verclaringhe*, unpaginated.

⁶⁶ 'D'achste representatie. Eenen waghen van Pax ende Justitia/ bouen staet gheschreuen/ *Concordiae reduci*. Pax in eenen triumphanten stoel ghecleet int wit silueren doeck/ sraep verciert met eenen olijftack inde hant/ op haer hooft een Laurier croone ... *Iustitia* ... *Veritas* ... *Fidelitas* ... *Charitas* ... *Prosperitas* ... *Prudentia* ... *Vnanimitas* ... *Abundantia* ... *Opulentia* ... *tempus* ... inde slincke hant een keten daer aen

The ship of St Peter was shown besieged by pirate boats containing devils, a ‘schismatic’, a Turk and the figure of ‘hellish fury’.⁶⁷ By pointing their arrows at the apostles as Woodall notes the scenario ‘obliquely threatened violence ... from within the city’ including the ‘civic militia in the shape of the handbowmen – a direct parallel to the crossbowmen in Brussels’.⁶⁸ An otherwise exemplary citizenry were about to hijack Antwerp’s ship of state because they saw no other means of preserving their privileges and keeping the peace. The remaining floats painted a sympathetic picture of Antwerp’s Catholic bulwark under Habsburg auspices. Number ten showed St Willebrord who had Christianised the Low Countries.⁶⁹ Then came the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi and the Circumcision.⁷⁰ The final pageant represented the Last Judgement as was conventional.⁷¹

gheboeyt liggen / Mars ligghende onder den voet van *tempus*, aen hebbende den voors. Mars / een autijcks harnas neffens sijn sijde / het sweert half wt de scheede ghetracken / hebbende in sijn hant een flambeau half gebroken ... *Discordia* ... *Peturbatio* ... *Rapina* ... *Crudelitas* ... *Fama*'. Anonymous, *Verclarinhe*, unpaginated.

⁶⁷ ‘De negenste representatie. Het schip van S. Peeter representerende de strijdende Kercke ... Noch sullen daer dry andere cleyne schuytkens sijn / daer inne sullen aen het roer sitten dry cleyne duyuels / in d’een sal staen een personagie half int harnas half int geestelijck habijt / representerende de schismaticos die half Ketters half Kerstenen sijn/ in het tweede eenen Turck / in sijn habijt representerende de Turcken/ int derde een personagie gecleet met eenen langen rock / ghemaect van alderley lappen ende stucken / hebbende het hooft gelijck een helsche furie / elck van dese dry personagien sal inde hant hebben eenen hantboge / met eenen pijl daer inne / daer mede sy sullen naer het schip schieten’. Anonymous, *Verclarinhe*, unpaginated.

⁶⁸ Woodall, “Greater or Lesser”, 88.

⁶⁹ ‘De t’hienste representatie. Den waghen van S. Willebrordus die int iaer 696. is gheweest den eersten Apostel deser stadt van Antwerpen ende omliggende plaeften / de inwoonderen der seluer stadt ende die van Hollant / Zeelant / Wtrecht / ende andere plaeften vanden afgodts dienst tot den Roomschen Catholijcken ghelooue heeft ghebrocht ... by den datum vanden voors. iaer 696’. Anonymous, *Verclarinhe*, unpaginated.

⁷⁰ ‘De elfste representatie. Is eenen wagen vertoonende onser vrouwen Bootschap / bouen is d’inscriptie / *Deo incarnato*. / De tweelfste representatie. Is eenen wagen vertoonende de Visitatie van onse Lieue Vrouwe. / De derthienste representatie. Eenen waghen representerende Bethlehem ende de Gheboorte van onsen Salichmaker met de herderkens achtervolgende al singende / bouen was de inscriptie / *Nato Seruatori*. / De veerthienste representatie. Eenen wagen met de representatie vande dry Coninghen ende hare offerhande / in Bethlehem bouen is d’inscriptie / *Deo regi & homini*. / De xv. representatie. Eenen wagen vande H. Besnijdenisse / bouen is d’inscriptie / *Orbis redemptori*. / De xvi. representatie. Wesende den wagen vande seuen ween / waer op dat sitten veertien maechdekens / waer van de seuen int swerte ghecleet / representeren de seuen droefheden vande Moeder Godts / ende de seuen andere ghecleet in diuersche coleuren / de seuen blijschappen vande selue Moeder Godts’. Anonymous, *Verclarinhe*, unpaginated. See also Hans Devisscher and Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part V (1): The Life of Christ before the Passion. The Youth of Christ* (London: Harvey Miller, 2014): 113-114, cat. no. 23.

⁷¹ ‘De xvii. representatie. Eenen schrickelijcken ende vervaerlijcken waghen / representerende de doot / d’oordeel / ende de helle / bouen stont gheschreuen / *Iustitiae diuiniae*, den tijtel wort voorghedraghen’. The float’s inscription ends ominously: ‘Maer naer deuchtsame heeft Godt verlanghen / Want boosheyt en deucht sullen bey loon ontfanghen’, after which follows a procession of devils. Anonymous, *Verclarinhe*, unpaginated.

Given all that came before it this terrifying vision of hell may have posed the question, are the archdukes weighed in the balance and found wanting? Albert and Isabella's two-week stay in Antwerp as a pacification strategy failed to reassure the city council. The lack of preparedness for direct rule was highlighted when Albert's poor health forced the court to retire early to Brussels. On 27 August Albert summoned the strength to bid Antwerp farewell taking Brueghel's paintings with him (see above) but the city's constitutional liberties were still in jeopardy. To reassure Antwerpians otherwise the archdukes needed grassroots support of which the Dominican monastery was a reliable bastion.

2: Joannes Boucquet '*magno cum fructu priorem celeberrimi*'

This section argues that the *Mysteries* cycle was the initiative of Boucquet who before his departure as prior wanted to leave a legacy to the Dominican Church. After narrating his ministry which included the foundation of other rosary brotherhoods this section proposes the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* in San Domenico as the most likely source of inspiration. Having paid for Arnout Vinckenborch's *Resurrection* according to the "15 Mysteries" document Boucquet was also the donor of Cornelis de Vos' *Presentation in the Temple* because his portrait features behind Simeon bearing the Christ child (ill. 2.7, detail).⁷² Dressed in a black habit Boucquet's decisive outward stare singles him out as a *domini canes*; by then Boucquet and Ophovius had established the Antwerp monastery as a 'university of sacred Christian theology' (see Introduction). The painting exhibited Boucquet's knowledge of scripture by having the hem of the temple elder's robes inscribed

⁷² Bogaerts, *Repertorium*, I.91-93, cat. no. 235; Mark Robbroeckx, "De Vijftien Rozenkransschilderijen van de Sint-Pauluskerk te Antwerpen" (MA thesis, University of Ghent, 1972): 55.

with Hebrew quotations from Exodus.⁷³ Referring to the Presentation's exegetical fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy the text was undoubtedly supplied by the prior himself.⁷⁴

Boucquet and Ophovius were among the first intake of novices in the Antwerp monastery after *Reconquista*. While not eyewitnesses to the Revolt the destruction caused by the Calvinist Republic was a living reality in their formative years. Singled out by Sanderus as one of the monastery's heroic figures (see Introduction) Boucquet was praised by Bishop Joannes Malderus as a 'most distinguished prior great with profit'.⁷⁵ Elected three times to this office Boucquet was honoured with a portrait in the refectory alongside that of Ophovius.⁷⁶ As an itinerant missionary Boucquet cut his teeth in Ypres and Lier on strength of which he was sent to Bologna as provincial definitor. In like capacity Boucquet travelled to Lille, Cologne, Saint-Omer, Valencia and Rome before his death in 1640.⁷⁷ In the preface to his edition of Johannes Nider's *De Reformatione Religiosorum* (1611) Boucquet mounted a spirited defence of regular mendicancy calling Martin Luther and John Calvin 'unruly wild asses' and likening Ottoman rule in Greece to a cloud of darkness.⁷⁸ Calvino-Turkish propaganda likewise informed the post-Lepanto rosary devotion that Boucquet was heavily involved in promoting (see Chapter 1). Under Boucquet and Ophovius' leadership the Antwerp Dominicans established a satellite monastery in Lier persuading the mayor to give

⁷³ Raymond Sirjacobs, *Antwerpen Sint-Pauluskerk: Historische Gids* (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2001): 34. The Hebrew inscriptions read as follows: 'Sanctify unto me all the firstborn, whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, *both* of man and of beast: it *is* mine ... and all the firstborn of man among thy children shalt thou redeem'. Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (eds.), *The Bible: Authorized King James Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): OT.81, Exodus 13:2-13.

⁷⁴ Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible*, NT.74, Luke 2:34.

⁷⁵ '...religiosum admodum et eruditum virum patrem Joannem Boequetum, sacrae theologiae licentiatum, magno cum fructu priorem celeberrimi conventus ordinis Praedicatorum in civitate Antverpiensi'. Joannes Malderus, "Rapport Adressé au Souverain Pontife, Paul V, sur l'État de son Diocèse, en 1615". *Analectes pour Servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, Pierre de Ram, ed. (Leuven: Peeters, 1864-1914): I.100.

⁷⁶ Ambrosius Bogaerts, "De Professielijsten van het Predikherenklooster te Antwerpen (1586-1796)". *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 49, nos. 1-2 (1966): 13-14, 20. Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.175.

⁷⁷ Bogaerts, *Repertorium*, I.91-92. See also Various, *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* (Brussels: L'Académie Royale, 1866-1978): X.784-785.

⁷⁸ Johannes Nider and Joannes Boucquet (ed.), *De Reformatione Religiosorum Libri Tres* (Antwerp: 1611): unpaginated. My thanks to John Martin at the Dominican House of Studies, Washington DC for his assistance.

the Kluizekerk to the Dominicans in 1611 (ill. 2.8).⁷⁹ The Order first put down roots there in 1604 when they gave a miraculous statue of the Virgin to the chapel of St Anne's Hospice.⁸⁰ The following year in the same chapel Boucquet as subprior of the Antwerp monastery founded a rosary brotherhood.⁸¹ The subsequent surge in Marian devotion apparently gave the locals a 'pious desire' to establish a Dominican monastery in their city; thanks to Boucquet's efforts the Order were officially admitted to Lier in 1612.⁸² To help realise this Ophovius who was then serving as provincial wrote to Brizuela and in 1614 Brizuela and Ophovius went to Lier where they could admire Boucquet's missionary handiwork.⁸³ As a token of esteem Brizuela procured from King Philip III a 'gift of 5000 gulden for the Kluizekerk, in reverence for Our Lady of the Rosary'.⁸⁴ How this money was used to decorate the church is not known.⁸⁵ In the archiepiscopal seat of Mechelen Boucquet founded another rosary brotherhood. On 24 June 1616 in the Sint-Janskerk according to one chronicle, 'The brotherhood of the Holy Rosary and the Most Holy Mary Mother of God

⁷⁹ Jordanus de Pue, *De Paters van de Kluis – de Dominikanen – te Lier* (Leuven: De Paters Dominicanen, 1983): 15-21, 30-31; Erik Aerts, "De Lierse Dominicanen in het Verleden". *De Brabantse Folklore* 235 (September 1982): 213-217.

⁸⁰ 'Int jaer 1604 wordt int capelleken int godtshuys van St. Anna (als dan gestaen neffens het Cluyse kerckhof) ghestelt een ghesneden beeldeken van de H. Moeder Gods Maria, ghemaect van het houdt van den boom van Scherpenheuvel, hetwelcke van veele menschen besocht wierdt, om de menichte van mirakelen, de welcke aldaer daeghelycks geschiedden'. Cited in Pue, *De Paters*, 15.

⁸¹ 'Tot dien eynde is den seer eerw. P. Joannes Bocquet alsdan supprior van ons convent van Antwerpen tot Liere ghecommen den 18 september 1605 ende heeft daer het broederschap vanden h. Roosencrans ingestelt'. Cited in Pue, *De Paters*, 15.

⁸² '...waerdoor zeer aangegroeyst is de devotie totde Alderheylichste Maghet ende Moeder Godts Maria ende de inwoonders van Lier gecreghen hebben eene godtvuchtighe begeerte om de Paters Predicheeren te versoecken, dat sij souden willen binnen Lier commen een clooster beginnen'. Cited in Pue, *De Paters*, 15. Two decades later, Vincent Hensbergh credited the success of the Lier Dominicans to 'Eerw. Pater en Doctoor in de H. Godheyt P. Ioannes Boucquet, van ons Predickheerenklooster van Antwerpen'. Vincent Hensbergh, *Den gheestelycken Rooselaer der alder weerdichste Moeder Godts* (Antwerp: 1623): 21-23.

⁸³ Pue, *De Paters*, 19.

⁸⁴ 'De Provinciaal was vergezeld van eenen anderen Dominicaan, Pater Brizuëla ... De tegenwoordigheid van den Eerw. heer de Brizuëla bij dit bezoek had voor de Liersche Predikheeren goede gevolgen. Op zijn zoek werd hun klooster tot Vicariaat verheven en hij bekwam bovendien van den koning van Spanje eene gift van 5000 gulden voor de Kluizekerk, ter vereering van O. L. Vrouw van den Rozenkrans'. Cited in Pue, *De Paters*, 36-37. See also Bernardo de Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum sive Historia Provinciae Germaniae Inferioris Sacri Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum* (Brussels: 1719): 396.

⁸⁵ Rubens' *Rosary Madonna* was installed in the 1630s (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. no. 647). Xenia Yegorova, *Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts: Flanders XVII-XVIII Centuries: Collection of Paintings* (Moscow: Trilistnik, 1998): 254-256, cat. no. 179. For more on the Kluizekerk's miraculous statues of the Virgin see Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum*, 392-394.

was founded and installed by the Dominican Fathers. The prior of the Antwerp Monastery preached in the morning that day, and in the afternoon, and again after that'.⁸⁶ The backdrop to Boucquet's oratory was a triptych above the high altar depicting the Virgin of the Rosary flanked by the church's patron saints.⁸⁷ By then Boucquet had forged an alliance with Rubens. Later in 1616 the parish priest commissioned a replacement altarpiece from Rubens, the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych (in situ) (ill. 2.9).⁸⁸ Having painted several altarpieces for the Sint-Pauluskerk already (see Introduction) Rubens' commission may have been on Boucquet's recommendation.

1616 was when the "mystery machine" got going. Boucquet and Ophovius made Antwerp an axis of rosary devotion by turning the monastery into a writing centre (see Chapter 1). At the beginning of that year Boucquet visited the Cappella del Rosario (ill. 2.10). The Bolognese altarpiece consists of a niche containing a statue of the Virgin framed by small square canvases of each mystery painted by Francesco Albani, Lodovico Carracci, Denys Calvaert, Bartolomeo Cesi, Domenichino, Lavinia Fontana and Guido Reni (ill. 2.11).⁸⁹ Installed c. 1601 the altarpiece represented 'the most important Bolognese artists of the time'.⁹⁰ Boucquet was able to see this artwork while attending the Order's general chapter on 18 January; installed opposite the monumental sarcophagus of St Dominic the altarpiece is highly conspicuous. The paintings are mostly the product of the Carracci

⁸⁶ 'Den 24 Juny 1616, zijnde Sint Jans, werde in deze Kerk opgesteld en ingezet door de Vaders Predikheren, het broederschap van het H. Roosenkranske van de alderheyligste moeder Gods Maria. Den Prior van 't Klooster van Antwerpen, predikte den zelven dag 's morgens, en na den noen, en ook na dat het lof geeyndigt was'. Cited in Robbroeckx, "Rozenkransschilderijen", 28.

⁸⁷ '...wird dan betaelt in julio 1616, aan Rombout van Avont, na het schilderen van drij beelden, hetgeen van O.L.Vr. met het Roosenkransken, St. Jan Baptist en St. Jan Evangelist, staende boven den hogen autaer, 42 gulden'. Cited in Robbroeckx, "Rozenkransschilderijen", 28.

⁸⁸ 'Den 27 dec. 1616 wird aen de heere Petrus Paulus Rubbens, schilder, woonende te Antwerpen door de heeren Pastoor en Kerkmeesters aenbesteed het schilderen van de schilderijen van den autaer in de hoge choor'. Cited in Robbroeckx, "Rozenkransschilderijen", 28. See also Devisscher and Vlieghe, *CRLB V (1)*, 135-168, cat. nos. 24-31; Emmanuel Neeffs, "Chronique Artistique de l'Église de St-Jean à Malines". *Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'Art et d'Archéologie* 13 (1874): 24.

⁸⁹ Beatrice Borghi, *San Domenico: Un Patrimonio Secolare di Arte, Fede e Cultura* (Bologna: Minerva Edizioni, 2012): 150-171.

⁹⁰ Borghi, *San Domenico*, 169.

Academy and at least three mysteries are attributed to Lodovico himself.⁹¹ The altarpiece is striking as a composite work in multi-media. The combination of polychrome statuary and paintings by many Bolognese hands found echoes in the *Mysteries* cycle; moreover to have a Virgin that differs in scale and manufacture to the surrounding paintings is analogous with the installation of Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* within the north aisle.⁹² Boucquet acted decisively. In Bologna he and the procurator general issued a decree authorising Dominican friars to accept donations and gifts in spite of their professed renunciation of property.⁹³ This served the Antwerp monastery in other ways given the pressing need for building works (see Introduction). With official sanction from the general chapter the *Mysteries* cycle was procured for the Sint-Pauluskerk by a spectrum of wealthy donors (see Section 3). Boucquet wanted the Antwerp rosary brotherhood to be his legacy more than anything else. By remaking the Bolognese altarpiece on a grand scale in the local Flemish idiom the brotherhood could broadcast its pre-eminence within the Dominican province and northern Europe. The *Mysteries* cycle would have had Brizuela's blessing on account of his close relationships with several monastery friars including his protégé Hyacinthus Choquet as well as Ophovius (see above).⁹⁴ As someone who 'governed completely in the absence of the archduke' according to one commentator and bearing in mind his support for the Spanish chapel in Brussels Brizuela could have kept the Antwerp friars abreast of political developments just when the cycle was being devised (see Section 1).⁹⁵ Around 1616 Brizuela was involved in persuading the Provincial Estates to swear loyalty to Spain which Brabant

⁹¹ Gail Feigenbaum, 'Lodovico Carracci: A Study of his Later Career and a Catalogue of his Paintings' (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1984): 355-360, cat. nos. 98-100.

⁹² A 'Madonna nova di stucco' was originally commissioned for the cycle. Venturino Alce, *La Cappella del Rosario in San Domenico di Bologna* (Bologna: Luigi Parma, 1976): 10-11. My thanks to Andrea Zanarini at the Archivio Storico della Provincia San Domenico in Italia, Bologna for his assistance.

⁹³ Rijksarchief Leuven, Dominikaans Provinciaal Archief, Lucas Castellini and Joannes Boucquet, 18 January 1616 (434).

⁹⁴ De Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum*, 230.

⁹⁵ 'Le confesseur de l'Archiduc ... gouverne tout en [leur] l'absence'. Louis Gachard, 'Relations Inédites de Voyages en Belgique. Voyage de Pierre Bergeron en 1617. Voyage du P. du Molinet en 1682'. *Revue de Bruxelles* (May 1839): 38.

was the last to do.⁹⁶ Antwerpians flocked to the rosary brotherhood for spiritual reassurance and an ambitious paintings cycle would have given them more confidence in their city's future. In this vein Brizuela may have recognised the *Mysteries* as an effective vehicle for pacification.

3: Rubens and the rosary brotherhood

This section makes the case for Rubens, Brueghel and Van Balen as coordinators of the *Mysteries* cycle while also mapping out the cycle's patronage network as indicated by the "15 Mysteries" document. Of particular note is Rubens' relationship with his patron for the *Flagellation* the merchant Lowies Clarisse and the painting's tailoring to elite taste. Appointed court painter to the archdukes after a distinguished sojourn in Italy Rubens was Antwerp's foremost religious artist in 1617. His role in coordinating the cycle might be belied by its lack of stylistic coherence compounded by the mediocrity of artists like Voet as Van Hout argues.⁹⁷ Alternatively differences in quality indicate that it was completed to a tight schedule facilitated by the division of labour in part as a 'triumphal entry' for Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* as Irene Schaudies suggests.⁹⁸ Employment in Rubens' studio is thinly documented especially in the 1610s.⁹⁹ While several established masters worked with Brueghel on the *Five Senses* pendants the panels by novices are often pastiches of Rubens' work suggesting that these artists were selected from his workshop; as for Van Balen his involvement in procuring Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* is likely to have extended to the *Mysteries* cycle (see above). In general lesser-known artists such as Antonis

⁹⁶ Thomas, "Isabel Clara Eugenia", 182; Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*, 400, 411; Pirlet, *Le Confesseur*, 102-110.

⁹⁷ Nico van Hout, "Schilderkunstige Kanttekeningen bij de Rozenkransreeks in de Sint-Pauluskerk te Antwerpen". *Munuscula Amicorum: Contributions on Rubens and his Colleagues in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, Katlijne van der Stighelen, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006): 472.

⁹⁸ Nils Büttner, *Herr P. P. Rubens: von der Kunst, berühmt zu werden* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006): 129; Irene Schaudies, "Trimming Rubens' Shadow: New Light on the Mediation of Caravaggio in the Southern Netherlands". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004): 353.

⁹⁹ Arnout Balis, "Rubens and His Studio: Defining the Problem". *Rubens: A Genius at Work*, Joost vander Auwera and Sabine van Sprang, eds. (Tielt: Lannoo, 2007): 30-51.

de Bruyn, Vinckenborch and Artus Wolffort painted scenes which established masters had refused and received a payment commensurate with their novice status.

As well as Brizuela Rubens could have provided a pacificatory impetus. His belief in the benefits of peace is manifest in the *Adoration of the Magi* painted for Antwerp City Hall as a backdrop to Truce negotiations (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid) (ill. 2.12). Atop a classical manger the prince of peace inspects the gold coins proffered to him by one magus. The abundance of wealth being laid at his feet was logically dependant on free transit just as Antwerp's mercantile prosperity relied on an open Scheldt, a point which the city magistrates were keen to emphasise as Joost vander Auwera argues.¹⁰⁰ Although his diplomatic career did not officially begin until the 1620s Rubens' involvement in politics started much earlier as Ulrich Heinen shows.¹⁰¹ While peace through war was a policy he later advocated Rubens had long desired peace in absolute terms.¹⁰² Alarmed by escalating tensions in Antwerp the *Mysteries* cycle was an opportunity for more than just self-publicity. The *Mysteries* cycle's innovative format was modelled on the altarpiece in San Domenico. Given his collection of drawings by the Carracci Academy Rubens would have wanted to see it when visiting Bologna in 1603.¹⁰³ Like the Cappella del Rosario altarpiece the *Mysteries* cycle is the work of various distinguished hands. Unlike the Bolognese prototype where the fifteen mysteries and the Virgin are physically integrated the Antwerp panels are

¹⁰⁰ Devisscher and Vlieghe, *CRLB V (1)*, 112-114, cat. no. 23; Joost vander Auwera, "Rubens' *Adoration of the Magi* in Light of its Original Antwerp Destination". *Rubens: The Adoration of the Magi*, Alejandro Vergara, ed. (London: Paul Holberton, 2004): 40-41.

¹⁰¹ Ulrich Heinen, "‘Versatissimus in Historiis et Re Politica’: Rubens’ Anfänge als Diplomat". *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 63 (2002): 291-296.

¹⁰² Ulrich Heinen, "Rubens’ Pictorial Diplomacy at War (1637/1638)". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004): 199-200; David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550-1672* (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 434; Marina Daiman, "Peter Paul Rubens: Broker of Peace, Painter of Violence". *Aspects of Violence in Renaissance Europe*, Jonathan Davies, ed. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013): 152.

¹⁰³ Jeremy Wood, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXVI (2): Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists. Italian Masters* (London: Harvey Miller, 2010): II.415-426, cat. nos. 162-164; Raffaella Morselli, *Tra Fiandre e Italia: Rubens 1600-1608. Regesto Biografico-Critico* (Rome: Viella, 2018): 116-117, 113-114, 341-342. See also Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977): 55; George Calvert, *The Life of Rubens* (Boston, MA: Lee and Shepard, 1876): 67-69.

more obviously detachable and replaceable like paintings in a gallery installation (see Section 4).

The prices paid for the *Mysteries* panels varied widely. Costing 216 gulden Van Balen's *Annunciation* was the most expensive and naturally his went first in sequence; the cheapest painter on average was Vinckenborch whose *Resurrection* and *Coronation of the Virgin* cost sixty-six gulden each (fig. 2.1).¹⁰⁴

Artist	Date became master	Payment/s
Van Balen	1593	216
Francken II	1605	120
De Vos	1608	138 / -
Voet	-	96 / 102
Teniers I	1606	102
Rubens	1598	150
De Bruyn	1617	96
Van Dyck	1617	150
Jordaens	1615	150
Vinckenborch	1615	66 / 66
Wolffort	1617	120 / 66

The most senior masters were paid over 100 gulden. Van Balen, Rubens, De Vos, Francken II and David Teniers I had all established workshops before 1610. At the lower end of the pay scale receiving double-digit figures for at least one panel were Matthijs Voet, De Bruyn, Wolffort and Vinckenborch; three of them registered as masters after 1615 and although Voet's name does not appear in the *Liggeren* he probably did as well.¹⁰⁵ Some artists bucked the trend. Voet received as much as Teniers I for the *Pentecost* while Wolffort's *Ascension* cost the same as the *Visitation* by his teacher Francken II (120 gulden).¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile novice masters Van Dyck and Jordaens were paid as much as their master Rubens (150). What else can explain these differences in value? As Rubens wrote at the time paintings should not be

¹⁰⁴ Rombouts and Lerius, *Liggeren*, I.371 (Van Balen), 430 (Francken II), 447 (De Vos), 434 (Teniers I), 401 (Rubens), 514 (Vinckenborch), 533 (De Bruyn), 545 (Van Dyck), 514 (Jordaens), 534 (Wolffort).

¹⁰⁵ See also Ronald de Jager, "Meester, Leerjongen, Leertijd: Een Analyse van Zeventiende-eeuwse Noord-Nederlandse Leerlingcontracten van Kunstschilders, Goud- en Zilversmeden". *Oud Holland* 104, no. 2 (1990): 69-111.

¹⁰⁶ '1617 Artus Wolfarts, scilder, hebbende een Francois Francken, om een half jaer te moghen vrij wercken, betaelt a° 1616...'. Max Rooses, *Boek Gehouden door Jan Moretus II als Deken der St. Lucasgilde (1616-1617)* (Antwerp: Kockx, 1878): 39.

priced by the yard but ‘according to excellence, their subject and the number of figures’.¹⁰⁷ The latter criterion bore some correlation at the lower end of the scale. For example Wolffort’s *Ascension* packs in many more figures than his *Assumption* for which he was paid half (sixty-six versus 120). As for subject matter novice masters were generally assigned the glorious mysteries which averaged eighty-four gulden per panel. By comparison the joyful and sorrowful mysteries fetched around 143 and 130 apiece. As for ‘excellence’ Van Dyck and Jordaens were paid more than double what Vinckenborch received for both his panels put together. On the other hand the price range of the cycle was relatively narrow; this can be explained by the equal sizes of each panel which was another criterion for valuing paintings.¹⁰⁸ Assuming the triumvirate did not receive additional payments for their services, Rubens was paid exceedingly little for his contribution to the *Mysteries* cycle and Van Balen not much more; as for Brueghel his remuneration is unrecorded. Artists expected cash payments for even the most pious undertaking. For example the *Raising of the Cross* for Antwerp’s most venerable church the Burchtkerk earned Rubens 2,600 gulden (Antwerp Cathedral).¹⁰⁹ By 1617 Rubens could afford to work for free on occasion because he was one of Antwerp’s top earners with an average weekly income of 100 gulden as Nils Büttner demonstrates.¹¹⁰ In 1618 Rubens offered Sir Dudley Carleton twenty-three paintings priced between fifty and 1,200 gulden depending on size, subject matter and the extent of his involvement. For example the large *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* an ‘original all by my hand’ was valued at 600 gulden (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC) (ill. 2.13).¹¹¹ The

¹⁰⁷ ‘...nel prezzo facendosi il conto delle pitture diverso da quello delle Tapizzarie che si comprano à misura ma quelle conforme la bonta, suggetto i numero di figure’. Max Rooses and Charles Ruelens (eds.), *Correspondance de Rubens et Documents Épistolaires concernant sa Vie et ses Œuvres (Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus)* (Soest: Davaco, 1887-1909): II.181, no. 179.

¹⁰⁸ Joost vander Auwera, “Size Matters! On the Importance and Significance of Life-Size Figures in Rubens’ Paintings”. *Rubens and the Human Body*, Cordula van Wyhe, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018): 143-145.

¹⁰⁹ Judson, *CRLB VI*, 94, cat. no. 20.

¹¹⁰ Büttner, *Rubens*, 128.

¹¹¹ ‘fiorini 600 – Daniel fra molti Leoni cavati dal naturale. Originale tutto de mia mano – 8/12 [piedi]’. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, II.134-135, no. 166; R.-A. d’Hulst and Marc Vandeven, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part III: The Old Testament* (London: Harvey Miller, 1989): 190, cat. no. 57.

Flagellation was not cheap for want of quality. Rather in helping to direct the cycle Rubens sought the greater prizes of fame and honour which according to the theologian Leonardus Lessius were ‘part of the reward ... if a job involves honours or other blessings’.¹¹² For Rubens these took the form of more commissions from the monastery and the honour of having procured a major piece of devotional and civic ornament for Antwerp (see Chapter 5). Fame and honour likewise drove Rubens to procure Caravaggio’s *Rosary Madonna* at his own expense in partnership with Brueghel, Van Balen and the merchant Jan Coymans. In this quadrumvirate of ‘diverse art-lovers’ Brueghel was the elder statesman (see Chapter 4). As such a comparison with Brueghel’s *Five Senses* is most apt. The pendants were cornucopias of the visual arts showcasing Antwerp’s industrial renaissance under archducal patronage especially the *Allegory of Sight and Smell* which was set in a picture gallery. Referencing actual paintings such as Rubens’ *Judgement of Paris* the pendants’ pictures-within-pictures functioned as the “business cards” of ‘twelve of the most highly regarded artists working in the city around 1618’ as Christine van Mulders argues. Brueghel’s team included Adam van Noort who taught both De Bruyn and Jordaeus; Van Noort was also the latter’s father-in-law.¹¹³ Many contributors to the *Five Senses* pendants including Brueghel, Van Balen, Francken II and De Vos as well as Van Noort were ‘old deans’ of the *Violieren* chamber of rhetoric (see Chapter 4).¹¹⁴ Brueghel was also friends with Teniers I and their families would later intermarry.¹¹⁵ Begun around 1616 the *Five Senses* pendants brought together many of the *Mysteries*’ senior masters just when the cycle was being produced.¹¹⁶ In 1615 Rubens joined the Kolveniers or arquebusiers’ guild a civic militia for whom he had

¹¹² Cited in Büttner, *Rubens*, 135.

¹¹³ Mulders, *CRLB XXVII (1)*, 71-77, cat. nos. 15-16; Hans Vlieghe, “Artus of Antoni De Bruyn?”. *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1969): 178.

¹¹⁴ Fernand Donnet, *Het Jonstich Versaem der Violieren: Geschiedenis der Rederijkkamer de Olijftak sedert 1480* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1907): 75, 107, 116.

¹¹⁵ Hans Vlieghe, *David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690): A Biography* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011): 15; Jan Denucé, *Briefe und Dokumente in Bezug auf Jan Breugel I und II* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1934): 27, no. 7, 30-31, no. 10.

¹¹⁶ Mulders, *CRLB XXVII (1)*, 71, cat. nos. 15-16.

painted the *Descent from the Cross* triptych (Antwerp Cathedral) (see Chapter 3).¹¹⁷ The guild's premises were the Koveniershof which backed onto Rubens' garden. As Nora de Poorter elucidates many Antwerp artists were Koveniers including Brueghel, Francken II, Jordaens and Teniers I.¹¹⁸ Rubens' elevated standing within the guild and his close friendship with its chairman Nicolaas Rockox would have acquainted him with Francken II in advance of the *Mysteries* cycle's commission.¹¹⁹ As for Teniers I Rubens first met him in Rome; both were members of the Koveniersgilde in which context their friendship had a chance to develop before Rubens agreed to help him with a series of altarpieces c. 1615.¹²⁰

While Brueghel and his colleagues worked on the *Five Senses* pendants Rubens and his assistants were preparing cartoons for the *Decius Mus* tapestries. Narrating the Roman consul's self-sacrifice during the Second Latin War the cartoons were executed between 1616-1618 (The Princely Collections, Palais Liechtenstein, Vienna).¹²¹ Like the *Mysteries* cycle the *Decius Mus* cartoons had Rubens coordinate an epic series with a high degree of workshop participation. On the basis of clear parities between the cartoons and their respective early oeuvres Reinhold Baumstark argues that Van Dyck and Jordaens were prominent among Rubens' collaborators on this project.¹²² The *Crucifixion* was one of Jordaens' first commissions as an independent master and likewise for Van Dyck whose *Carrying of the Cross* borrows motifs from *Decius Mus Relating his Dream* (ill. 2.14).¹²³ In

¹¹⁷ Nora de Poorter, "Rubens 'Onder de Wapenen'. De Antwerpse Schilders als Gildebroeders van de Koveniers in de Eerste Helft van de 17de Eeuw". *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1993): 216-223; J. Richard Judson, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VI: The Passion of Christ* (London: Harvey Miller, 2000): 168-169, cat. no. 43.

¹¹⁸ Poorter, "Rubens Onder de Wapenen", 203-212, 223-225, 232-249, 252, app. 2.

¹¹⁹ See Frans Baudouin, *Nicolaas Rockox, Friend and Patron of Peter Paul Rubens* (Antwerp: Kredietbank, 1977).

¹²⁰ Vlieghe, *Teniers the Younger*, 14-15.

¹²¹ Reinhold Baumstark, *Peter Paul Rubens: The Decius Mus Cycle* (New York City, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986): 3-5.

¹²² Reinhold Baumstark and Guy Delmarcel, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XIII (2): Subjects from History. The Decius Mus Series* (London: Harvey Miller, 2019): 165-196.

¹²³ Alexis Merle du Bourg, "Aux Sources d'un Chef-d'Oeuvre: Climat Religieux, Sources d'Inspiration et Précédents". *Jacques Jordaens, la Crucifixion*, Guillaume Kazerouni and Alexis Merle du Bourg, eds. (Rennes: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2013): 20-27; R.-A. d'Hulst, "Jordaens's Life and Work". *Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678): Paintings and Tapestries*, Hans Devisscher and Nora de Poorter, eds. (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1993): 24.

Van Dyck's contribution to the *Mysteries* cycle Christ's bare-chested executioner resembles Decius' soldier who wears a leopard skin and stands contrapposto with his back turned bearing the Roman standard (see Chapter 1).¹²⁴ As Christopher Brown points out another template for the *Carrying of the Cross* was Rubens' hunting scenes specifically the *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt* which pictures the fallen hippopotamus assailed with diagonally-pointing spears just as the bearded man jabs Christ with his stick (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) (ill. 2.15).¹²⁵ At this time De Bruyn and Vinckenborch were also Rubens' assistants as Hans Vlieghe shows and Baumstark confirms.¹²⁶ The Roman soldier to the right in De Bruyn's *Crowning with Thorns* is cut and pasted from the *Interpretation of the Victim* (ill. 2.16). Meanwhile the strident pose of Decius Mus addressing his troops from a *suggestus* is mimicked by Vinckenborch's resurrected Christ; representing the Catholic Church Militant the Messiah's *allocutio*-style pose was iconographically appropriate (ill. 2.17). Rubens conceivably lent De Bruyn and Vinckenborch the oil sketches to imbue the *Mysteries* cycle with his *inventio* (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC; Sammlung Oskar Reinhart "Am Römerholz", Winterthur) (ills. 2.18-19).¹²⁷ Indeed De Bruyn's 1632 estate included versions of the *Death* and most probably the *Obsequies of Decius Mus*.¹²⁸

The relative haste with which the *Mysteries* cycle was put together can be seen in Rubens' own contribution. According to J. Richard Judson the oil sketch for the *Flagellation*

¹²⁴ Vergara and Lammertse, *Young Van Dyck*, 151, cat. no. 21. See also Friso Lammertse and Alejandro Vergara, "A Portrait of Van Dyck as a Young Artist". *The Young Van Dyck*, Friso Lammertse and Alejandro Vergara, eds. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012): 27, 43, 48, 50-51; Anne-Marie Logan, "Anthony Van Dyck: His Early Drawings during the First Antwerp Period". *The Young Van Dyck*, Friso Lammertse and Alejandro Vergara, eds. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012): 78, 81, 84.

¹²⁵ Christopher Brown, *The Drawings of Anthony Van Dyck* (New York City, NY: Pierpoint Morgan Library, 1991): 56, cat. no. 4. See also Baumstark, *CRLB XIII* (2), 180-182.

¹²⁶ Hans Vlieghe, "Rubens' Beginnende Invloed: Arnout Vinckenborch en het Probleem van Jordaeus' Vroegste Tekeningen". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 38 (1987): 383-384; Baumstark, *CRLB XIII* (2), 163-164.

¹²⁷ Julius Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980): 25-27, cat nos. 1-2.

¹²⁸ 'Een bataille van Decius sonder lyst op eenen halven doeck ... Een offerande van Decius sonder lyste'. Vlieghe, *Boedelinventaris*, 230.

dated c. 1615 indicates that he recycled the composition from an abandoned or lost work (Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent) (ill. 2.20).¹²⁹ The format of the prototype is wider and the architectural backdrop has more depth than is necessary considering the cycle's installation up high; more importantly the soldier with his foot on Christ's calf is a Caucasian Roman and not a "black Turk" indicating that Rubens altered his ethnicity in the final panel to give this mystery a Calvin-Turkish spin (see Chapter 1). To speed up the process of manufacture Rubens licensed his team to plagiarise his earlier altarpieces starting with the *Descent from the Cross*. The water-carrier in De Vos' *Nativity* is a composite of the *Visitation* on the left wing while Simeon and the kneeling Virgin in De Vos' second panel mirror the *Presentation* on the right wing (ills. 2.21-22).¹³⁰ As for Jordaens' *Crucifixion* this was clearly influenced by the *Descent*'s central panel with its brooding chiaroscuro, weeping women and pallid, semi-fluorescent Corpus Christi (ill. 2.23).¹³¹ Works by Rubens already in the Dominican Church were another visual resource ready to hand as Van Hout illustrates. De Vos' *Nativity* mimics the tumble of angels in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and above the manger putti fumble with a similar scroll on which *GLORIA IN EXCELSIS* can be read (ill. 2.24). Meanwhile Voet's *Christ Among the Doctors* echoes the pointing gestures and columnated architectural backdrop in the *Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament* (ill. 2.25).¹³² Other religious paintings by Rubens supplied figural and iconographic motifs to novice masters. The Sanhedrin doctor in De Bruyn's *Crowning with Thorns* with 'Son of David' on his forehead is adapted from Rubens' *Christ and the Woman Taken into Adultery* (Musée

¹²⁹ Judson, *CRLB VI*, 62-63, cat. no. 11a.

¹³⁰ Judson, *CRLB VI*, 177-178, 181-182, cat. nos. 44-45. De Vos' reputation as a painter was 'not yet especially great'. Katlijne van der Stighelen, "Van "Marchant" tot "Vermaert Conterfeyter": Het Levensverhaal van Cornelis de Vos". *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1991): 99, 106. See also Katlijne van der Stighelen and Hans Vlieghe, "Cornelis de Vos (1584/5-1651) als Historie- en Genreschilder". *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België* 54, no. 1 (1994): 7-9.

¹³¹ Judson, *CRLB VI*, 162-170, cat. no. 43. See also Baumstark, *CRLB XIII* (2), 192-194.

¹³² Hout, "Rozenkransreeks", 449, 453.

des Beaux-Arts, Brussels) (ill. 2.26) (see Chapter 1).¹³³ As Vlieghe notes two of the torturers are borrowed from Rubens' *Stoning of St Stephen* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes) (ill. 2.27).¹³⁴ Aside from *Decius Mus Relating his Dream* the most obvious precedent for Vinckenborch's depiction of Christ was Rubens' *Resurrection* epitaph for Jan Moretus I (Antwerp Cathedral) (ill. 2.28).¹³⁵ Rubens' further influence on second-rank masters who contributed to the cycle is outlined by Arnout Balis and others.¹³⁶

While many were quick to produce the *Mysteries* panels in a Rubenesque mould Van Dyck meticulously planned the *Carrying of the Cross*. The artist perhaps had this painting in mind when telling Everhard Jabach, 'At the beginning he worked long and hard on his paintings to gain his reputation and in order to learn how to paint them quickly during a period when he was working in order to have enough to eat'.¹³⁷ Produced in 1617 the *Carrying of the Cross* was Van Dyck's graduation piece by which means he could advertise his talents to prospective patrons and establish himself as an independent master. Uniquely in Van Dyck's oeuvre ten preparatory drawings for this painting survive which were reunited in a landmark exhibition of 2012.¹³⁸ The first three in sequence show the road to Calvary leading leftwards (Biblioteca Reale, Turin; Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Rhode Island School of Design, Providence) (ills. 2.29-31). While the *Mysteries* cycle is not unidirectional it makes sense for Christ to carry the cross towards Golgotha the

¹³³ Koen Bulckens, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part V (2): The Life of Christ Before the Passion. The Ministry of Christ* (London: Harvey Miller, 2017): 135-140, cat. no. 30; Hout, "Rozenkransreeks", 457.

¹³⁴ Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VIII: Saints* (London: Harvey Miller, 1972-1973): II.152, cat. no. 146.

¹³⁵ David Freedberg, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VII: The Life of Christ after the Passion* (London: Harvey Miller, 1984): 31-34, cat. no. 1; Van Hout, "Rozenkransreeks", 466.

¹³⁶ Hout, "Rozenkransreeks", 467, 469; Arnout Balis, "Fatto da un mio discepolo": Rubens's Studio Practices Revealed". *Rubens and his Workshop: The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*, Toshiharu Nakamura, ed. (Tokyo: The National Museum of Western Art, 1994): 109-110; Vlieghe, "Rubens' Beginnende Invloed", 383-394; Vlieghe, "Artus?", 169-178. Wolffort's contribution owed more to Otto van Veen than Rubens. Hans Vlieghe, "Zwischen van Veen und Rubens: Artus Wolffort (1581-1641), ein vergessener Antwerpener Maler". *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 39 (1977): 110, 132, 134.

¹³⁷ Cited in Gregory Martin, "When did Van Dyck leave Van Balen's Studio?". *Van Dyck 1599-1999: Conjectures and Refutations*, Hans Vlieghe, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001): 4.

¹³⁸ Vergara and Lammertse, *Young Van Dyck*, 138-148, cat. nos. 17-20.

setting of the fifth sorrowful mystery. The Providence drawing is complex and highly finished suggesting an earlier date of execution when the format of the *Mysteries* cycle was still undecided. The direction changes abruptly on the verso of the Turin drawing in which Van Dyck brusquely indicated the cross' final placement (ill. 2.32). The subsequent drawings see Van Dyck adapting a landscape composition for a portrait panel using the cross, long weapons and other diagonals to articulate movement (Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille; private collection; Chatsworth House, Bakewell; formerly Kunsthalle, Bremen) (ills. 2.33-36). The final design was squared for transfer (Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp) (ill. 2.37). Finally Van Dyck made sketches for the henchman's fist using a live model (Courtauld Gallery, London) (see Chapter 1).¹³⁹ The *Carrying of the Cross* is a highly accomplished work vindicating Rubens' judgement that Van Dyck was his best pupil.¹⁴⁰ By 1620 Van Dyck's paintings were being valued only a 'little less than those of his master' and Rubens did much to further his career at this stage.¹⁴¹ To judge from Van Dyck and Jordaens' equal payment Rubens may have subcontracted the *Carrying of the Cross* and the *Crucifixion* to them partly for want of time.¹⁴² Together with the *Flagellation* these episodes make for the cycle's dramatic fulcrum. For Van Dyck and Jordaens their high payment was a tremendous mark of prestige. On display in the Sint-Pauluskerk nave the panels helped launch their highly successful careers. For Van Dyck this was a particular boon having turned eighteen.

While Rubens, Brueghel and Van Balen set the enterprise of the *Mysteries* cycle in motion the donors mentioned in the "15 *Mysteries*" document were hardly passive

¹³⁹ Vergara and Lammertse, *Young Van Dyck*, 138-148, cat. nos. 17-20. See also Claire Baisier (ed.), *Antoon Van Dyck Anders Bekken: Over 'registers en contrefeytsels, tronies en copyen' in Antwerpse Kerken en Kloosters* (Antwerp: Toerismepastoraal, 1999): 63-66, cat. nos. 28b-k; John Rupert Martin and Gail Feigenbaum, *Van Dyck as a Religious Artist* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979): 38-48, cat. nos. 1-5; Horst Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks* (Brussels: Arcade, 1962): 79-86, cat. nos. 7-13.

¹⁴⁰ Vergara and Lammertse, "Portrait of Van Dyck", 26-28, 48-50.

¹⁴¹ 'Van Deick sta tuttavia con il Sigr. Rubens è viene le sue opere stimate pocho meno di quelle del suo maestro. E giovane de vintium anno ... di maniera che è difficile, che lui si parta de queste parti; tanto più che vede la fortuna nella quale è Rubens'. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, II.250. See also Vergara and Lammertse, "Portrait of Van Dyck", 28.

¹⁴² Vergara and Lammertse, *Young Van Dyck*, 149-151, cat. no. 21.

consumers. Early modern confraternities were ‘intermediate spaces where laity and clergy could meet, negotiate, collaborate, or disagree’ and the cycle demonstrates how lay communities were not subject to full ‘ecclesiastical colonization’ but patronised art on their own terms.¹⁴³ A list of senior chaplains (*heeren-cappelmeesters*) in the Sint-Pauluskerk Archives shows that many donors were pastorally committed to the rosary brotherhood: Jan Colijns (appointed chaplain in 1602 and 1617) patron of Wolffort’s *Ascension*, Adam Verjuijs (1606) who paid for De Bruyn’s *Crowning with Thorns*, Van Dyck’s patron Jan van den Broeck (1611) and Peeter Sproenck (1618) who paid for Van Balen’s *Annunciation*. Later Lowies Clarisse (Rubens’ *Flagellation*, 1620) and Peeter Bouvreij (Francken II’s *Visitation*, 1627) assumed the office.¹⁴⁴ Voet’s *Christ Among the Doctors* and Wolffort’s *Assumption* were paid for by ‘diverse chaplains’ (*almoesen*). As well as Van den Broeck these included the brother of Lowies, Rogier Clarisse and Peeter de Schot who both registered as ‘*cappelmeester*’ and ‘*aelmoessenier*’ in 1612.¹⁴⁵ The patrons listed as chaplains after 1618 namely Lowies Clarisse and Bouvreij were most likely confreres of long standing.¹⁴⁶ The patrons of the *Mysteries* cycle hailed from Antwerp’s civic, mercantile and aristocratic elite. By actively involving the rosary brotherhood in the process of refurbishment the monastery could rival parish churches as a ‘[centre] for local religion’. As Jeffrey Muller discusses decisions to give generously were sometimes ‘more politic and self-interested than devout’ as can be said of wealthy parishioners who bankrolled the decoration

¹⁴³ Terpstra, “Boundaries of Brotherhood”, xxiv-xxviii.

¹⁴⁴ ‘NAEMEN VANDE HEEREN CAPPELMEESTERS vant’ Broederschap van den H. ROOSENKRANS’. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Ledenboek van de Broederschap van de Rozenkrans, 1688-1771 (PR 9): unpaginated.

¹⁴⁵ Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Ledenboek van de Broederschap van de Rozenkrans, 1688-1771 (PR 9): unpaginated.

¹⁴⁶ ‘NOMINA FRATRUM ac sororum Antverpiae apud Praedicatores SS Rosarii Fraternitati ab anno domini 1585 inscriptorum’. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Ledenboek van de Broederschap van de Rozenkrans, 1688-1771 (PR 9): unpaginated.

of the Sint-Jacobskerk to ‘consolidate their positions in the restored Catholic and Habsburg order’.¹⁴⁷

Motives behind the cycle’s patronage must have been at least partially self-serving, hence the general lack of charitable anonymity.

Patron	Mystery	Price
Monsieur Peeter Sproenck	Van Balen, <i>Annunciation</i>	216
Monsieur Peeter Bouvreij Jan Baptista de Vos	Francken II, <i>Visitation</i>	120
Miss Wissekercke	De Vos, <i>Nativity</i>	138
Prior magister Boucquet	De Vos, <i>Presentation</i>	-
Various chaplains	Voet, <i>Christ Among the Doctors</i>	96
Vloers’ widow	Teniers I, <i>Agony in the Garden</i>	102
Milord Lowies Clarisse	Rubens, <i>Flagellation</i>	150
Milord Adam Verjuijs	De Bruyn, <i>Crowning with Thorns</i>	96
Milord Jan van den Broeck	Van Dyck, <i>Carrying of the Cross</i>	150
Miss Magdalena Lewierter	Jordaens, <i>Crucifixion</i>	150
Prior magister Boucquet	Vinckenborch, <i>Resurrection</i>	66
Milord Colijns	Wolffort, <i>Ascension</i>	120
Monsieur Cornelis Verbeeck	Voet, <i>Pentecost</i>	102
Diverse chaplains	Wolffort, <i>Assumption</i>	66
Capello’s widow	Vinckenborch, <i>Coronation</i>	66

To judge from the “15 Mysteries” document the wealthiest donors were Peeter Sproenck (216 gulden), Lowies Clarisse, Jan van den Broeck and Magdalena Lewierter (150), Miss Wissekercke (138), Jan Colijns (120) and Vloers’ widow and Cornelis Verbeeck (102). Peeter Bouvreij and Jan Baptista de Vos split the bill for Francken II’s *Visitation* (120 gulden) as did the ‘various chaplains’ who purchased Voet and Wolffort’s panels. Otherwise the following donors fell into the lower wealth bracket: Adam Verjuijs (96) and Capello’s widow and Boucquet (66). That the prior should have paid the lowest recorded price befitting his nominal destitution.

Mark Robbroeckx did important research into this patronage network but his findings are incomplete. Hardly anything is known about Miss Wissekercke, the widow Vloers,

¹⁴⁷ Jeffrey Muller, “Works of Art and Architecture for Restoration, Community, and Parish Building in St. Jacob’s, Antwerp, 1585-1621”. *Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft aus Kunst: Antwerpener Malerei und Graphik in und nach den Katastrophen des späten 16. Jahrhunderts*, Eckhard Leuschner, ed. (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2016): 87.

Magdalena Lewierter or Cornelis Verbeeck who were some of the bigger spenders.¹⁴⁸ Aside from who was senior chaplain Jan Baptista de Vos registered with the guild of St Luke as a ‘lover of art’ in 1618.¹⁴⁹ The same De Vos had paid towards fixing the panel support for Rubens’ *Adoration of the Magi* triptych in Mechelen in the church where Boucquet founded a rosary brotherhood (see Section 2).¹⁵⁰ His partner in purchasing Francken II’s *Visitation* Peeter Bouvreij married the daughter of Adam Verjuijs who paid for De Bruyn’s *Crowning with Thorns*.¹⁵¹ Capello’s widow meanwhile was Maria Boxhorn the mother of Ambrosius Capello who later became monastery prior and bishop of Antwerp (see Chapter 5). Along with Clarisse, Colijns, Verbeeck and indeed Boucquet Boxhorn and her husband were buried in the Dominican Church.¹⁵² More is known about Clarisse and Verjuijs who were silk merchants and Van den Broeck a city alderman. Colijns’ tombstone indicates that he was a merchant; Maria Boxhorn meanwhile was heiress to the title of Eyck and the widow of the Italian nobleman Gian Francesco Capello who was a quaestor-general of the Army of Flanders under Philip II.¹⁵³ A cut above the mass of ordinary rosary adherents many of the cycle’s patrons were aristocratic at least in aspiration. Of the thirteen named donors four are titled ‘Monsieur’ and four ‘Milord’. Verjuijs, Van den Broeck and Clarisse were all prominent in Antwerp’s commercial and civic life which made bankrolling the cycle a gesture of noblesse oblige.

Membership of the rosary brotherhood allowed patrons of the *Mysteries* cycle to accumulate “bonding social capital” and forge business and family alliances with their peers

¹⁴⁸ Robbroeckx, “Rozenkransschilderijen”, 49, 61, 68, 93.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Jan Baptista de Vos, als liefhebber van de kunst’. Rombouts and Lerius, *Liggeren*, I.546.

¹⁵⁰ Devisscher and Vlieghe, *CRLB V (1)*, 137, cat. no. 24.

¹⁵¹ Robbroeckx, “Rozenkransschilderijen”, 80.

¹⁵² Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.52 (Clarisse), 44 (Colijns), 179 (Verbeeck), 26 (Boucquet), 7 (Boxhorn).

¹⁵³ JAN COLYNS/ coopman en Oudt Cappelmeester/ vant Heylich Roosen Cransken. Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.44; Various, *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, XXXVII.IX.123.

as was common in early modern Brabant.¹⁵⁴ The artistic enterprise was underwritten by personal relationships like the marriage of Bouvreij to Verjuijs' daughter. As for Verjuijs himself he married Emerentiana the daughter of Melchior Peeters who was an administrator and treasurer in the city council. In turn Peeters married another of Verjuijs' relations, Maria and they are buried in the Sint-Pauluskerk.¹⁵⁵ Peeters and Verjuijs were one-time business partners recorded as 'merchants and companions in the silk trade'.¹⁵⁶ It is likely that Verjuijs personally appointed De Bruyn to paint the *Crowning with Thorns* given that the artist was an active member of the bachelors' confraternity which was affiliated with the *Soeten Naam* and shared premises in the south transept; in 1622 De Bruyn was made prefect.¹⁵⁷ Vinckenborch likewise had personal connections with the Dominican Church and could have met his patron Boucquet earlier in 1617 at the burial of the artist's mother there.¹⁵⁸ Van Dyck's sponsor Jan van den Broeck was an 'alderman of this city'. His extensive will written in 1649 demonstrates Van den Broeck's commitment to Antwerp's sacred topography. For the Dominican monastery he promised 200 gulden and sixty more towards the rosary brotherhood 'for the salvation of his soul'. At his death Van den Broeck had evidently amassed great wealth but further details of his life including artistic patronage have yet to come to light.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ See Maarten van Dijck, 'Bonding or Bridging Social Capital? The Evolution of Brabantine Fraternities during the Late Medieval and the Early Modern Period'. *Faith's Boundaries: Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities*, Nicholas Terpstra et al., eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012): 153-186.

¹⁵⁵ MELCHIOR PEETERS/ Almoesenier Rentmeester/ ende Tresorier deser Stadt/ stierf den 10 October 1627/ Joufr. MARIA VERIVYS/ syn huysrouw stierf den 8 September 1618. Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.20.

¹⁵⁶ '...cooplieden ende compaignons inden handel van sijdlakenen'. Cited in Robbroeckx, 'Rozenkransschilderijen', 80.

¹⁵⁷ Robbroeckx, 'Rozenkransschilderijen', 80-82.

¹⁵⁸ Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.183.

¹⁵⁹ 'Actum 24 Junii A° 1649 ... Jan van den Broeck out Aelmosennier deser stadt ... ende maect aenhet clooster vande preeckheren alleen de somme van twee hondert gulden ende ... aende cappelle vant roosen cransen ... de somme van sestig gulden ... tot laefenis van sijn siele'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Notariaat, Jan Placquet, 1645-1651 (N 2846): unpaginated; Robbroeckx, 'Rozenkransschilderijen', 86.

The merchant Lowies Clarisse was a prominent patron of Rubens. A member of the Kolveniersgilde he was one of nine ‘wepelaers’ who in 1611 paid 400 gulden towards their altarpiece Rubens’ *Descent*.¹⁶⁰ The same year Rubens painted portraits of his brother Rogier and his wife (Legion of Honor Museum, San Francisco).¹⁶¹ In 1602 Rogier’s daughter married Rubens’ friend the city alderman Jan Woverius who features in Rubens’ *Four Philosophers* portrait (see Chapter 4).¹⁶² ‘Out of heartfelt affection’ Rubens dedicated the reproductive engraving *St Francis Receiving the Stigmata* to the ‘most distinguished’ brothers ‘endowed with sincerest piety’ Rogier and Lowies (British Museum, London) (ill. 2.38).¹⁶³ Their father the elder Rogier had been ennobled by the archdukes for helping to build the Antwerp Capuchin Church; this housed Rubens’ original altarpiece which his sons then paid for (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne).¹⁶⁴ Published c. 1619 Rubens’ print dedication honoured the Clarisses’ familial largesse of which Lowies’ contribution to the *Mysteries* cycle was part and parcel. For all its harrowing gore the *Flagellation* was meant to flatter Rubens’ patron. The column to which Christ is tied resembles the relic of the Flagellation housed in Santa Prassede, Rome and only a sophisticated beholder like Lowies would have recognised this (ill. 2.39).¹⁶⁵ Clarisse’s commitment to the Dominican Church was enduring. Later he and his brother paid for several stained glass windows which displayed the Clarisse coat of arms and that of Lowies’ wife Maria Noirot (KBR, Brussels) (ill. 2.40, details).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ Judson, *CRLB VI*, 27.

¹⁶¹ Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XIX (2): Portraits of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp* (London: Harvey Miller, 1987): 71-73, cat. nos. 84-85.

¹⁶² Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, I.56.

¹⁶³ *ORNATISSIMIS LVDOVICO ET ROGERIO CLARISSE FRATRIBUS GERMANIS, IN DIVI FRANCISCI ORDINEM CAPPVCINOR. PIÈ OPTIMEQUE ADFECTIS, ADFECTUM SVI MNEMOSYNVM PETRVS PAVLVS RVBENS CVM ANIMO ET EX ANIMO NVNCVPAVIT.* Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VIII: Saints* (London: Harvey Miller, 1972-1973): I.64, 141-142, cat. nos. 49, 90b; Carl Depauw and Ger Luijten (eds.), *Anthony Van Dyck as a Printmaker* (New York City, NY: Rizzoli, 1999): 60-63, cat. no. 60.

¹⁶⁴ Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, II.205-206.

¹⁶⁵ Judson, *CRLB VI*, 61, cat. no. 11.

¹⁶⁶ *HEER LOUIS CLARIS RIDDERE AMPTMAN DESER STADT ENDE VR[OUW]E MARIA NOIROT SIJNE HUIJSVR[OUW]E.* KBR Brussels, Manuscripts, Fonds Goethals, Collections of drawings of tombs,

The patrons of the *Mysteries* cycle thus emerge as a cohesive group who were committed to Antwerp's *renovatio ecclesiae* and had intimate ties with each other, the Dominican Church and individual artists. The donors' willingness to reach into their pockets suggests not only affection for the rosary brotherhood but also a belief that Antwerp would ride out the coming storm. Clarisse, Verjuijs and Colijns were direct lines to Antwerp city council and would have brought the cycle to the attention of the broader political elite; buttressed by Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* the *Mysteries*' artistic novelty, variety and audacity would have persuaded more councillors to join the brotherhood (see Chapter 5). Confraternity art in early modernity served to 'assert the group's corporate identity, express its devotional goals and educate new members about its mission and history'.¹⁶⁷ The elites of the rosary brotherhood sought to distinguish themselves from the simple faithful by putting their names to expensive ornament. This in turn had a trickle-down effect. As well as encouraging thousands more to join the *Mysteries* cycle pledged loyalty to the Habsburgs through identification with the Virgin while also educating new members about the dangers of Calvinism-Turkism. For the more discerning viewer the cycle aligned the north aisle with the *kunstkamer* as famously represented by Francken II who painted the *Visitation*. In light of the Dominican Church's former incarnation as a Protestant temple the *kunstkamer* pictures which reference iconoclasm had especial resonance.

epitaphs, stained glass, coats of arms, etc. (G 1495): 64-66; Jan Helbig, *De Glasschilderkunst in België: Repertorium en Documenten* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1943): 71.

¹⁶⁷ Abraham, "Corporate Identity", 406.

4: Peace, prosperity and *pictura sacra*

[Sacred images] serve to reinforce the three potencies of our souls: intellect, will, and memory ... As for the will, there is no doubt that seeing piously made images increases good desires and makes us abhor sin.

Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*.¹⁶⁸

This chapter concludes by framing the *Mysteries* cycle as a paradigm of *pictura sacra* on which terms it could have promoted pacification in Antwerp. If Brueghel's *Five Senses* pendants were intended as a political allegory the cycle can be read likewise.¹⁶⁹ The *Mysteries* presented a cross-section of Antwerp's artistic manufacturing base through the "business cards" of established and less experienced masters. As a conceptual super-frame for a diverse collection of paintings the north aisle reflected the marketplace values of a society prospering in peacetime. The *Mysteries* cycle took pride of place in the *ecclesia laicorum*. The panels were treated not as portals to the divine but as objects of value hence their close hang at height in mimicry of a picture gallery. The north aisle was indeed 'self-reflective' as Victor Stoichita defines the super-frame making it conceptually akin to gallery pictures from the period.¹⁷⁰ In these "image-systems" or "image-machines" meaning is produced in dialectic with iconoclasm.¹⁷¹ Scenes of *ânes iconoclastes* attacking art serve to destabilise the contemplation of *artificialia* happening in the foreground. Violence against images is never part of the main action but relegated to *parerga* such as windows or paintings-within-paintings which are there to provide commentary. In the Dominican Church memories of the Revolt loomed large and were likewise "embedded" in the building fabric leading to a "split" perception of the cycle between splendour and desecration (see

¹⁶⁸ Gabriele Paleotti and William McCuaig (trans.), *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2012): 106.

¹⁶⁹ Woodall, "Greater or Lesser?", *passim*.

¹⁷⁰ Victor Stoichita et al., *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Metapainting* (London: Harvey Miller, 2015): 141-142.

¹⁷¹ Zirká Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987): 68-69.

Chapter 1). According to Henri Lefebvre space became social when ‘fashioned, shaped and invested by social activities during a finite historical period’.¹⁷² In socially-engineered spaces such as buildings, ‘Nothing disappears completely ... nor can what subsists be defined solely in terms of traces, memories or relics. In space, what came earlier continues to underpin what follows. The preconditions of social space have their own particular way of enduring and remaining actual within that space’.¹⁷³ Church interiors are a prime example as Angela Vanhaelen observes in relation to the Dutch Republic.¹⁷⁴ As long as the Sint-Pauluskerk remained under construction its Calvinist profanation endured and remained actual, informing the polemical discourses which framed the *Mysteries* cycle such as Calvino-Turkism (see Chapter 1).

In the same decade Francken II painted the *Visitation* and more or less invented the gallery picture. As Marlise Rijks argues his oeuvre ‘proposed a defence of the image at a time when ... artistic imagery [was] at the forefront of intellectual debates’.¹⁷⁵ These centred around the sixteenth-century *Bilderfrage* or image question. When Protestant reformers accused artists of breaking the Second Commandment the value of religious art was subsequently recalibrated.¹⁷⁶ In his cabinet paintings Francken II defended not only secular treasures but also locally-sourced Christian art; indeed the artist painted hundreds of religious works himself as Ursula Härtung has catalogued.¹⁷⁷ Before 1620 Francken II completed *Christ in the Studio* which is an allegory of *pictura sacra* (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest) (ill. 2.41). According to Ralph Dekoninck its central premise is painting

¹⁷² Henri Lefebvre and Donald Nicholson-Smith (trans.), *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991): 73.

¹⁷³ Lefebvre, *Space*, 229.

¹⁷⁴ Angela Vanhaelen, “Iconoclasm and the Creation of Images in Emanuel De Witte’s ‘Old Church in Amsterdam’”. *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 2 (2005): 249.

¹⁷⁵ Marlise Rijks, “Defenders of the Image: Painted Collectors’ Cabinets and the Display of Display in Counter-Reformation Antwerp”. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 65 (2015): 56.

¹⁷⁶ See David Freedberg, “Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings: *De Historia Sanctarum Imaginum Et Picturarum*, Book II, Chapter 42”. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 229-245.

¹⁷⁷ Ursula Härtung, *Studien zur Kabinettbildmalerei des Frans Francken II, 1581-1642: Ein repräsentativer Werkkatalog* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1983): cat. nos. A2-204.

as *imitatio Christi*.¹⁷⁸ In the foreground a female Pictura paints the Adoration of the Shepherds *ad vivum* with the resurrected Christ as her model. By painting the Christ child his image is inscribed on her heart as if representational acts could etch gospel teachings onto the very soul. Paintings of Christ's life fill Pictura's studio, him washing the disciples' feet on the floor, the Last Judgement up high and a Passion scene on the mantle behind. Depicting Jesus could be an exercise of faith as Jan David's *Christelijcken Waerseggher* (1603) had previously conveyed; one of its illustrations depicts Christ as a model posing with the cross for artists to paint from the life below a title reading 'The Role of Virtue' (ill. 2.42).¹⁷⁹ Each angle yields a different image: of his ministry, the Passion, the Resurrection and so on; meanwhile two errant artists paint demons and trifles in reference to the Parable of the Sower.¹⁸⁰ In Francken II's painting Christological imagery is supplemented by objects of Marian devotion which represent another path to salvation. These include a Seven Sorrows painting on the pile of trinkets and the shelves of statuettes to the right.¹⁸¹ Indeed the 'primacy of religious painting cannot be formulated more clearly'.¹⁸² *Christ in the Studio* equates reading with vision as suggested by two open books one of which is being read by a group of women. While advocating the imitation of Christ through perfectly realised images its broader message is *ut pictura scriptura* (as painting so is scripture). The devotional objects assembled in Pictura's studio are justified as vehicles for meditation on gospel truth.¹⁸³ However the painting's emphasis on manufacture and by implication commerce has so far resisted commentary. Pictura ran a busy workshop employing angels to grind and mix

¹⁷⁸ Ralph Dekoninck, "Ad vivum: Pictorial and Spiritual Imitation in the Allegory of the Pictura Sacra by Frans Francken II". *Ut pictura meditatio: The Meditative Image in Northern Art, 1500-1700*, Walter Melion et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 317-336.

¹⁷⁹ Jan David, *Christelijcken Waerseggher: De principale stucken van t'Christen Geloof en Leuen int cort begrijpende* (Antwerp: 1603): 352.

¹⁸⁰ Matthew 13:1-23. See Els Stronks, *Negotiating Differences: Word, Image and Religion in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 57-60.

¹⁸¹ Dekoninck, "Ad vivum", 317-324.

¹⁸² Ursula Härtung, ">doctrina et pietas<: über frühe Galeriebilder". *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1993): 102.

¹⁸³ Dekoninck, "Ad vivum", 322-336.

pigments as the client who happens to be Jesus Christ has his “portrait” made. Like other cabinet paintings this one proffers a superabundance of precious items from Antwerp’s Catholic workshop of the world which was prospering under Habsburg auspices.

The antithesis of *pictura sacra* was iconoclasm. In the *Cabinet of a Collector* dated 1617 soldiers with asses’ heads are pictured destroying *naturalia* and *artificialia* resembling the objects set up for connoisseurly delectation (The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle) (ill. 2.43). Framed along two edges this painting-within-a-painting emblematises the follies of 1566.¹⁸⁴ The soldiers are conspicuously laying waste to religious art including the contents of an entire church making the objects on the table no less vulnerable to iconoclastic ignorance. As identified by Christopher White these include a drawing of the Holy Family by Raphael, sketches after Michelangelo’s frescoes in the Sistine Chapel and various religious paintings which evidently had value beyond the liturgical.¹⁸⁵ In order to nurture art and other intellectual pursuits hostile forces had to be kept at bay. By inscribing the names of the archdukes on one of the coins Francken II was also implying that the Truce had made Antwerp rich again.¹⁸⁶ Capitulation to enemy asses would condemn all this prosperity to oblivion. The attribution of regional prosperity to Habsburg benevolence was further articulated in Brueghel and Hieronymus Francken II’s *Collection of Pierre Roose* (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore) (ill. 2.44).¹⁸⁷ At the centre of this fictitious scene are the archdukes with Albert looking remarkably healthy. Painted after the Truce’s expiry it nostalgically depicts their rule as a silver age symbolised by a wall of paintings, exotic flowers and multifarious smaller objects. In front of Isabella crawls a monkey an emblem of animal passions restrained by a ball and chain. Propped up behind the archdukes is a painting of iconoclasm; in a room echoing the dimensions of the *studiolo* animal-headed soldiers

¹⁸⁴ Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, 151-156.

¹⁸⁵ Christopher White, *The Later Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2007): 116-118, cat. no. 32.

¹⁸⁶ Rijks, “Defenders of the Image”, 68.

¹⁸⁷ See Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *A Collector’s Cabinet* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1998).

dismantle and lay waste to a collector's cabinet (ill. 2.45, detail). Had rebellion been allowed to triumph the paintings in Roose's collection and others like it would have been pulled off their walls.¹⁸⁸ In seventeenth-century Antwerp religious art flitted between realms sacred and profane; as for the *Mysteries* cycle it straddled the two (see Chapter 3). Intended for more than just devotion the space it occupied within the *ecclesia laicorum* was at the intersection between shrine and marketplace. The significance of the cycle's discourse which pitted Catholicism and *pictura sacra* against Calvino-Turkism reached beyond the ecclesiastical. That Francken II's cabinet paintings often feature religious artworks illustrates how art was considered a pathway to divine knowledge.¹⁸⁹ In the *Cabinet of a Collector* ânes *iconoclastes* attack a panoply of objects sacred and profane representing how 'danger to devotional imagery' also threatened 'other objects of human achievement' such as scientific inquiry.¹⁹⁰ In a similar vein the *Mysteries* cycle embodied the practical knowledge of craft and industry upon which Antwerp's economic future partially depended.¹⁹¹

Pictura sacra had moral value in its own right as was asserted after the Council of Trent. According to Gabriele Paleotti Christian images could teach people to live rightly and by implication obey authority (see above); regardless of class or intellectual faculties they 'serve as a book open to the capacities of everyone'. While the study of scripture required hours of patient toil the message of *pictura sacra* could be absorbed 'at a glance' and thus could the strong medicine of moral instruction be administered with a spoonful of 'utmost sweetness and recreation'.¹⁹² The better paintings in the *Mysteries* cycle raised the congregation to higher planes of spiritual delight (*delitto*) and moved them emotionally. As Paleotti wrote, 'When [Christ] practically materializes in front of your eyes in vivid colour,

¹⁸⁸ Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, 159-162.

¹⁸⁹ See also Stadtmuseum Neuburg an der Donau, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. no. 1988; Historisches Museum Frankfurt, inv. no. B621.

¹⁹⁰ Rijks, "Defenders of the Image", 56, 64.

¹⁹¹ Annette de Vries, "The Hand of the Artist: Reflections on the Notion of *Technē* in some Antwerp Gallery Paintings by Frans II Francken and his Circle". *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 1 (2010): 79-101.

¹⁹² Paleotti, *Discourse*, 115.

with the oppressed virgin on one side and Christ pierced by nails on the other – one would have to be made of wood or stone not to feel how much more it intensifies devotion and wrenches the gut'.¹⁹³ No less could have been said of Van Dyck's *Carrying of the Cross* or Rubens' *Flagellation* and the emotive impact of such panels ensured that their moral lessons were not forgotten (see Chapter 1). The *Mysteries* cycle was a convincing exemplum of *pictura sacra* because of its emotive power and artistic accomplishment. While several panels are of mediocre quality the sheer variety on offer was appealing in itself, fulfilling the rhetorical criteria of *copia* or abundant style (see Chapter 1). More convincing still was the cycle's social investment (see Section 3). If intended as a means of pacification the cycle derived further strength from its implied vulnerability because its fifteen individual panels were inherently removable. The north aisle's engagement with iconoclasm had parallels in contemporary mnemotechny which informed the cycle's construction as a rhetorical device (see Chapter 1). In order to deliver a speech from memory the orator required an empty room in which to arrange their visual *topoi*. In *Gazophylacium Artis Memoriæ* (1611) Lambert Schenckel envisioned this space as a picture gallery which had to be purged after every oration. To this end Schenckel "hired" none other than iconoclastic asses who would storm the *cubiculum* 'smashing the images by throwing them to the ground' which gave space for the artist-orator to redecorate the room with new *topoi*.¹⁹⁴ The *Mysteries* cycle was procured to fill just such a void and the political implications of this are clear. If Farnese had vanquished the Calvinist Republic a Dutch invasion would wipe the slate clean again in order to advance another Protestant agenda. This could be averted if allegiance to Spain prevailed.

¹⁹³ Paleotti, *Discourse*, 111-123.

¹⁹⁴ Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, 157-158.

Conclusion

The *Mysteries* cycle was exceptional in Truce-time Antwerp on account of its scale, quality and visibility. Its implicitly precarious fate was representative of the entire archducal enterprise of *renovatio ecclesiae* which hung in the balance as Albert's death drew closer. The *Mysteries* cycle is unique in baroque painting because of its social genesis. The project was above all collaborative and grassroots directed by Boucquet and the triumvirate, produced by eleven local artists and tailored for the corporate body who paid for it. Conceived and executed to a tight schedule the paintings had symbolic resonance with wider political developments. Presented as an embarrassment of riches the *Mysteries* cycle may have helped channel resentment away from Spain by inverting the rhetoric of the 1615 *ommegang*. As well as commemorating the archdukes' ecclesiastical legacy the cycle promoted fresh talents including Van Dyck and Jordaens as its new torchbearers.

Part 1 has reconceptualised the *Mysteries* cycle as an instrument of political rhetoric which was communicated through its in situ installation, Marian iconography and conspicuous visibility. The author has attempted to liberate the panels from the hermetic discourses common to art history and situate them instead in osmotic relation to the economic and social forces that were prevalent in the 1610s. What comes to the fore is the unprecedented nature of the *Mysteries* cycle in terms of scale, artistic diversity and social genesis. While Marian iconography was obviously commonplace the Dominican monopoly on rosary devotion and its cultic militarisation after Lepanto turned the cycle into a political anchor for the church within Antwerp's sacred topography. To consolidate the ecclesiastical status proclaimed by the cycle the Order required a centrepiece of extraordinary artistic quality which would serve to inspire confidence in Antwerp's political future. To this end Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* was purchased by Rubens and his friends.

Part 2: Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna*



Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *The Madonna of the Rosary*, c. 1601.
Oil on canvas, 364.5 x 249.5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

The great painting – made by Michael Angel Caravage – having first stood under the 15 mysteries, now in the chapel on the altar, [was] procured through diverse art-lovers, namely My Lord Rubbens [*sic*], Brugel, van Bael, Cooymans and diverse others [who] having seen in this piece outstandingly great art and yet [it was] not high in price, had out affection for the chapel, and to have a rare piece within Antwerp bought the same, [for] not more than 1800 gulden, for which shortly thereafter 4,000 gulden was presented, thereafter 6,000 with promises thereby to make a copy, which I would not know from the principal. Sometime thereafter it was asked, if the piece would be offered for 13,000 or 14,000 gulden, whereupon it was answered, that the piece is not for sale for any money. Which moved us greatly, to make a costly altar of marble, and to set the piece in the middle, and also to adore the chapel and the piece together for God's honour and the glory of Mary Mother of God and our Holy Father Dominic.

Anno 1651.¹

¹ 'De groote schilderij eerst ghestaen hebbende onder de 15 mijsterien, nu op den autaer, geprocureert door diverse liefhebbers naementlijck mijn Heer Rubbens, Brugel, van Bael, Cooijmans en diverse andere gemaect van Michael Angelo Caravage gesien hebbende in dit stuk een uijtnemende groote konst en nochtans niet hoogh van prijs, hebben uijt affectie tot de cappel en om een raer stuck binnen antwerpen te hebben, het selve gekocht niet meer als 1800 guld. voor hetwelk daer naer korts, is gepresenteert 4000 guld, daer naer 6000 met belooften van een copije daer by te doen maeken, die me uyt principael niet kennen en soude, eenigen tijd daer naer is ghevraegt of het stuck soud te geven sijn, voor 13000 of 14000 guld. waer op geantwoord is dat het stuck voor geen gelt te koop is. Hetwelk ons veel gemoveert heeft, om een kostelycken autaer van marber te maeken, om het stuck daer in het midden te stellen, en alsoo de cappel en het stuck saemen te vereeren tot Godts eer en de glorie van Maria. 1651'. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Loose Documents, 1243-1773 (PR A.1/8): verso. A second version dated 1671 ends as follows. '...en glorie van Maria de Moeder Godts en onsen H. Vader Dominicus'. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Loose Documents, 1243-1773 (PR A.1/9): verso. First published in Alphonse Goovaerts, *Notice Historique sur un Tableau de Michel-Angelo da Caravaggio* (Antwerp: A. Fontaine, 1873): 22-24.

Chapter 3: ‘Outstandingly great art and yet not high of price’.

The *Rosary Madonna* as a sacred commodity

The *Rosary Madonna* is a monumental altarpiece by Caravaggio (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) (frontispiece). Painted in Rome c. 1601 the composition articulates a Tridentine hierarchy of Catholic intercession. At its apex the Virgin commands St Dominic to distribute rosaries to the unshod pilgrims who in a mêlée of hands clamour to fondle the beads. Kneeling before a fluted column is an unidentified aristocratic donor who grasps the hem of Dominic’s garment while looking assertively outward; to the left St Peter Martyr points at the *Theotokos* as blood oozes from his gaping head wound. The setting is a classical niche delineated by concave entablature and a great swathe of crimson drapery hangs above the ensemble.¹ Purchased c. 1617 the *Rosary Madonna* was displayed in the Dominican Church for nearly two centuries. Among the last to see it in situ was Sir Joshua Reynolds whose disdain for this ‘black picture’ was never widely shared.² The altarpiece was first documented in 1607 on the Neapolitan art market. In the possession of Flemish artist-dealers Louis Finson and Abraham Vinck it was one of ‘two very beautiful paintings’ by Caravaggio’s hand offered to Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua through his court portraitist Frans Pourbus II.³ Having failed to sell it in Naples Finson took the *Rosary Madonna* to Amsterdam where it was bought by Rubens and ‘diverse art-lovers’ after his

Research for this chapter was presented as part of “Art as Idea in the Early Modern World II: Objects” at the 64th Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in New Orleans on 22 March 2018. I would like to thank Marije Osnabrugge at the University of Geneva and Elsje van Kessel at the University of St Andrews for inviting me to speak.

¹ See Antonia Atanassova, “Theological and Cultic Components of Mariology in the Context of Ephesus”. *Archaeologica, Arts, Iconographica, Tools, Historica, Biblica, Theologica, Philosophica, Ethica*, Jane Baun, ed. (Leuven: Peeters, 2010): 457; Pamela Askew, *Caravaggio’s Death of the Virgin* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990): 108-132.

² Joshua Reynolds and Edmund Malone (ed.), *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight* (Edinburgh: William Forrester, 1867): 186.

³ ‘Ho visto qui doi quadri bellissimi di mano de M. Ange’o da Caravaggio: l’uno è d’un rosario’. Alessandro Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all’Inghilterra nel 1627-28* (Milan: L. F. Cogliati, 1913): 278.

death in 1617. The altarpiece was first installed in the Dominican Church at the centre of the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* cycle (see Chapter 2). In 1651 it was removed and placed above a ‘costly altar of marble’ in the north transept (ill. 3.1). On 18 June 1781 Emperor Joseph II the sovereign of the Austrian Netherlands paid a visit to the church; having ‘manifested a desire to possess’ the *Rosary Madonna* the ‘good fathers eagerly offered it to him’.⁴ In 1786 Joseph II dissolved all confraternities in his dominions and confiscated their property; the canvas arrived in Vienna on 7 July and a replacement copy was commissioned at the emperor’s expense from Andreas de Quertenmont.⁵

Like Caravaggio studies in general, literature on the *Rosary Madonna* is high in volume but sporadic in insight.⁶ Of singular focus is the identity of the donor and thus the origin of the altarpiece which has been erroneously identified as Neapolitan on the basis of Pourbus II’s assertion ‘it was made here’.⁷ As demonstrated by technical research published by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in 1980 and 2010 the altarpiece was painted when Caravaggio was in Rome, a fact which many scholars have chosen to ignore.⁸ Unlike the wild goose chase of the donor’s identity the painting’s acquisition for the Dominican Church promises a richly expansive discourse being Caravaggio’s first major work to travel north of the Alps.⁹ Scholarly interest all but evaporates at this juncture because the case study of an

⁴ Goovaerts, *Notice Historique*, 16.

⁵ FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Inventarissen der Vernietigde Broederschappen binnen Antwerpen (KK 1980): 73-77; Goovaerts, *Notice Historique*, 25-26.

⁶ For the state of Caravaggio studies see Lorenzo Pericolo and David Stone, “The Caravaggio Conundrum”. *Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions*, Lorenzo Pericolo and David Stone, eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014): 1-12. For a comprehensive bibliographic listing see John Spike, *Caravaggio: Second Revised Edition* (New York City, NY: Abbeville Press, 2010): 288-290.

⁷ ‘Ha visto ancora qualche cosa di buono di Michelangelo Caravaggio che ha fatto qui che si venderanno’. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga*, 277.

⁸ Wolfgang Prohaska, “Untersuchungen zur ‘Rosenkranzmadonna’ Caravaggios”. *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 76 (1980): 111-132; Wolfgang Prohaska and Gudrun Swoboda, *Caravaggio und der Internationale Caravaggismus* (Vienna: Silvana, 2010): 26-31, 74-75. See for example Antonio Ernesto Denunzio, “New Data and Some Hypotheses on Caravaggio’s Stays in Naples”. *Caravaggio: The Final Years*, Silvia Cassani, ed. (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2005): 48-60; Jeremy Wood, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXVI (2): Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists. Italian Masters* (London: Harvey Miller, 2010): I.120.

⁹ Prohaska and Swoboda, *Caravaggio*, 76-79. See also Lynn Federle Orr, “Reverberations: The Impact of the Italian Sojourn on Utrecht Artists”. *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*, Lynn Federle Orr and Joaneath Spicer, eds. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997): 102.

Italian painting in Belgium falls between two stools.¹⁰ The gap was bridged somewhat in the 2006 exhibition *Rembrandt / Caravaggio* at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam although evidence for Rembrandt's interest in the *Rosary Madonna* is unconvincing.¹¹ Moving beyond Caravaggism and its 'dismal dark subjects' the author aims to offer a corrective.¹² What Georges Didi-Huberman calls the 'sovereignty of anachronism' in art-historical discourse puts too great a premium on the hand of the artist which if considered the sole arbiter of value has the effect of preserving an artwork in aspic at the moment of manufacture. Considered as 'polychronistic' objects instead their meaning becomes aggregate and mutable.¹³ As Part 2 demonstrates the value of artworks is contingent on social interaction through which process they are assimilated into the wider political economy. Another challenge to conventional art-historical methodologies is the emergence of an international art market in the early modern period. The *Rosary Madonna* is unique because of its geo-temporal dislocation as an Italian painting by a deceased master on long-term display in a northern clime. This presents the art historian with an interpretative challenge.

Pieter Neefs I's interior view visualises the integration of the altarpiece into the *Mysteries* cycle (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 3.2, detail). Its position in the fourth bay between Antonis de Bruyn's *Crowning with Thorns* and Anthony Van Dyck's *Carrying of the Cross* was confirmed during restoration work in 1996 (ill. 3.3).¹⁴ Framed by a self-

¹⁰ One exception is Irene Schaudies, "Trimming Rubens' Shadow: New Light on the Mediation of Caravaggio in the Southern Netherlands". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004): 335-367.

¹¹ See Volker Manuth, "'Michelangelo of Caravaggio, who does wondrous things in Rome': On Rembrandt's Knowledge of Caravaggio". *Rembrandt / Caravaggio*, Duncan Bull, ed. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2006); Amy Golahny, "Rembrandt and Italy: Beyond the Disegno-Colore Paradigm". *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 51 (2009): 113-120.

¹² Best summarised as 'ship-loads of dead Christs, Holy Families, Madonas [sic] ... neither entertaining nor ornamental'. William Hogarth and J. B. Nichols (ed.), *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself: With Essays on His Life and Genius, and Criticisms of His Works* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1833): 40.

¹³ Georges Didi-Huberman, "Before the Image, Before Time: The Sovereignty of Anachronism". *Compelling Visuality*, Claire Farago and Robert Zwijnenberg, eds. (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003): 31-44. See also Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York City, NY: Zone, 2010).

¹⁴ Rutger Steenmeijer, "Architectuurschilderkunst en de Restauratie van Monumentale Kerken in Antwerpen" (conference paper, Architectural Painting in the 16th and 17th century, Rubenianum, Antwerp, 10 October 2016).

conscious exemplum of Antwerp's art industry the status of Caravaggio's 'rare piece' was affirmed by its display as part of the cycle and vice-versa because the prestige of the altarpiece would have also rubbed off onto the panels by Rubens and his contemporaries. Exported from Rome to Antwerp the *Rosary Madonna* was an embodiment of cultural capital namely the knowledge and social pedigree of the art-lovers who procured it. The altarpiece's integration into the gallery-like installation of the north aisle suggests that it was valued more as a work of art than as liturgical furniture (see Chapter 2). As such the *Rosary Madonna* took on 'universal' features of the category art as identified by Denis Dutton with reference to evolutionary psychology.¹⁵ Caravaggio's virtuosity, his trademark style and the nonutilitarian pleasure of looking with a 'special focus' set up the *Rosary Madonna* for criticism and appreciation. If art engages 'not only the psychology of aesthetics but the psychology of status' as Steven Pinker argues 'one of the functions of creating and owning art is to impress other people'. The quest for status has driven the acquisition of art to either conform with or challenge established canons of taste.¹⁶ As this chapter argues the *Rosary Madonna* did both.

The arbiters of Caravaggio's art were Rubens, Jan Brueghel I, Hendrick van Balen and the merchant Jan Cooymans; together they formed a quadrumvirate which branched out to 'diverse others' to fundraise for the painting's purchase. A document in the Sint-Pauluskerk Archives dated 1651 details the acquisition and reception of the altarpiece (see above). This remarkable survival brims with enthusiasm for the 'great painting'. Purchased for the apparently small sum of 1,800 gulden this 'outstandingly great' artwork was gifted to the Order 'out affection' for the monastery chapel i.e. the Sint-Pauluskerk but also to have a 'rare piece' within Antwerp. Once installed in the nave a series of extravagant bids were made for its purchase culminating in 14,000 gulden. As for the monastery friars they were

¹⁵ Denis Dutton, "Aesthetic Universals". *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics*, Berys Gaut and Dominic Lopes, eds. (London: Routledge, 2013): 273-274. See also Steven Pinker, *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (London: Penguin, 2019): 404.

¹⁶ Steven Pinker, *How the Mind Works* (London: Penguin, 1998): 522; Pinker, *The Blank Slate*, 407.

greatly moved by the eagerness of collectors to pay large sums for the *Rosary Madonna* and built a ‘costly altar’ above which to augment it. The author of the 1651 document was Friar Petrus Vloers the prefect of the rosary brotherhood.¹⁷ His account exists in two versions the second written in 1671. Spelling and condition aside they are virtually identical; both are nineteenth-century copies (see Chapter 1).¹⁸ Written three decades after the event the text is somewhat vague. An acquisition date is not given and the ‘diverse others’ are unnamed; as for the bids it is unclear how ‘shortly thereafter’ and ‘sometime thereafter’ should be measured. Nevertheless the gifting of the *Rosary Madonna* makes for a compelling story. The ‘diverse art-lovers’ were the closest of friends while the ‘diverse others’ with whom they went into coalition were from Antwerp’s municipal and mercantile elite. The art-lovers canvassed for financial support from exclusive social circles such as the guild of Romanists and the Stock-Gillyflowers or *Violieren* chamber of rhetoric of which they were active members. From a wealth of related source material Caravaggio’s altarpiece emerges as a potent nexus between status, salvation, artistic exceptionalism and economic value.

Part 2 is divided into two chapters. This chapter examines the life of the *Rosary Madonna* as a “sacred commodity”. Having passed through systems of exchange the painting continued to flit between realms of church and marketplace. The painting’s value in the seventeenth century is reconstructed using commodity theory and notions of artistic brand equity with reference to mercantilism and early modern art theory. Chapter 4 turns the spotlight on Rubens and the formation of the coalition who procured the *Rosary Madonna*. Making use of the latest trends in network science Rubens’ friendships with the other art-lovers are explored emphasising the contributions of Brueghel, Van Balen and Coymans to

¹⁷ Adolf Jansen, “Het O. L. Vrouwaltaar in de St. Pauluskerk, te Antwerpen”. *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis en Folklore* 4 (1941): 144; Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Ledenboek van de Broederschap van de Rozenkrans, 1688-1771 (PR 9): unpaginated.

¹⁸ As well as ending slightly differently the 1671 document includes the following post-script. ‘Een silvere autaerkleet ghemaect door Somers constigh ghedreven en ghebruijneert door de nonnekens van S. Norbertus, en jouffr. Clara Cappenberghe gheprocureert etc. ... van de H. Dominicus met de lijst 1671 - - - 2511-0’. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Loose Documents, 1243-1773 (PR A.1/9): verso.

the collective effort. Paintings and objects in miniature are one way of understanding the ties that bound the art-lovers and their motives for gifting the altarpiece; these are studied through the lens of anthropological theory with reference to humanist texts. To conclude the circumstances behind the *Rosary Madonna*'s discovery and purchase in Amsterdam are proposed, the funeral of the art-lovers' mutual friend Hendrick Goltzius.

* * *

How did mere paint on canvas come to be worth the equivalent of 137 kilograms of Potosí silver? This chapter discusses the *Rosary Madonna* as a commodity i.e. an object bought and sold in exchange for money. The painting is so characterised in the 1651 document; 'procured through diverse art-lovers' 1,800 gulden was apparently 'not high in price' for such 'outstandingly great art'. Inside the Dominican Church its value escalated on a speculative basis: 'shortly thereafter' 4,000 gulden was offered, then 6,000 with promises of an exact replica and then 13,000-14,000 before it was finally declared that 'the piece is not for sale for any money' (see above). As Elizabeth Honig argues in relation to the art market, the sixteenth century saw the emergence of capitalism as the 'only mode of social organization of the economy' to the extent that the 'entire known world was united as a market' with Antwerp at its centre. Yet medieval structures of economic organisation such as guilds persisted into the seventeenth century obliging people to 'act out their own social rules at a market' with the effect of investing goods bought and sold with 'values perceived by the people who trade them'.¹⁹ In the early modern period artworks were in one sense luxury commodities but their uniquely high status led them to acquire values of morality and status outside market mechanisms which could ultimately make them priceless. To understand an artwork's independence from other forms of pre-capitalist production one can look to Marxism, the main strand of economic philosophy to have explored the social value of commodities. While the author is not a Marxist this line of thought can help one to

¹⁹ Elizabeth Honig, *Painting & the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998): 4-5.

‘interrogate not only art’s economic exceptionalism but its relationship to capitalism’ as Dave Beech argues.²⁰

Antwerp’s economic model was not capitalist per se but pre-industrial and mercantilist. Its commercial engines were powered by urbanisation, overseas trade and the “industrious revolution” of small- to mid-scale manufacture as Maarten Prak, Fernand Braudel and other historians have shown.²¹ While constrained by regulatory red tape the mercantile city of Antwerp was nevertheless governed by what An Kint calls an ‘ideology of commerce’ which served to integrate the *Rosary Madonna* into the political economy.²² In recent years Koenraad Jonckheere, Filip Vermeylen, John Michael Montias and others have pushed for an economically-informed understanding of early modern art.²³ Knowledge of how the market operated can give essential insight into the social character of artworks i.e. not only the stamp of the artist’s labour but also the social relationships that artworks embodied and articulated.²⁴ Part 2 of this thesis also demonstrates how social values spurred the profit economy by circulating in tandem with artworks.

²⁰ Dave Beech, *Art and Value: Art’s Economic Exceptionalism in Classical, Neoclassical and Marxist Economics* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2015): 26.

²¹ See Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind, “Introduction”. *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire*, Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 3-22; Maarten Prak, “Early Modern Capitalism: An Introduction”. *Early Modern Capitalism: Economic and Social Change in Europe 1400-1800*, Maarten Prak, ed. (London: Routledge, 2002): 1-21; Robert Duplessis, *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 3-13, 88-140; Fernand Braudel and Sian Reynolds (trans.), *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century* (London: Collins, 1981-1984): II.237-239.

²² An Kint, “The Ideology of Commerce: Antwerp in the Sixteenth Century”. *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th-16th Centuries): Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure*, Peter Stabel et al., eds. (Leuven: Garant, 1997): 218.

²³ See for example Anna Tummers and Koenraad Jonckheere (eds.), *Art Market and Connoisseurship: A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their Contemporaries* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008); Amy Golahny et al. (eds.), “Art-Historical Publications by John Michael Montias”. *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006): 23-28; Neil de Marchi and Hans van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450-1750* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); Filip Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market: Commercialization of Art in Antwerp’s Golden Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

²⁴ See Paul Wood, “Commodity”. *Critical Terms for Art History: Second Edition*, Robert Nelson and Richard Shiff, eds. (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2003): 382-406; Joseph Leo Koerner and Lisbet Rausing, “Value”. *Critical Terms for Art History: Second Edition*, Robert Nelson and Richard Shiff, eds. (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2003): 419-434; Robert Miklitsch, *From Hegel to Madonna: Towards a General Economy of “Commodity Fetishism”* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998); John Walker, “Art Works as Commodity”. *Circa* 32 (1987): 26-30.

The 1651 document is pervaded by a sense of commercial impetus. Rather than debase the *Rosary Madonna* such frenzied bartering in a sacred setting ‘moved [the friars] greatly’. Once its stock had risen nearly eightfold the Order deemed the painting priceless and refused to part with it. Installed above a ‘costly altar of marble’ the altarpiece’s value became transcendental which made it a worthy oblation to God, the Virgin and St Dominic as never before. In the early modern period paintings were both Albertian windows and high-status possessions; as Lisa Jardine argued their representational virtuosity and the incorporation of expensive materials such as ultramarine blue were not only a source of ‘aesthetic delight’ but also what made them sell.²⁵ Concerning the *Rosary Madonna* the aesthetic and the numinous were at one with the pecuniary. According to local astrological tradition Mercury was the protector of merchants and ‘clever artists concerned with the free arts’ having taught them how ‘goods should be sold by weights and measures’ as Honig recounts; not by coincidence Mercury was also the friend of orators into which category the Order fell.²⁶ Antwerp artists were men of the market whose products had built into them a propensity for truck, barter and exchange. For Dominican friars money and salvation mixed together like water and wine and by building a reputation for financial acumen they could attract the patronage of the city’s mercantile elite (see Introduction).

The Antwerp monastery had long been the site of commerce. Where the Calvarieberg stands today was once the Predikheerenpand a dedicated cloister where stallholders traded in luxury wares as Dan Ewing shows (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 3.4). Built c. 1445 this was a veritable bazaar which later expanded to include the Nieuwenpand. On market days traders from far afield proffered a spectrum of luxury goods including paintings. Although demolished by 1561 the monastery kept the spirit of the marketplace alive into the seventeenth century.²⁷ In 1653 the art dealers Abraham de Cooge and Matthijs Musson

²⁵ Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1996): 19-24.

²⁶ Cited in Honig, *Painting & the Market*, 1.

²⁷ Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market*, 19-24, 46-50; Dan Ewing, ‘Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady’s Pand’. *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 4 (December 1990): 559-561.

bought a ‘piece that stands in the Prekerenpant ... to wit an Ascension with two side wings’ which they wanted to sell for at least 800 gulden.²⁸ Long after the *pand*’s demise the cloisters continued to double as a retail outlet. Like the wares for sale in the *pand*’s heyday the *Rosary Madonna* was a commodity in transit exported from one commercial entrepôt to another. In this context Caravaggio’s painting was deemed available for purchase until whichever prior grumpily declared ‘The piece is not for sale for any money’.

Antwerp rose to prominence in the sixteenth century as a global distribution centre for English wool, Portuguese pepper and silver from New Spain.²⁹ With the raw materials to hand luxury industries for export including textiles, diamond-cutting and painting proliferated. The Revolt and *Reconquista* were demographic calamities from which Antwerp took centuries to recover but the Twelve Years’ Truce did usher in a brief period of economic optimism. While the port of Amsterdam would definitively supersede Antwerp thanks in part to the Dutch blockade of the Scheldt, the city enjoyed renewed commercial vitality in the 1610s driven by the growth of the money market and new forms of conspicuous consumption.³⁰ Beginning in the Renaissance the demand for worldly goods fostered a culture of commodities. As Jardine showed luxury items such as paintings, maps and jewellery were amalgams of money and culture that transferred specialist knowledge as well as fashionable taste in tow of their circulation.³¹ The *Rosary Madonna* was at once part of this commodity chain and independent from it on account of its unique social value. While much is known about the domestic production of paintings for export the import of foreign art into Antwerp is comparatively unstudied.³² If nine per cent of painting shipments from

²⁸ Cited in John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982): 210-211.

²⁹ Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, II.143-153.

³⁰ Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, “Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”. *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis, 16th-17th Century*, Jan van der Stock, ed. (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993): 19-31; Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy, Fourteenth-Sixteenth Centuries* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963): II.272-282.

³¹ Jardine, *Worldly Goods*, *passim*.

³² See Honig, *Painting & the Market*, 1-18, 100-114; Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market*, 35-108.

Antwerp were destined for Italy as Vermeylen and James Bloom show the traffic in the other direction was doubtless significant.³³ As Constantijn Huygens remarked in his autobiography, ‘Since these days the kings and princes north of the Alps avidly delight in and collect pictures, the best Italian paintings can be seen outside Italy. What is scattered around in that country and only to be tracked down with great inconvenience, can be found here *en masse* so that one can have his fill’.³⁴ Writing c. 1630 the *Rosary Madonna* was one such painting Huygens could have been thinking of. In the Low Countries the demand for Italian imports outstripped supply as evidenced when Raphael’s *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione* was auctioned in 1639 (Musée du Louvre, Paris) (ill. 3.5). Having sketched it in Amsterdam Rembrandt noted the hammer price beneath the same drawing (Albertina, Vienna) (ill. 3.6).³⁵ At 3,500 guilders the portrait was ‘almost five times the value of the most expensive work of art sold in the previous 41 years’.³⁶ In a Netherlandish context the 14,000 gulden offered for the *Rosary Madonna* roughly concurrently made its value truly exceptional.

What determined the value of paintings as commodities? According to Karl Marx a commodity was an ‘object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another’; its value lay in use and exchange, the first realised in consumption and the second in commercial transactions.³⁷ However as Beech points out ‘art is not a

³³ Filip Vermeylen, “Marketing Paintings in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp: Demand for Art and the Role of the *Panden*”. *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th-16th Centuries): Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure*, Peter Stabel et al., eds. (Leuven: Garant, 1997): 194-198; James Bloom, “Why Painting?”. *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450-1750*, Neil de Marchi and Hans van Miegroet, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006): 26-30.

³⁴ ‘Ac Principum Cisalpinorum picturae audia dilectio est ac delectus, potissimas Italiae tabulas extra Italiam visi, quaeque sparsim ibi magna cum molestia indages, cumulatim hic et ad satietatem offerri’. Published in J. A. Worp, “Constantijn Huygens over de Schilders van Zijn Tijd”. *Oud Holland* 9 (1891): 130-131. Translation by Benjamin Binstock.

³⁵ See Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt’s Enterprise: The Studio and The Market* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1990): 104-105.

³⁶ John Michael Montias, *Art at Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002): 16.

³⁷ Karl Marx and David McLellan (ed.), *Selected Writings: Second Edition*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 458-475.

standard capitalist commodity' in the sense of materials plus man-hours.³⁸ Another process at work was commodity fetishism. By Marx's formulation this was when an object came to bear the 'social character of men's labour' independently of its place of production; on the market commodities competed with each other for a buyer as if imbued with the life of their makers.³⁹ While commodities were produced on a much smaller scale before the Industrial Revolution their fetishism has qualified salience in an early modern context particularly in relation to devotional objects. Sarah Stanbury describes how beautiful images of the Crucifixion that circulated in medieval England functioned as independent actors within a 'theater of visual desire'.⁴⁰ Pre-modern devotional objects displayed 'many of the same uncanny ties to commodities' that would later be called fetishism; their production, exchange and consumption betrayed the 'market-based operations of the spiritual system itself' which in a Catholic context centred around indulgences.⁴¹ To understand the fetishism of artworks one can look to Jean Baudrillard who turned Marx's concept of a labour 'stamp' into a semiotic system which accorded 'luxury value' to the 'signed, appraised painting'.⁴² The value created was a form of brand equity where the label of an artist determined the price of their products outside their direct control.

The effect of putting an object on the market was to transform its social character.⁴³ The commodification of the *Rosary Madonna* began after it was rejected by Roman Dominicans. 'Made for an altar' at '20 palms' in height with an unidentified donor portrait

³⁸ Beech, *Art and Value*, 27.

³⁹ Marx, *Selected Writings*, 473-474.

⁴⁰ Sarah Stanbury, "Regimes of the Visual in Premodern England: Gaze, Body, and Chaucer's 'Clerk's Tale'". *New Literary History* 28, no. 2 (1997): 279.

⁴¹ Sarah Stanbury, *The Visual Object of Desire in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008): 14. See also Mark Albert Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England: Sex, Gender, and Registers of Value* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016): 311-319; David Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace: Idolatry and Commodity Fetishism in English Literature, 1580-1680* (New York City, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001): 49-75.

⁴² Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (St Louis, MO: Telos Press, 1981): 112-122.

⁴³ This process has also been called reification. See Georg Lukács and Rodney Livingstone (trans.), *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971): 83-110.

inserted into the sacred drama, the painting's rebranding as a market commodity was all the more extraordinary (ill. 3.7, detail).⁴⁴ Private ownership of Caravaggio's commodified altarpieces was exclusive to those with means such as cardinals. For the *Rosary Madonna*'s first owners Finson and Vinck it was a commodity from which they could profit; as Pourbus II stressed 'they do not want less than 400 ducats'.⁴⁵ On his deathbed Finson bequeathed the *Rosary Madonna* to Vinck just as he left jewellery and drawings to his family.⁴⁶ The procurement of the commodified *Rosary Madonna* by diverse art-lovers and display in the *ecclesia laicorum* marked a turning point in its social character. The painting's value skyrocketed in tandem with its *fama* (fame) which grew on account of the publicity it received after the publication of Lucas Vorsterman I's reproductive print in the early 1620s (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 3.8).⁴⁷ The bids that the monastery subsequently received for the *Rosary Madonna* fed this virtuous circle.

To put the *Rosary Madonna* on the market was to have it profaned i.e. taken outside the temple (*pro fanum*). The altarpiece's transition between sacred and secular realms was relatable to the 1566 iconoclasm which Charles Ford describes as a 'moment of sacrilege' that saw the 'exposure of privileged goods to the banality of everyday space' some of which were 'retrieved for re-sacralisation'.⁴⁸ The contradictions of collecting religious art are

⁴⁴ Walter Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies* (New York City, NY: Schocken, 1969): 200-201. '...era fatto per un'ancona et è grande da 18 palmi'. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga*, 278.

⁴⁵ '...non vogliono manco di 400 ducati'. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga*, 278.

⁴⁶ '...den voorschrewe Abrahams huisvrouw een gouden rinck, wesende een Botse met seven Diamanten. Hij maect een Margriete den dochtere 2 braceletten van goudt met gesneden agaten. Item een zijn zoontje Abraham een pluijme met een juweelken. Item een Catharyncken, de jongste dochter een rick wesende een roosken van diamanten weerdich omrent 40 guldens Hij maect en prelegateert een David Finsons, zijn broeders soon, alle zijne conste ende teeckeningen en papieren'. Didier Bodart, *Louis Finson (Bruges, avant 1580 - Amsterdam, 1617)* (Brussels: L'Académie Royale de Belgique, 1970): 228. See also John Michael Montias, "Works of Art Competing with Other Goods in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Inventories". *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450-1750*, Neil de Marchi and Hans van Miegroet, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006): 55-66.

⁴⁷ Christiaan Schuckman and Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer (ed.), *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700. Volume 43: Lucas Vorsterman I* (Roosendaal: Koninklijke Van Poll, 1993): 53-54, cat. no. 47. See also Jeffrey Muller, "Rubens's Altarpiece in the Antwerp Dominican Church: How Visitors and Guidebooks Saw It". *Le Rubénisme en Europe aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles*, Michèle-Caroline Heck, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005): 69.

⁴⁸ Charles Ford, "Iconoclasm, the Commodity, and the Art of Painting". *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay, eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007): 75-91.

explored in Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Evert-Schiffer's recent volume *Sacred Possessions*. When *pictura sacra* was sold for commercial ends it came to embody a 'complicated amalgam of the aesthetic and the numinous'. Sacred possessions imply a 'charged reciprocal interaction between objects and their owners'; the transformational effect of profanation and geo-temporal dislocation makes the reframing of religious art into collectors' items a fruitful line of art-historical inquiry.⁴⁹ Their former liturgical function converted into a special presence or aura; taken further a cult image in the profane realm could become the object of 'aesthetic worship' as happened to Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* in the nineteenth century (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden).⁵⁰ Sacred possessions were thus uniquely desirable as fetishized artworks. The fetish metaphor derives from the 'mist-enshrouded regions of the religious world' a *fetisso* being the attribution of divine powers by hunter-gatherers to inanimate objects. According to Marx a commodity fetish was when objects exerted power over consumers by creating artificial wants.⁵¹ If so prospective buyers of the *Rosary Madonna* were captivated by the prospect of owning a 'rare piece' which in a Catholic context was all the more appealing for its assertive Marian iconography. In human psychology moral virtue is often conflated with social status hence the political authority that conspicuous consumption signals.⁵² Had the monastery chosen to sell it to a wealthy collector Caravaggio's 'rare piece' would have become a highly effective status-enhancer. For the quadrumvirate the value of the *Rosary Madonna* was at once aesthetic and moral (see Chapter 4).

By Marx's formulation the altarpiece was a social hieroglyphic that entered 'into relation both with [other artworks] and the human race' when put on display in the

⁴⁹ Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Evert-Schiffer, "Introduction". *Sacred Possessions: Collecting Italian Religious Art, 1500-1900*, Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Evert-Schiffer, eds. (Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2011): 1-4.

⁵⁰ Andreas Henning, "From Sacred to Profane Cult Image: On the Display of Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* in Dresden". *Sacred Possessions: Collecting Italian Religious Art, 1500-1900*, Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Evert-Schiffer, eds. (Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2011): 171-188.

⁵¹ Marx, *Selected Writings*, 458-475.

⁵² Pinker, *How the Mind Works*, 522.

Dominican Church.⁵³ On top of market mechanisms the painting's value was constructed socially having acquired an illustrious provenance and been appraised as 'outstandingly great art' by connoisseurs. The attribution of social value to an artwork should also be understood anthropologically. Circulating as a worldly good the *Rosary Madonna*'s trans-European itinerary was the basis of its 'social life', a concept in the ascent since Arjun Appadurai's seminal volume of 1986 which includes an essay on commoditisation as cultural biography.⁵⁴ As Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss explain further, 'Cultural artefacts never stand still, are never inert. Their existence is always embedded in a multitude of contexts, with tensions surrounding their roles, usages and meanings ... [As it passes] through different stations each moment in the object's lifespan seems to have a distinct role'.⁵⁵ While commodity histories usually focus on mass consumables such as tea the social life of art is increasingly being discussed.⁵⁶ In relation to Netherlandish art Joanna Woodall and Christine Göttler examine the 'mutable' and 'entangled' values of Crispijn de Passe I's silver plaque (British Museum, London) (ill. 3.9). Engraved after a print by Maerten de Vos depicting the Adoration of the Magi it layers the 'skilful touch of an Antwerp engraver on precious metal brought from abroad'. Appealing to both pious and mercantile sentiments the plaque also harboured the monetary value of silver although De Passe I's exquisite craftsmanship acted as a barrier to melting it down.⁵⁷ Transported from Rome to Antwerp the value of the *Rosary Madonna* was likewise mutable and complex. While declared

⁵³ Marx, *Selected Writings*, 474.

⁵⁴ Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process". *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Arjun Appadurai, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 64-94.

⁵⁵ Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss, "Introduction: Biographies, Travels and Itineraries of Things". *Mobility, Meaning & Transformations of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture through Time and Space*, Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss, eds. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013): 1-14.

⁵⁶ Frank Trentmann, *Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-First* (London: Penguin, 2017): 16; Bruce Robbins, "Commodity Histories". *PMLA* 120, no. 2 (March 2005): 454-463. See also Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist (eds.), *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2012).

⁵⁷ Christine Göttler et al., "Trading Values in Early Modern Antwerp. An Introduction". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 64 (2014): 8-37.

priceless and installed more or less permanently the monastery could have realised the painting's latent value by selling it to the highest bidder albeit at the expense of their congregation.

Appadurai uses Georg Simmel's *The Philosophy of Money* (1900) to grapple with notions of economic value. For Simmel the 'exchange of values' during sale was what determined the price of things. Commercial transactions were acts of reciprocal sacrifice whereby money was relinquished for art and vice-versa; the most valuable objects were those that 'resist our desire to possess them'.⁵⁸ Simmel's philosophy can be used to adjust Marx's concept of exchange as mystification in which supply and demand did not feature. For Simmel the valuation of an object was a process governed by laws. The market established an 'objective, supra-personal relationship between objects' making exchange a reliable measure of worth by proving 'that it is not only valuable for me, but also valuable independently of me'.⁵⁹ The *Rosary Madonna*'s value was determined supra-personally. Judged 'outstandingly great art' by three of Antwerp's most senior artists it was bought with contributions from a wide consortium who were broadly in agreement (see Chapter 4). The altarpiece was deemed priceless because not even 14,000 gulden was worth giving it up for. In an extended analogy with works of art Simmel made the case for art's economic exceptionalism. 'So long as objects are merely useful, they are interchangeable and everything can be replaced by anything else that performs the same service. But when they are beautiful, they have a unique individual existence and the value of one cannot be replaced by another'.⁶⁰ While useful objects were ultimately disposable beautiful objects were irreplaceable by virtue of their uniqueness. As Leonardo da Vinci argued, 'Painting alone ... honours its author and remains precious and unique and never bears children equal to itself';

⁵⁸ Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and Products of Value". *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Arjun Appadurai, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 3-4.

⁵⁹ Georg Simmel et al., *The Philosophy of Money: Second Enlarged Edition* (London: Routledge, 1990): 79-81.

⁶⁰ Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money*, 79.

in this sense as Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood illuminate, ‘The painting’s resistance to duplication allows it to dominate time’ as an anachronic object.⁶¹ According to Simmel the more remote the utility the ‘purer is the aesthetic satisfaction’ and the greater the artwork’s ‘independent value’. At its finest art yielded the highest form of pleasure and this ‘unique psychological character’ was ‘determined by the fact that we no longer want anything from the object’.⁶² Caravaggio’s ‘outstandingly great’ altarpiece was procured on a useful pretext namely to complete the *Mysteries* cycle with a Virgin of the Rosary but ultimately to have a ‘rare piece within Antwerp’.

The monetary value of the *Rosary Madonna* was socially determined through a complex intersection of processes, not only commodity fetishism but also object biography and economic laws. The rest of this chapter narrates the altarpiece’s voyage from Rome to Antwerp and its transformation into cultural capital as mediated by Rubens and Finson who each marketed Caravaggio’s art as an authentic slice of *romanitas* (Roman-ness). Section 1 discusses the corpus of copies that Rubens produced in Italy by which means he refashioned the Roman canon to include Caravaggio. Sections 2 and 3 compare the *Rosary Madonna* to the *Entombment* and the *Death of the Virgin* as cultural capital, both of which were marketed by Rubens to a non-Roman audience. Section 4 is about Finson’s stake in Caravaggio’s art and the deal the art-lovers struck with Vinck. The circumstances of their encounter are discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

⁶¹ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 14-15.

⁶² Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money*, 73-75.

1: Made in Rome

Thus I would greatly urge you to travel ... Because *Rome* is the city, above all other places, where the painter will want to stretch himself most, being the capital of the schools of *Pictura* ... There is also a *Michael Agnolo* of *Caravaggio*, who in *Rome* does wonderful things ... This *Michael Agnolo*, alone with his works, has received great renown, honour and name ... As concerns his handling, it is sweet, which is very satisfying, and [is] a wonderfully free manner for young painters to follow.

Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*.⁶³

This section addresses Rubens' encounters with Caravaggio in Rome in the 1600s. In Italy Rubens produced a corpus of copies of the Roman canon and in the process refashioned it to make space for Caravaggio. An artist's *fama* was like intangible asset value in marketing terms.⁶⁴ Made in Italy or better still made in Rome Caravaggio's products were not unlike Rolls-Royces made in England or the fine Spanish horses which Rubens took pleasure in riding.⁶⁵ Caravaggio's art bespoke excellence by reputation. On the basis of copies and travellers' reports Karel van Mander praised the Lombard's 'great renown, honour and name'; despite relative ignorance of Caravaggio's oeuvre he went as far to compare him with his illustrious namesake Michelangelo Buonarotti (see above).⁶⁶ Van Mander's emphasis on fame and name reflected a level of investor confidence in Caravaggio's *fama* typical of the early seventeenth century. He judged Caravaggio *a priori* and praised his manner as 'wonderfully free' and 'sweet' because of its affinities with northern traditions as Irene

⁶³ 'Doch ick soud' u gantsch tot reysen verwecken ... Want *Room* is de Stadt, daer voor ander plecken/ Der Schilders reyse haer veel toe wil strecken,/ Wesende het hooft der *Picturae Scholen* [...] Daer is oock eenen *Michael Agnolo van Caravaggio*, die te *Room* wonderlijcke dinghen doet ... Desen *Michael Agnolo* dan heeft alree met zijn werken groot gherucht, eere, en naem gecreghen ... dan soo veel zijn handelinghe belangt, die is sulcx, datse seer bevallijck is, en een wonder fraey maniere, om de Schilder-jeught nae te volgen'. Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem: 1604): 6 verso, 191 recto.

⁶⁴ See Carol Simon and Mary Sullivan, "The Measurement and Determinants of Brand Equity: A Financial Approach". *Marketing Science* 12, no. 1 (1993): 28-52.

⁶⁵ 'Son plus grand Plaisir estoit de monter quelque beau cheval d'Espagne'. Roger de Piles, *Conversations sur la Connoissance de la Peinture ... Où par occasion il est parlé de la vie de RUBENS, & de quelques-ans de ses plus beaux Ouvrages* (Paris: 1677): 215.

⁶⁶ Margot Cutter, "Caravaggio in the Seventeenth Century". *Marsyas* 1 (1941): 93; Manuth, "Michelangelo of Caravaggio", 180-181.

Schaudies argues.⁶⁷ Caravaggio's style was a bankable one for young painters to emulate and Netherlanders in Italy effectively bought up his artistic stocks; Caravaggio's brand was then franchised when the Utrecht Caravaggisti for example launched their subindustry.⁶⁸ Yet none of Caravaggio's followers had nearly the same appeal as the artist himself. In the 1610s the Lombard's products were highly sought after. The onslights of Vicencio Carducho who attacked him as the 'Antichrist' and Gian Pietro Bellori who found his indecorousness so offensive were mounted decades later.⁶⁹ Van Mander may have deplored Caravaggio's habit of brawling on the tennis court but artistic quarrels were common in Rome at the time.⁷⁰ The influence of such critics is anyhow disputable. In 1620 the prominent collector Vincenzo Giustiniani put Caravaggio among 'world-famous painters of the highest rank' making the artist's tenacious image as some kind of punk misleading.⁷¹ In the Dominican Church Caravaggio's *fama* shone brightly for nearly two centuries.

The *Rosary Madonna* was purchased seven years after Caravaggio's death; whatever the vicissitudes of fashion this consumer durable was procured as a long-term municipal

⁶⁷ See Schaudies, "Trimming Rubens' Shadow", 337.

⁶⁸ Orr, "Reverberations", 105. See also Letizia Treves and Aidan Weston-Lewis, *Beyond Caravaggio* (London: National Gallery, 2016); Richard Spear, "The Bottom Line of Painting Caravaggesque". *Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions*, Lorenzo Pericolo and David Stone, eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014): 199-214. For more on the artist as brand in the early modern period see Ilja van Damme, "From a 'Knowledgeable' Salesman Towards a 'Recognizable' Product? Questioning Branding Strategies before Industrialization (Antwerp, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries)". *Concepts of Value in European Material Culture, 1500-1900*, Bert de Munck and Dries Lyna, eds. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016): 75-102; Abigail Newman, "Netherlandish Artists and the Marketing of 'Flemishness' in Madrid". *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 31, no. 1 (2015): 78-100; Abigail Newman, "Juan de la Corte: 'Branding' Flanders Abroad". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 63 (2013): 265-301.

⁶⁹ See Elizabeth Holt (ed.), *A Documentary History of Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957-1966): II.209. "...anzi spregiando gli eccellenissimi marmi de gli antichi e le pitture tanto celebri di Rafaelle, si propose la sola natura per oggetto del suo pennello". Published in Howard Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (New York City, NY: Harper & Row, 1983): 209-210.

⁷⁰ 'Welcke dingen onse Const heel niet en gelijcken: want Mars en Minerva zijn doch noyt de beste vrienden gheweest'. Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 191 recto. See Patrizia Cavazzini, "Crimes and Misdeeds in the Lives of Painters in Early Seventeenth-Century Rome" (conference paper, Beyond Caravaggio, National Gallery, London, 17-18 November 2016).

⁷¹ Schaudies, "Trimming Rubens' Shadow", 337; Robert Enggass and Jonathan Brown (eds.), *Italy and Spain 1600-1750: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970): 19; Philip Sohm, "Caravaggio the Barbarian". *Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions*, Lorenzo Pericolo and David Stone, eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014): 177-198; Richard Spear, "Caravaggiomania" (conference paper, Beyond Caravaggio, National Gallery, London, 17-18 November 2016).

investment. The monastery friars did not swap it for something trendier. Having put an end to speculative bidding in 1651 they commissioned a marble altar to set their custodianship in stone. Their desire for permanence contrasted with the painting's initial avant-garde appeal. In 1607 Caravaggio was described by a Mantuan courtier as 'among the most famous of those making modern works in Rome'.⁷² The *Rosary Madonna* travelled to Antwerp towards the end of a Caravagist wave. Artistic styles were like fashion crazes and altarpieces in the Renaissance were frequently substituted and altered to include the latest doublets and codpieces. To keep Caravaggio's painting on permanent display in the Dominican Church was to resist the desire for incessant novelty.⁷³ Age did not wither the *Rosary Madonna* nor custom stale its economic exceptionalism. In Antwerp Rubens actively promoted Caravaggio's *fama*. By manipulating consumer preferences in favour of the Lombard's oeuvre he engendered a new lease of life for the altarpiece. In Rome Rubens set his mind to reconstructing the Italian canon in which Caravaggio was placed alongside Michelangelo and antique statuary. By 1630 Huygens was claiming that the 'best Italian paintings' could be found in the Low Countries without the inconvenience of crossing the Alps yet first-hand experience of the peninsula was what made Rubens a leading taste-maker.⁷⁴ His ultimate aim was to revive Antwerp's fortunes as the capital of *Pictura* in the north. When Rubens embarked for Italy in 1600 the city was a shadow of its former glory. With a decimated manufacturing base and dormant art market Antwerp needed cultural as much as industrial stimulus.⁷⁵ In procuring the *Rosary Madonna* as a slice of *romanitas* the art-lovers were appealing to Antwerpers' longstanding fascination with Rome which

⁷² Giovanni Magno to Annibale Chieppio, 17 February 1607: 'Il pittore però è dei più famosi di quelli che habbino cose moderne in Roma'. Max Rooses and Charles Ruelens (eds.), *Correspondance de Rubens et Documents Épistolaires concernant sa Vie et ses Œuvres (Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus)* (Soest: Davaco, 1887-1909): I.362.

⁷³ Alexander Nagel, "Fashion and the Now-Time of Renaissance Art". *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 46 (2004): 33-42.

⁷⁴ Taco Dibbits, "Prologue: Caravaggio, the Utrecht Caravagisti and the Young Rembrandt". *Rembrandt / Caravaggio*, Duncan Bull, ed. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2006): 34.

⁷⁵ Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market*, 109-118.

Edward Wouk has recently drawn attention to.⁷⁶ A Roman sojourn was an established rite of passage for Netherlandish artists. In the sixteenth century Domenicus Lampsonius urged his countrymen who ‘excel in art’ to win in Rome the ‘title of right-minded artist’.⁷⁷ Legions of Netherlanders went to the Eternal City notably Jan van Scorel (1522-1524), Maarten van Heemskerck (1532-1536), Pieter Bruegel I (1553) and Goltzius (1591).

In Rome Rubens acquired a repertoire of cultural goods with which he could tap into an established domestic market. For right-minded artists an educational trip to Rome was a quasi-religious experience. As Woodall explains it afforded them ‘coveted personal knowledge of Christian relics and classical monuments’ as well as ‘spiritual elevation’ and ‘social and intellectual prestige’.⁷⁸ Rubens refashioned the Roman canon through his workshop praxis and his paintings conveyed authoritative knowledge of Antiquity and Renaissance art by incorporating motifs from his stock of copies. Drawing famous statues with ‘unparalleled vigour’ Rubens became the ‘first Netherlandish artist who really understood the true meaning of the ancients’ according to J. Richard Judson.⁷⁹ While his forbears had crammed pen sketches indiscriminately together, Rubens devoted entire pages to one work drawing the *Laocoön* from multiple viewpoints (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne) (ill. 3.10).⁸⁰ With ‘skilful hand’ and ‘keen and unerring judgement’ the illustrations Rubens made for his brother Philip’s *Electorum Libri II* (1608) were valued for their *all’antica* authenticity as Marjon van der Meulen demonstrates.⁸¹ Rubens’ refashioned Roman canon was a manifestation of cultural capital demonstrating both knowledge of art

⁷⁶ See Edward Wouk, “Semini and His Progeny: The Construction of Antwerp’s Antique Past”. *Local Antiquities, Local Identities: Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Europe, c. 1400-1700*, Kathleen Christian and Bianca de Divitiis, eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018): 209-236.

⁷⁷ Cited in Orr, “Reverberations”, 100.

⁷⁸ Joanna Woodall, *Anthonis Mor: Art and Authority* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007): 95-97.

⁷⁹ Andreas Thielemann, “Stone to Flesh: Rubens’ Treatise *De Imitatione Statuarum*”. *Rubens and the Human Body*, Cordula van Wyhe, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018): 41; J. Richard Judson, “Observations on the Use of the Antique in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Art”. *Rubens and His World: Studies*, Arnout Balis and Frans Baudouin, eds. (Antwerp: Het Gulden Cabinet, 1985): 55-59.

⁸⁰ Marjon van der Meulen, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXIII: Copies after the Antique* (London: Harvey Miller, 1994): I.69; II.93-105, cat. nos. 76-93.

⁸¹ Meulen, *CRLB XXIII*, I.97-98, note 7.

and the artist's social status. In *Distinction* (1979) sociologist Pierre Bourdieu correlated 'intellectual stock in trade' with 'class fraction' as measured by education, professional standing and 'cultural pedigree'. Rubens stood out socially because of his classical education and former employ at the Mantuan court as 'fameglio' to Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga (see Section 3). Within Rome's 'economy of cultural goods' Rubens' eye for fine statues and latter-day trailblazers i.e. his 'aesthetic disposition' was a mark of superiority or in Bourdieu's terms a manifestation of the 'pertinence principle'.⁸²

This pertinence principle gave Rubens the edge over his compatriots in Rome and Antwerp whom he implicitly criticised in the fragmentary treatise *De Imitatione Statuarum*. 'For novices, while deriving from statues a certain indefinable quality consisting of crudity and sharp outlining and laboured and awkward anatomy, seem to make progress, but in defiance of nature as what they are representing in colours is, instead of flesh, merely marble'.⁸³ Rubens' sketches after the antique were a far cry from the flinty copies of previous generations. To make flesh out of marble when drawing the *Barberini Faun* Rubens used minute detailing in red chalk to imbue the statue with life (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC) (ill. 3.11).⁸⁴ Using his cultural capital as leverage Rubens assimilated Caravaggio into the Roman canon and used the Lombard's modern paradigm to forge a unique style inspired by Italy.⁸⁵ As Joachim von Sandrart commented, 'After his first manner brought from Italy, Rubens in his early works strove diligently to emulate the strength of Caravaggio's colouring, whose hand he observed closely'.⁸⁶ In striving to emulate Caravaggio Rubens aligned himself with the Roman avant-garde; in one of Sandrart's

⁸² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2010): xxiv-90.

⁸³ Cited in Thielemann, "Stone to Flesh", 61.

⁸⁴ Steven Cody, "Rubens and the 'Smell of Stone': The Translation of the Antique and the Emulation of Michelangelo". *Arion* 20, no. 3 (2013): 45.

⁸⁵ See Thielemann, "Stone to Flesh", 49-57.

⁸⁶ 'Nach seiner ersten aus Italien gebrachten Manier hat er emsig dahin getrachtet / die Stärke des Seine erste Werke Colorits von Caravaggio, als deßen Hand er sehr beobachtet / nachzuahmen'. Joachim von Sandrart, *Deutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste* (Nuremberg: 1675): III.293.

anecdotes Rubens praised the ‘most distinguished Italians’ including Caravaggio and his *Calling of Saint Matthew* in the Contarelli chapel, the unveiling of which coincided with Rubens’ first Roman sojourn (San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome) (ill. 3.12).⁸⁷ The *Tormenting of Christ* altarpiece originally for the Helena chapel in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme bears the Lombard’s immediate imprint (Grasse Cathedral) (ill. 3.13). Coupled with dramatic chiaroscuro several figures are almost cut and pasted from the *Martyrdom of St Matthew* in the Contarelli chapel including the young man on the far left (ill. 3.14). Rubens’ admiration for his unorthodox contemporary continued to take root during his Italian sojourn.

2: Caravaggio as cultural capital – the *Entombment*

Sections 2 and 3 examine the transformation of Caravaggio’s art into cultural capital using two case studies, the *Entombment* which Rubens sketched and the *Death of the Virgin* which he procured for the duke of Mantua. Beginning in October 1606 Rubens’ work for the Oratorians facilitated regular contact with Caravaggio’s *Entombment* in the chapel of the Pietà; in his words the Chiesa Nuova was adorned by ‘all the most able painters in Italy’ (ill. 3.15, copy).⁸⁸ By critical consensus the *Entombment* was Caravaggio’s most accomplished Roman altarpiece (Pinacoteca, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City) (ill. 3.16).⁸⁹ Painted in 1603 for the Chiesa Nuova Rubens had frequent recourse to it during his second Roman sojourn. The scene is a curious combination of action and stillness.⁹⁰ A rough-hewn Joseph of Arimathea hoists up the supine Corpus Christi in parallel with the stone of unction while the

⁸⁷ ‘Schließlich sein Lob zusammen zu fassen / so ist er noch in seinen Leb-Zeiten in so hohem Wehr gewesen / daß die fürnehmste Italiener keinen Scheu getragen / aus seinen Inventionen viel in ihre Werke zu bringen / sonderlich Michael Angelo Caravaggio, als da Mattheus von dem Zoll durch Christum beruffen wird’. Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, III.252. See also Justus Müller Hofstede, “Abraham Janssens: Zur Problematik des Flämischen Caravaggismus”. *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 13 (1971): 266.

⁸⁸ Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977): 86-88.

⁸⁹ Mary Ann Graeve, “The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio’s Painting for the Chiesa Nuova”. *The Art Bulletin* 40, no. 3 (September 1958): 225-226.

⁹⁰ Graeve, “Stone of Unction”, 223-225.

domino-like mourners entomb Christ by proxy by gesturing in a downward arc.⁹¹ Rubens' tribute was an oil sketch painted in Antwerp c. 1609 his only direct copy after Caravaggio (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa). According to Jeffrey Muller, Rubens considered the Lombard's art 'too simplistic an imitation of nature' and in line with seventeenth-century principles of decorum he polished away the *Entombment*'s 'rough edges' and rejected its 'lower-class types'.⁹² Quite the contrary. The sketch in fact represents the appropriation of Caravaggio's paradigm for Rubens' intellectual stock in trade.

Rubens painted the Ottawa sketch in Antwerp on the basis of a lost drawing (ill. 3.17).⁹³ As Julius Held argued Rubens made it c. 1609 when the original was still fresh in his mind.⁹⁴ Rubens integrated aspects of Caravaggio's *Entombment* into the *Descent from the Cross* the central panel of which was installed in 1612 (Antwerp Cathedral) (ill. 3.18).⁹⁵ Rubens' sketch after Caravaggio is no passive replica but rather it put the Fleming in dialogue with the Lombard; although undocumented in the seventeenth century one can judge by its level of accomplishment that the copy was intended for display.⁹⁶ As Annibale Carracci was supposed to have said, 'We painters have the means wherewithal to talk with our hands' and the sketch engages with Caravaggio's paradigm in brushstrokes instead of words.⁹⁷ By mediating the Lombard's oeuvre in Antwerp Rubens' oil sketch was an act of cultural appropriation; from *ad proprius* this means to make something one's own which

⁹¹ Georgia Wright, "Caravaggio's *Entombment* Considered *in Situ*". *The Art Bulletin* 60, no. 1 (March 1978): 35.

⁹² Jeffrey Muller, "Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art". *The Art Bulletin* 64, no. 2 (1982): 242-243.

⁹³ J. Richard Judson, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VI: The Passion of Christ* (London: Harvey Miller, 2000): 244.

⁹⁴ Julius Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980): I.499; Julius Held, *Rubens: Selected Drawings* (London: Phaidon, 1959): I.53, note 1; I.109-110.

⁹⁵ David Jaffé, *Rubens: A Master in the Making* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005): 134; Thomas Glen, "Rubens after Caravaggio: The 'Entombment'". *Revue d'Art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 15, no. 1 (1988): 22. See also Nico van Hout, "'Rubens' and the Passion: Composition on the Basis of a Brainstorming Session?". *Rubens: The Power of Transformation*, Gerlinde Gruber et al., eds. (Munich: Hirmer, 2017): 72-74.

⁹⁶ Muller, "Rubens's Theory and Practice", 242-243, note 89.

⁹⁷ Cited in Desmond Shawe-Taylor, "Elsheimer's 'Mocking of Caravaggio'". *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1991): 219.

implies subjectivity and motivation.⁹⁸ Instead of a zero-sum game where Rubens stole Caravaggio's ideas this act of copying was an eloquent and economically productive homage; Rubens went further by repackaging the Vatican *Entombment* with what Kristin Lohse Belkin calls an 'individuality and style completely his own'.⁹⁹ Rubens was a lifelong copyist of Italian paintings in part to save himself from buying the originals. When copying Raphael's *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione* when it was brought to Antwerp c. 1632 he refracted the prototype through the prism of his personal idiom as Jeremy Wood illustrates (Courtauld Gallery, London) (ill. 3.19).¹⁰⁰ By this point Rubens had brand equity of his own to vie with past masters. Even after acquiring Titian's D'Este bacchanals in 1638 King Philip IV of Spain was still willing to pay 1,800 florins for Rubens' copies after them; having been 'imbued with the talents' of both artists the copies were in fact considered to be worth double their prototypes (Nationalmuseet, Stockholm) (ills. 3.20-21).¹⁰¹ As he did with Titian's *Worship of Venus* Rubens paraphrased Caravaggio in the Ottawa oil sketch and enlivened the original with a touch of brilliance in like spirit to his alterations of drawings purchased in Italy.¹⁰²

Rubens' visual dialogue with Caravaggio was more competitive than critical. Leaving a dark void where Mary of Cleophas was the figural arrangement is shifted leftward turning the tearful Mary Magdalene into the composition's axis. St John steps down into the tomb clutching Christ's torso; retaining the columnar and no less proletarian Joseph of Arimathea the Vatican composition is kinetically imbued with a downward sweep which

⁹⁸ Schaudies, "Trimming Rubens's Shadow", 339-346. Robert Nelson, "Appropriation". *Critical Terms for Art History: Second Edition*, Robert Nelson and Richard Shiff, eds. (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2003): 161-162.

⁹⁹ Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXVI (1): Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists. German and Netherlandish Artists* (London: Harvey Miller, 2009): 31.

¹⁰⁰ Jeremy Wood, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXVI (2): Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists. Italian Masters* (London: Harvey Miller, 2010): I.292-299, cat. no. 47.

¹⁰¹ Wood, *CRLB XXVI (2)*, II.141-168, cat. nos. 118-119; Andrea Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer: The Appropriation of Art, 1528-1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013): 76-77.

¹⁰² See Jeremy Wood, *Rubens: Drawing on Italy* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2002): *passim*.

Mary Ann Graeve calls ‘entombing decisiveness’.¹⁰³ Artists should not copy slavishly as Rubens warned in *De Imitatione Statuarum*. Imitation in poetry must be active and transformative as Seneca extolled in the *Epistulæ Morales* and as Erasmus put it the ‘emulator strives to speak better’.¹⁰⁴ In this spirit Rubens made creative copies to ‘excite his humour and to warm up his genius’ according to Roger de Piles.¹⁰⁵ Instead of replicating Caravaggio the *Entombment* oil sketch had Rubens compete with and then exploit his paradigm. As Samuel van Hoogstraten had Rubens remark, ‘To draw everything is too slavish, even impossible: and to trust everything to one’s imagination really requires a *Rubens*’. Like the ‘useful bee’ of Seneca’s analogy Rubens’ approach was to suck ‘usefulness’ from Caravaggio’s flower and turn it into home-spun artistic honey.¹⁰⁶ Enhanced by the panel support the much smaller oil sketch makes use of a warmer palette and more naturalistic chiaroscuro; meanwhile Rubens’ *furia del pennello* makes itself felt in the dynamic *non finito* brushwork where thin streaks of paint interlace with visceral impasto.¹⁰⁷

In the *Entombment* oil sketch Rubens conflated his talent with Caravaggio’s *fama*. By drawing attention to the creative act through the conspicuous application of paint Rubens’ oil sketch was a crucible for forging what Svetlana Alpers terms ‘painterly value’.¹⁰⁸ Just as he did when making copies of the D’Este bacchanals Rubens staged a kind of artistic re-enactment where he and Caravaggio worked notionally side by side; this doubled the value or sweetness of the original *Entombment*. A comparable process is at work in Pablo Picasso’s 1957 suite of forty-seven variations on the theme of *Las Meninas* by Diego Velázquez

¹⁰³ Graeve, “Stone of Unction”, 226-227.

¹⁰⁴ Bubenik, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer*, 86-87.

¹⁰⁵ ‘...pour exciter sa veine et pour échauffer son génie’. Cited in Belkin, *CRLB XXVI (1)*, 68.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Een Schildergeest mach als een nutte Bye, die op allerley bloemen vliegt, maer niet dan honich zuigt, ook allerley nutticheit uit de voorbeelden van andre trekken. Alles na te teykenen is te slaefs, jae onmooglijk: en alles op zijn inbeelding te betrouwien vereyscht wel een *Rubens*’. Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt* (Rotterdam: 1678): 195.

¹⁰⁷ See Joanna Woodall, “Drawing in Colour”. *Peter Paul Rubens: A Touch of Brilliance*, Stephanie-Suzanne Durante, ed. (New York City, NY: Prestel, 2003): 17-18.

¹⁰⁸ Alpers, *Rembrandt’s Enterprise*, 14-20.

(Museu Picasso, Barcelona) (ill. 3.22). The ageing modernist's appropriation of this totemic work from the Spanish Golden Age has been interpreted as an act of defiance in the face of artistic and sexual impotence; more importantly the series had Picasso writing himself into the canon as a living old master.¹⁰⁹ Likewise the *Entombment* oil sketch was a means for Rubens to position himself as the Lombard's living successor. Rubens' *Entombment* was one of two acts of appropriation the second being his brokerage of the *Death of the Virgin*. The painting was transported northwards to the Habsburg fiefdom of Mantua where it hung for twenty years in the Palazzo Ducale. Its procurement by Rubens foreshadowed the acquisition of the *Rosary Madonna* for the Dominican Church.

3: Caravaggio as cultural capital – the *Death of the Virgin*

This section compares the *Death of the Virgin* to the *Rosary Madonna* as a 'yardstick of taste' to use Gerald Reitlinger's phrase. In order to reconstruct a 'whole system of aesthetic values, now extinct' their respective price indexes are compared.¹¹⁰ The *Death of the Virgin* is one of Caravaggio's best-known paintings (ill. 3.23). Commissioned in 1601 for Santa Maria della Scala in Trastevere this grandiloquent *teatro degli affetti* was the Lombard's last Roman work.¹¹¹ The focal point is the unmistakably dead Virgin with her face bloated, left arm outstretched limply and feet hanging cadaver-like over the table; in rustic surroundings the apostles and the Magdalen crowd round affecting various attitudes of mourning. Rejected by the Discalced Carmelites who commissioned it the *Death of the Virgin* was transformed into a market commodity bought first by Giulio Mancini then sold to the duke of Mantua in 1607; in 1627 the painting was purchased by King Charles I of Great Britain during the

¹⁰⁹ Timothy Burgard, "Picasso and Appropriation". *The Art Bulletin* 73, no. 3 (1991): 487-493. See also Christopher Riopelle et al. (eds.), *Picasso: Challenging the Past* (London: National Gallery, 2009).

¹¹⁰ Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1961-1970): I.xi-xii. See also Bert de Munck and Dries Lyna, "Locating and Dislocating Value: A Pragmatic Approach to Early Modern and Nineteenth-Century Economic Practices". *Concepts of Value in European Material Culture, 1500-1900*, Bert de Munck and Dries Lyna, eds. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016): 1-30.

¹¹¹ Sebastian Schütze, *Caravaggio: The Complete Works* (Cologne: Taschen, 2009): 270.

Gonzaga bankruptcy sale and after his execution in 1649 it was bought for King Louis XIV of France. The painting is celebrated today for its profound pathos which is made tangible by Caravaggio's uncompromising truth to nature.

The *Death of the Virgin* and the *Rosary Madonna* are alike in size, complexity and social life. Rubens brokered both their purchases and the Dominican Church acquired a now lost copy of the Louvre painting possibly at his prompting; visiting Antwerp in 1645 Sandrart described this 'very great work' hanging further up the north wall which he even mistook for the original.¹¹² As autograph works by Caravaggio one would assume that they were valued equally in the seventeenth century yet economic and social forces determined otherwise. Soon after it was rejected Giulio Mancini purchased the *Death of the Virgin* for 270 papal scudi which Rubens then bought for 280 on behalf of the duke of Mantua and the Gonzaga bankruptcy inventories list the *Death of the Virgin* at 600 Mantuan lire around which price it was bought by Charles I.¹¹³ The Commonwealth inventories valued 'Dorcas lyeing dead [sic]' at £150; on 19 April 1650 the painting was sold for £170 to Everhard Jabach after which it ended up in the Palace of Versailles.¹¹⁴ As with the *Rosary Madonna* these prices represent money of account.¹¹⁵ For the purposes of comparison all subsequent figures are converted into Flemish gulden using their theoretical metallic content.¹¹⁶ The *Death of the Virgin* was worth 701-726 gulden in 1607, 216 gulden in 1627 and then 117-133 gulden in 1650; this collapse in value was just as dramatic as the rise of the *Rosary Madonna*'s as can be seen when charted in a graph (fig. 3.1).¹¹⁷ Beginning at 400 Mantuan

¹¹² '...und ferner eben daselbst unser lieben Frauen Verscheidung in beyseyn der meisten Aposteln so gleichfalls ein sehr großes Werk ist'. Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, II.190; Alfred Moir, *Caravaggio and His Copyists* (New York City, NY: New York University Press, 1976): 99, cat. no. 33h.

¹¹³ Spike, *Caravaggio*, 258-262.

¹¹⁴ Oliver Millar, "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods, 1649-1651". *The Walpole Society* 43 (1970-1972): 272, 302.

¹¹⁵ My thanks to Barrie Cook at the British Museum, London for his assistance. See Wee, *Growth of the Antwerp Market*, I.107-122.

¹¹⁶ See Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, I.464-468.

¹¹⁷ One Mantuan lira was worth 0.133 troy oz. silver, one Roman scudo 0.074 oz. gold and pound sterling 0.245 oz. silver; the bullion content of Flemish gulden was 0.3138 oz. silver. My thanks to Martin Allen at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge for his assistance.

ducats in 1607 which was the equivalent of 1,435 gulden the painting's stock rose to 1,800 in 1617, then 4,000 straight after, then 6,000 'with promises thereby' to make a perfect replica and finally 13-14,000 gulden before it was taken off the market.¹¹⁸ In pure silver the *Rosary Madonna* can be measured as 450 troy ounces or oz t in 1607, 565 oz t in 1617, then 1,255 oz t, 1,883 oz t and finally 4,393 oz t by 1651. By the time it was put above the rosary altar the *Rosary Madonna* was worth 100 times the *Death of the Virgin*. Despite acquiring an illustrious provenance the Louvre painting's economic fortunes did not improve. Bankruptcy sales were opportunities for a bargain and the sale of the late king's goods was tantamount to a royal car boot sale; even so the *Rosary Madonna* was twice the price in 1607 when both altarpieces appeared on the market. While the Louvre painting's exchange-value failed to augment due to freak accidents its *fama* and aesthetic value were still latent.

The *Death of the Virgin* divided opinion from its inception and the Discalced Carmelites considered it 'excessively lascivious and indecorous'.¹¹⁹ In its stead they placed Carlo Saraceni's sugary confection although the first version of this altarpiece was also rejected (Santa Maria della Scala in Trastevere, Rome) (ill. 3.24).¹²⁰ Gabriele Paleotti defined 'five grades of abuse' in religious paintings namely those that were 'rash ... scandalous, erroneous, suspect, or formally heretical' and proscribed images of the Virgin with a 'highly coloured, smooth, plump, and almost lascivious face'.¹²¹ In opting for Saraceni's altarpiece the Discalced Carmelites were following this logic. The transformation of the *Death of the Virgin* into a commodity has been little remarked upon. After its rejection the painting's aura as a sacred possession began to be realised.¹²² Cast *pro fanum* for its perceived abuses the altarpiece retained kernels of controversy when it was shipped to

¹¹⁸ One Mantuan ducat contained 0.109 troy oz. gold, the rough equivalent of 1.126 oz. silver.

¹¹⁹ Todd Olson, "Caravaggio's Dispossession and Defamation". *Sacred Possessions: Collecting Italian Religious Art, 1500-1900*, Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Evert-Schiffer, eds. (Los Angeles: Getty, 2011): 55.

¹²⁰ Andrew Graham-Dixon, *Caravaggio: A Life Sacred and Profane* (London: Allen Lane, 2010): 312. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 2019.406.

¹²¹ Gabriele Paleotti and William McCuaig (trans.), *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2012): 160-162, 226-229.

¹²² Olson, "Caravaggio's Dispossession", 55-57.

Mantua. Its first owner Mancini described it as ‘pleasing’ and ‘well-done’ yet compromised by a lack of ‘decorum and invention and cleanliness’. After attempting to barter the price down to 200 scudi Mancini paid the full 270 worrying that ‘someone would reprove me’ for the extravagance; he did not send it to Siena as initially planned but put it on sale again in Rome.¹²³ Mancini’s attitude towards the *Death of the Virgin* was a mixture of admiration and repulsion and courtiers in Mantua shared his ambivalence. Upon encountering the *Death of the Virgin* Rubens was overcome with enthusiasm and urged its acquisition for the Palazzo Ducale. The ambassador Giovanni Magno required some persuasion. Writing on 17 February 1607 Magno described Caravaggio as highly esteemed with this canvas ‘held among the best works he made ... and really one observes in it certain very exquisite parts’.¹²⁴ The ambassador went on. ‘I do not share that taste which befitted the judgement accorded by men of the profession, but because a few experts desire certain allurements gratuitous to the eye, I will remain therefore more captivated by the testimony of others than my proper instincts, which are insufficient to understand well certain artificial occults which put that picture in consideration and esteem’.¹²⁵ To judge from Magno’s conservatism Mantuan courtiers were better-attuned to conventional styles of painting but Rubens managed to persuade them that Caravaggio’s gratuitous ‘allurements’ were worth the cost.

Rubens was ‘fameglio’ within the duke of Mantua’s household, a role encompassing ‘gentleman, agent, artist, man of letters, companion and attendant’ according to Raffaella Morselli.¹²⁶ As an entrusted virtuoso Rubens could brush aside the qualms of his aristocratic

¹²³ Spike, *Caravaggio*, 260-262.

¹²⁴ ‘Il pittore però è dei più famosi di quelli che habbino cose moderne in Roma, et questa tavola è tenuta delle meglio opere che habbi fatto, onde la presunzione sta a favor del quadro per molti rispetti, et realmente vi si osservano certe parti molto esquisite’. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, I.362.

¹²⁵ ‘Io ne presi quel gusto che conveniva al giudizio concorde di huomini della professione, ma perchè li poco periti desiderano certi allettamenti grati all’occhio, restai però più captivato dal testimonio d’altri che dal proprio senso mio, non bastando a comprendere bene certi artificii occulti che mettano quella pittura in considerazione e stima’. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, I.362.

¹²⁶ Raffaella Morselli, “Rubens and the Spell of the Gonzaga Collections”. *The Age of Rubens: Diplomacy, Dynastic Politics and the Visual Arts in Early Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Luc Duerloo and Malcolm Smuts, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016): 23.

superiors. Rubens' agency had also won popular acclaim for the *Death of the Virgin*. 'Commended as of singular art' it was put on special display for Roman painters who awaited the unveiling in an imbroglio of 'much shouting'; this noisy vote of confidence from the 'università dellì Pittori' served to bolster the altarpiece's *fama* before it was shipped to Mantua.¹²⁷ The status of the *Death of the Virgin* as a *cause célèbre* was even more reason to purchase it. As Lorenzo Pericolo argues realism in Caravaggio is a 'fictitious device, a complex strategy of visualizing the external world through selection of the low and the base'. If coordinated well realism and idealisation 'comprise an array of interrelated criteria that are in constant rapport' as with the juxtaposition of the 'supposedly repulsive' dead Virgin with a 'refined, classically poised' Magdalene.¹²⁸ Having circumvented the political correctness of the post-Tridentine artistic settlement Vincenzo I could signal his credentials as a progressive collector by purchasing the *Death of the Virgin* which court gossip served to publicise. At 280 scudi the painting was also cheap.

When transported to England in 1627 the *Death of the Virgin* had an uniquely illustrious provenance. The Palazzo Ducale was the cultural envy of Europe. Under Vincenzo I's watch it hosted one of Italy's most sophisticated courts which played host to one of the first modern operas, Claudio Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*.¹²⁹ In this environment Rubens wielded unique influence as an impresario and arbiter of taste enabling him to give prominent display to audacious works. In anticipation of Rubens' return from Spain Vincenzo I had the Galleria della Mostra renovated egging his wife to 'see to this disorder ... so that as much as possible could be fixed'; imposing and richly ornamented it became

¹²⁷ 'Mi è stato necesario per sodisfare all'università dellì Pittori lasciar vedere per tutta questa settimana, il quadro comparato, essendovi concorsi molti et delli più famosi con molta curiosità, attesochè era in molto grido essa tavola, ma quasi a nessuno si concedeva il vederla, et certo che m'è stato di sodisfatione il lasciarla goder a satietà, perchè è stata commendata di singolar arte, et la prossima settimana si inviarà'. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, I.366.

¹²⁸ Lorenzo Pericolo, *Caravaggio and Pictorial Narrative: Dislocating the Istoria in Early Modern Painting* (London: Harvey Miller, 2011): 49-51.

¹²⁹ Morselli, 'Rubens and the Spell of the Gonzaga Collections', 21; Barbara Furlotti and Guido Rebecchini, *The Art and Architecture of Mantua: Eight Centuries of Patronage and Collecting* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008): 218.

‘stuffed with the competition and jealousy of so many men of talent’ under Rubens’ watch (ill. 3.25).¹³⁰ Exhibiting the cream of the Gonzaga collection Caravaggio’s altarpiece hung alongside antique statuary and Andrea Mantegna’s *Triumphs of Caesar* (The Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace).¹³¹ Within this pantheon Rubens attempted to insert one of his own works, the first version of the high altarpiece for the Chiesa Nuova (Musée de Grenoble) (ill. 3.26). Rejected by the Oratorians for reasons of poor lighting Rubens tried to sell it to Vincenzo I as a sacred possession for the Galleria.¹³² While this failed the episode is evidence of Rubens writing himself into the Italian canon represented by antique statuary, Mantegna and Caravaggio.

Rubens’ Mantuan pantheon was built on the sand of bad debts but the *fama* of the duke’s collection long outlived the duchy’s bankruptcy and eclipse.¹³³ Charles I had this connoisseurly ‘lodestar’ imported by the crateload and initially Rubens was distraught writing in 1628, ‘I greatly regret this sale, which made me exclaim suddenly in person to the Genius of that state [Charles I]: *migremus hinc*’.¹³⁴ Rubens soon warmed to the collection’s new custodian who was by his judgement the ‘greatest amateur of paintings among the princes of the world’.¹³⁵ Rather than the ‘barbarism which one would presume from its climate so removed from Italic elegances’ he found in England ‘excellent pictures by the

¹³⁰ Morselli, ‘Rubens and the Spell of the Gonzaga Collections’, 25-27. ‘...quel loco ripieno di concorrenza e gelosia di tanti valenthomini’. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, I.404.

¹³¹ Raffaella Morselli, ‘La ‘Galeria di Sua Altezza’: Tra le Opere d’Arte, nel Palazzo Ducale di Vicenzo Gonzaga’. *Claudio Monteverdi: L’Orfeo*, Rinaldo Alessandrini and Bruno Adorni, eds. (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 2010): 99-102.

¹³² Karen Buttler, ‘Rubens’s First Painting for the High Altar of Santa Maria in Vallicella and his Unsuccessful Sales Strategy’. *Sacred Possessions: Collecting Italian Religious Art, 1500-1900*, Gail Feigenbaum and Sybille Evert-Schiffer, eds. (Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2011): 17-38.

¹³³ Furlotti and Rebecchini, *The Art and Architecture of Mantua*, 222, 232.

¹³⁴ Morselli, ‘Rubens and the Spell of the Gonzaga Collections’, 21-22. ‘È arrivato qui quel gentiluomo inglese che porta il cabinetto di Mantova in Ingliterra et mi dice esser il tutto hormai ben incaminato et s’aspetta giornal^{te} la maggior parte per condotta in questa citta. Questa vendita mi dispiacq. Tanto, che mi venne capriccio d’esclamare in persona del Genio di quel stato: *Migremus hinc*’. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, IV.431.

¹³⁵ Gregory Martin, *Rubens in London: Art and Diplomacy* (London: Harvey Miller, 2011): 73.

hand of masters of the first class'.¹³⁶ Its price drop notwithstanding the *Death of the Virgin*'s value as cultural capital was augmented when shipped across the English Channel and afforded prominence in the Gallery at St James's Palace alongside Van Dyck's equestrian portrait of Charles I (The Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace).¹³⁷ Described by Lucy Whitaker as 'one of the earliest examples of sophisticated and intelligent picture hanging in England' it had clear affinities with the Galleria della Mostra.¹³⁸ No doubt Rubens advised the Surveyor of the King's Pictures Abraham van der Doort on the new hang during his diplomatic visits to Britain. More than simply recapturing the spirit of Mantua the integration of new works served to redouble the *Death of the Virgin*'s stature.¹³⁹

Dismantled with the thud of the axeman's blow this majestic display was lost to the Cromwellian protectorate. At £170 the *Death of the Virgin* was sold for a bargain-basement price because the disasters of insolvency, civil war and regicide had robbed it of monetary value. In artistic worth however the painting was roughly commensurate with the *Rosary Madonna* and not just by Rubens' judgement. Affording the altarpiece prominent positions in both their palaces the duke of Mantua and the king of Great Britain each cast their eyes over its 'very exquisite parts' with approval yet the *Rosary Madonna* came out trumps because it stayed on the market for a much longer period; its unique social life allowed it to accrue in value when taken to Amsterdam by Finson.

¹³⁶ 'Certo in quest' isola iò non trovo la barbarie che si presuponerebbe dal suo clima tanto remoto dalle eleganze italiche, ansi confessò che per conto di pitture excellenti delle mani di maestri della prima classe, non ho giamai veduto una si gran massa insieme...'. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, V.152.

¹³⁷ Oliver Millar, "Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I". *The Walpole Society* 37 (1960): 226-228.

¹³⁸ Lucy Whitaker and Martin Clayton, *The Art of Italy in the Royal Collection: Renaissance & Baroque* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2007): 22.

¹³⁹ Morselli, "Rubens and the Spell of the Gonzaga Collections", 33-34; Jennifer Scott, *The Royal Portrait: Image and Impact* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2010): 84.

4: 'E fu amicissimo del Caravaggio' – Louis Finson and Abraham Vinck

This section examines the *Rosary Madonna* through the eyes of its first owners who brought the painting to the attention of the art-lovers named in the 1651 document. The painting's social life began in Naples where Pourbus II first laid eyes upon it. As court portraitist to Vincenzo I Gonzaga between 1600-1609 Pourbus II was dispatched southwards to paint portraits of Neapolitan beauties for the Camerino delle Dame, a small chamber within the private apartments of the Palazzo Ducale (ill. 3.27).¹⁴⁰ Ill and short of time Pourbus II met a 'gentleman Fleming' who would paint them for ten ducats apiece at which price 'no-one else in Naples could have served better'.¹⁴¹ While the fate of these Camerino portraits is unknown the 'fiamengo valenthomo' was none other than Vinck co-owner of the *Rosary Madonna* as Blaise Ducos argues.¹⁴² On 15 September 1607 Pourbus II reported two exciting discoveries. 'I have seen here two very beautiful pictures by the hand of Michelangelo da Caravaggio: the one is of a rosary and was made for an altar and is large of 18 palms and they do not want less than 400 ducats; the other is a medium picture of half figures and is a Holofernes with Judith and they will not give it for less than 300 ducats. I did not want to make any deal, not knowing the intention of Your Highness, they did however promise me not to give it [away] until they are advised of Your Highness's pleasure'.¹⁴³ Pourbus II first encountered these 'quadri bellissimi' in Vinck's Neapolitan atelier which he shared with

¹⁴⁰ Blaise Ducos, *Frans Pourbus le Jeune (1569-1622): Le Portrait d'Apparat à l'Aube du Grand Siècle entre Habsbourg, Médicis et Bourbons* (Dijon: Faton, 2011): 68.

¹⁴¹ 'Quelle che sono tenute per belle sono in poco numero et le copie di esse si potranno havere di mano d'un fiamengo valenthomo che li ha quasi tutti et io ho trattato seco del prezzo, ma non vuol manco de 10 ducati del pezzo, della grandezza di quelli del camerino. Se a V. A. parerà poi di fare quella spesa io so che Ella resterà servita assai bene et che in Napoli da nium altro potrebbe essere servito meglio'. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga*, 277.

¹⁴² Ducos, *Frans Pourbus le Jeune*, 67. See also Marije Osnabrugge, *The Neapolitan Lives and Careers of Netherlandish Immigrant Painters in Naples (1575-1655)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019): 118.

¹⁴³ 'Ho visto qui doi quadri bellissimi di mano de M. Ange'o da Caravaggio: l'uno è d'un rosario et era fatto per un'ancona et è grande da 18 palmi et non vogliono manco di 400 ducati; l'altro è un quadro mezzano da camera di mezze figure et è un Oliferno con Giuditta e non lo dariano a manco di 300 ducati. Non ho voluto fare alcuna proferta, non sapendo l'intentione di V. A., me hanno però promesso di non darli via sin tanto che saranno avisati del piacere di V. A.'. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga*, 278.

Louis Finson; the Judith and Holofernes was a lost variant of the composition in the Palazzo Barberini which is known from Finson's copy (Banca Intesa Sanpaolo, Naples) (ill. 3.28).¹⁴⁴ Writing of the 'quadri bellissimi' and the portraits of Neapolitan *bellezze* in the same breath Pourbus II may have intended the half-length Judith for the Camerino; emblematizing chastity and fortitude through a biblical paragon the juxtaposition would have highlighted the feminine virtues of Vinck's *bellezze* in the manner of a *virilissimi* series.¹⁴⁵ On account of its size the *Rosary Madonna* was destined for elsewhere. In the end Pourbus II failed to convince Vincenzo I to buy either painting because he was already in possession of the *Death of the Virgin*. Lacking Rubens' respect at court Pourbus II may have been obstructed by Magno and others who disapproved of Caravaggio's 'gratuitous allurements'. At 'no less than 400 ducats' the *Rosary Madonna* was probably too expensive.

The altarpiece remained unsold but its social life in the hands of Finson and Vinck now began in earnest. While Vinck specialised in portraits Finson painted altarpieces and mythologies and dealt in paintings as a lucrative side-line. Their shared ownership of the *Rosary Madonna* is first documented in Finson's will. Lying 'weak of body in bed' in Vinck's Amsterdam home Finson bequeathed to him 'his half share of two painting pieces both by Michael Angel Crawats [sic], one being a Rosary and the other Judith and Holofernes' on 19 September 1617.¹⁴⁶ Marije Osnabrugge has studied Finson and Vinck's friendship and business partnership in extenso. Vinck arrived in Naples in 1598 and entrenched himself in the viceroyalty's patronage networks; when Finson arrived in 1605 he entered a large expatriate community with strong social cohesion.¹⁴⁷ In Naples Finson and Vinck were personally close to Caravaggio who upon arrival in 1606 could well have used

¹⁴⁴ See Maria Cristina Terzaghi, "Napoli, Primo Seicento: Louis Finson Copista di Caravaggio". *Giuditta Decapita Oloferne: Louis Finson Interpreti di Caravaggio*, Giovanna Capitelli, ed. (Naples: Intesa Sanpaolo, 2013): 29-43.

¹⁴⁵ Ducos, *Frans Pourbus le Jeune*, 68-72.

¹⁴⁶ '...swackelijcken van lichame te bedde liggende ... Hij maect en legateert aen Mr. Abraham Vinck, zijn proprieteyt hem Testateur voor de helft competenderende van twee stukken schildereyen beyde van Michael Angel Crawats, d'eeene wesende den Rosarius en d'andere Judith en Holopharnis'. Bodart, *Louis Finson*, 228

¹⁴⁷ Osnabrugge, *Netherlandish Immigrant Painters*, 33-71, 63-122.

their atelier as Antonio Ernesto Denunzio suggests.¹⁴⁸ The *Rosary Madonna* was sent to Naples ahead of Caravaggio's flight from Rome and sold or simply entrusted to the Netherlanders when the fugitive Lombard ran away to Malta.¹⁴⁹ Finson and Vinck's personal acquaintance with Caravaggio was widely known. In 1614 the politician and scholar Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc wrote excitedly of Finson's arrival in Aix-en-Provence stating, 'he has all the manner of Michel Angelo Caravaggio, and he was nourished for a long time with him'.¹⁵⁰ As Osnabrugge stresses Finson was nourished 'avec lui' i.e. working side by side. By this point Peiresc had come to know Finson and was speaking straight from the horse's mouth.¹⁵¹ Similarly Vinck is described as a 'very great friend [amicissimo] of Caravaggio and famous in Flanders' in a letter from 1673.¹⁵² After Caravaggio's flight from Naples Finson took charge of both paintings and parted company with Vinck in 1610; while Vinck left directly for Amsterdam Finson travelled itinerantly around France as he headed northward and according to Didier Bodart he took the *Rosary Madonna* with him.¹⁵³ Writing from Aix on 25 May 1613 Peiresc spoke excitedly of the paintings Finson brought 'from Rome ... by his hand' together with 'thirty or so of the most beautiful [by other artists] that it is possible to see'.¹⁵⁴ This large shipment surely included the two '*quadri bellissimi*' of Pourbus II's letter. In France Finson sold most of his Neapolitan stock including the *Resurrection* altarpiece of 1610 (Saint-Jean-de-Malte, Aix-en-Provence) (ill. 3.29).¹⁵⁵ That the *Rosary Madonna* remained unsold was Finson's decision.

¹⁴⁸ Antonio Ernesto Denunzio, "Finson and Caravaggio, Naples 1606-10" (conference paper, Beyond Caravaggio, National Gallery, London, 17-18 November 2016).

¹⁴⁹ Osnabrugge, *Netherlandish Immigrant Painters*, 79; Denunzio, "Finson and Caravaggio".

¹⁵⁰ 'Il a toute la manière de Michel Angelo Caravaggio, et s'est nourry longtemps avec luy'. Bodart, *Louis Finson*, 244.

¹⁵¹ Osnabrugge, *Netherlandish Immigrant Painters*, 75.

¹⁵² '...Abram de Vinche famoso ne li ritratti che fu qui in Napoli et era fiamengo, averrà da 70 anni che se ne ritornò in Fiandra e fu amicissimo del Caravaggio et famoso in Fiandra'. Terzaghi, "Napoli, Primo Seicento", 30, note 11.

¹⁵³ Didier Bodart, "Louis Finson et Naples". *Les Cahiers d'Histoire d'Art* 5 (2007): 28.

¹⁵⁴ 'Il vient de Rome et a des pieces de sa main qu'il tient à 1000 escus, et ainsin de plus à moings jusques à une trentaine des plus beaux et passera qu'il est possible de voir'. Bodart, *Louis Finson*, 242.

¹⁵⁵ Osnabrugge, *Netherlandish Immigrant Painters*, 73, 108-112.

Whatever his artistic abilities Finson was a master adman who flaunted his personal acquaintance with Caravaggio for commercial gain. Peiresc recorded the remarkably high prices for works by his hand. Given the high demand for Caravaggio's works Finson could have sold the *Rosary Madonna* in France together with the *Judith and Holofernes*. Instead they were brought deliberately to Amsterdam along with Finson's best-known painting *The Four Elements* which is inscribed *FECIT./IN NJEAPOLI.1611* (The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston) (ill. 3.30).¹⁵⁶ Arriving two years before his premature death Finson was hoping either for munificent profit on Amsterdam's competitive art market or for a buyer as distinguished as the duke of Mantua to whom the altarpiece was last offered. Before Finson's arrival in 1615 Amsterdam had no market for Caravaggio originals; this he created by producing and circulating copies. In 1630 the Middelburg merchant Charles de Coninck had Finson's lost copy of the *Rosary Madonna* authenticated by the well-known artists and art-lovers Pieter Lastman, Adriaen van Nieulandt and François Venant.¹⁵⁷ As Bodart and Montias have shown Lastman was considered a Caravaggio expert having been called upon to authenticate the *Crucifixion of St Andrew* in 1619 which was also owned by Finson (Cleveland Museum of Art) (ill. 3.31).¹⁵⁸ Described as representing a 'dispensation from Pater Noster to the priests' done 'after the original by the late Michiel d'Angelo de Crawachij [sic]' Finson's copy of the *Rosary Madonna* was valued at 600 guilders.¹⁵⁹ That his copy was three times the price of the *Death of the Virgin* in 1627 says as much about Finson's posthumous reputation as the health of the Amsterdam art market. Praised by Rubens' friend Peiresc for having '*toute la manière*' of Caravaggio Lastman and company were summoned

¹⁵⁶ Bodart, "Louis Finson et Naples", 30; Montias, *Art at Auction*, 144-145.

¹⁵⁷ Moir, *Caravaggio and His Copyists*, 100, cat. no. 36d.

¹⁵⁸ "...verclaert ende geattesteert waerachtich te wesen, dat het stuck schilderij (namentlijck een Crucifix van St. Andries ...); naer haer getuijges och en de beste wetenschap is een principael van Michael Angelo Caravagio". Bodart, *Louis Finson*, 234-235. See also Montias, *Art at Auction*, 27-28.

¹⁵⁹ 'Soo heeft Sr. Charles de Coninck, coopman tot Middelburch, vercocht aan Jacob van Nieulandt, die in coope aenneempt mitsdesen een stuck schilderie, gedaen bij meester Louijs Vincon za: naer 't principael gedaen bij wijlen Michiel d'Angelo de Crawachij za: wesende een uitdeelinge van Pater Noster aan de preeckheeren ende dat ter somme van zes hondert guldens te betalen'. Bodart, *Louis Finson*, 236. My thanks to Martin Allen at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge for his assistance.

to confirm the authenticity of the copy not in terms of fidelity to the original but whether it was ‘made by master Louijs Vincon [sic]’. Years after its sale Finson’s ownership of the *Rosary Madonna* was remembered by three of Amsterdam’s leading artists including Rembrandt’s teacher. Inherited from Caravaggio himself Finson’s prior ownership of the altarpiece would have been another catalyst for its speculative value-accumulation in the Dominican Church. If Finson’s copy was worth a third of the original at sale the painting’s provenance contributed to its stock as cultural capital in like proportion. In Amsterdam Finson circulated copies of other Caravaggio originals including of the Judith and Holofernes and *Crucifixion of St Andrew* as Volker Manuth demonstrates.¹⁶⁰ In this early modern equivalent of a marketing campaign Finson was targeting a wealthy clientele; his and Vinck’s preference for celebrity patrons was evident in Naples where they promised Pourbus II that they would not sell either Caravaggio painting ‘until they are advised of [the duke of Mantua’s] pleasure’. Finson and Vinck were seeking not only profit but also genuine appreciation and a high-grade copy of the *Rosary Madonna* was a means to attract the patronage they sought.

The *Rosary Madonna* was sold between the deaths of Finson in October 1617 and Vinck in October 1619; an inventory of Vinck’s estate drawn up in 1621 does not list the *Rosary Madonna* among his possessions.¹⁶¹ The circumstances of sale are conjectured in Chapter 4. Suffice to say the altarpiece was bought cheap. The 1651 document characterises the altarpiece as a bargain, ‘*niet hoogh van prys*’ and procured for ‘*niet meer als 1800 guldens*’. In Amsterdam within two decades Raphael’s portrait of Castiglione sold for nearly twice that price. At auction the monetary value of paintings by famous masters could skyrocket even at half-length but the *Rosary Madonna* was sold privately instead. The art-lovers’ deal with Vinck was clinched by two factors, their international reputation as artists

¹⁶⁰ Manuth, “Michelangelo of Caravaggio”, 181-185.

¹⁶¹ N. de Roever, “Drie Amsterdamsche Schilders (Pieter Isaaksz, Abraham Vinck, Cornelis van der Voort)”, *Oud Holland* 3 (1885): 185.

and the appeal to the seller of the proposed locale. The Dominican Church was plausibly advocated as the Flemish equivalent of Mantua's Galleria della Mostra for which the altarpiece would have been offered in 1607. This Rubens surely knew because he was given first refusal to paint the Neapolitan *bellezze* portraits for the Camerino delle Dame.¹⁶²

Conclusion

The *Rosary Madonna* was ostensibly procured to provide the *Mysteries* cycle with an impressive centrepiece. Before it was set above the rosary altar the painting was installed in the gallery-like space of the north aisle where it stood in dialogue with panels by Antwerp's senior and junior masters (see Chapter 2). While many would have looked upon it piously the display of the altarpiece within the Dominican Church was more of an artistic statement on the part of Rubens who was drawn to Caravaggio's art on account of its vividness and originality but also because of the Lombard's *succès de scandale* in the first decade of the seventeenth century. In copying the *Entombment* and acquiring the *Death of the Virgin* for Mantua Rubens was updating the Italian canon to include contemporary works alongside Renaissance painting and antique statuary. Rubens drew his authority as mediator of Caravaggio's oeuvre from the privileged access he was granted in Rome to these two altarpieces. The *Entombment* oil sketch is a form of artistic dialogue in which Rubens made a case for greater dynamism than the original possesses yet affirmed what Sandrart described as the 'strength of Caravaggio's colouring'. The *Death of the Virgin*'s acquisition meanwhile saw Rubens work hard to persuade conservative courtiers of the merits of Caravaggio's radical naturalism. By turning Caravaggio into cultural capital these two acts of appropriation helped put Rubens at the head of the quadrupvirate who purchased the *Rosary Madonna*. Several of the art-lovers as well as Finson and Vinck were personally acquainted with Caravaggio and the Lombard's art retained a living quality in their eyes even after his

¹⁶² Ducos, *Frans Pourbus le Jeune*, 83.

death. This made the *Rosary Madonna* all the more desirable as an investment of ‘outstandingly great art’ for the Dominican Church when hard times lay ahead.

In September 1616 Sir Dudley Carleton the British ambassador to the Dutch Republic mourned the decline of Antwerp as a commercial centre with the adage ‘*magna civitas, magna solitudo*’ (great city, great desert). The streets seemed deserted and not ‘one penny worth of ware’ could be had in shops. With the Scheldt blockaded from the north the situation was deemed ‘much worse’ since the Twelve Years’ Truce had come into effect. While Carleton was doubtless exaggerating back then, in 1627 Rubens likewise deemed the city to be ‘declining, every day, little by little’. Countering this was a concerted effort to revive Antwerp’s fortunes with what Simon Schama calls a ‘burst of cultural exuberance’.¹⁶³ By the time Rubens and company encountered the *Rosary Madonna* the altarpiece’s stock as cultural capital had risen *en route* to Amsterdam. Acquiring this ‘rare piece’ was a form of economic and ecclesiastical stimulus attracting painters and connoisseurly pilgrims to Antwerp. As a visual exemplum of Dominican spirituality the *Rosary Madonna* helped the Order stake a claim to international importance as the only monastery in the Spanish Netherlands to have a major Italian artwork in their possession; their allegiance to Rome would later be restated by Rubens’ *Wrath of Christ* high altarpiece (see Chapter 5).

¹⁶³ Simon Schama, *Rembrandt’s Eyes* (London: Penguin, 1999): 168-170.

Chapter 4: Four *liefhebbers* and a funeral. Procuring the *Rosary*

***Madonna* for profit, fame and love**

Of all the elegant artworks in this Dominican church, the one Michael Angelo Caravaggio painted in Naples – in which the Blessed Virgin delivers the rosary to St Dominic – stands out.

Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*.¹

Three things, everyone learns, move Art the most,
The first is Money, the second Fame, and the third Love for Art.

Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*.²

This chapter asks what drove the quadrumvirate of art-lovers to procure the *Rosary Madonna* for the Dominican Church. As recounted in the 1651 document Rubens, Jan Brueghel I, Hendrick van Balen and the merchant Jan Cooymans saw ‘outstandingly great art’ in the altarpiece; they bought it because it was ‘not high in price’ and gifted it to the Order ‘out affection’ for their ‘chapel’. The author interprets this corporate venture as an act of friendship. Just as palaces in Renaissance Florence were ‘held to embody’ the personalities

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¹ ‘Eminet porro inter alias non inelegantes huius aedis Dominicanae imagines, illa quam pinxit Neapol Michael Angelus Caravaccius, in qua B. Virgo S. Dominico Rosarium tradit’. *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae* (The Hague: 1726-1727): III.6.

² ‘Dry dinghen yeder meest te leeren Const beweghen,/ T’een Geldt is, tweedde Eer, en t’erde Liefd’ tot Const’. Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem: 1604): 276 recto.

of their occupants so the *Rosary Madonna* came to reflect the social capital and good taste of Antwerp's elite circles out of which the quadrumvirate grew.³

The story of the *Rosary Madonna*'s procurement brings to mind an *idée fixe* of Netherlandish art theory, 'love begets art' (*liefde baart kunst*).⁴ The four *liefhebbers* enacted their love for art in the convivial atmosphere of Antwerp's elite societies out of which the network of 'diverse others' emerged. Wanting the *Rosary Madonna* as a 'rare piece' for Antwerp but unable to shoulder the entire financial burden the quadrumvirate reached out to non-*liefhebbers* to raise 1,800 gulden and went into coalition as can be charted using a network diagram (fig. 4.1). What were the benefits of procuring this 'rare piece' for the Order and for Antwerp? Karel van Mander gives three reasons for making and by extension collecting art namely profit, fame and love; this triad was humanist-inspired.⁵ According to Seneca the sculptor Phidias reaped threefold benefits from his work, 'The consciousness of having made it which he receives when his work is completed; there is the fame which he receives; and thirdly, the advantage which he obtains by it, in influence, or by selling it'.⁶ For Van Mander *amor vincit omnia*. An artist who sought only profit was 'prevented on his progress' by greed while those seeking fifteen minutes' fame plucked unripe the fruit from 'Art's tree' but love changes everything. 'With this neither diligence nor patience flee,/ Where through toil he was brought to Art,/ Whose painful effort Fame eases with Money and Honour'.⁷ The four *liefhebbers* likewise expected a reward. Given 'out affection' for the

³ Jill Burke, *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004): 35-39.

⁴ Joanna Woodall, "Love is in the Air: *Amor* as Motivation and Message in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Painting". *Art History* 19, no. 2 (June 1996): 220.

⁵ See Woodall, "Love is in the Air", 217-221.

⁶ Seneca and Aubrey Stewart (trans.), *On Benefits, Addressed to Aebutius Liberalis* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1912): 33, 49. See also Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt* (Rotterdam: 1678): 345.

⁷ 'Die Geldt soeckt, giericheyt hier op den wegh comt teghen,/ Belet zijn voortgang hem, dies hy maer leert op t'rondst./ Maer die nae Eere staet, verwerft wat meerder Ionst,/ Midts ydel glory can ten Consten boom toeleyden:/ Dan soo hy om de vrucht, niet om den boom begonst,/ Hy onrijp plocken sal geen recht ghenot van beyden./ Die d'aengheboren lust den wegh hier gaet bereyden,/ En staegh met vlam de Liefd' daer toe drijft voort met cracht,/ Van dees sal neersticheyt noch patency scheyden,/ Waer door in arbeydt hy tot

Dominican Church the *Rosary Madonna* can be seen as an investment of love which made returns for its shareholders in fame, money and honour to compensate for their ‘painful effort’.

Procuring the *Rosary Madonna* was a collaborative enterprise that was undertaken in parallel to coordinating the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* cycle (see Chapter 2). Rubens pooled responsibility with the same artist-*liefhebber* peers notably Brueghel, his closest friend and one-time mentor. This chapter reconstructs the social character of the altarpiece by using further concepts from sociology and anthropology including network theory. In the early modern period liquid capital was hard to come by and one way for the middle classes to patronise expensive artworks was to join networks such as this one. Moreover the process of begetting the *Rosary Madonna* helped assimilate it into metropolitan elite culture. Caravaggio’s ‘outstandingly great art’ was admired through the prism of the *liefhebbers’* judgement and it was their authority as connoisseurs not the ‘rare piece’ alone that persuaded ‘diverse others’ to become shareholders. The quadrumvirate’s united endorsement of the *Rosary Madonna* helped trigger the subsequent bidding frenzy which increased its value from 1,800 to 14,000 gulden (see Chapter 3). The money which the Order accrued possibly in the form of bribes was invested in a ‘new marble altar ... in the chapel of the Rosary’ commissioned from Sebastiaen de Neve in 1650 at the cost of 8,000 gulden.⁸ By its power to move greatly Caravaggio’s image of the Virgin as Jeffrey Muller puts it ‘won over tens of thousands who joined the Rosary confraternity in devotion to her’ (see Chapter 1).⁹ The seventeenth century has been described as the first networked age. New media such as print helped cultural trends to go viral along with humanist notions of civic good. Like the social

Consten werdt ghebracht,/ Wiens oefning naemaels Faem met Geldt en Eer versacht’. Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 276 recto.

⁸ Adolf Jansen, “Het O. L. Vrouwaltaar in de St. Pauluskerk, te Antwerpen”. *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis en Folklore* 4 (1941): 142-144.

⁹ Jeffrey Muller, *St. Jacob’s Antwerp: Art and Counter Reformation in Rubens’s Parish Church* (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 264. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Ledenboek van de Broederschap van de Rozenkrans, 1688-1771 (PR 9): unpaginated.

media platforms of today early modern networks were as unifying as they could be divisive. The philanthropic acquisition of Caravaggio's altarpiece was the equivalent of an online fundraising initiative and the antithesis of sectarian religious pamphlets or indeed the Two Minutes Hate which too often saturates Twitter and Facebook. This case study offers a positive antidote. The moral foundation of the quadrumvirate was the love that is friendship (*amor amicitiae*) which the *liefhebbers* enacted as members of Antwerp's metropolitan elite. By focusing on the friendships uniting Rubens, fellow *liefhebbers* and 'diverse others' in this endeavour the *Rosary Madonna* can be rehabilitated within the early modern political economy or as Bart Ramakers calls it the 'accumulation regime' of Antwerp's elite circles in which gift-giving was a means of amassing moral and cultural capital (see Chapter 3).¹⁰ Donating an altarpiece to a church fulfilled humanist ideals of magnificence and public good which Guido Guerzoni outlines to create a virtuous circle of reciprocal altruism.¹¹

Section 1 examines the phenomenon of *liefhebber* networks where love for art was the guiding force. Section 2 looks at humanist notions of friendship and the intimate relationships which underwrote the quadrumvirate's alliances including godparenthood. Section 3 analyses the meaning of an expensive gift and what rewards could have been expected within a non-monetary system of exchange. Through the lenses of network theory, friendship and the gift economy the *liefhebbers*' individual participation in elite circles is then mapped out. Section 4 looks at Rubens' friendship with Brueghel through objects in miniature. Section 5 investigates Cooymans' role as prince of the *Violieren* (Stock-Gillyflowers) chamber of rhetoric in which Brueghel and Van Balen acted as regents and performed amateur dramatics. Section 6 examines Rubens, Brueghel and Van Balen's involvement in the confraternity of saints Peter and Paul i.e. the guild of Romanists with a

¹⁰ Bart Ramakers, "Sophonisba's Dress: Costume, Tragedy and Value on the Antwerp Stage (c. 1615-1630)". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 64 (2014): 305.

¹¹ Guido Guerzoni, "Liberalitas, Magnificentia, Splendor: The Classic Origins of Italian Renaissance Lifestyles". *Economic Engagements with Art: Annual Supplement to Volume 31*, History of Political Economy, Neil De Marchi and Craufurd D. W. Goodwin, eds. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999): 332-378.

focus on dinner. Section 7 sheds new light on the internationalisation of the three artists as a triumvirate during a trip to Holland in 1612 where they met Hendrick Goltzius. The chapter concludes by postulating that the triumvirate discovered Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* after meeting Abraham Vinck the altarpiece's co-owner at Goltzius' funeral (see Chapter 3).

1: Love is all around – networks of *liefhebbers* in Rubens' Antwerp

This section outlines the importance of friendship to early modern artistic practice. It introduces concepts from network science as a way of understanding the social alliances and patronage models which helped Rubens procure the *Rosary Madonna* with help from his friends. The identification of the quadrumvirate as *liefhebbers* in the 1651 document has not attracted enough comment. As Zirk Zaremba Filipczak points out the *liefhebber* of paintings was a new phenomenon; before 1600 the term is not used in the registry of the artists' guild of St Luke (the *Liggeren*).¹² The word *liefhebber* translates as 'amateur' or 'lover of' connoting one in possession of virtue.¹³ In *The Compleat Gentleman* (1634) Henry Peacham equated '*Leefhebbers* (as the *Dutch* call them) [sic]' with those 'by the *Italians* tearmed *Virtuosi*' whose knowledge of Antiquity 'could perswade a man, that he now seeth two thousand yeeres agoe'.¹⁴ Aristotle defined moral virtue as a state of character acquired through the repetition of virtuous acts which was facilitated by friendships with men of corresponding goodness because mutual love was the 'characteristic virtue of friends'.¹⁵ For humanist-inspired Netherlanders love was virtue in action whereby 'possession of the virtue of love (*liefde*)' could substitute for the 'direct exercise of *virtù*'.¹⁶ Part of a new elite *liefhebbers* were known for their 'special expertise in or appreciation of works of art' which

¹² Zirk Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987): 51-53.

¹³ Ramakers, "Sophonisba's Dress", 299.

¹⁴ Henry Peacham, *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906): 105.

¹⁵ Aristotle and David Ross (trans.), *The Nicomachean Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 152.

¹⁶ Joanna Woodall, "In Pursuit of Virtue". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004): 13-14.

were commensurate with artistic virtuosity.¹⁷ Aristotle considered art which he defined as ‘knowledge of how to make things’ a chief intellectual virtue that involved ‘true reasoning’.¹⁸ As Tine Meganck demonstrates antiquarianism became professionalised in the Renaissance thanks to an ‘influx of artisanal knowledge’ with which the cartographer Abraham Ortelius cultivated his ‘erudite eyes’.¹⁹ The practice of connoisseurship was facilitated by *amor amicitiae* as prophesised in Cicero’s early modern best-seller *De Amicitia*.²⁰ ‘If a man could ascend to heaven and get a clear view of the natural order of the universe ... that wonderful spectacle would give him small pleasure ... if he had but had someone to whom to tell what he had seen’.²¹ As Seneca implied friendship had the power to activate the imagination allowing one’s thoughts to travel to far-off places just as two friends ‘may hold converse [even] when they are absent’ by writing letters.²²

Gentlemanly friendships were essential to any connoisseurly enterprise not least because they freed artists from the stigma of manual labour.²³ The *Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest* by Willem van Haecht II illustrates the visit of Archdukes Albert and Isabella to the *liefhebber*’s townhouse in 1615 (Rubenshuis, Antwerp) (ill. 4.1). The painting portrays Rubens and fellow artists not as craftsmen but as gentlemanly virtuosi who in the presence of royalty exercise their virtue through *amor amicitiae*. Behind a table battle painter Peter Snayers and collector Peeter Stevens examine a portrait miniature with one’s hand on

¹⁷ Woodall, “In Pursuit of Virtue”, 7.

¹⁸ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 4, 105.

¹⁹ Tine Luk Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 1-13.

²⁰ See Albrecht Classen, “Friendship: The Quest for a Human Ideal and Value from Antiquity to the Early Modern Time”. *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse*, Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge, eds. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011): 72.

²¹ Marcus Tullius Cicero and William Melmoth (trans.), *Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero with his Treatises on Friendship and Old Age*, (New York City, NY: PF Collier & Son, 1909): 38.

²² Cited in Meganck, *Erudite Eyes*, 199.

²³ For skepticism about connoisseurship in this period see Jan Blanc, “Mettre des Mots sur l’Art: Peintres et Connaisseurs dans la Théorie de l’Art Française et Néerlandaise du XVII^e Siècle”. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 69 (2019): 89-97; H. Perry Chapman and Thijs Weststeijn, “Connoisseurship as Knowledge: An Introduction”. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 69 (2019): 10-13.

the other's shoulder.²⁴ To the right Van Balen, Jan Wildens and Frans Snijders cluster tightly around a terrestrial globe.²⁵ Buttressed by their intimate friendships artists are given privileged status as mediators of *artificialia* whose knowledge and skill are indexed by paintings and scientific instruments which cover every available surface (ill. 4.2, details).²⁶ With so many *liefhebbers* present love actually is all around. Accompanied by Rubens and Van Dyck the archdukes have an audience with a Virgin and Child by Quinten Massijs. Hand on heart Van der Geest looked upon his '*Maria-beeldeken*' like a lover; having 'seen in' this painting a 'charmingly skilful technical ability' according to a seventeenth-century source the archdukes offered to buy it which aroused Van der Geest's 'jealousy'. For connoisseurs appreciation of outstanding art was a *liefde* so intense it was pseudo-concupiscent and Massijs' 'flawlessly painted' paradigm turned it into a mirror of princes the virtues of whom were reflected in the *Maria-beeldeken*.²⁷ Not for nothing is Władysław Sigismund Vasa, the future king of Poland to Rubens' left.²⁸ As an object of like affection Caravaggio's 'rare piece' became a looking-glass in the Dominican Church's hallowed surroundings.

²⁴ See also Ben van Beneden, "Willem van Haecht: An Erudite and Talented Copyist". *Room for Art in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp*, Ariane van Suchtelen and Ben van Beneden, eds. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2009): 70-74.

²⁵ Ben van Beneden, "Cornelis van der Geest (1555-1638): 'a very great admirer of painting'". *500 Years of Collecting in Antwerp: A Story of Passions*, Paul Huvenne et al., eds. (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2013): 22.

²⁶ See also Tiarna Doherty, "Painting Connoisseurship: *Liefhebbers* in the Studio". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 69 (2019): 146-173; Alexander Marr, "Ingenuity and Discernment in *The Cabinet of Cornelis van der Geest* (1628)". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 69 (2019): 106-145.

²⁷ 'By Batholomeus Ferrerius is noth een Mari-beeldeken daermen een seker aerdighe veerdigheyt van handelingh' in sien can; maer al het welck op veel naer soo nu teghenwoordigh in eyghedom zijnde by Mijn Heere Stevens: het ghene soo destigh door-kuyert is / soo suyver gheschildert / soo soet aengheleyt / dat eertijts in't Jaer 1615. den 23 Augusti sijne Hoogheydt den Art-hertogh *Albertus* met *Isabella Clara Eugenia* sijn huysvrouwe inde Const-camer van Cornelius vander Gheest (alsdoen den eyghenaer) het Ternoyspel op het schelde besichtende / het selve Mari-beeldeken noch meer befinden / Ja oock tot een stille groote half openbare vrijagie: maer wiert afgeslaghen door eenen stilswijghenden yver vanden eyghenaer / den welcken groote gunsten door eyghen liedfe liet passeren'. Anonymous, *Metamorphosis, ofte Wonderbaere Veranderingh' ende Leven vanden Vermaerden Mr. Qvinten Matsys* (Antwerp: 1648): 15.

²⁸ See Joanna Woodall, "'Greater or lesser?' Tuning into the Pendants of the *Five Senses* by Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Companions'. *Cambridge and the Study of Netherlandish Art: The Low Countries and the Fens*, Meredith Hale, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016): 89; Beneden, "Cornelis van der Geest", 17-18.

In the early modern period civility and friendship were lubricators of innovation.²⁹ Rubens, Brueghel and Van Balen shared what are best described as working friendships which were the subject of a Getty exhibition in 2006.³⁰ According to Elizabeth Honig the paintings which Rubens and Brueghel made together were ‘conceptual collaborations’ that gave collectors two great artists for the price of one.³¹ Brueghel collaborated much more often with Van Balen who lived next door on the Lange Nieuwstraat (see Section 5).³² Jan Baptist Cooymans registered in 1607 with the guild of St Luke as a ‘merchant and *liefhebber* of paintings’.³³ Cooymans was widely recognised as such; in the dedication to Pieter de Jode I’s engraving of a *Pietà* sculpture by Robert Colijns de Nole, Cooymans is described as a ‘great patron of religious statues and pictures’ and a friend of the sculptor and printmaker (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart) (ill. 4.3).³⁴ Cooymans joined the quadrumvirate not through acquaintance with Rubens but as the friend of Brueghel and Van Balen; in 1619 Cooymans was elected prince of the *Violieren* in which Brueghel and Van Balen served as regents. As *Violieren* the artists painted a blazon-poem in collaboration with Frans Francken II and Sebastiaen Vrancx which had won a competition the previous year (see Section 5). The

²⁹ See for example Heather Hirschfeld, *Joint Enterprises: Collaborative Drama and the Institutionalisation of the English Renaissance Theater* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004); Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

³⁰ Anne Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen (eds.), *Rubens & Brueghel: A Working Friendship*, (Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2006); Elizabeth Honig, “Rubens and Brueghel: Los Angeles and The Hague”. *The Burlington Magazine* 148, no. 1244 (November 2006): 787-789.

³¹ See Elizabeth Honig, “Paradise Regained: Rubens, Jan Brueghel, and the Sociability of Visual Thought”. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2005): 270-301; Woollett and Suchtelen, *Rubens & Brueghel*, 64-71, cat. no. 4.

³² Anne Woollett, “Two Celebrated Painters: The Collaborative Ventures of Rubens and Brueghel, ca. 1598-1625”. *Rubens & Brueghel: A Working Friendship*, Anne Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen, eds. (Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2006): 10-11.

³³ ‘1607 ... Jan Cooymans, coopman ende liefhebber der scilderyen’. Ph. Rombouts and Théodore van Lerius (eds.), *De Liggeren en Andere Historische Archieven der Antwerpse Sint Lucasgilde* (Amsterdam: Israel, 1966): I.440.

³⁴ *OPVS ROBERTI NOLANI, COLYNS DICTI, E MARMORE CANDIDO, PETRVS DE IODE IN AES INCIDEBAT: ET JOANNI COOMANS / ARTIS STATVARIAE ET PICTORIAE CVLTORI AMANTISSIMO CEV QVODDAM AMICITIAE TESTIMONIVM, DD.* Marjolein Leesberg and Peter van de Coelen (ed.), *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700: The De Jode Dynasty* (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision, 2018-2020): V.52, cat. no. 32. See also Marguerite Casteels, *De Beeldhouwers de Nole te Kamerijk, te Utrecht en te Antwerpen* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1961): 91.

quadrupvirate emerged from this and another long-established elite professional network, the guild of Romanists (see Section 6).

Network science has become an established means of historical inquiry as set out by John Padgett and others.³⁵ In *The Square and the Tower* (2017) Niall Ferguson claims that ‘often the biggest changes in history are the achievements of thinly documented, informally organised groups of people’.³⁶ Networks are not merely the sum of their parts but agencies in themselves through which knowledge of the *Rosary Madonna*’s ‘outstandingly great art’ went viral. Ferguson distils network science into seven insights. Firstly ‘no man is an island’ and key roles are played by connectors as much as leaders; secondly ‘birds of a feather flock together’ and the essential law of social networks is homophily.³⁷ The 1651 document emphasises the coalition’s diversity but as can be gleaned from other sources the quadrupvirate had much in common. As Michael Farrell outlines ‘collaborative circles’ combine workplace and friendship dynamics in a ‘primary group consisting of peers who share similar occupational goals’ and the ability to ‘negotiate a common vision that guides their work’ was vital to securing the *Rosary Madonna* for the Dominican Church.³⁸ Thirdly, networks exhibit many ‘small world’ properties.³⁹ From 1610 all three artists lived in the parish of Sint-Jacob; as for the ‘diverse others’ many of them had ties to the Dominican Church as the stated motive ‘out affection for the chapel’ makes explicit.⁴⁰ Many of the

³⁵ See for example John Padgett, “Networks in Renaissance Florence” (keynote address, The Art of the Network: Visualising Social Relationships, 1400-1600, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 28 April 2017); Elizabeth Honig, *Jan Brueghel and the Senses of Scale* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016): 1-36; Koenraad Brosens et al. (eds.), *Family Ties: Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); Paul McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). For network science more generally see John Padgett and Walter Powell (eds.), *The Emergence of Organizations and Markets* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

³⁶ Niall Ferguson, *The Square and the Tower: Networks, Hierarchies and the Struggle for Global Power* (London: Allen Lane, 2017): xix-xxvii.

³⁷ Ferguson, *Square and the Tower*, 25-27, 46-48.

³⁸ Michael Farrell, *Collaborative Circles: Friendship Dynamics & Creative Work* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2001): 7, 17-21.

³⁹ Ferguson, *Square and the Tower*, 30.

⁴⁰ See Woollett, “Two Celebrated Painters”, 11.

patrons were members of the rosary brotherhood for whom Rubens had coordinated the *Mysteries* cycle (see Chapter 2). The localised density of the coalition meant that a high volume of information travelled between the individual nodes. Lastly networks are inherently dynamic making them likely to synergise.⁴¹ Cooymans was not an art-dealer as previously assumed but a merchant whose involvement as a wealthy outsider gave the quadrumvirate connections beyond the narrowly artistic (see Section 5).⁴² The triumvirate of artists were already collaborating with the rosary brotherhood to assemble the *Mysteries* cycle for the same location and among its members were local noblemen and city councillors. Before 1620 several aldermen (*schepen*) from the municipal government registered as senior chaplains as did treasurers (*tresoorier*), officials (*amptman*) and lawyers (*advocaet*); by signing up to purchase the *Rosary Madonna* as a civic embellishment the brotherhood were breaching the divide between the square and the tower i.e. the marketplace and the ruling elite; these two realms were more permeable in this period than is usually acknowledged.⁴³

According to Farrell collaborative circles began by ‘constructing their own vision’ and ended with ‘collective action’.⁴⁴ The catalyst in this case was a first-hand encounter when the quadrumvirate saw ‘outstandingly great art’ in the *Rosary Madonna*. This chapter proposes that collective action began at Hendrick Goltzius’ funeral in January 1617 when the artist-*liefhebbers* may have met Vinck (see Section 7).⁴⁵ As Marije Osnabrugge argues the *Rosary Madonna* was sold between 1617-1619 after Louis Finson’s death but while Vinck was still alive.⁴⁶ To persuade Vinck to part with it for relatively little money the

⁴¹ Ferguson, *Square and the Tower*, 42-43.

⁴² Nils Büttner, *Herr P. P. Rubens: von der Kunst, Berühmt zu Werden* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006): 138, notes 88 and 92; Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp*, 51.

⁴³ Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Ledenboek van de Broederschap van de Rozenkrans, 1688-1771 (PR 9): unpaginated.

⁴⁴ Farrell, *Collaborative Circles*, 24-25.

⁴⁵ Balthasar Gerbier, *Eer ende Claght-Dicht: Ter Eeren van de lofweerdighen Constrijcken ende Gheleerden HENRICVS GOLTIUS* (The Hague: 1620): 1-15.

⁴⁶ Marije Osnabrugge, *The Neapolitan Lives and Careers of Netherlandish Immigrant Painters in Naples (1575-1655)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019): 111.

liefhebbers had to demonstrate both their connoisseurly distinction and the illustriousness of the proposed locale which was only possible in person. As the hub of the coalition Rubens was both portal and spearhead; within this network the importance of nodes is measured by degree centrality or connectedness and betweenness centrality i.e. knowledge through connectedness both of which were very high as illustrated by a second diagram (fig. 4.2).⁴⁷ Rubens was wired to the Order, the Mantuan court and artistic circles in Haarlem. In June 1612 Rubens took Brueghel and Van Balen to the Dutch Republic to meet Goltzius.⁴⁸ Rubens and Coymans had a closeness centrality of one remove having been introduced to each other by Brueghel; as for Brueghel and Van Balen they worked together almost daily.⁴⁹ The quadrumvirate was characterised by tightness and vitality thanks to but not dependent upon Rubens' agency allowing the network to connect with 'diverse others' and mobilise its members to buy the *Rosary Madonna* at speed. According to the 1651 document the *Rosary Madonna* was procured in the name of love. In Van Mander's equation love's labours yielded profit, fame and honour but from a humanist perspective a greater love was also at play, love for each other because if love begat art so too could friendship.

⁴⁷ Ferguson, *Square and the Tower*, 27-29.

⁴⁸ Filip Vermeylen and Karolien de Clippel, "Rubens and Goltzius in Dialogue: Artistic Exchanges between Antwerp and Haarlem during the Revolt". *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 28, no. 2 (2012): 146-155.

⁴⁹ Woollett and Suchtelen, *Rubens & Brueghel*, 157, cat. no. 21.

2: Friends with benefits

Now friendship may be thus defined: a complete accord on all subjects human and divine, joined with mutual goodwill and affection ... Of friendship all think alike to a man, whether those have devoted themselves to politics, or those who delight in science and philosophy.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Amicitia*.⁵⁰

This section develops the idea that *amor amicitiae* was the *liefhebber* quadrumvirate's guiding force. Connoisseurship, godparenthood and participation in civic life were all aspects of love each being wedded to the pursuit of virtue. While medieval scholastics considered selfless and desirous love (*amicitiae* vs. *concupiscentiae*) to be mutually incompatible friendship and conjugal love were interchangeable in humanist discourse.⁵¹ The etymological root of *amicitia* is *amor* (love). According to Cicero ideal friendship sprang 'from an inclination of the heart, combined with a certain instinctive feeling of love, rather than from a deliberate calculation of the material advantage it was likely to confer'.⁵² Emblematic representations of male friendship in the Low Countries blurred the boundaries with marital love by employing wedding iconography such as Cupid's flame.⁵³ If friendship was virtue in action Rubens and his circle strove to achieve moral virtue through artistic praxis. In his edition of Seneca's *Epistulæ Morales* the neo-stoic philosopher Justus Lipsius explicitly equated friendship with virtue and Rubens' group portrait *Lipsius and His Pupils* was a 'self-conscious alignment' with these neo-stoic ideals (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) (ill.

⁵⁰ Cicero, *Treatises*, 15, 37.

⁵¹ Robert Miner, *Thomas Aquinas on the Passions: A Study of Summa Theologiae 1a2ae 22-48* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 122-126. For an overview of early modern philosophies of friendship see Daniel T. Lochman and Maritere López, "Introduction: The Emergence of Discourses. Early Modern Friendship". *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, Daniel T. Lochman et al., eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011): 1-28; Carolyn James and Bill Kent, "Renaissance Friendships: Traditional Truths, New and Dissenting Voices". *Friendship: A History*, Barbara Caine, ed. (London: Equinox, 2009): 111-164.

⁵² Cicero, *Treatises*, 18.

⁵³ Joanna Woodall, "For Love and Money: The Circulation of Value and Desire in Abraham Ortelius's *Album Amicorum*". *Ut pictura amor: The Reflexive Imagery of Love in Artistic Theory and Practice, 1500-1700*, Walter Melion et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 656-657. See also Meganck, *Erudite Eyes*, 211.

4.4).⁵⁴ Rubens and Jan Woverius flank posthumous portraits of Rubens' brother Philip and Lipsius their mentor; while presided over by the philosopher's bust Lipsius points to a passage in Seneca and gestures as if in mid-sentence. Borrowed from the emblematicist Andrea Alciati the painting's motto might be 'friendship lasting even beyond death' (*amicitia etiam post mortem durans*) as evoked by the vase of tulips, two blown and two in bud.⁵⁵ The lugubrious air of *Lipsius and His Pupils* urges resignation in the face of outrageous fortune's slings and arrows. According to Ulrich Heinen the portrait embodies 'Stoic friendship' and Seneca's philosophy of death.⁵⁶ As summarised by Christoffel Plantijn in his famous poem, 'To conserve the free spirit, and robust judgement,/ To say his rosary while cultivating his garden,/ Is to wait at home very placidly for death'.⁵⁷ Friendship was a means of putting the moral virtues of Antiquity into practice when married to the intellectual virtue of art.

In this period as Alan Bray argues 'kinship and friendship turned on the same axis' most literally in the case of godparenthood which can be defined as 'kinship with a heterogeneous set of people'.⁵⁸ The *liefhebbers* cemented their alliances using the sacrament of baptism which created 'extended families' around their children.⁵⁹ The godparents of Van Balen's numerous progeny included Cooymans (Jan, baptised 1611), Brueghel's second wife Catharina van Mariënberghe (Pieter, 1613) and Rubens (Marie, 1618). Rubens was also godfather to Brueghel's children Jan and Paschasia and after Brueghel's death in 1625

⁵⁴ Kate Bomford, "Peter Paul Rubens and the Value of Friendship". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 54 (2003): 229-243.

⁵⁵ Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata Latinogallica* (Paris: 1584): 34. See also Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neo-Stoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991): 3-13.

⁵⁶ Ulrich Heinen, "Stoisch Sterben lernen: Rubens' *Memorialbild auf Justus Lipsius und Philip Rubens*". *Pokerfaced: Flemish and Dutch Baroque Faces Unveiled*, Katlijne van der Stighelen and Bert Watteuw, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010): 48-57. See also Morford, *Stoics and Neo-Stoics*, 191.

⁵⁷ 'Conserver l'esprit libre, et le jugement fort,/ Dire son Chapelet en cultivant ses entes,/ C'est attendre chez soi bien doucement la mort'. Cited in Morford, *Stoics and Neo-Stoics*, vi.

⁵⁸ Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2003): 214; Guido Alfani, *Fathers and Godfathers: Spiritual Kinship in Early-Modern Italy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009): 196.

⁵⁹ Johan Verberckmoes, "Families and Emotion in the Spanish Netherlands". *Rubens in Private: The Master Portrays his Family*, Ben van Beneden and Nils Büttner, eds. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015): 127.

Rubens and Van Balen were made guardians of his offspring.⁶⁰ By mitigating the feuds that inevitably come with blood loyalties, kinship through friendship helped orientate patrician alliances towards the good of the polis.⁶¹ The *liefhebbers*' quasi-familial intimacy is warmly conveyed in Rubens' portrait of the Brueghels (Courtauld Gallery, London) (ill. 4.5).⁶² Catharina sits squarely at the composition's centre embraced by Jan the paterfamilias with her hand on their eldest son Pieter's shoulder; with daughter Elizabeth gazing dotingly upward the composition is anchored in Catharina's right hand which encloses Elizabeth's as Pieter fondles his mother's bracelet. The protective ties extend outward through Catharina's glance to their friend and spiritual kin the portrait's author Rubens, inverting the *topos* love begets art to art begets love. While male sexual ardour was usually what stoked the furnace of art's forge in *Het Schilder-Boeck*, *amor amicitiae* was love in its purest form in humanist discourse.⁶³ According to Plato the lover of the body 'flits away and is gone' as soon as the 'physical bloom ... begins to fade' but with virtue being immutable the 'lover who loves a virtuous character remains constant for life'.⁶⁴ Belonging to 'common Aphrodite' heterosexual love could beget neither friendship nor virtue nor art.⁶⁵ Many considered virtue a masculine preserve its etymological root being *vir* (a man) and in his essay *De l'Amitié*

⁶⁰ Bettina Werche, *Hendrick van Balen (1575-1632): Ein Antwerpener Kabinettbildmaler der Rubenszeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004): 255-256, app. 32-33 and 46; Woollett, "Two Celebrated Painters", 30. 'Joncker Pauwels van Halmale, out Tresorier ende tegenwoirdelijck Schepene deser stadt, Signor Peeter Paolo Rubbens, de voors. Cornelis Schut ende Henrick van Baelen, als testamentelijcke momboiren over de vier naerkinderen van den voors. wijlen Jan Breugel dear de voors. Jouffrouwe Catharina van Marienberge moeder van is, tsamen voor de resterende sesse sevenste deelen van dander helft der nabescrenen huysen ende erve, in dyer qualiteyt.' Jan Denucé, *Briefe und Dokumente in Bezug auf Jan Bruegel I und II* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1934): 51-52.

⁶¹ For the evolutionary psychology of feudalism see Steven Pinker, *How the Mind Works* (London: Penguin, 1997): 429-440. For the utopian solution to family feuds see Plato and H. D. P. Lee (trans.), *The Republic* (London: Penguin, 2007): 167-173.

⁶² Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XIX (2): Portraits of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp* (London: Harvey Miller, 1987): 60-62, cat. no. 79.

⁶³ Bomford, "The Value of Friendship", 243-245. For more on the friendship-marriage dichotomy see Constance M. Furey, "Bound by Likeness: Vives and Erasmus on Marriage and Friendship". *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, Daniel T. Lochman et al., eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011): 29-36.

⁶⁴ Plato et al., *The Symposium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 15-16, 183.

⁶⁵ Plato, *The Symposium*, 12.

Michel de Montaigne thought women too fickle to sustain ‘that holy bond of friendship’.⁶⁶ For the quadrumvirate however marriage was an honourable institution. While Cooymans was still a bachelor by 1633 Rubens and Brueghel married twice and Van Balen fathered eleven children with Margriet Briers; moreover the artists’ wives had a role in furthering their professional advancement when the Romanists came to dinner (see Section 6).⁶⁷

Gifting Caravaggio’s *Rosary Madonna* to the Dominican Church was a political *acte de présence* for the *liefhebber* coalition. Aristotle deemed friendships which aspired to civic virtue to be the worthiest and realising the coalition’s professed aim to give Antwerp a masterpiece depended not on ‘identity of opinion’ but on agreement on ‘things to be done ... about matters of consequence’, avoiding a ‘state of faction’ to achieve ‘what is just and what is advantageous’ for the polis.⁶⁸ Spurred by profit, fame and love the coalition reached a consensus on what constituted the common good. As discussed in Chapter 3 Caravaggio’s art was an acquired taste but its kernels of controversy were not anathema but points of discussion. Within Aristotelian notions of concord was room for robust dispute and for his part Montaigne spurned the echo-chamber. ‘If I am sparring with a strong and solid opponent he will attack me on the flanks, stick his lance in me right and left; his ideas send mine soaring’; ‘perfect harmony’ was the bane of conversation which Montaigne thought the ‘most fruitful and most natural exercise of our minds’ if disputes were entered into ‘with great ease and liberty’. As Montaigne claimed echoing Terence, ‘There is no idea so frivolous or odd which does not appear to me to be fittingly produced by the mind of man’ and good-humoured disagreement was actively encouraged elsewhere in Renaissance literature.⁶⁹ The ideal forum for debate was the symposium or dinner-party which was a lived

⁶⁶ Woodall, “In Pursuit of Virtue”, 7; Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays* (London: Penguin, 2003): 209-210, 751-752.

⁶⁷ Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Rekeningenregister van de Confrérie van de Jongmans, 1616-1794 (PR 18): 22 verso.

⁶⁸ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 171-172.

⁶⁹ Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, 1045-1046, III:8. See for example Stefano Guazzo et al., *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo* (London: Bartholomew Young, 1925).

reality for humanist-minded Antwerpians including the quadrumvirate when Rubens invited the guild of Romanists for dinner at his house in 1614 (see Section 6).⁷⁰ Upon being procured ‘out affection’ for the Dominican Church the *Rosary Madonna* left the market economy and entered the gift economy.

3: The gift economy

This section interprets the gifting of the *Rosary Madonna* through an anthropological lens in order to assess the value of the altarpiece as part of the political economy of Antwerp. The *Rosary Madonna* moved the friars greatly because of the apparent selflessness behind its gifting but the altarpiece stood to benefit the coalition as much as the Order. Gifts are defined as commodities or services in a system of non-monetary exchange. In relation to tribal societies Marcel Mauss outlined a theory of the potlatch where gift exchange was bound up with reciprocal obligations; more than simply barter the potlatch served to strengthen political relations across island archipelagos.⁷¹ The advent of a market economy in medieval Europe ascribed an exchange-value to commodities which was determined more or less objectively (see Chapter 3). The gift economy was not eclipsed by this paradigm shift but prospered in tandem. The detachment of gifts from commerce gave them renewed power in the political sphere as Natalie Zemon Davis shows.⁷² The *liefhebbers* were spurred to procure the *Rosary Madonna* by the prospect of fame as much as love because gifts were a means for artists to promote their profession as a liberal art; on the market their products could only become economically exceptional outside a system of exchange.⁷³ The greatest

⁷⁰ Claudia Goldstein, *Pieter Bruegel and the Culture of the Early Modern Dinner Party* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013); Émile Dilis, *La Confrérie des Romanistes* (Antwerp: 1923): 30.

⁷¹ See Marcel Mauss and Ian Cunnison (trans.), *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (New York City, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1967).

⁷² Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 3-35. See also Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 24.

⁷³ Alexander Nagel, “Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna”. *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (December 1997): 667.

masters were not paid by the yard and neither should they have had to haggle; rather a God-given *ingegno* deserved to be rewarded with extravagant gifts.⁷⁴

The *Rosary Madonna*'s price escalation was described with relish by Friar Petrus Vloers the prefect of the rosary brotherhood (see Chapter 3). This was apiece with the mendicant mentality (see Introduction) and Humbert of Romans even compared effective preaching with sound money. 'The doctrine is the metal, the example of the Fathers that the preacher follows is the stamp, and humility is the weight. Whoever turns aside from duty is no longer precious metal, but only a worthless piece of clay; where formerly he had the sound of pure metal, now he produces no sound at all'.⁷⁵ Dominicans were oratorical masters of the mint whose voices were akin to the clink of precious coins. The monastery benefitted from the coalition's 1,800-gulden investment monetarily first and foremost because each increasingly extravagant offer put more money in the church coffers and by 1650 the monastery had accumulated enough to build a 'costly altar of marble'.⁷⁶ The *Rosary Madonna* was a prudential investment and the monastery wanted their money's worth from De Neve; in 1659 Prior Godefridus Marcquis brought a case to the city council accusing the sculptor of embezzling the money set aside for the 'best marble and basanite' specified in his contract and using cheaper substitutes including 'lavender-stone' and wood.⁷⁷ This mattered because the Order needed visual riches to appeal to merchants and the professional

⁷⁴ Alexander Nagel, "Art as Gift: Liberal Art and Religious Reform in the Renaissance". *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, Gadi Algazi et al., eds. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003): 319-360.

⁷⁵ Cited in Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978): 200-201.

⁷⁶ Sebastian Schütze, *Caravaggio: The Complete Works* (Cologne: Taschen, 2015): 268-269, cat. no. 37.

⁷⁷ '...alles van den besten marwer ende toetsteen, luyt den contracte daeraff synde; 't is nu soo dat thender kenisse gecomen synde dat d'engelen aldaer gestalt niet en van marwer conform het besteck oft conditie, dat deselve hebben laten visiteren ende bevonden worden geheel contrarie te weten meest van lavendelsteen, op sommige plaatssen met marwer becleet, de vleugelen van hout'. Jansen, "Het O. L. Vrouwaltaar", 145, app. 2; '...item acht oft negenhondert guldenen te betaelen soo haest als den steen noodich tot het volmaken van den aultaer sal wesen gecomen van Namen ende int clooster sal wesen gelevert'. Jansen, "Het O. L. Vrouwaltaar", 143, app. 1. For De Neve's altar rail see Guido Persoons, *Sebastiaen de Neve's Communiebank uit 1655-1657 in Sint-Pauluskerk, Antwerpen* (Antwerp: Kerkfabriek van Sint-Pauluskerk, 1981): 10-13. For additions to the rosary altar in 1728 see Rudi Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus, de Antwerpse Dominicanenkerk: Een Openbaring* (Antwerp: Toerismepastoraal, 2014): 87-89.

classes who had an investment in the luxury goods trade. Analogously the Dominicans employed ‘frequent use of a marketplace vocabulary’, their oratory being a ‘carefully developed art designed to gain a certain effect in listeners’ as Lester Little argues.⁷⁸

How did the ‘diverse others’ stand to gain through their collective sacrifice? The stake of the chaplains and councillors from the rosary brotherhood can be compared to that of shareholders in a joint-stock company whose shares in fame, honour and civic virtue grew in tandem with the altarpiece’s price escalation. The *liefhebbers*’ association with the *Rosary Madonna* served to aggrandise their professional standing. On 28 August 1618 Rubens, Brueghel and Van Balen were asked to authenticate precious tapestries from the *History of Scipio* designed by Giulio Romano the ‘famous Italian painter’ and ‘disciple of Raphael d’Urbino’.⁷⁹ To judge from the exceptional quality of surviving versions the altarpiece’s unveiling won the triumvirate a vote of confidence as experts in Italian art.⁸⁰ In Antwerp’s political economy benefits and goodwill circulated in tandem with goods and capital. If *amor amicitiae* was a form of currency the business of merchants like Cooymans was akin to the pursuit of virtue because trade in this period was underwritten by friendship and trust.⁸¹ In *De Beneficiis* Seneca described a benefit as the ‘chief bond of human society’ because it ‘bestows pleasure and gains it by bestowing it’ in a system of ‘credit’ which was the opposite of usury.⁸² The coalition therefore expected to profit from the *Rosary Madonna* as an investment of goodwill. This took the form of trust which the Order repaid by acting as custodians of the ‘rare’ altarpiece. By building the rosary altar instead of selling off Caravaggio’s painting the Order physically entrenched the *Rosary Madonna* within their

⁷⁸ Little, *Religious Poverty*, 197-217.

⁷⁹ ‘...fameus Italiaens schilder, disciple was van Raphael d’Urbino ... Affirmerende tgenen voorschreven gesoegt te hebben voor de gerechte waerheit’. Werche, *Hendrick van Balen*, 256, app. 47.

⁸⁰ The best known were commissioned by François I (Louvre, Paris). Four cartoons are attributed to Romano including *The Battle of Zama in Africa* and *The Meeting of Scipio and Hannibal*. See Bertrand Jestaz and Roseline Bacou, *Jules Romain : L’Histoire de Scipion, Tapisseries et Dessins* (Paris: Grand Palais/Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1978): 88-93.

⁸¹ Woodall, “For Love and Money”, 668-683.

⁸² Seneca, *On Benefits*, 7-11.

church. The coalition's desire for fame was not incompatible with Seneca because their gift succeeded in being 'of service and afford pleasure' to the Order while being spurred by the prospect of 'credit'.⁸³ As for the quadrumvirate their credit took the form of not only recognition for their expertise but also ingratiation with Antwerp's metropolitan elite. As the following sections demonstrate, the *liefhebbers* were professional-class and self-made and strove to improve their station through acts of liberality and magnificence. Some argued that "liberals" were the true nobility because while a nobleman's authority rested on the 'glory of his ancestors' the self-made man 'honoured the virtue' of his by earning glory for himself.⁸⁴ *Amor amicitiae* and the embodied virtue of artistic knowledge were forms of agency in themselves, working to frame the *Rosary Madonna* as a 'rare piece' but also to commemorate the virtuous actions of Rubens and his coalition.

4: Two become one – Rubens and Brueghel

Rubens and Brueghel formed the nucleus of the *liefhebber* quadrumvirate whose unity of purpose reflected humanist notions of 'spiritualized corporality' whereby in the words of Juan Luis Vives 'friendship between two souls renders them one'.⁸⁵ As Luuc Kooijmans shows *amor amicitiae* was the bedrock of professional alliances in the Low Countries including for merchants.⁸⁶ Inspired by Honig's recent monograph this section examines Rubens and Brueghel's 'forged connections' through objects in miniature – a scale with which Brueghel is indelibly associated – and their exchange between Antwerp and Italy.⁸⁷ The production and circulation of 'worldly goods' in the Renaissance was studied by Lisa Jardine.⁸⁸ The social relationships which they embodied were indexed through an 'abduction

⁸³ Seneca, *On Benefits*, 47-50.

⁸⁴ Guerzoni, "Liberalitas, Magnificentia, Splendor", 340.

⁸⁵ Furey, "Bound by Likeness", 31.

⁸⁶ Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de Kunst van het Overleven in de Zeventiende en Achtienste Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1997): 10.

⁸⁷ Honig, *Jan Brueghel*, *passim*.

⁸⁸ Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods* (London: Macmillan, 1996): 3-34.

of agency' according to Alfred Gell. A chipped stone found on the beach became an 'artefact', a 'found object' or even a work of art if placed on a mantelpiece; imbued with the abducted agencies of maker and owner objects could make for surrogate body parts. The travelling salesman or "Mondeo man" is indexed by his car which in the context of wheeling and dealing becomes 'another, detachable, part of his body available for inspection and approval'; as such the Mondeo man's Mondeo has 'personhood as a car' because the relationship between people and things is inherently osmotic and the higher the emotional investment in a possession the greater the abducted agency.⁸⁹ Worldly goods in the Renaissance had a similar sense of personhood and their exchange served to entrench diplomatic relations across geographies. The paintings and possessions of Brueghel were indexical of his friendships but also of his international esteem.

Rubens considered Brueghel his professional equal. The *Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* is jointly signed *PETRI PAVLI RVBENS FIG[V]R[AVIT]* and *IBRVEGHEL FEC[IT]* indicating that Rubens 'adorned' Brueghel's exemplary composition 'with figures' (Mauritshuis, The Hague) (ill. 4.6).⁹⁰ Brueghel began by sketching the placement of Rubens' Adam and Eve behind whom Brueghel's distinctive imprimatura played a 'visual role'; moreover Brueghel 'integrated Rubens's contribution' into his vision of paradise by retouching the tree, serpent and horse that Rubens painted to develop the composition from the 'fragmented to the unified'.⁹¹ Rubens and Brueghel's allegiance was deeply personal and not just business. Around 1613, Rubens painted an epitaph for Brueghel's father Pieter I to be displayed in Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle, Brussels and the accompanying epitaph praised Pieter I's 'most exacting diligence' like father like son; Rubens' lustrous, Raphaelesque

⁸⁹ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998): 1-27.

⁹⁰ Woollett and Suchtelen, *Rubens & Brueghel*, 64-65, cat. no. 4. My thanks to Christine Williamson at the University of York for her assistance.

⁹¹ Honig, *Jan Brueghel*, 187-188; Tiarna Doherty et al., "Brueghel and Rubens at Work: Technique and the Practice of Collaboration". *Rubens & Brueghel: A Working Friendship*, Anne Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen, eds. (Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2006): 233-234; Woollett and Suchtelen, *Rubens & Brueghel*, 67, cat. no. 4.

work paid homage to Brueghel's artistic inheritance (Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) (ills. 4.7-8).⁹² In 1625 Rubens supplied Brueghel's own effigy for the Sint-Joriskerk in Antwerp.⁹³

Brueghel maintained an international reputation in correspondence with Cardinal Federico Borromeo in Milan, who called him 'famous throughout Europe' and a 'friend of mine' in *MVSÆVM* (1625); after Brueghel left Borromeo's Milanese employ the two kept a lifelong pen-friendship.⁹⁴ Rubens ghost-wrote much of Brueghel's correspondence which earned him the affectionate nickname 'my secretary' (*mio secretario*).⁹⁵ In 1616 Brueghel wrote to Borromeo describing a 'little souvenir of my service' destined for Milan which was an 'egg of ivory painted in two bands, of the passion of Christ in miniature figurines with the greatest accuracy I have ever used in anything'.⁹⁶ Later mounted into a silver holy water stoup *Mary by the Cross at Calvary* showcases Brueghel's *accuratezza* which in Borromeo's words represented 'almost everything that is magnificent and outstanding in art' (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan) (ill. 4.9).⁹⁷ Gell's anthropological theory of art can be applied to this

⁹² David Freedberg, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VII: The Life of Christ after the Passion* (London: Harvey Miller, 1984): 91-94, cat. no. 23. *PETRO BREVGELIO/EXACTISSIMAE INDUSTRIAE/ARTIS VENVSTISSIMAE/PICTORI/QVEM IPSA RERVM PARENTS NATVRA LAVDAT/PERITISSIMI ARTIFICES SVSPICIVNT/AEMVLI FRVSTRA IMITANTVR/ITEMQ MARIAE COVCKE EIVS CONIVGE/IOANNES BRVGELIVS PARENTIBVS OPTIMIS/PIO AFFECTV POSVIT/ OBIIT ILLE ANNO M.D.LXIX. HAEC M.D.LXXVIII/D TENIERS IVN RENOVARVIT AO EX HAERDIBVS MDCLXXVI.* See also Lucy Cutler, "Virtue and Diligence: Jan Brueghel I and Federico Borromeo". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 54 (2003): 203-227; Hans Vlieghe, "Rubens Emulating the Bruegel Tradition". *The Burlington Magazine* 142, no. 1172 (November 2000): 681-686; David Freedberg, "Rubens as a Painter of Epitaphs, 1612-1618". *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 24 (1978): 51-71.

⁹³ Various, *Verzameling der Graf- en Gedenkschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1856-1903): II.448-451.

⁹⁴ "...quae propria Artificis illius fuit celebratae per Europam famae". Federico Borromeo, *Sacred Painting: Museum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010): 166-167. Lucy Cutler, "Jan Brueghel I and Federico Borromeo: The Artist, the Court and the Republic of Letters" (PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2003): 38, 42-45, 49-56.

⁹⁵ See Giovanni Crivelli (ed.), *Giovanni Brueghel, Pittor Fiammingo, o Sue Lettere e Quadretti esistenti presso l'Ambrosiana* (Milan: Libreria Arcivescovile, 1868): 241, 293, 322, 352.

⁹⁶ 'Io haueua mandato al sig. Cardinale un piccol ricordo della mia seruitù; d un ouato d' auorio depinto di due bande, della passione di Cristo in figurette minime con la maggior accuratezza ch' usassi mai in cosa alcuna'. Crivelli, *Giovanni Brueghel*, 224.

⁹⁷ Borromeo, *Museum*, 164-167. 'Ioannis Brugueli manu sunt tenuissima molis opera complexa quidquid fere in arte magnificum, praeclarumque est, ut magnitudinem uno tempore, et subtilitatem admirari possis. Christi Passionem repraesentant extremo diligentia conatu'; Pamela Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*:

‘egg of ivory’ which indexes its origins in an ‘act of *manufacture*’; the miniature also abducted its ‘destination’ Milan by indexing Borromeo’s discerning taste in art.⁹⁸ Intended for the cardinal’s *studiolo* the miniature demands the closest possible inspection and if considered an extension of the artist’s own body, for Borromeo to press his eye against Brueghel’s *piccol ricordo* was akin to a kiss on the cheek between friends. Borromeo’s *Calvary* miniature strengthened Brueghel’s professional networks *en route* to Milan. Brueghel gave it to the ‘Father of the Dominicans of Antwerp who was going to Rome’.⁹⁹ This was Jacomo de Hazes a friar resident in the monastery whom Rubens and Brueghel had jointly appointed for the errand.¹⁰⁰ This episode introduced Brueghel to senior members of the Order before the *Rosary Madonna*’s gifting. For Borromeo Rubens’ presence behind the ink reinforced Brueghel’s status by association because his *secretario*’s sophisticated Italian and elegant hand were immediately recognisable.¹⁰¹ Rubens willingly played Brueghel’s subordinate and applied himself to the banalities of logistics to make sure the *Calvary* miniature reached Milan. The letter ends with the heartfelt regards of ‘all [Borromeo’s] most affectionate ones’, among them Brueghel’s friends Van Balen and Vrancx who were leading members of the *Violieren* (see Section 5).¹⁰² In 1592 Brueghel made the artistic pilgrimage to Rome where he might have met Caravaggio. Arriving the same year the two northerners shared patrons; back in Antwerp Brueghel’s social position established his authority as a tastemaker. His sobriquet ‘the Velvety’ (*den Fluweelen*) suggests a penchant for fine apparel

Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 239, cat. no. 37.d.

⁹⁸ Gell, *Art and Agency*, 23-24.

⁹⁹ ‘...per il Padre Priore de Domenicani d Anuersa ch’ andaua a Roma, ma hauendo ordine che lo indriçci subito a VS, che da sè saprà il resto, per chè cognosco çiaramente che tutte le cose mie riescono più felicemente passando per mano sua che d altra persona’. Crivelli, *Giovanni Brueghel*, 224.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Per ordine dil sig. Juan Brúgel, et insieme ricomandato me del sig. Petro Paülo Rübens mandò a V. S. per la posta un Öüato d’äuolio dipinto da doj bande de mano del sig. Brügel: si non fosso capitato in mane siö, V. S. fara diligentià d auerlo della posta: con qüesto me ricomando in la süa buona gratia, pregando il Signor Dio lo conserüa in iugni felisità’ (16 April 1616). Crivelli, *Giovanni Brueghel*, 231.

¹⁰¹ Cutler, ‘Jan Brueghel I and Federico Borromeo’, 46-47.

¹⁰² ‘Il sig. Rubens il sig. Van Balen, Momper, et Sebastiano Franck, et sopra tutti Giovanni Brueghel, tutti vostri affectionatissimi si raccomandano di cuore, et la ringratianno per la memoria che ritiene d essi’. Crivelli, *Giovanni Brueghel*, 224-225.

as much as velvety technique and eccentric dress sense was something of the artist's hallmark. Anthony Van Dyck was reprimanded for always wearing silk and velvet while the notorious Johannes Torrentius wore ostentatiously costly clothes and if this were true of Brueghel the artist cut his coat according to his cloth; the house he purchased on Lange Nieuwstraat in 1604 was certainly well-appointed.¹⁰³ In 1613 the archdukes granted Brueghel their 'peintre domestique' exemption from city taxes and guard duties on Rubens' precedent much to the chagrin of Antwerp city council.¹⁰⁴

Befitting Rubens and Brueghel's aspirations as courtiers and virtuosi was their shared passion for cameos which they had inset into bracelets as gifts for their wives Brueghel's wife Catharina is shown wearing a pair in Rubens' portrait of their family (ill. 4.10, detail). As Marcia Pointon elucidates such jewellery was neither fashionable nor especially expensive but was 'evidently valued in other ways'.¹⁰⁵ Brueghel surely owned the bracelets his wife wore laying claim to a similar pair in the *Allegory of Fire* by signing the edge of the table displaying them within a palimpsest of 'all the clever contrivances of Cyclopes' (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan) (ill. 4.11, detail).¹⁰⁶ In *Still Life with Flowers and a Tazza*

¹⁰³ Honig, *Jan Brueghel*, 3, 12-14, 48. For uses of Brueghel's nickname see Rombouts and Lerijs, *Liggeren*, I.397; Bie, *Het Gulden Cabinet*, 89; Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen* (The Hague: 1718-1721): I.85. See also Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006): 146. My thanks to Elizabeth Honig at the University of California, Berkeley and Lisa Monnas at Birkbeck College, University of London for their assistance. 'Peeter Geerardi wachtmeester deser stadt, gaff terve ende in effelycken rechte Jannen Breugel, eene huysinge geheeten Meereminne, met poorte, plaatse, sale, coeckene, neercamere, hove, diversche oppercameren, keldere, pompe, regenbacke, gronde ende allen den toebehoorten, gestaen en de gelegen in de Langen Nieuistrate alhier'. Denucé, *Jan Bruegel I und II*, 21-22.

¹⁰⁴ Honig, *Jan Brueghel*, 21; Sabine van Sprang, "Les Peintres à la Cour d'Albert et Isabelle: Une Tentative de Classification". *Sponsors of the Past. Flemish Art and Patronage, 1550-1700*, Hans Vlieghe and Katlijne van der Stighelen, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005): 41; Marcel de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst: Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van de XVII^e-eeuwse Schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1955): 144-159. See also Charles Duvivier, "Documents Concernant le Peintre Jean Breughel". *Revue d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* (1860): 439-444; Denucé, *Jan Bruegel I und II*, 25-27.

¹⁰⁵ Marcia Pointon, "The Importance of Gems in the Work of Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640". *Engraved Gems: From Antiquity to the Present*, Ben van den Bercken, ed. (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017): 110.

¹⁰⁶ For evidence of Brueghel's jewellery collection see Duverger, *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen*, III.149-151, IV.392-395; Lucy Cutler, "Jan Brueghel I and Federico Borromeo", 110-118. 'In ignis elemento, quia sterilis voracitas natura illius nullam artifice copiam dabat, cuncta cyclopum ingenia, ferventesque officinas exhibuit'. Borromeo, *Museum*, 168-169.

cameo bracelets and other trinkets spill out of a painted box with studied carelessness (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels) (ill. 4.12). Rubens' inventory of 1645 lists a 'pair of agate bracelets' valued at thirty-six gulden.¹⁰⁷ In Brueghel's still life nude goddesses and profile heads are engraved on some of the stones. The practice of mounting classical gems was commonplace in this period despite the scarcity of surviving examples and such jewellery signalled their husbands' knowledge of Antiquity when worn by women.¹⁰⁸ Although imitations abounded 'wealthy bourgeois sitters in their best clothes' would not have worn '*ersatz* examples' in portraiture and by incorporating authentic cameos the bracelets connoted classical ideals of female virtue such as constancy.¹⁰⁹ In Rubens' marriage portrait the "*Honeysuckle Bower*" Isabella Brant sports a similar pair hand in hand (*dextrarum iunctio*) with her newly-wedded husband Rubens (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) (ill. 4.13). The composition 'in every way emphasises the strength and inviolability of the marriage bond' and the couple's contrapposto mimics Alciati's emblem "*In Fidem Uxoriam*" (ill. 4.14).¹¹⁰ This is described as a 'representation of faithfulness' which if nurtured by Venus' ardour may bring a 'branch bearing apples [i.e. children]'.¹¹¹ The portrait was painted within two years of Rubens' return from Italy and Isabella's jewellery is part of this humanist conceit (ill. 4.15, detail).¹¹² The inclusion of cameo bracelets in portraiture was a Rubensian invention.¹¹³ While Isabella is dressed more conservatively for the occasion Rubens' attire

¹⁰⁷ 'Een paer agaete braseletten geëstimeert op gl. 36-00'. Compare with 'Eenen collant van diamanten, met een cruyx à la mode met een ketenken van rooskens rontsomme op gl. 6900-00'. Duverger, *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen*, V.266.

¹⁰⁸ A surviving necklace featuring two cameos was likely to have been remade from two bracelets (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, inv. no. 262). My thanks to Marcia Pointon at the University of Manchester for her assistance. See Jutta Zander-Seidel, "Nürnberger Schmuck? Zur Lokalisierung zwischen Marken und Familientradition". *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst 1541-1868*, Karin Tebbe, ed. (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2007): II.240-241. See also *Portrait of a Married Couple with a Child*, c. 1609 (Staatliches Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, inv. no. 177).

¹⁰⁹ Pointon, "The Importance of Gems", 110.

¹¹⁰ Vlieghe, *CRLB XIX*, 162-164, cat. no. 138.

¹¹¹ 'Haec fidei est species: Veneris quam si educat ardor, / Malorum in laeva non malè ramus erit'. Alciati, *Emblemata Latinogallica*, 262.

¹¹² Vlieghe, *CRLB XIX*, 164, cat. no. 138.

¹¹³ See Zander-Seidel, "Nürnberger Schmuck?", 240.

‘deliberately breaks the mould of contemporary fashion’ which sets him apart as a trendsetter as Cordula van Wyhe explains.¹¹⁴ His open collar of probably Italian reticilla lace affects negligence and ergo intellectual absorption; such sentiments were articulated in Peacham’s *The Truth Revealed* (1638) which excused ‘our greatest Scholars and Statists’ for being ‘sometime slovenly in their apparell [sic]’.¹¹⁵ Italy was the *fons et origo* of antique cameos the mounting of which was a Milanese specialty; having purchasing the stones most probably on the peninsula Rubens and Brueghel were alike in mind.¹¹⁶ Rubens’ greatest pleasure was apparently ‘seeing and considering his medals, his agates, his onyxes and other engraved stones … of which he had a very beautiful collection’ but Brueghel’s antiquarian credentials were also demonstrable.¹¹⁷ As well as sketching the Colosseum he graffitied his name inside the Catacombs of Domitilla the year of their discovery in 1593.¹¹⁸ Rubens’ expertise in glyptography was widely recognised and Pierre Gassendi called him an ‘avid and most experienced scholar of all Antiquity, but above all cameos’.¹¹⁹ In the early 1620s Rubens worked on the aborted the *Gem Book* with fellow antiquarian Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc; the illustrations he made for it represented cameos ‘as accurately as possible,

¹¹⁴ Wyhe, ‘Identity and Attire’, 103.

¹¹⁵ Cordula van Wyhe, ‘The Sartorial Ambitions of the Artist and His Wives: Identity and Attire in Rubens’s Family Portraits’. *Rubens in Private: The Master Portrays his Family*, Ben van Beneden and Nils Büttner, eds. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015): 113-115.

¹¹⁶ Kirsten Piacenti, ‘The Use of Cameos in the Mounts of Sixteenth-Century Milanese *Pietre Dure* Vases’. *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals*, Clifford Brown, ed. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1997): 127-135; See Oleg Nerov, ‘Gems in the Collection of Rubens’. *The Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 916 (July 1979): 424.

¹¹⁷ ‘Son plus grand Plaisir estoit … de lire quelque livre, ou de voir & de considerer ses medailles, ses agates, ses cornalines & autres pierres gravées, don’t il avoit un tres beau recueil’. Roger de Piles, *Conversations sur la Connoissance de la Peinture … Où par occasion il est parlé de la vie de RUBENS, & de quelques-ans de ses plus beaux Ouvrages* (Paris: 1677): 215.

¹¹⁸ Christine Göttler, ‘Fire, Smoke and Vapour: Jan Brueghel’s ‘Poetic Hells’: ‘Ghespoock’ in Early Modern European Art’. *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture*, Christine Göttler and Wolfgang Neuber, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 25; Matthias Winner, ‘Neubestimmtes und Unbestimmtes im Zeichnerischen Werk von Jan Brueghel D. Ä.’. *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 1972, no. 14 (1972): 122-160; Godefridus Joannes Hoogewerff, ‘De Romeinse Catacomben’. *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 44 (1961): 224.

¹¹⁹ ‘Petrum Paulum Rubenium Antuerpiensem, pictorem celeberrimum, & totius antiquitatis, sed Cameorum imprimis studiosissimum, peritissimumque’. Pierre Gassendi, *Viri Illustris Nicolai Claudi Fabricii de Peiresc* (Paris: 1651): 180. See also David Jaffé, ‘Reproducing and Reading Gems in Rubens’ Circle’. *Engraved Gems: From Antiquity to the Present*, Ben van den Bercken, ed. (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017): 181-193.

showing the contrasting layers of stone'.¹²⁰ Of Rubens' own cameos the finest was the exceptionally rare *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) (ill. 4.16).¹²¹ Inscribed *TPYΦΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ* (Tryphon made it) this 'excellent agate' in the words of Peiresc had the conjugal veils or *flammei* rendered 'so thin that one can discern the ears and the face underneath'.¹²² Between Rubens and Brueghel cameo bracelets were personalised devices evoking bonds of friendship not unlike marriage vows. In Rubens' family portraits the classical jewellery worn by their wives stood 'in an osmotic relation to [their] inner virtue' clothes in this period being 'deeply put on' as Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass argue.¹²³ As expressed in glyptic dialogues a passion for cameos tied Rubens and Brueghel closer together. Indeed one can imagine them poring over Rubens' collection in the intimate space of his '*studiolο secreto*' where only the most intimate friends were permitted.¹²⁴ As best friends Rubens and Brueghel were the quadrumvirate's key master and gatekeeper whose friendships with Cooymans and Van Balen completed the alliance. The 'diverse *liefhebbers*' were brought to public attention as *Violieren* and Romanists.

¹²⁰ Marjon van der Meulen, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXIII: Copies after the Antique* (London: Harvey Miller, 1994): I.132-142.

¹²¹ See Fiona Healy, "Rubens as Collector of Antiquities". *A House of Art: Rubens as Collector*, Kristin Lohse Belkin and Fiona Healy, eds. (Schoten: BAI, 2004): 270-91, cat. nos. 66-67, 69-71, 73; Jeffrey Muller, "Rubens's Collection in History". *A House of Art: Rubens as Collector*, Kristin Lohse Belkin and Fiona Healy, eds. (Schoten: BAI, 2004): 30.

¹²² 'Le mariage des genies en camayeul d'excellente agathe ... ayants leurs testes couvertes d'un flammeum si mince que les oreilles & le visage se peuvent discerner par dessous'. Meulen, *CRLB XXIII*, I.203, app. V.4.

¹²³ Wyhe, "Identity and Attire", 99-104.

¹²⁴ See Muller, "Rubens's Collection in History", 59-62.

5: The art-lover formerly known as prince – Cooymans and the *Violieren*

How princely each prince, who loved the noble art,
 Did serve his principality, which he honoured with worthy prizes.
 And what wise regents have honourably sought
 The prosperity of their guild, and of the flower which they served.

Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Het Jonstich Versaem der Violieren*.¹²⁵

This section brings to light the figure of Cooymans, the merchant who joined the quadrumvirate as a friend of Brueghel and Van Balen.¹²⁶ Cooymans' role in procuring the *Rosary Madonna* can be conjectured from his involvement in the *Violieren* chamber of rhetoric, their shared collaborative circle which Ramakers is the first to discuss in detail.¹²⁷ Performative literary culture had long been a pillar of burgher society.¹²⁸ Having last taken place in Antwerp in 1561 the Flemish-Brabantian *landjuweel* (theatre festival) tradition was revived in 1615.¹²⁹ As *Violieren* the *liefhebbers* took part in the 1618 'blazon-poem' (*blasoen dicht*) competition. By trumpeting the benefits of *Pax Hispanica* such festivities could repair trust between cities and their Habsburg overlords after the vicissitudes of the Revolt; procured as a 'rare piece' for Antwerp the *Rosary Madonna* furthered this agenda as a parallel act of corporate magnificence.

Liefhebbers of art were often lovers of poetry. Members of the guild of St Luke joined associated chambers of rhetoric (*rederijkerskamers*) namely the *Violieren* and *Olijftak*

¹²⁵ 'Oock hoe prinslijck elck prins, die dédel const beminden/ Sijn prinsdom heeft vereert, met prijsen weert ghe-acht/ End' wat voor dekens vroet, hebben met eer getracht/ De welvaert van haer guld', end' blom die sy bedinden'. Fernand Donnet, *Het Jonstich Versaem der Violieren: Geschiedenis der Reiderijkkamer de Olijftak sedert 1480* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1907): 40. My thanks to Frans Blom at the University of Amsterdam for assistance with translation.

¹²⁶ For what is known of Cooymans' biography see Ramakers, "Sophonisba's Dress", 332-333.

¹²⁷ Ramakers, "Sophonisba's Dress".

¹²⁸ See Herman Pleij, "Urban Elites in Search of a Culture: The Brussels Snow Festival of 1511". *New Literary History* 21, no. 3 (Spring 1990): 629-647.

¹²⁹ For more on the 1561 Antwerp *landjuweel* see Jeroen Vandommele, "Arranging 'facts' in 'fiction': Presenting Categories of Knowledge in Antwerp Prints and Plays (1550-1565)". *Renaissance Studies* 32, no. 1 (2018): 69-72; Jeroen Vandommele, *Als in een Spiegel: Vrede, Kennis en Gemeenschap op het Antwerpse Landjuweel van 1561* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011); Herman Pleij, *Het Gevleugelde Word: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Literatuur, 1400-1560* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2007): 709-717; and Walter Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel". *The Art Bulletin* 63, no. 3 (September 1981): 428, note 12.

(Olive-branch).¹³⁰ Painting and poetry were seen as sister arts. Lucas de Heere who was the first Netherlander to use poetry to promote himself as an ‘elite, universal master of *Pictura*’ had extolled the *Violieren* to learn poetry and become the ‘most artful of artists’.¹³¹ Rather than arid exercises in Horatian *paragone* vernacular literature was celebrated with raucous bonhomie. While quite aware of *rederijker* activity Rubens was not himself a participant.¹³² As this section demonstrates Cooymans, Brueghel and Van Balen formed a tightly knit within the *Violieren* which gave them independent agency when forming the *liefhebber* coalition. Brueghel and Van Balen were an inseparable pair whose joint output was prolific and well regarded.¹³³ It was likely that the two artists introduced the wealthy Cooymans to Rubens.

Cooymans was neither artist nor art dealer. The guild of St Luke’s membership roll distinguishes between ‘*coopman van*’ and ‘*liefhebber der scilderyen*’; while not fully professionalised yet art dealers already had explicit terminology such as ‘*coomenscap doende met scilderye*’ or ‘*constvercoper*’ and thus Cooymans’ trade could have been textiles.¹³⁴ Seventeenth-century merchants did pose as ‘gentleman-dealers’ and dabbled in

¹³⁰ Ramakers, “Sophonisba’s Dress”, 299, 305; Kristof Gielen, “Kunst in de Schoot van het Kunstenaarsgilde: Het Patrimonium van het Antwerpse Sint-Lucasgilde” (PhD thesis, Katholiek Universiteit Leuven, 2004): 27. *Violieren* were flowers of the genus *matthiola*, hence ‘Stock-Gillyflowers’. Gibson, “Artists and Rederijkers”, 428.

¹³¹ Bart Ramakers, “Art and Artistry in Lucas de Heere”. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 59 (2009): 188. ‘Princelicke *Violieren* zeer excellentaant./ V conste is verclaert, voor de constichste van al,/ Het welc men mach goed doen (als met een argument)/ Met veel constenaers die zijn onder u ghetal:/ Wiens excellentie niemand te bouen gaen zal:/ Dus sal ick van u en uws ghelycke verclarenen/ (Spijtt alle benijders ende haer boose gheschal)/ Dit zijn de constichste van alle constenaren’. Lucas de Heere, *Den Hof en Boomgaard der Poësien* (Ghent: 1565): 117.

¹³² August Keersmaekers, “Rederijkers uit Rubens’ Omgeving: Ludolph van Hattum († 1616), Factor van de *Violieren*-kamer”. *Vlaamse Stam* 13 (1977): 271.

¹³³ Werche, *Hendrick van Balen*, 252-253, app. 15; Bettina Werche, “Die Zusammenarbeit von Jan Brueghel d. Ä. und Hendrick van Balen”. *Pieter Brueghel der Jüngere – Jan Brueghel der Ältere: Flämische Malerei um 1600 – Tradition und Fortschritt*, Klaus Ertz and Christa Nitze-Ertz, eds. (Lingen: Luca, 1997): 67-74; Woollett and Suchtelen, *Rubens & Brueghel*, 157, no. 21.

¹³⁴ Bert Timmermans, “Networks and Mediators in the 17th-century Antwerp Art World: The Impact of Collectors-Connoisseurs on Artistic Processes of Transmission and Selection”. *Luxury in the Low Countries: Miscellaneous Reflections on Netherlandish Material Culture, 1500 to the Present*, Rengenier Rittersma, ed. (Brussels: Faro, 2010): 116-118; Rombouts and Lerius, *Liggeren*, II.421-422. The ambiguity of the ‘ende’ in his guild of St Luke entry has been glossed over. Büttner, *Herr P. P. Rubens*, 138; Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp*, 51.

the art trade with ‘occasional or direct involvement’.¹³⁵ However there is no record of Coymans ever having dealt in art. If pursuing his passion independently of commerce, *Violieren* membership was a means for him to accumulate cultural capital as an amateur.¹³⁶ Merchants were self-made masters of the early modern universe. As the Portuguese apothecary Tomé Pires wrote, ‘Trading in merchandise is so necessary that without it the world would not go on’. Seventeenth-century Antwerp was a global distribution centre for wool and luxury commodities whose merchants weathered the Price Revolution to possess uncommon liquidity.¹³⁷ As Marika Keblusek shows the *mercator sapiens* was a ‘cultural entrepreneur’ who outspent the nobility on humanist learning and the arts including picture collecting.¹³⁸ Merchants were the largest private sponsors of the Dominican Church.¹³⁹ In 1633 Coymans contributed 200 gulden towards a stained-glass window in the south transept; painted by Jan de Labaer it depicted Christ’s entry into Jerusalem and survives in fragments which nevertheless evidence the window’s high quality (ills. 4.17-18).¹⁴⁰ One can

¹³⁵ Bert Timmermans, “Networks and Mediators in the 17th-century Antwerp Art World: The Impact of Collectors-Connoisseurs on Artistic Processes of Transmission and Selection”. *Luxury in the Low Countries: Miscellaneous Reflections on Netherlandish Material Culture, 1500 to the Present*, Rengenier Rittersma, ed. (Brussels: Faro, 2010): 116-118.

¹³⁶ See Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital”. *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, John Richardson, ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986): 241-258.

¹³⁷ Bert Timmermans, *Patronen van Patronage in het Zeventiende-Eeuwse Antwerpen: Een Elite als Actor binnen een Kunstwereld* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2008): 47-71; David Hackett Fischer, *The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 91-92; Fernand Braudel and Sian Reynolds (trans.), *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century* (London: Collins, 1981-1984): ii.143-153.

¹³⁸ Marika Keblusek, “*Mercator Sapiens*: Merchants as Cultural Entrepreneurs”. *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe*, Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Vera Noldus, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 95-109.

¹³⁹ ‘...præcipuorum mercatorum ac Civium cresceret’. Sanderus, *Chorographia*, III.3.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Ontfanghen van S. Nicolas Cassier Talania ende Gillis Boone ende Jan Baptist Coymans tot den verderinghe vanden gelase venster vanden Triomphe van Jherusalem de somme van tweehondert guldens’. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Rekeningenregister van de Confrérie van de Jongmans, 1616-1794 (PR 18): 22 verso. The stained glass in the south transept was blown out during the 1830 siege of Antwerp but the surviving fragments have been reassembled in the former monastery entrance hall window. Jan van Damme, “Stained Glass in St Paul’s Church in Antwerp in the 17th Century. Historical Documents on the Work of Abraham van Diepenbeeck and Jan de Labaer”. *Stained Glass in the 17th Century: Continuity, Invention, Twilight*, Madeleine Manderyck et al., eds. (Corpus Vitrearum Belgium, 2018): 150. See also Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman, “Rubens as an Inspiration: Baroque Stained Glass in Antwerp and Brussels by Abraham van Diepenbeeck, Jan de Labaer and Hendrik van Balen”. *Revue Belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art* 88 (2019): 51-52.

assume that Cooymans had likewise been a liberal patron of the *Rosary Madonna*. No less important were Cooymans' friendships with 'wise' regents 'in service of the [Stock-Gilly]flower' who included Brueghel and Van Balen. In 1611 Cooymans became Van Balen's intimate by standing godfather to his son Jan (see Section 2) and acquaintance with Brueghel was not long in waiting. Brueghel and Van Balen were close companions who had purchased large houses on the Lange Nieuwstraat on the same day in 1604; moreover their working friendship was exceptional in its continuity and intensity.¹⁴¹ Cooymans was part of their friendship circle before joining the quadrumvirate most visibly as prince of the *Violieren* to which office he was elected in 1619. Described by Vranx in his commemorative manuscript as a 'most faithful *liefhebber* of both the arts' Cooymans was by this point an established rhetorician.¹⁴² The chamber was run by a chief, a prince and regents; Brueghel and Van Balen sat on the latter committee and paid contributions towards the 'prosperity of their guild'.¹⁴³ As prince Cooymans worked with chief Jan Happaert who was elected mayor of Antwerp in 1618 and together they officiated accountancy and chamber membership.¹⁴⁴ To qualify as prince Cooymans had to be not just professionally competent but also a friend the *Violieren* could trust.

As prince Cooymans' patronage of the *Violieren* mimicked that of actual princes. According to Richard Trexler early modern rulers were 'rethinking the nature of the prince as a fiscal and a monetary creature ... He was now a collector, and the resulting gift became a proof of the prince's legitimacy as a representative of his people'.¹⁴⁵ A prince's right to

¹⁴¹ '...vercochten omme een somme gelts Mr Henricke van Balen een huijs ... inde Langenieustrate alhier ... Die XX Decemb. 1604'. Werche, *Hendrick van Balen*, 252-253, app. 15; Bettina Werche, "Die Zusammenarbeit von Jan Brueghel d. Ä. und Hendrick van Balen". *Pieter Brueghel der Jüngere – Jan Brueghel der Ältere: Flämische Malerei um 1600 – Tradition und Fortschritt*, Klaus Ertz and Christa Nitze-Ertz, eds. (Lingen: Luca, 1997): 67-74.

¹⁴² 'De welcke is gheweest een liefhebber van beyden de consten seer ieverich'. Donnet, *Violieren*, 114. For more on Vranx's role in reviving the *Violieren* see Donnet, *Violieren*, 103-104.

¹⁴³ 'Heer hooftman, prins en deken/ die naermaels volghen suldt/ regeert alsoo de gult'. Donnet, *Violieren*, 44. See also Gielen, "Kunstenaarsgilde", 27-28.

¹⁴⁴ Donnet, *Violieren*, 66; Gielen, "Kunstenaarsgilde", 27-28.

¹⁴⁵ Richard Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997): 168-170.

rule was affirmed by the willingness of his subjects to pay taxes and the regents duly paid Coymans their dues (see below). ‘United through joyous affection’ the *Violieren*’s merry company formed a mock principality based on friendship the rule of which by a liberal entrepreneur was entirely fitting.¹⁴⁶ Vernacular literature especially *rederijker* plays reflected the spiritual and material aspirations of their bourgeois audience which was an ‘urban public of ... notaries, merchants, patricians [etc.]’.¹⁴⁷ The *Violieren* did not inherit virtue by aristocratic bloodline but could acquire it at Coymans’ friendly court by putting their love of poetry into practice and becoming what Willem Frijhoff and Marieke Spies called ‘burgher aristocrats’.¹⁴⁸ How to embody virtue was spelled out in the *Book of the Courtier* by Baldassare Castiglione which stipulated that the purpose of *sprezzatura* i.e. nonchalance or studied grace was to ‘conceal all art’ and make one’s talents ‘appear to be without effort’. Just as artistic wizardry was made to seem innate however laboriously acquired, the *Violieren* wore their classical erudition lightly as did the Romanists at dinner (see Section 6).¹⁴⁹ In 1618 the *Violieren* united for a ‘delightful blazon or poetry competition’ (*blasoenfeeste*) hosted by the *Olijftak* plausibly on 17 June.¹⁵⁰ In 1619 the chamber’s success prompted Antwerp city council to renew their privileges and Vrancx accordingly praised ‘the *Heroes*’ who ‘brought the old *Violier* back to the city,/ After the fearsome *Mars* had

¹⁴⁶ Marc Jacobs, ‘King for a Day: Games of Inversion, Representation, and Appropriation in Ancient Regime Europe’. *Mystifying the Monarch: Studies on Discourse, Power, and History*, Jeroen Deploige and Gita Deneckere, eds. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006): 117-138.

¹⁴⁷ Herman Pleij, ‘Restyling ‘Wisdom,’ Remodeling the Nobility, and Caricaturing the Peasant: Urban Literature in the Late Medieval Low Countries’. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (Spring 2002): 691-695. For an overview see Pleij, ‘Het Gevleugelde Word’, 296-333, 670-717. For the latest research see the 2018 special issue of *Renaissance Studies* in particular Arjan van Dixhoorn, ‘Recreating Man’s Cunning Virtues: The Philosophical Project of Netherlandish Arts Culture’. *Renaissance Studies* 32, no. 1 (2018): 23-42; Arjan van Dixhoorn et al., ‘The Relevance of the Netherlandish Rhetoricians’. *Renaissance Studies* 32, no. 1 (2018): 8-22; Bart Ramakers, ‘Embodied Wits: The Representation of Deliberative Thought in Rhetoricians’ Drama’. *Renaissance Studies* 32, no. 1 (2018): 85-105; Vandommele, ‘Facts in Fiction’. See also Anne-Laure van Bruaene, ‘“A wonderfull tryumfe, for the wynnyng of a prys”: Guilds, Ritual, Theater, and the Urban Network in the Southern Low Countries, ca. 1450-1650’. *Renaissance Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (2006): 374-405.

¹⁴⁸ Willem Frijhoff et al., *1650: Hard-Won Unity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004): 100-104.

¹⁴⁹ Eugenia Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014): 54-59.

¹⁵⁰ ‘heerlyck blasoen oft refereyn feeste’. Donnet, *Violieren*, 50; August Keersmaekers, *Geschiedenis van de Antwerpse Rederijkerskamers in de Jaren 1585-1635* (Aalst: 1952): 41.

threatened to devour her'.¹⁵¹ The Revolt which had shut down the original chamber was abhorrent to Vrancx who made all new members swear allegiance to the 'Roman Catholic religion and the duke of Brabant' in refutation of subversive incitements past.¹⁵² The poetic conceit behind the *Olijftak* blazon was the invention of Vrancx who was a self-proclaimed *liefhebber* of poetry as well as painting and the sister arts were united in victory when his 'blazon poem' (*blazoen dicht*) was presented to the jury.¹⁵³ To demonstrate his commitment Vrancx spent 106 gulden on a 'large cup named *Pictura*' of his design which features in Cornelis de Vos' *Portrait of Abraham Grapheus* (Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp) (ill. 4.19). Having written many plays for the chamber Vrancx also illustrated Virgil's *Aeneid* which made him a *liefhebber* of poetry to an extent few other *Violieren* could match.¹⁵⁴

For the Stock-Gillyflowers to bloom the chamber required hydration in cash and in kind; among the 'Heroes' of this undertaking were *liefhebbers* like Cooymans who was praised in Vrancx's "Incarnation or Time-Poem" (*Incarnatie oft Tyt Dicht*) thus. 'When wise Lord Jan Happaert was our exalted head,/ Adriaen Staelbent and Cornelis de Vos were good regents,/ The *Violieren* got their ancient freedom back,/ [And] now Jan Coomans out of friendship has become the free wise prince'.¹⁵⁵ Brueghel and Van Balen registered as old

¹⁵¹ 'Wie dat de *Helden* sijn, .../ End' d'oude *Violier* in staet hebben gebracht,/ Naer dat den wreeden *Mars*, haer meenden te verslinden'. Donnet, *Violieren*, 40, 45-47.

¹⁵² 'Hier sweir ick daer ick toe vercoren ende gheacht ben dat is te syn confrere van de gulde der *Violiere*; ende oft ick yet vername dat de catholycke roomsche religie, den hertoghe van Brabant, ende de heeren deser stadt'. Donnet, *Violieren*, 48.

¹⁵³ '...door oorden vande camer doen maecken heeft midts datter eenige liefhebbers vande schilder const toe gegeven hebben, oock snyde een liefhebber vande Poesie, heeft de selve gebleet en het blasoen dicht gestelt ende oock mede een gevoecht daer de *Violieren* de hooghste prysen mede behaelden opde camer vanden Olyftack van Antwerpen'. Donnet, *Violieren*, 103.

¹⁵⁴ 'den welcken den gulde geschoncken heeft de somme van CVI gulden tot voldoenige vanden groten cop genaemt *Pictura* die den selven oock geteeckent'. Donnet, *Violieren*, 103-104. Ramakers, "Sophonisba's Dress", 308-309; Louisa Wood Ruby, "Sebastiaen Vrancx as Illustrator of Virgil's 'Aeneid'". *Master Drawings* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 54-73; August Keersmaekers, "De Schilder Sebastiaen Vrancx (1573-1647) als Rederijker". *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1982): 175-183.

¹⁵⁵ 'aLs heer Ian Happaert WYs, Was ons hooft VerheVen/ adriaen staeLbent CorneLIs de Vos dekens goet/ sYn dIe vIoLler doUde VrYheYt Weer gegeVen/ Ian CooMans Wt Ionsten Wert Nu VrY prInCe Vroet'. Donnet, *Violieren*, 43.

regents (*outdeken*); appointed before 1619 they donated theatrical costumes and sums of money to the *Violieren*, Brueghel a ‘cloak for Pallas Athena’ and Van Balen a ‘black satin gown with a silver hem’.¹⁵⁶ Cooymans’ friendship was pledged with a ‘white satin gown (with its gold hem) of Apollo’ and ‘great things for funding’ namely the capital to ‘purchase a property or house’ with contributions from the regents.¹⁵⁷ In 1618 the ‘free wise’ Cooymans was elected prince ‘out of friendship’ and one of his responsibilities was to collect the regents’ financial contributions or pseudo-taxes which were subsequently invested in permanent quarters in the Spanjepand complete with an indoor stage.¹⁵⁸ Cooymans promised ‘fifty guldens or more’ to his ‘beloved’ i.e. the winner in future competitions and his affection for fellow rhetoricians was reciprocated.¹⁵⁹ In 1617 the *Olijftak* playwright Willem van Nieulandt II described Cooymans as ‘wise, discrete and providential’, a lover of Clio the muse of history and ‘my art-loving Pictvra’; in 1621 Van Nieulandt II rejoiced in their ‘old friendship so fruitful’.¹⁶⁰ As the *Violieren*’s merchant-prince-to-be Cooymans may actually be portrayed in the 1618 blazon.

Brueghel and Van Balen together with Vrancx and Francken II ‘united through joyous affection’ to paint the winning entry, a four-line Flemish poem in praise of *rederijkerskamers* translated into pictograms (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten,

¹⁵⁶ ‘[Brueghel] Heeft vereert het cleet van Pallas ... ende de gulde gheschoncken ... [Van Balen] Heeft gegeven een swert satynen cleet met silver geboort ... en de gulde geschoncken’. Donnet, *Violieren*, 81, 96.

¹⁵⁷ ‘...heeft het satynen wit cleedt (met syn goudt geboort) van Apollo aen de selve geschoncken; had groote dinghen voor begost, eenich gelt te vergaren om metter tyt een erve oft huys te coopen, daer hy, en meest allen de oude dekens toe gegeven hebben’. Donnet, *Violieren*, 114.

¹⁵⁸ ‘...had groote dinghen voor begost, eenich gelt te vergaren om metter tyt een erve oft huys te coopen, daer hy, een meest allen de oude dekens toe gegeven hebben’. Donnet, *Violieren*, 114. Timothy de Paep, ‘Inrichting en Gebruik van het Antwerpse Rederijkerstoneel tussen 1619 en 1664’. *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 22, no. 2 (2006): 325-332.

¹⁵⁹ ‘De prince sal gehouden syn syn prinsdom te verheffen binnen synen tyt met een heerlyck blasoen oft refereyn feeste tot welcken hy sal gehouden syn prysen op te stellen ten minsten weerdich wesende vyftich guldens oft meer naer syne geliefste’. Donnet, *Violieren*, 50.

¹⁶⁰ Ramakers, ‘Sophonisba’s Dress’, 332-333. ‘Aen den wysen, discreten, ende voorsienighen, Ioan Coomans ... die niet alleen en bemint de droef-singhende CLIO, maer oock mijne const-lieuende PICTVRA’. Willem van Nieulandt II, *Livia: Tragoedie* (Antwerp: 1617): A2. ‘versekert sijnde dat ons oude vrintschap soo vruchtbaer is geweest dat daer geen ender vrucht af voort-comen en can’. Willem van Nieulandt II, *Poëma vanden Mensch, Inhoudende D’ijdelheyt des Werelts, d’Ellende des Leuens, ende Ruste des Doodts* (Antwerp: 1621): 5.

Antwerp) (ill. 4.20).¹⁶¹ Bordered with olive branches, stock-gillyflowers and marigolds which were the insignia of the three chambers – the latter of the *Goudbloem* – the diamond-shaped panel sports an eclectic array of gods, saints, flora and fauna. Arranged along four stone plinths the characters are each spoken as a word or syllable. The *blasoen dicht* reads thus: ‘Apelles’ pupils, who celebrate St Luke/ Please help adorn the *Olijftak* quickly./ With us, *Violieren*, and Apollo’s laurels/ Do flee evil manners, and Peace is steadfastly kept’.¹⁶² The blazon is a visually witty riddle pairing a monstrous smoking head in the second verse with a quill forming *hel-pen* (to help); elsewhere the god Apollo is accompanied by pot plants and a duck. The blazon’s focal point is the *man* in the last verse who in tandem with two *nieren* (kidneys) forms *manieren* (manners) (ill. 4.21, detail). The *man*’s gaudy apparel which comprises a black velvet bonnet feathered with ostrich plumes and a *paltrock* studded with pink rosettes is deliberately antiquated.¹⁶³ Wearing gloves and a sword the *man*’s courtly garb parodies the aristocracy. While *rederijkers* on stage put cloaks over their town clothes the *man*’s peacock-like attire suggests someone more important. Was this Coymans’ portrait? To the *man*’s left is a pointing beggar personifying Antwerp’s social evils (*kwade*) or indeed Protestant rebels of the Revolt (*geuzen*); by contrast the *man* stands beneath a willow tree (*wilg* or *willig*) symbolising steadfastness.¹⁶⁴ Looking outward as if addressing a fellow *Violier* the *man*’s shoes (*Kuhmäuler* or cow-mouths) as well as the bull directly above (part of *versieren*) may be references to Coymans’ name meaning cowman. If so to be sandwiched between kidneys and a vomiting beggar was obviously a joke. To

¹⁶¹ Ramakers, “Sophonisba’s Dress”, 312-314; August Keersmaekers, “Drie Rebus-Blazoenen van de Antwerpse ‘Violieren’ (1618 – 1619 – 1620)”. *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* (1957): 344-346.

¹⁶² ‘Apelles’ scholieren, die Sint-Lucas vieren/ Wilt helpen versieren den *Olijftak* snel,/ Met ons, *Violieren*, end Apollo’s laurieren,/ Vlucht kwade manieren, willig houdt Pax wel’. Keersmaekers, “Drie Rebus-Blazoenen”, 345-346.

¹⁶³ My thanks to Aileen Ribeiro at the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London and Bianca du Mortier at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam for their assistance. See also Johanna Henriëtte Kinderen-Besier, *Mode-Metamorphosen: De Kleedij onzer Voorouders in de Zestiende Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1933).

¹⁶⁴ Lawrence Silver, “Of Beggars: Lucas van Leyden and Sebastian Brant”. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976): 253-257.

judge from Grapheus' portrait the *Violieren* liked a good drink and one can imagine the merry company having a private chuckle at Cooymans' expense. If he was indeed the *man* such humour was permissible only among intimate friends.

Cooymans got to know the *Violieren*'s merry company well in advance of his election as prince which makes him a strong candidate for the identity of Van Balen's blazon portrait; Cooymans was certainly familiar with this panel as it was displayed in the *Violieren*'s assembly rooms which he personally bought.¹⁶⁵ As a successful merchant and active socialite, Cooymans' network had a much wider reach than Brueghel and Van Balen's alone allowing Cooymans to advertise the *Rosary Madonna* to elite society at large. Just like when he "taxed" the deans when prince, Cooymans would have collected money from the 'diverse others' in order to procure the altarpiece. *Violieren* membership bound the *liefhebbers* under oath 'united in friendship as loyal guild brothers'; by bankrolling the chamber *rederijkers* found 'what love .../ And also praiseworthy deeds, have taught through the arts'.¹⁶⁶ The *Rosary Madonna* was procured in like spirit. Within the coalition Cooymans accounted the altarpiece's purchase as he would do for the Spanjepand premises. If not themselves connoisseurs of Caravaggio, *liefhebbers* of poetry could trust Cooymans and the regents to invest in 'outstandingly great art' on their behalf. The coalition's 'diverse others' plausibly included Vrancx who resided in Rome between 1597 and 1600 and Mayor Happaert; both *Violieren* were also Romanists.

¹⁶⁵ Ramakers, "Sophonisba's Dress", 312, note 44.

¹⁶⁶ 'Om als trouw gulden broers te sijn versaempt vuijt jonsten ... Ghij vindt oock wat de liefd' .../ Als med'die lofbaer daet, betoocht hebben door consten'. Donnet, *Violieren*, 40.

6: The godly feast – the guild of Romanists *chez Rubens*

The most truly godlike seasoning at the dining-table is the presence of a friend or companion or intimate acquaintance – not because of his eating and drinking with us, but because he participates in the give-and-take of conversation.

Plutarch, “Table-Talk”.¹⁶⁷

This section discusses Rubens, Brueghel and Van Balen’s membership of the guild of Romanists through which they could persuasively enact the virtues of connoisseurship and *amor amicitiae* in advance of the *Rosary Madonna*’s purchase. By bringing unpublished documents from the guild archives to light the author shows how the triumvirate of artists first caught the public eye as deans.¹⁶⁸ Timmermans identifies the guild as one of the principal forums in Antwerp to ‘accumulate social and symbolic capital’ while Claudia Goldstein highlights the importance of dining culture to Antwerp’s civic life in relation to paintings by Pieter Brueghel I.¹⁶⁹ By partaking of the Romanists’ ritualised friendships the artist-triumvirate could recruit ‘diverse others’ from the urban patriciate who formed the bulk of the membership. Otherwise known as the confraternity of saints Peter and Paul the guild of Romanists was an exclusive club of nominal soulmates. A prerequisite for membership which was set to a maximum of twenty-five was having ‘personally visited in Rome the relics’ of the two apostles.¹⁷⁰ As with all confraternities the point of joining was to expedite the salvation of one’s soul. On the feast of saints Peter and Paul on 29 June Romanists held a solemn mass in Antwerp Cathedral; the day after a requiem was given for

¹⁶⁷ Plutarch and Frank Cole Babbitt (trans.), *Moralia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969): VIII.5.

¹⁶⁸ Rijksarchief Antwerp-Beveren, Sint-Joriskerk Antwerp, Rekenboeck van Gulde oft confraterniteyt van Ste Peeter ende Ste Pauwels binnen der stadt van Antwerpen, begonnen A° 1574 (T17/002.07.63). Partially transcribed in Dilis, *Romanistes*.

¹⁶⁹ Timmermans, *Patronen van Patronage*, 243-244; Goldstein, *Pieter Bruegel*, 37-73.

¹⁷⁰ ‘...van zeker getal van personen die de reliquien van de voors. heylige Apostelen personelyck te Roomen hadden besocht’. Dilis, *Romanistes*, 65. A pilgrim badge could have been used as proof. See Debra Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000): 77-79.

deceased confreres followed by dinner at the dean's and between 1608 and 1613 Brueghel, Van Balen and Rubens were elected to this office. Netherlandish artists had long been drawn to Rome (see Chapter 3) and a significant minority became Romanists including Brueghel (1599), Van Balen (1605), Rubens (1609) and Vranex (1610). The guild registry reads like a who's who of the Antwerp elite. Painters rubbed shoulders with Mayor Happaert, canons of the Cathedral, the archbishop of Cambrai and Lipsius' pupil Woverius (see Section 2).¹⁷¹ In 1571 the Dominican Church was rededicated to St Paul the preacher-apostle (see Chapter 5); monastery friars may have already canvassed the Romanists for donations on the pretext of the Order's foundation myth in which St Dominic was visited by saints Peter and Paul while at prayer in St Peter's on their feast day.¹⁷² Procuring the *Rosary Madonna* 'out affection for the chapel' was one way to honour the Romanists' patron saint.

The triumvirate joined the guild partly as a business strategy which if gauged by their election as deans was successful.¹⁷³ To judge from surviving invoices detailing an abundance of food and wine solemnity feasts were less than frugal and hosting dinner was a chance to exhibit the *liefhebbers'* prosperity and sophistication to influential Antwerpians.¹⁷⁴ As dean Brueghel recorded hosting all the guild brothers in 1609 as per 'old custom'; his dining companions at his house on the Meerminne included Rubens whom Brueghel had just admitted.¹⁷⁵ With Rubens fresh out of Italy the triumvirate may have first talked Caravaggio.

¹⁷¹ Dilis, *Romanistes*, 17-20, 38-48.

¹⁷² Jacobus de Voragine and William Granger Ryan (trans.), *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012): 113.

¹⁷³ Van Balen had to wait perhaps because his sojourn lacked distinguished patronage. Werche, *Hendrick van Balen*, 19-20. Deans wrote their statements upon giving up office. In 1613 Van Balen 'cancelled the deanship' (*dekenschap aenulleert heeft*) and handed the reins to Rubens. Rijksarchief Antwerp-Beveren, Sint-Joriskerk Antwerp, Rekenboeck van Gulde oft confraterniteyt van Ste Peeter ende Ste Pauwels binnen der stadt van Antwerpen, begonnen A° 1574 (T17/002.07.63), 50.

¹⁷⁴ Dilis, *Romanistes*, 26; Bert Timmermans, "The Elite as Collectors and Middlemen in the Antwerp Art World of the Seventeenth Century". *Minuscula Amicorum: Contributions on Rubens and his Colleagues in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, Katlijne van der Stighelen, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006): 353.

¹⁷⁵ 'Anno 1609 in feste St Petro et St Paulo is deken geweest Jean Brueghel schildere die naer oude costume ... sanderdaghs naer de misse van requiem den maeltyt gegeven tot huer huys daer moet alle de guldenvroeders syn geweest ... Cornelis Schut de inscuelingen vande gulden syn geweest Sr Pietro Paulo Rubens ende Michiel Tjacobus die uyt donati heeft gekogt de gulden te dienen voor cnape'. Rijksarchief Antwerp-Beveren, Sint-Joriskerk Antwerp, Rekenboeck van Gulde oft confraterniteyt van Ste Peeter ende Ste Pauwels binnen der stadt van Antwerpen, begonnen A° 1574 (T17/002.07.63): 46.

Van Balen's 1613 entry describes the religious services in some detail.¹⁷⁶ In his well-appointed house Rubens was elected dean.¹⁷⁷ New deans were announced at the banquet's conclusion 'before the course of cheese or fruit' having been chosen 'with common voice' by ballot.¹⁷⁸ Installed on the spot Rubens swore to conserve the guild's documents and property; as when Rubens ghost-wrote Brueghel's correspondence with Borromeo Van Balen's reputation as a *liefhebber* of Italian art enhanced Rubens' standing as a Romanist (see Section 4).¹⁷⁹ In 1612 Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel sent Van Balen to Liège to authenticate *Ferry Carondelet with His Secretaries* which was then attributed to Raphael (Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid) (ill. 4.22). If 'Henry van Balen [sic] a painter who knows it well' judged the portrait 'the same original' then Arundel was prepared to spend the princely sum of 500 gulden.¹⁸⁰ By comparison Rubens was still on the make.

Of the triumvirate Rubens set most in store by his deanship and because saints Peter and Paul were his namesakes Rubens gave the Romanists the 'gift of two large portraits [of the apostles] on panels by his own hand' for ceremonial use; he left office in 1614 with a *coup de théâtre* by presenting them to the new dean just before pudding.¹⁸¹ That year Rubens

¹⁷⁶ 'Anno 1613 desen 30 Junij in festo divini Petri et Pauli is deken geweest Hendrick van Balen, en heeft na ouder gewoonten op den feestdach den heilige Apostelen doen singen een solemnel misse, het heilige sacraments choor, van onser lieve vrouwen kerke, ende de bullo apostolique van de aflatens, deser broederschap verleent, laken voorhangen, ende op de stoelen doen vercondigen, ende den selven dage na noenes in den selven choor een solemne loff laten singen, met musicke ende orgelen, volgende de ordonnantie Anno 1610 bijde confrerije ghemackt, shanderendaegs in den selven choor een misse van requiem laten celebreren'. Rijksarchief Antwerp-Beveren, Sint-Joriskerk Antwerp, Rekenboeck van Gulde oft confraterniteyt van Ste Peeter ende Ste Pauwels binnen der stadt van Antwerpen, begonnen A° 1574 (T17/002.07.63): 50.

¹⁷⁷ '...een huijs met vloere coeckene plaatse borneputte regenbacke achterhuijse hove gronde ende allen den toebehoorten'. Werche, *Hendrick van Balen*, 252, app. 15. 'Ten selven dage na ouder usantien over maltijt is met gemeynen vooschreve gecosen tot deken Sr Peetro Paulo Rubens'. Rijksarchief Antwerp-Beveren, Sint-Joriskerk Antwerp, Rekenboeck van Gulde oft confraterniteyt van Ste Peeter ende Ste Pauwels binnen der stadt van Antwerpen, begonnen A° 1574 (T17/002.07.63): 50.

¹⁷⁸ 'Guldebroeders zal hebben doen bereyden, en sal den zelven keuse geschieden ten tyde vander maeltyt voor het opdienen van keese off fruyte ... Sal den Deken jaerlycx met gemeyne voyse van Guldebroeders met billietten worden gecosen ten zelve Dage Sanctorum Petri et Pauli naer de misse ter plaatzen daer den affgaende Deken best duncken sal'. Dilis, *Romanistes*, 68.

¹⁷⁹ Dilis, *Romanistes*, 19-20.

¹⁸⁰ David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and His Circle* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985): 33, 66-67.

¹⁸¹ Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VIII: Saints* (London: Harvey Miller, 1972-1973): I.61-63, cat. nos. 47-48. These were sold in 1786 and since lost. Dilis, *Romanistes*, 35-37. 'gheconsigneert hebbet het cofferken met alle de stucken volgende de inventaris daer in leggende'.

hosted dinner not at his father-in-law's on the Kloosterstraat but 'tot mynen huyse', at his house on the Wapper.¹⁸² Although Rubens did not move there until around 1617 the house he purchased in 1610 possessed ample living quarters, kitchen included.¹⁸³ Rubens' 'maeltyt' may have taken place outdoors because 30 June is the height of summer.¹⁸⁴ Moreover al fresco dining nourished body and soul in humanist discourse with gardens affording respite from the urban maelstrom.¹⁸⁵ In Erasmus' colloquy "The Godly Feast" a luncheon is preceded by a tour of Eusebius' country villa which has a fountain 'bubbling merrily with excellent water' that refreshes like the 'heavenly stream ... according to the Psalmist'.¹⁸⁶ Echoing Eusebius Rubens could have played the cicerone explaining his grand designs inspired by Vitruvius and Vincenzo Scamozzi to his Romanist friends.¹⁸⁷ Rubens' wife Isabella plausibly devised the *maeltyt*'s many courses and at table her feminine presence gave the all-male guild the chance to exercise their gallantry.¹⁸⁸ According to Plutarch the best seasoning for a feast was varied conversation (see above).¹⁸⁹ In another of Erasmus' colloquies the Roman cook Apitius recommends making the dinner 'merry with entertaining

Rijksarchief Antwerp-Beveren, Sint-Joriskerk Antwerp, Rekenboeck van Gulde oft confraterniteyt van Ste Peeter ende Ste Pauwels binnen der stadt van Antwerpen, begonnen A° 1574 (T17/002.07.63): 51.

¹⁸² 'Ipse paulo post se maritali vinculo, ducta filia Joannis Brantii, senatoris Antverpiensis ... In contubernio socii aliquot annos vixit ... Intérim ædes proprias magnamque juxta aream Antverpiæ emit, ubi diætam amplissimam romanâ formâ ædificat, picturæ studio aptam, hortumque latissimum omnis generis arboribus conserit'. Baron Frédéric de Reiffenberg, "Nouvelles Recherches sur Pierre-Paul Rubens, contenant une Vie Inédite de ce Grand Peintre, par Philippe Rubens, son Neveu". *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles* 10, no. 1 (1837): 6-7; Rutger Tijs, *P.P. Rubens en J. Jordaeus: Barok in Eigen Huis* (Antwerp: Stichting Mercator-Plantijn, 1984): 96. 'Ic Petrus Paulus Rubens hebbé voleijnt het jaer van myn dekenschap ende volcomelijck volbrocht ... voor een maeltyt tot mynen huyse'. Dilis, *Romanistes*, 30.

¹⁸³ 'Eene huysinge met eender grooter poorten plætse gaelderije coeckene camers gronde ende allen den toebehoorten'. Tijs, *Barok in Eigen Huis*, 90. See also Véronique van de Kerckhof, *The Rubens House Antwerp* (Ghent: Ludion, 2004): 14; Muller, "Rubens's Collection in History", 35.

¹⁸⁴ In 1604 dinner had been served in the Del Plano guesthouse meadows. Dilis, *Romanistes*, 29.

¹⁸⁵ See Ulrich Heinen, "Rubens' Garten und die Gesundheit des Künstlers". *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 65 (2004): 71-182.

¹⁸⁶ Desiderius Erasmus and Craig Thompson (trans.), *The Colloquies of Erasmus* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1965): 48-51.

¹⁸⁷ Tijs, *Barok in Eigen Huis*, 96-106.

¹⁸⁸ Goldstein, *Pieter Bruegel*, 60-62, 75-76. Peter Scholier addressed his 1613 Flemish cookbook to 'alle Edel-Vrouwen ende Iouffrouwen van dese Neder-landen'. Peter Scholier, *Koock-Boeck ofte Familieren Keuken-Boeck* (Antwerp: 1663): 3.

¹⁸⁹ Scholier, *Koock-Boeck*, 5.

stories' and by conversing on a 'variety of subjects everyone likes to recall'.¹⁹⁰ At Rubens' *maeltyt* learned discourse between friends could be interspersed with earthbound humour particularly as drinking accelerated. The effect would have been like Alcibiades crashing the party in Plato's *Symposium* and expressing drunken outrage upon discovering Socrates in the company of so many good-looking men.¹⁹¹ High spirits are a useful social lubricant because they bond companions through moments of intimacy. Considering that the entire guild had been to Rome enthusiasm for Caravaggio would have been contagious if stoked by Rubens the Lombard's "brand ambassador" (see Chapter 3).¹⁹²

Membership of the guild of Romanists saw the artist-triumvirate exercising their friendships before Antwerp's metropolitan "liberal" elite to whom they signalled their virtue, virtuosity and commitment to Roman Catholicism. Before the *Rosary Madonna* appeared on the market the triumvirate advertised their expertise in Italian art as successive deans of the guild which helped build a network of 'diverse' patrons.¹⁹³ Although unrecorded dinner-time conversation was a means to win over sceptics. Disagreements had to be robustly thrashed out to arrive at a universal appreciation of Caravaggio's art for as Cicero observed 'one cannot have debate without criticism'.¹⁹⁴ This could be done Montaigne-style 'with great ease and liberty' in the tradition of Socratic dialogue (see Section 2).

¹⁹⁰ Erasmus, *Colloquies*, 380.

¹⁹¹ Plato, *The Symposium*, 51-63. See also Elizabeth McGrath, "'The Drunken Alcibiades': Rubens's Picture of Plato's *Symposium*'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 46 (1983): 228-235.

¹⁹² Irene Schaudies, "Trimming Rubens' Shadow: New Light on the Mediation of Caravaggio in the Southern Netherlands". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004): 339-346.

¹⁹³ For the role of trust in Renaissance commercial and civic life see Dale Kent, *Friendship, Love and Trust in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009): 157-218.

¹⁹⁴ Marcus Tullius Cicero et al., *On Moral Ends* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 12, I.28.

7: The art of the deal – the *liefhebber* triumvirate at Goltzius' funeral

They're not coming here for the funeral, they're coming for the politics. This is a working funeral ... It's a heaven-sent opportunity – Literally! – Much better than a summit because there are no expectations. People don't expect their leaders to come back from a funeral with test ban agreements or farm quota reductions. So we can actually have some meaningful discussions. The summit is just a public relations circus!

The Rt Hon Jim Hacker MP in *Yes, Prime Minister*.¹⁹⁵

This section argues that the artist-triumvirate discovered the *Rosary Madonna* through their cross-border friendship with Goltzius. The *liefhebbers* purchased the altarpiece in Amsterdam 'having seen in this piece outstandingly great art'. In this period knowledge of art was acquired through sight and touch as pictured in Van der Geest's *const-kamer* (see Section 1).¹⁹⁶ In Rome Rubens had first-hand access to Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin* which helped him convince the duke of Mantua to buy it (see Chapter 3). As with Giulio Romano's *History of Scipio* tapestries Caravaggio's 'very beautiful' altarpiece had to be seen to be believed (see Section 3). The triumvirate's first voyage to the Dutch Republic took place in 1612 upon which occasion they met Goltzius in person.¹⁹⁷ 'Rubens, Brueghel, van Balen and some more [Flemish artists] being in Holland, Goltzius and other Haarlemers travelled from that city to encounter them in a village where – having played the joke of not identifying themselves – they arrested them in order to pay honour to the noble spirits, which they did by raising an undisguisedly joking wineglass in order to drink to mutual friendship and trust'.¹⁹⁸ Published by the art agent and diplomat Balthasar Gerbier this anecdote is about

¹⁹⁵ Antony Jay and Jonathan Lynn, "A Diplomatic Incident". *Yes, Prime Minister* 2, no. 3 (BBC2, 17 December 1987).

¹⁹⁶ Joanna Woodall, "Greater or Lesser?" Tuning into the Pendants of the *Five Senses* by Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Companions". *Cambridge and the Study of Netherlandish Art. The Low Countries and the Fens*, Meredith Hale, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016): 78.

¹⁹⁷ See R. de Smet, "Een Nauwkeuriger Datering van Rubens' Eerste Reis naar Holland in 1612". *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1977): 199-220.

¹⁹⁸ Translated in Gary Schwartz, 'Rubens in Holland, Rembrandt in Flanders'. *The Low Countries: Arts and Society in Flanders and the Netherlands* 26 (2018): 72. 'Rubens Breughel van Baelen ende sommige meer in Hollant zijnde, werden rijsende van Haerlem van Goltius en andere gheesten derselver Stadt in een Dorp, (hun boerrighs onbekent toeghemaectt hebbende) gearesteert om de Edele Gheesten Eer aen te doen, ende

networks networking. Goltzius was living up to his reputation as a practical joker by ambushing the triumvirate in disguise; toasting to each other's health on the road the delegations from Antwerp and Haarlem forged an alliance over wine.¹⁹⁹ Back by 20 June in time for Van Balen to become dean of the Romanists the *liefhebbers* could boast at the table of their intimate acquaintance with Goltzius whom Van Mander had compared to Michelangelo.²⁰⁰

Rubens went to Haarlem with an eye towards starting a print business while Brueghel and Van Balen must have seen an opportunity in the burgeoning Dutch art market.²⁰¹ Representing Antwerp as part of a larger delegation the triumvirate's purpose was also goodwill, desiring the 'mutual friendship and trust' of Holland's most famous artist; likewise the effort Goltzius put into his practical joke honoured their 'noble spirits' backhandedly.²⁰² The *liefhebbers* must have been intrigued by Goltzius' self-reinvention as a painter and as for Goltzius he eagerly responded to Rubens' prototypes.²⁰³ Goltzius never forgot his friendships with the triumvirate and neither did they. Rubens is next recorded in Holland in

om voor het leste, uyt eenen onbeveynsen boertighen Roomer malcanderen de Vrientschap ende de foy toe drincken'. Gerbier, *Eer ende Claght-Dicht*, 44. For commentary see Nichols, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 59; Vermeylen and Clippel, "Rubens and Goltzius in Dialogue", 146-155; Freedberg, "Fame, Convention and Insight", 240, note 59; Jan van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de Zeventiende Eeuw". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 3 (1950-1951): 119-125; Wolfgang Stechow, "Zu Rubens' Erster Reise nach Holland". *Oud Holland* 44 (1927): 138-139; Otto Hirschmann, "Balthasar Gerbiers Eer ende Claght-Dicht ter Eeren van Henricus Goltius". *Oud Holland* 38 (1920): 104-125.

¹⁹⁹ For the anecdote about Goltzius fooling connoisseurs with a fake Dürer engraving of his own invention see Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 284 verso.

²⁰⁰ See Smet, "Een Nauwkeuriger Datering", 199-220. "...in dat en anders ghelyckende den uytinemenden Michael Agnolo". Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 285 verso. See also Hessel Miedema, "Karel van Mander, Het Leven van Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) met Parafrase en Commentaar". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 42-43 (1991-1992): passim.

²⁰¹ Vermeylen and Clippel, "Rubens and Goltzius in Dialogue", 146-151. Brueghel visited Holland in 1600 and 1604, exporting four of his artworks there. Karolien de Clippel and David van der Linden, "The Genesis of the Netherlandish Flower Piece: Jan Brueghel, Ambrosius Bosschaert and Middelburg". *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 38, no. 1/2 (2015-2016): 83-85.

²⁰² Brueghel and Van Balen accompanied Rubens everywhere. Honig, *Jan Brueghel*, 20; Werche, *Hendrick van Balen*, 20.

²⁰³ 'Teyckende hy yet, de naeckten sonderlingh mosten met den cryons hun verwen hebben: soo dat hy eyndlijck tot den Pinceelen en Oly-verwe hem heeft begheven, doe hy maer twee laer van het suyghen oft borst ghewendt oft gespeent was, doch zijns ouderdoms 42. Iaer, A°. 1600'. Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 285 verso. See also Vermeylen and Clippel, "Rubens and Goltzius in Dialogue", 151-159.

1627 but he could easily have returned beforehand.²⁰⁴ Early modern artists did not hesitate to ‘travel great distances on a temporary basis’; moreover the Low Countries had excellent infrastructure and no border restrictions during the Truce.²⁰⁵ The triumvirate returned to Holland between 1617-1619 when the *Rosary Madonna* was sold. This is suggested in Gerbier’s *Eer ende Claght-Dicht*, an extravagant panegyric published in 1620 but penned shortly after Goltzius’ death. It begins with an overblown funeral procession mimicking those of royalty and all three *liefhebbers* are listed as mourners together with Abraham Vinck the altarpiece’s co-owner who is mentioned twice.²⁰⁶ Rubens ‘the greatest of all, whose brain is full of art’ leads the cortege conjuring the ‘unholy rock where Andromeda was chained,/ And a thousand things more’ in painterly pyrotechnics.²⁰⁷ Hot on Rubens’ heels is Van Balen whose ‘sweet light ... here doth shine’; later on Brueghel a flower-painter ‘without compare’ lays a ‘white lily’ on Goltzius’ tomb.²⁰⁸ David Freedberg describes the procession as ‘purely literary’ but calls it ‘most instructive’ nevertheless.²⁰⁹ Hyperbole notwithstanding the eulogy does tally with factual evidence.²¹⁰ Goltzius’ corpse was not jettisoned unceremoniously but rather the engraver-turned-painter received abundant praise in death as in life.²¹¹ His burial

²⁰⁴ This was previously ruled out. Gelder, “Rubens in Holland”, 134.

²⁰⁵ Vermeylen and Clippel, “Rubens and Goltzius in Dialogue”, 144-145.

²⁰⁶ Nichols, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 40, note 61; 45, note 88. See also Lawrence Nichols, “Hendrick Goltzius: Documents and Printed Literature Concerning his Life”. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 42-43 (1991-1992): 77-120.

²⁰⁷ ‘Hier staet een, d’eerst van al, die vol Const ’tvoorhooft verght ... Hier beeld hy Constich by de neghen wiffe Maeghden,/ Daer toe d’onheyl’ge Rots’ daer *Andromeda* claecheden,/ En duysent dinghen meer’. Gerbier, *Eer ende Claght-Dicht*, 5-6; Freedberg, “Fame, Convention and Insight”, 241-243.

²⁰⁸ ‘Siet wat een soete strael van Balen hier doet schijnen,/ Siet hoe dat men’ghen gheest sijn eer t’uytsetten pijnen,/ Siet hoe van allen cant de gheesten sijn versaemt,/ Gheluckich t’leven was, wiens doot wert soo befaemt’. Gerbier, *Eer ende Claght-Dicht*, 7. ‘Die veel zijn int ’tghetal, doch die niet zijn ghemeyn,/ Want Ceres Breughel kipt ... Van Cranssen van gheluck, die in den Hemel groeyen,/ En siet een Lely wit de spits sijns Tombs doet bloeyen’. Gerbier, *Eer ende Claght-Dicht*, 12.

²⁰⁹ Freedberg, “Fame, Convention and Insight”, 244, note 101. The panegyric has been subject to floccinaucinihilipilification as a factual source. Nichols, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 40, note 59.

²¹⁰ See Jeremy Wood, “Gerbier, Sir Balthazar (1592-1663/1667): Art Agent, Miniature Painter, and Architect”. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004); Freedberg, “Fame, Convention and Insight”, 241.

²¹¹ Gerbier pretends otherwise. ‘u Haerlemmers tot weynighe eere verstreckende dat ghy sijne stralen gheniet, ende ’tLichaem in de aerde hebt ghedouwt sonder dat yemant lesen can waer hy leyt’. Gerbier, *Eer ende Claght-Dicht*, 41. See Nichols, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 32-33, 38-41; Nichols, “Goltzius: Documents”, 108-120.

in Haarlem's Grote Kerk was marked by 'bells ringing [for] half an hour' while Goltzius' laudatory epitaph was written by local classicist Theodorus Schrevelius.²¹²

Who actually attended Goltzius' funeral? In the *Claght-Dicht* the inventor Cornelis Drebbel festoons his tomb with a *perpetuum mobile*; feted as Archimedes reincarnate Drebbel was Goltzius' brother-in-law and heir to a quarter of his estate.²¹³ However unhappy his marriage a no-show on Drebbel's part would have been embarrassing.²¹⁴ Among Goltzius' 'wide and varied circle of friends' were poet Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero and painter Jan Badens from Amsterdam; according to Gerbier other Amsterdam mourners included Pieter Lastman and Vinck.²¹⁵ Other than his work for the duke of Mantua in Naples Vinck was known as an art dealer whose estate included a volume of Goltzius prints (see Chapter 3).²¹⁶ If Lastman was present his knowledge of the *Rosary Madonna* made it a likely conversation topic because in 1630 Lastman would authenticate Finson's lost copy of Caravaggio's altarpiece; moreover *Odysseus before Nausicaa* dated 1619 betrays the painting's influence combining Odysseus' dirty feet with a mêlée of hands in mimicry of the supplicant pilgrims (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) (ill. 4.23).²¹⁷ Goltzius' protracted illness gave

²¹² 'Een opening voor Hendrick Goltzius een halff uuyr beluijt f. 7'. Nichols, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 44-45, 316. *HENRICO GOLTZIO, VIRO INCOMPARABILI, CALCO-/GRAPHO EXCELLENTISSIMO, PICTORI CELEBERRIMO./ATQUE ADEO OMNIS ARTIS GRAPHICÆ PERITISSIMO ... OBIIT HARLEMI AN. MDCXVII.* Nichols, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 45, 316.

²¹³ 'Comt Archimedes hier ... 't *Perpetum Mobile* door sijn vernuft verkreghen/ Stelt hy op dese Tomb', tot teecken van een zeghen'. Gerbier, *Eer ende Claght-Dicht*, 11. Nichols, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 45, 317-319.

²¹⁴ H. Snelders, "Drebbel, Cornelis (1572-1633), Inventor and Mechanical Engineer". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004); Freedberg, "Fame, Convention and Insight", 243.

²¹⁵ J. B. Schepers, "Terug van een Dwaalspoor: Nieuws over G. A. Bredero's Laatste Levensjaren en zijn Verhouding tot de Haarlemse Schilders, o. a. Hendrick Goltzius". *De Nieuwe Gids* 39, no. 2 (1924): 153-159. 'Lastman, d'eer d'Amstels voet, die wil ick hier aen voeghen,/ Op wiens Const 'tweeld'rigst oogh moet sterren met genoegen/ Liefhebbers sit vry neer, en met aendacht eens siet/ Oft niet der Consten mergh *Pictura* u daer biet' ... Hier volgth Abraham Vinck, dies waert sijn Const doet blijken ... Abraham Vinck vereert het zijn *Vrania*'. Gerbier, *Eer ende Claght-Dicht*, 9-13.

²¹⁶ Blaise Ducos, *Frans Pourbus le Jeune (1569-1622): Le Portrait d'Apparat à l'Aube du Grand Siècle entre Habsbourg, Médicis et Bourbons* (Dijon: Faton, 2011): 67. 'Een deel printen van GOLTZIUS'. Cited in Roever, "Drie Amsterdamsche Schilders", 185.

²¹⁷ For Lastman's affinity with Rubens see Marjon van der Meulen, "Rubens in Holland in de Zeventiende Eeuw: Enige Aanvullingen". *Rubens and His World: Studies*, Arnout Balis and Frans Baudouin, eds. (Antwerp: Het Gulden Cabinet, 1985): 309, 314, app. 2. See also Didier Bodart, *Louis Finson (Bruges, avant 1580 - Amsterdam, 1617)* (Brussels: L'Académie Royale de Belgique, 1970): I.236, no. 23; Amy Golahny, "Pieter Lastman: Moments of Recognition". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60 (2010): 193-196.

admirers ample warning of his impending death.²¹⁸ As well as ‘voluntary [statements] of emotional or political solidarity’ early modern funerals were a chance to buy up the deceased’s estate and Goltzius apparently owned a substantial collection of ‘beautiful’ artworks.²¹⁹ In 1612 when they went to Haarlem the triumvirate had a pre-sale viewing of Goltzius’ household effects. As with confraternities funerals were likely forums for doing business also. If the triumvirate met Vinck during the wake they may have proceeded to Amsterdam the location of the *Rosary Madonna*’s ‘outstandingly great art’; Rubens knew about the painting when *fameglio* of the duke of Mantua through his contact with Pourbus II. When the *liefhebbers* personally negotiated a deal with Vinck for ‘not high in price’ their reputation preceded them as with Goltzius in 1612. Promise of a prestigious display in the Dominican Church near where Vinck was born may have persuaded him to undersell the altarpiece and if so the wheels of commerce were oiled by *amor amicitiae*.²²⁰ By extending their hand to the elderly Antwerpian the triumvirate underwrote the exchange with guarantees of trust. Having inherited the *Rosary Madonna* from Finson and Caravaggio friendship was needed for Vinck to sign the deal.

Conclusion

The *Rosary Madonna* was much more than a flashy foreign import. Procured in the name of *amor amicitiae* it came packaged with metropolitan “liberal” values and was viewed through the same prism in the Dominican Church. Participation in Antwerp’s elite circles enabled the quadrumvirate to market the altarpiece for corporate investment and pull off their Italian job. Instrumental to this process was the artist-triumvirate’s internationalisation through their friendship with Goltzius who had welcomed them to Holland in high spirits. The *Rosary*

²¹⁸ Nichols, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 44.

²¹⁹ Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 235; Nichols, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 34.

²²⁰ Osnabrugge, *Netherlandish Immigrant Painters*, 115.

Madonna was assimilated into the early modern political economy like few other artworks having been bought with contributions from the *Violieren*, the Romanists and the rosary brotherhood. The ‘diverse others’ most likely included merchants, city councillors and perhaps Mayor Happaert; within Antwerp’s sacred topography the altarpiece stood to benefit the polis by attracting aristocratic foreign visitors who did indeed come.²²¹ Action was needed because Antwerp was foundering behind Amsterdam its immediate mercantile, cultural and political rival. The *Rosary Madonna* arrived in Antwerp on a wave of local patriotism in fulfilment of the quadruprivate’s moral *raison d’être*. As well as profits in fame and honour the gift of the *Rosary Madonna* promised spiritual dividends by reminding viewers of the *liefhebbers*’ virtuous friendship.²²² According to Leon Battista Alberti friendship and painting made the ‘absent be present’ and showed to the living ‘after long centuries, the dead’ who were recognised ‘with the artist’s great admiration and the viewer’s pleasure’.²²³ The effect was symbiotic. Just as ‘ivory, gems, and all precious things’ became more so ‘in the painter’s hands’ so Rubens and company burnished Caravaggio’s ‘rare piece’ by their act of procurement.²²⁴ As expressed in painting, poetry and at dinner the quadruprivate really loved each other in the humanist sense. Installing a ‘rare piece within Antwerp’ had them come forth and let it show.

²²¹ For visits to St Paul’s by Prince Władysław Sigismund Vasa (1624), Queen Christina of Sweden (1654) and Grand Duke Cosimo de’ Medici III (1668) see Dorota Wyganowska, ‘Reis in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden’. *De ‘Grand Tour’ van Prins Ladislas van Polen, 1624-1625: De Prinselijke Pelgrimstocht*, Carlos Boerjan, ed. (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1997): 45; Jeff de Cupere and Roger Zetterström, “Christina van Zweden in Antwerpen, 1654” (research dossier, FelixArchief, Antwerp, 1993): II.45, II.165; and Godefridus Joannes Hoogewerff, *De Twee Reizen van Cosimo de’ Medici Prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667-1669): Journalen en Documenten* (Amsterdam: Müller, 1919): 213. For the *Rosary Madonna*’s reception at the French court see Robert Berger, “Rubens and Caravaggio: A Source for a Painting from the Medici Cycle”. *The Art Bulletin* 54, no. 4 (1972): 476-477. For the elite phenomenon of art tourism in the Low Countries see Gerrit Verhoeven, “Mastering the Connoisseur’s Eye: Paintings, Criticism, and the Canon in Dutch and Flemish Travel Culture, 1600-1750”. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 46, no. 1 (Autumn 2012): 29-56.

²²² For the comparable example of early modern friendship tombs see Bray, *The Friend*, 140-176.

²²³ Leon Battista Alberti and Rocco Sinigallia (ed. and trans.), *On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 44.

²²⁴ Alberti, *On Painting*, 45.

Part 3: Rubens' *Wrath of Christ* high altarpiece



Peter Paul Rubens, *Saints Dominic and Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ*, c. 1618. Oil on canvas, 565 x 366 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon.

At seven in the evening we then visited, at the insistence of our innkeeper, the beautiful church of the Dominican monastery, where the friars were at dinner. As we were wandering around inside, one of them approached us brazenly, but with a good deal of courtesy, asking us about our health, nationality and so on, and finally also, because he realised that we followed a different religion, how we liked the church. We did not deny that the church would have pleased us much, if only the idols were removed. With this answer the friar (as we were standing in front of the high altar) fell down, struck his breast, got up, and said: *Hæc est mea religio, quid tu credis?* Then he took me by the hand and brought me closer to the altar. Although the place had become suspicious and dangerous, I could not then conceal my beliefs, and began a discourse with him *de imaginibus et adoratione sanctorum*. Now many more friars were running to him, and he shouted at them: *O fratres videte, hic habeo hæreticum.* Now I was almost afraid, and broke off from the discourse, because it was evening and our innkeeper had left, but the friars had already shut the church. The friars now forced us into the cloisters and from there into the garden, where we met all the others in a swarm; two preachers stood there and we had to endure lots of scornful and sarcastic questions. Finally, because it was after dark, I asked for permission to leave, but received it only by order of the father superior, and afterwards we promised on a handshake to come to the monastery at breakfast-time the following day. However, as soon as we walked out of the monastery doors, we turned on our tails and ran, and we forgot about our promise, because the friars had made clear their intention to detain us in the monastery in order to convert us.

Friedrich Lucä, 1665.¹

¹ ‘Auf antrieb unseres Wirthes besucheten wir dann Abends um 7 Uhr noch die herrliche Kirche des Predigerklosters, da die Mönche gerade an der Mahlzeit waren. Als wir darinnen auf und ab spazierten, kam einer von ihnen frech, doch mit ziemlicher Höflichkeit auf uns zu, fragend nach unserer Condition und Nation u. f. w. und endlich auch, weil er merkte, daß wir anderer Religion beipflichteten, wie uns die Kirche gefalle. Wir aber leugneten nicht, daß uns die Kirche wohl anstehe, wenn nur die Gößen herausgenommen wären. Bei dieser Antwort fiel der Mönch (den wir standen gerade vor dem Hochaltar) nieder, schlug an die Brust, befreuzigte sich, und sprach: *haec est mea religio, quid tu credis?* fassete sodann mich bei der Hand, und führte mich dem Altar näher. Ob wohl nun der Ort verdächtig und gefährlich war, gleich wohl konnte ich mein Bekenntniß nich verschweigen, und seßete einen Discurs mit ihm dran *de imaginibus et adoratione sanctorum*. Es kamen nun noch mehr Mönche gelaufen, und er rief ihnen zu: *o fratres videte, hic habeo hæreticum.* Mir wollte nun doch fast bange werden, und abrumperte den Discurs, dieweil es Abend, und unser Wirth verschwunden war, die Mönche aber allbereit die Kirche geschlossen hatten. Die Mönche nöthigten uns nun in den Kreuzgang und von da in den Garten, wo wir den ganzen Schwarm der Andern antrafen, als zwei *monstra* da standen, und mancherlei Berhöhung und spöttische Fragen einfressen mußten. Endlich bat ich wegen der finstren Nachtzeit um miene Demission, erhielt aber dieselbe erst auf Befehl des Pater Prior, und nachdem wir auf Handschlag gelobt hatten, andern Tags zur Morgenmahlzeit in’s Kloster zu kommen. Sobald wir aber die Klosterthüren hinter uns hatten, ergriffen wir das Basenpanier, und vergaßen auch unserer Zufage, weil die Mönche zu deutlich die Absicht gezeichnet hatten, uns im Kloster zurückzuhalten und zu befehren’. Friedrich Lucä, *Der Chronist Friedrich Lucä: Ein Zeit und Sittenbild aus der Zweiten Hälfte des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Heinrich Ludwig Brönnner, 1854): 60-61. See also Jeffrey Muller, “Rubens’s Altarpiece in the Antwerp Dominican Church: How Visitors and Guidebooks Saw It”. *Le Rubénisme en Europe aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles*, Michèle-Caroline Heck, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005): 71-74.

Chapter 5: Holding out for a hero. Michaël Ophovius and the *ecclesia fratrum*

Saints Dominic and Francis of Assisi Protecting the World from the Wrath of Christ was Rubens' most important contribution to the decorative scheme of the Dominican Church (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon) (frontispiece).¹ Painted c. 1618-1620 the high altarpiece was intended for the new choir which was built between 1616-1639 (ill. 5.1).² The painting depicts the vision that St Dominic had in Rome while awaiting the confirmation of the Order as recounted in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*. A red-swathed Christ 'holding three spears that he brandished over the world' is implored by his mother the Virgin Mary to 'have pity, and temper your justice with mercy'. Although corrupted by 'pride, concupiscence, and avarice' the sinful world which is pictured as a globe encircled by a snake was capable of redemption because the Virgin had a 'faithful servant and valiant warrior' in St Dominic. Alongside his mendicant contemporary St Francis of Assisi he shields the world with his habit and implores Christ not to be too hasty.³

The *Wrath of Christ* articulates a hierarchy of Catholic intercession between its upper and lower strata. The vengeful Christ is in the clouds above accompanied by God the Father and the Holy Spirit completing the Trinity; the Virgin raises her hand to stop him while

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¹ Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VIII: Saints* (London: Phaidon, 1972): I.134-136, cat. no. 88.

² Claire Baisier, "De Documentaire Waarde van de Kerkinterieurs van de Antwerpse School in de Spaanse Tijd (1585-1713)" (PhD thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2008): 190, 195, 399, app. 42. See also Rudi Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus, de Antwerpse Dominicanenkerk: Een Openbaring* (Antwerp: Toerismepastoraal, 2014): 19-24.

³ Jacobus de Voragine and William Grainger Ryan (trans.), *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012): 433-434. See also Gerard de Fracheto, *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum: Necnon Cronica Ordinis ab Anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV* (Leuven: E. Charpentier & J. Schoonjans, 1896): 6-7.

gesturing towards saints Dominic and Francis who are surrounded by a pantheon of saints. To the left is St Catherine of Alexandria with her spiked wheel and martyr's palm; behind is St George clad in armour, the penitent Mary Magdalene and St Cecilia playing the organ while the mitred bishop holding a book is St Augustine of Hippo whose *Rule* the Order followed and the second bishop is probably St Ambrose another Church Father. Behind St Francis are the Franciscan cardinal St Bonaventure in red and the statuesque St Sebastian holding arrows and the bearded figure to Augustine's left is another Dominican saint as indicated by his black habit.⁴ The female saint in blue behind the Magdalene who has not been previously identified is Flavia Domitilla a Roman martyr who features in Rubens' altarpieces for the Chiesa Nuova in Rome; in a bust-length oil sketch by Rubens Domitilla highlights her Flavian ancestry by wearing a similar imperial diadem (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo) (ill. 5.2).⁵ The setting is a heavenly cloudscape populated by putti and legions of rescued souls.

The *Wrath of Christ* is undocumented until later in the seventeenth century when the French diplomat Balthasar de Monconys described in his travel journal a 'large painting by Rubens of a Christ who would destroy a world with thunderbolts, which St Francis, St Catherine, St Sebastian and others cover and defend'; visiting the church on 12 July 1663 De Monconys mistakenly located it 'at the end of the right aisle' in one of the Carmelite churches.⁶ The high altarpiece is later mentioned or referred to by the German Calvinist

⁴ For their respective hagiographies see Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 238-242 (St George), 374-383 (Mary Magdalene), 704-709 (Cecilia), 720-727 (Catherine). For the early modern cult of St Cecilia see Tobias Kaempf, *Archäologie offenbart: Cäciliens römisches Kultbild im Blick einer Epoche* (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 20-111. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 502-518 (St Augustine); William Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order* (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965-1973): I.44-45; St Augustine of Hippo and Raymond Canning (trans.), *The Rule of St Augustine: Masculine and Feminine Versions* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1984). Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 97-101 (St Sebastian), 229-237 (Ambrose), 606-616 (Francis).

⁵ Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, I.134-135, cat. no. 88; II.43-53, cat. nos. 109 and 109c. See also Dominique Brachlianoff, "Quelques Précisions de Date et d'Iconographie". *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 1 (1995): 9-11.

⁶ 'Le 12. Je fus le matin avec M. d'Arssillieres voir les Carmes ... Dans le fond de l'aislé droite il y a sur la porte un grand tableau de Rubens d'un Christ qui foudroye un monde, que S. Dominique, S. François, Sainte Catherine, S. Sébastien, & d'autres couvrent, & deffendent. De là nous fusmes aux Jacobins'. Balthasar de

Friedrich Lucä (see above), the Swedish court architect Nicodemus Tessin II (1687) and the Dutch painter Jacob de Wit (c. 1714) as Jeffrey Muller describes.⁷ Stylistic evidence dates the *Wrath of Christ* to when work began on the choir. As Hans Vlieghe observes numerous saints including George, Sebastian and Ambrose are depicted likewise in Rubens' altarpieces from 1616 onward.⁸ Most strikingly the pose of St Catherine closely matches that of the kneeling mother in the foreground of the *Miracles of St Ignatius* the principal high altarpiece for the Antwerp Jesuit Church which dates c. 1617-1618; the busts of both women are based on the same studio drawing (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Musée Pincé, Angers) (ills. 5.3, detail and 5.4).⁹ The altarpiece was originally rectangular. Around 1670 the format was adapted to fit a grandiose new retable built by Pieter Verbruggen I and son to a design by Franciscus van Sterbeeck which towers over the choir to this day (see Section 1).¹⁰ The corners were cut and a rounded strip was added to the top; today the seam and differences in pigment are clearly apparent.¹¹ To judge from a copy of the original oil sketch the rectangular format afforded more space to Christ and his thunderbolts; the altarpiece was therefore

Monconys, *Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys* (Lyon: 1665-1667): II.106-107. See also Muller, "Rubens's Altarpiece", 69-71.

⁷ 'Beij dem Domenicanern ist dass stÿck am grossen altar von Rubens, handelt darvon, wie dass S. Francois undt S:t Domenic wollen Gott abwenden, dass er die welt nicht strafe'. Merit Laine and Börje Magnusson (eds.), *Nicodemus Tessin the Younger: Travel Notes 1673-77 and 1687-88* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002): 154. 'Het HOOGE AUTAER stuck, door P. P. Rubens geschildert verbeeldt Christus in synen torn de Weirelt willende vernietighen met syne Blixem als waerdighe Straffe; maer de Moeder Godts & andere Heylige door hunne Bescherminge & voorspraack beleten het selve'. De Wit also commented, 'Daer worden Liefhebbers gevonden die vermynen dat dese schilderye noynt door Rubens geschildert is geweest. Dient te noteeren dat desen Autaer een Voortreffelyck stuck werck is van Willemens geordonneert'. Jacob de Wit and J. de Bosschere (ed.), *De Kerken van Antwerpen: Schilderijen, Beeldhouwwerken, Geschilderde Glasramen, enz., in de XVIII^e Beschreven* (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1910): 53; Muller, "Rubens's Altarpiece", 74-79.

⁸ Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, I.135, cat. no. 88.

⁹ Karine Sauvignon (ed.), *De Speckaert à Jongkind: Dessins Méconnus des Musées d'Angers* (Angers: Musées d'Angers, 2006): 47, cat. no. 11; Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, I.137-138, cat. no. 88b, II.73-74, cat. no. 115.

¹⁰ Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 55-60. See also Charles Bossu et al. (eds.), *Alla Luce di Roma: I Disegni Scenografici di Scultori Fiamminghi e il Barocco Romano* (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2016): 215-216, cat. no. 31; W. A. Olyslager, "Franciscus van Sterbeeck, Antwerpen 1630-1693: Ontwerper van het Hoogaltaar in de Sint-Pauluskerk". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 564-565; L. J. M. Philippen, "Franciscus van Sterbeeck: Antwerpse Mycoloog, Bouwkundige en Historicus, 1630-1693". *De Gulden Passer* 8 (1930): 43-44.

¹¹ Aloÿs de Beaulieu et al., "Étude Technique et Restauration". *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 1 (1995): 18-20.

conceived for a very different retable from that which stands (presumed lost) (ill. 5.5, copy).¹² The *Wrath of Christ* was seized by the French Revolutionary Army in 1794 and transported to Lyon in 1811 where it remained after Napoleon's defeat at the battle of Waterloo.¹³ Today the *Wrath of Christ* graces the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon while the *Deposition* by Cornelis Cels, a Rubensian pastiche ordered in 1806 hangs in its stead (ill. 5.6). The *Wrath of Christ* was restored in the 1950s and again in the 1990s.¹⁴

Having languished in provincial France for over two centuries the *Wrath of Christ* has attracted little scholarly interest since Vlieghe's *Corpus Rubenianum* volume of 1972.¹⁵ In 1995 the Musée des Beaux-Arts published a special issue of their journal to mark the painting's restoration.¹⁶ By scholarly consensus the figure of St Dominic is meant to resemble Michaël Ophovius who commissioned the altarpiece from Rubens during his second term as monastery prior (see Section 2).¹⁷ Muller's 2005 article meanwhile examines the *Wrath of Christ* from the perspective of travellers' accounts.¹⁸ As Cynthia Lawrence argued Rubens' altarpieces should be understood in relation to the 'architectural, artistic and iconographical importance of [their] original setting' and the 'evocation of the sacred'

¹² Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, I.136-137, cat. no. 88a.

¹³ Marguerite Allain Launay, "Notice Historique sur l'Arrivée et la Restauration du Tableau en France à la Fin du XVIII^e". *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 1 (1995): 12-17; Raymond Sirjacobs, "De Wedergeboorte van een Rubens: Het 'Groot Visioen van Dominicus' Gerestaureerd". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1106-1108. See Charles Piot, *Rapport à Mr le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les Tableaux Enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et Restitués en 1815* (Brussels: E. Guyot, 1883): 68-84.

¹⁴ Raymond Sirjacobs and Annemie van Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris van het Patrimonium van de Antwerpse Sint-Pauluskerk". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1807, inv. no. E20.

¹⁵ Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, I.134-138, cat. nos. 88, 88a-b.

¹⁶ Becdelièvre et al., "Étude Technique et Restauration"; Brachlianoff, "Quelques Précisions"; Launay, "Notice Historique". See also Georgette Dargent, "Les Peintures Flamandes des XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon". *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 6, no. 1 (1979): 219-232.

¹⁷ Julia Gierse, *Des Sünders Reuige Seele: Der Bütteraltar von Rubens in der Kasseler Gemäldegalerie* (Kassel: Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, 2009): 50-53; C. J. H. M. Tax and A. C. M. Tax-Koolen, "De Portretten en Iconografie van Michael Ophovius". *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1995): 127-129, cat. no. 26.

¹⁸ Muller, "Rubens's Altarpiece", *passim*.

behind their production.¹⁹ Concerning the *Wrath of Christ* this has yet to be attempted. While conceived for didactic purposes namely to instil a sense of missionary zeal in novices the *Wrath of Christ* is of exceptional artistic quality as Stendhal recognised in 1837. ‘One must admire the composition, the harmony of the colours, the veracity and liveliness of all the figures ... It is impossible to see a painting more splendid or richer in tone. It seems to have been painted with great sweeps of the brush; and yet the materials and flesh are admirably rendered’.²⁰ The experience made a strong impression on the admittedly excitable author of *Le Rouge et le Noir*.²¹ The *Wrath of Christ*’s luminous palette, bravura sketchiness, monumental scale and Italianate influences put it among the best altarpieces yet produced by Rubens’ workshop (see Section 3).

* * *

This chapter takes a long view of the *Wrath of Christ*’s history in the first half of the seventeenth century. Commissioned after the choir’s foundations were laid in 1616 the altarpiece could only be installed much later when Rubens was at the end of his life and hostilities with the Dutch Republic were blazing in the Generality Lands, the areas of Flanders, Brabant and the Overmaas which came to be ruled directly by the States-General (fig. 5.1).²² Blows to Spanish prestige in the region culminating in the capture of Wesel

¹⁹ Cynthia Lawrence, “Rubens’s *Raising of the Cross* in Context: The ‘Early Christian’ Past and the Evocation of the Sacred in Post-Tridentine Antwerp”. *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005): 256.

²⁰ ‘Il faut admirer la composition, l’harmonie des couleurs, la vérité et la vie de tous les personnages. Les têtes de saint François et de saint Dominique ne manquent pas d’une certaine noblesse de bourgmestre flamand. Il est impossible de voir un tableau plus splendide, plus riche de tons. Il semble avoir été fait à coups de balai; et cependant les étoffes et les chairs sont admirablement rendues’. Stendhal, *Voyage à Lyon* (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Christian Pirot, 1995): 99-100. See also Prosper Mérimée and Pierre-Marie Auzas (ed.), *Notes de Voyages* (Paris: Adam Biro, 2003): 87-88.

²¹ Walking past a traditional Lyonnais *bouchon* on the Place Bellecour, Stendhal saw in the bright sunlight ‘des morceaux de viande bien fraîche étaient étalés sur des linge très blancs. Les couleurs dominantes étaient le rouge pâle, le jaune et le blanc. Voilà le *ton général* d’un tableau de Rubens, ai-je pensé’. Stendhal, *Voyage à Lyon*, 100.

²² C. O. van der Meij, “Divided Loyalties: States-Brabant as a Border Country”. *Boundaries and Their Meanings in the History of the Netherlands*, Benjamin Kaplan et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2009): 15-34. See also Tadhg O’ Hannrachain, *Catholic Europe, 1592–1648: Centre and Peripheries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 66-67; P. Th. J. Kuijer, ’s-Hertogenbosch: *Stad in het Hertogdom Brabant ca. 1585-1629* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000): 574.

(Westphalia), 's-Hertogenbosch (Brabant) and Maastricht (Limburg) by Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik in 1629 and 1632 were compounded by Antwerp's absolute loss of mercantile primacy in competition with Amsterdam.²³ The Order's response was defiant. In the ensuing decade the choir was built and furnished with a retable, new rood screen, choir stalls, statuary and most notably a series of ten monumental stained glass windows designed by Abraham van Diepenbeeck narrating the life of St Paul to whom the high altar was dedicated on 6 August 1639.²⁴ The new choir was about double the size of its thirteenth-century predecessor and was built to sixteenth-century plans to enlarge the church that were interrupted by the Revolt (fig. 5.2). By 1640 the *ecclesia fratrum* was not only furnished to look holy, it was impregnated with sanctity.²⁵ The divine presence of relics within the high altar was manifest in the *Wrath of Christ's toussaint* iconography and further reinforced by hagiographic sculpture and stained glass. The sense of hallowed ground was sustained by the choir's exclusivity wherein only ecclesiastics were permitted and signposted by a decorative scheme which Rubens, the author argues helped to choreograph. The new choir was politically resonant because the original structure had been demolished by Calvinists. Like the north aisle which houses the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* cycle the space was partly constructed as a *lieu de mémoire* (see Chapter 1). More than simply commemorating the fall of 's-Hertogenbosch the choir sought to represent the Sint-Janskathedraal i.e. the

²³ Marjolein 't Hart, *The Dutch Wars of Independence: Warfare and Commerce in the Netherlands 1570-1680* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014): 25-28; Laura Manzano Baena, *Conflicting Words: The Peace Treaty of Münster (1648) and the Political Culture of the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Monarchy* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011): 140-147; Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995): 507-508, 515-551. See Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, "Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries". *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis*, Jan van der Stock, ed. (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993): 25-31.

²⁴ Jos van den Nieuwenhuizen, "Oorkonden van de Antwerpse Predikheren (1243-1639)". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1510-1512, no. 44. For more on dedication ceremonies in the Spanish Netherlands see Dagmar Germonprez, "Foundation Rites in the Southern Netherlands: Constructing a Counter-Reformational Architecture". *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe*, Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 275-295.

²⁵ See for example Robert Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 1 (2003): 4-23; Cynthia Hahn, "Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines". *Speculum* 72, no. 4 (1997): 1079-1106.

cathedral in exile (see sections 5-6). This act of appropriation combined with the sheer magnificence of the choir's decoration heralded the monastery's heroic victory over the forces of Protestantism to an audience of friars, visiting clerics and the wealthy Catholic families who sponsored its construction; thus could triumph apparently be made out of disaster.

The virtues of missionary mendicancy were exemplified by Ophovius whose life-size funeral effigy stands next to the high altar (ill. 5.7). His leadership of the Dominican mission to the Dutch Republic, appointment as Bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1626 and role as a principal negotiator in the city's capitulation gave the Sint-Pauluskerk's inner sanctum a tangible connection with events of the Eighty Years' War. As such the choir can be compared to Santa Maria della Vittoria, the headquarters of the Discalced Carmelites in Rome which was described as 'more like an arsenal than a church' because it displayed so many trophies from Catholic military victories especially White Mountain in 1621 (see Chapter 1). Having helped finance the choir's construction while simultaneously undergoing a bloodless or white martyrdom in service to Rome, Ophovius was not merely a role model for novices but a quasi-saint of the Catholic Revival. His localised veneration by the Order can be related to the expedited manufacture of sainthood in this period as Peter Burke, Simon Ditchfield and others draw attention to (see Section 3).²⁶ This chapter argues that the *Wrath of Christ* was later used to enshrine Ophovius' legend within the choir which originally served as his memorial chapel. A paradigm for the Order in the province of Lower Germany Ophovius' bodily and symbolic presence among the brethren was a means of rooting the monastery's patron saints in Antwerp soil. Portrayed as St Dominic in the *Wrath of Christ*

²⁶ See Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World". *Saints: Faith without Borders*, Françoise Meltzer and Jaś Elsner, ed. (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2011): 157-189; Helen Hills, "How to Look Like a Counter-Reformation Saint". *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke*, Melissa Calaresu et al., eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010): 207-230; Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622-45". *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379-422; Peter Burke, "How To Be a Counter-Reformation Saint". *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*, Kaspar von Geyser, ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984): 45-55.

Ophovius was indirectly compared to St Paul in his funeral oration as well as the Pauline stained glass windows.²⁷ As manifest in the choir the heroic virtues of sainthood were shown to be a living reality and thus an achievable aspiration for resident novices.

Section 1 outlines the construction of the choir and its phases of decoration in the seventeenth century. Section 2 looks at the circumstances behind the *Wrath of Christ*'s commission; Rubens' initial acquaintance with Ophovius is examined through his early portrait type which is manifest in the high altarpiece. Section 3 interprets the painting's *romanitas* (Roman-ness) in relation to the wider aims of the Catholic Revival including Rome's universalising mission. Section 4 looks at Ophovius' arrest in Heusden while Section 5 recounts his brief episcopal career and sudden eviction from 's-Hertogenbosch. After the siege Ophovius used the Antwerp monastery as a depository of silverware rescued from the Sint-Janskathedraal and thus turned the church into a simulacrum of his former episcopal seat. Section 6 outlines the conceptual framework for interpreting the *ecclesia fratrum*, Section 7 examines Rubens' relationship with Ophovius and what his role in the decorative scheme could have been and Section 8 focuses on the production, iconography and heraldry of the stained glass windows. To conclude the long-term impact of the *Wrath of Christ*'s in situ display is considered in light of Lucä's visit to the church in 1665 (see above).

1: The archaeology of the *ecclesia fratrum*

This section outlines the construction of the choir and postulates Rubens' involvement in its decorative scheme about which more detail is given in sections 7-8. When the *Wrath of Christ* was delivered c. 1620 the Sint-Pauluskerk was missing an *ecclesia fratrum*. The “Sea-Beggar wall” which was erected by the Calvinist Republic to convert the Dominican Church

²⁷ Hyacinthus Choquet, *In Fvnere Michaelis Ophovii ex Ordine Prædicvi. Silvæ-Dvcensivm Episcopi Oratio* (Antwerp: 1638): 7-10.

into a Protestant temple was still in place, sealing off the nave from the ruins of the demolished choir; this was rebuilt from 1618 (see Chapter 1). Even though the space did not physically exist yet the *Wrath of Christ* was undoubtedly designed with foreknowledge of the dimensions and light conditions. Painted with bold, almost cursory strokes of the brush in the figure of St Catherine for example, the altarpiece was always intended to be seen up high and from a distance in a monumental retable with steps leading up to it (ill. 5.8, detail). This argument is not teleological but based on such precedents as the *Raising of the Cross* in the Burchtkerk which was installed likewise in the 1610s (ill. 5.9, detail).²⁸

The lack of a choir in the Dominican Church was glaringly obvious. A painting by Bonaventura Peeters marking the surrender of Breda records the skyline of Antwerp behind a celebratory pageant on the Scheldt c. 1625. The church's east end is a forest of wooden scaffolding as first noticed by Raymond Sirjacobs; while even this detail might conceal the messy reality the church was for several decades a perpetual building site (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dunkirk) (ill. 5.10, detail). An exact construction chronology is difficult to determine but a series of records in the FelixArchief shed a revealing light on the process. In September 1616 permission was granted to build the choir.²⁹ In 1624 two stonemasons from Aalst agreed to carve tracery for all of the windows by March the following year and in 1626 the monastery took out a loan to make improvements to the vaulting. Records of a legal dispute with a carpenter indicate that wooden scaffolding was scheduled to be erected in 1630 but because of an apparent timber shortage this was delayed; the masonry which Anthonis left exposed to the elements may have been carved by Jacques des Enfants who was contracted to build the ogives, bow arches, keystones and 'cul-de-lampes with foliage underneath ... in

²⁸ Lawrence, "Raising of the Cross in Context", 258-266. See also Sirjacobs and Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris", 1808, inv. no. E28.

²⁹ "[1616] 9. Fundatur novus predicatorum chorus eorumque privilegia confirmantur. [April 1618] Chorus ecclesiae dominicanorum perficitur, et nova ala edificantur". FelixArchief Antwerp, Ancien Régime, Stadsbestuur, Privilegiékamer, Kroniken, Kronijk van Antwerpen, 1500-1624 (PK 110): 201 recto, 204 recto. Published in Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 399, app. 42.

the whole of the choir'.³⁰ Despite these setbacks work was up to speed at the turn of the decade to which end the monastery borrowed heavily and solicited donations including from Ophovius himself (see Section 6). When was the choir finished? A foundation stone discovered in the crypt is dated 1632; meanwhile a keystone dated 1634 is embedded in the vaulting between the nave and the transept and this may have been the year the Sea-Beggar wall was pulled down.³¹ As for the stained glass windows Van Diepenbeeck signed a contract to deliver them in 1633 but only some had been installed by 1637 (see Section 8). Early in 1639 the monastery invited the city council to decorate their 'newly-made' choir stalls with Antwerp's coat of arms in exchange for 330 gulden to pay their outstanding debts; by then the Order's 'new choir' must have been serviceable (ill. 5.11, detail).³² Despite the labour disputes and financial deficit Ophovius and Rubens lived to see much of it completed. How accurate is Pieter Neefs I's interior view of 1636 in regard to the choir (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 5.12, detail)? As Baisier argues the painting was a presentation piece made in advance of the choir's completion but Neefs I does not appear to have used architectural plans when visualising the unfinished east end which is too small (see Introduction).³³ Curiously the high altarpiece takes the form of a triptych even though the *Wrath of Christ* was always a portico altarpiece.³⁴ What lies behind the rood screen can be dismissed as fantasy.

³⁰ '...allen die ogyven met alle de groote scheybogen tsy van blauwen oft van witten steen, Item alle de sluytsteenende de cuedelampe daer onder aen van avennensteen met syn looffwerck gesneden die van noode sullen wesen om den geheelen choir vande kercke vande Predickheeren alhier'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Notariaat, Cornelis de Brouwer, 1628-16430 (N 751): unpaginated. Published in Jan van Damme, "De Bouw van de Sint-Pauluskerk na 1585". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 979, app. E.

³¹ Damme, "Na 1585", 974-976. See also Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 190-191.

³² '...te vereeren de heerlijcke stads wapenen inde nieuwe volmaeckte stoelen (maer noch niet al betaelt) van hunnen nieuwen choor waervan elcke stoel mette wapen is [ko]stende ter somme van hondert tachtentich guldens eens'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Ancien Régime, Stadsbestuur, Privilegiëkamer, Rekwestboeken, 1600-1650 (PK 720): 78 recto. Published in Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 399-400, app. 43.

³³ See Claire Baisier, "Seventeenth-century Paintings of Antwerp Church Interiors as Promotional Material for Architectural and Decorative Projects". *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 38, no. 3 (2015): 173-184.

³⁴ Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 188, 195-196.

The interior of the choir changed radically in the seventeenth century thanks largely to Ambrosius Capello who was monastery prior between 1630-1637 and later bishop of Antwerp.³⁵ In his will of 1674 Capello listed the ‘high altar of marble with the painting’ which had cost him 80,000 gulden; the painting in question was the *Martyrdom of St Paul* by Theodoor Boeyermans (Église de la Madeleine, Aix-en-Provence) (ill. 5.13).³⁶ The two altarpieces by Rubens and Boeyermans were not rigged from behind to make them interchangeable as has previously been proposed; rather the superior *Wrath of Christ* was permanently installed above the high altar while Boeyermans’ contribution was demoted to the transept.³⁷ The choir today is dominated by Capello’s retable which according to his funeral oration was famous in its time (ill. 5.14).³⁸ Framing the altarpiece with giant-order polychrome pillars the ensemble is surmounted by a statue of St Paul holding a book and sword (ill. 5.15, detail).³⁹ Construction began in 1669 and in 1670 Verbruggen II published a print commemorating its completion fitted with Boeyermans’ *Martyrdom* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 5.16).⁴⁰ All traces of previous altars have been obliterated. The earliest

³⁵ Ambrosius Bogaerts, *Repertorium der Dominikanen in de Nederlanden* (Leuven: Dominikaans Archief, 1981): I.152-157, no. 362.

³⁶ ‘...den hoogen autaer van marbar met de schilderij, den welken mij veele duysenden gekost heeft’. Cited in Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, II.134-135, cat. no. 138; Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 55. See also Leo van Puyvelde, ‘La Décollation de Saint Paul, d’Aix-en-Provence, non de Rubens mais de Boeyermans’. *Revue Belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art* 27 (1958): 29-37. The *Martyrdom of St Paul* was based on Rubens’ altarpiece for the Rood Klooster near Brussels; this was destroyed in 1695 but the oil sketch still exists (sold Christie’s New York, 27 January 2011, morning sale, no. 161). Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, II.131-134, cat. nos. 137-137a. For Theodoor Boeyermans’ preparatory drawing (British Museum, London, inv. no. 1994,0514.37) see Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, II.136-137, cat. no. 138a.

³⁷ Sirjacobs, ‘Wedergeboorte’, 1107. My thanks to Madeleine Manderyck at the Corpus Vitrearum Belgium for her assistance. ‘INT’ CRUYS VAN DE KERKE, by desen laesten Autaer [van het Venerabel], tegens de muer, hangt een stuck synde De Onthooftinge van St. Paulus, door Boyermans geschildert ... Dit stuck heeft eertyds in den Hoogen Autaer gestaen’. Wit, *Kerken*, 57-58.

³⁸ ‘Illam tamen vel me tacente loquetur altare illud magnificum, quod in templo Dominicanorum huius Ciuitatis a fundamentis extrui curauit, & pretiosissima pictura extornari, expensis sine dubio quam maximis’. Arnold Eyben, *Oratio Fvnebris ... ac Illustrissimi Domini Marii Ambrosii Capello* (Antwerp: 1676): 21.

³⁹ ‘Waer in besonders aenschouwt wordt het belt van den Apostel Paulus, dat boven in het Autaer staet, van wit marmer, in welck beeldt eene waere afbelding schynt te syn uytgebracht te syn van eenen Leeraer & apostel van de volckeren’. Wit, *Kerken*, 53.

⁴⁰ The foundation stone reads *Nomine R^{mi} D[omi]ni Episc. Antvr Primum Lapidem Posuit Exi: P. Mag: Prov God. Marcquis Ord. P.P. Praed A^o 1669 18 meert. Christiaan Schuckman and Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer (ed.), Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700. Part XXXV: Adriaen van de Venne to Johannes Verkolje I* (Roosendaal: Koninklijke Van Poll, 1990): 210, cat. no. 1. See

known descriptions of the high altar date from the 1660s when according to De Monconys and Lucä the *Wrath of Christ* was already installed to great effect (see above).

Rubens made at least thirteen retable designs including for his own altarpieces (see Section 7).⁴¹ Architectural sculpture was subject to ongoing replacement in this period as Valérie Herremans relates; for example Rubens' *Madonna and Saints* for the Augustinian Church in Antwerp did not receive a marble surround until 1699 (Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).⁴² Two of Rubens' earliest Antwerp altarpieces the *Raising of the Cross* in the Burchtkerk and the *Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament* in the Sint-Pauluskerk originally had elaborate wooden frames which served to augment the doctrinal sophistication of their respective paintings.⁴³ Built between 1613-1616 the wooden retable for the *Real Presence* was laden with hagiographic statuary.⁴⁴ The altarpiece was given a predella with the 'figures of Moses and Aaron' which were painted by Rubens (presumed lost).⁴⁵ In 1614 Hans van Mildert carved the chapel's altar rails and in 1619 the chaplains of the brotherhood raised 2,400 gulden 'towards the development of the new chapel and the oratory in the annex', work on which was finished by 1624.⁴⁶ Such tantalising glimpses of

also Willibald Sauerländer, *The Catholic Rubens: Saints and Martyrs* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2014): 198-200.

⁴¹ Valérie Herremans, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXII (4): Architecture and Architectural Sculpture. Sculpture and Designs for Decorative Art* (London: Harvey Miller, 2019): 126-177, cat. nos. 1-13.

⁴² Herremans, *CRLB XXII (4)*, 27-28.

⁴³ Herremans, *CRLB XXII (4)*, 67; Lawrence, "Raising of the Cross in Context", 252-256.

⁴⁴ Valérie Herremans, "Inventaire des Retables Baroques des Anciens Pays-Bas". *Machinae Spirituales: Les Retables Baroques dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux et en Europe*, Brigitte D'Hainault-Zveny and Ralph Dekoninck, eds. (Brussels: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, 2014): 309, obj. no. 11003391. See also Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Rekeningenregister van de Kapelmeesters van de Naam Jezus, 1603-1691 (PR 17): unpaginated. 'Den Altaer van houtwerck mette figuren van Sint Thomas van Aquinen ende Sint Hiacintus, over weder syden. Ende daer boven oppe den Sueten Naem Jesus, mette figuren van Ste. Peeter ende Pauwels ende twee hout gesneden Engelen knielende. Als noch daer boven twee houte gesneden vliegende Engelen. Alles affgeset enden vergult synde. Ende in 't voorschreven houtwerck, boven den Altaer is een constich stuck schilderije van de realityt van den Heyligen Sacramente, geschildert by mynheer Peeter Paulo Rubbens'. Adolf Jansen, "Het Altaar van den Zoeten Naam en de Tuinen in de St. Pauluskerk te Antwerpen", *Streven* (December 1940): 57-58.

⁴⁵ 'Ende onder, in 't pedestaels, over weder syden van den Altaer, de figuren van Moyses ende Aron, bij den voorschreven Mynheer Peeter Paolo Rubens gemaect'. Jansen, "Het Altaar van den Zoeten Naam", 58. See also Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, I.79-80, cat. nos. 57-58.

⁴⁶ '1611, totden thuyn van het H. Sacramentskoor aen meester Hans de Mildert, beeltsnyder ... daervan op ditto gemaect, ende by ons te samen mede onderteekent, tot 15550 gulden eens'. Cited in Isidoor Leyssens, "Hans van Mildert 158?-1638: Levensbeschrijving". *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 7 (1941):

vanished “devotional machines” (*machinæ spirituales*) offer new ways to interpret altarpieces with reference to their early display contexts even if the material evidence is lacking. This chapter proposes the following on a circumstantial basis. The *Wrath of Christ* was first installed in a plain wooden frame at the centre of the transept in front of the Sea-Beggar wall. A new retable was built to higher specification when the altarpiece was moved to the choir; this was probably also of wood to save money hence the decision to replace it thirty years later. Rubens is known to have designed wooden retables including for the Jesuit church in Neuburg an der Donau c. 1620.⁴⁷ If designed by Rubens as well the *Wrath of Christ*’s second retable may have included giant-order columns and freestanding sculpture (see Section 7).⁴⁸

The church interior escaped significant damage when the bell tower was struck by lightning in 1679.⁴⁹ The French invasion however was a catastrophe. By 1830 all ten of Van Diepenbeeck’s stained glass panels had vanished; in 1833 the marble rood screen was dismantled and recycled to furnish altars elsewhere in what was now a parish church but most of the original choir stalls are still in place. Having suffered somewhat from the fire of 1968 the interior was restored and archaeological excavations were made beneath the floor in the 1990s.⁵⁰ Included in Neefs I’s visualisation is an early rood screen. Like the confessionals under the *Mysteries* cycle this is probably a faithful depiction (see Chapter

100. See also Damme, “Na 1585”, 974. ‘...totten opbouw der nieuwe capelle ende oratorium daer annex’. Cited in Damme, “Na 1585”, 974; [April 1619] erigitur sacellum, altare et confraternitas Nominis Jesu apud predicatorum’. Baisier, “Kerkinterieurs”, 399, app. 42.

⁴⁷ Herremans, *CRLB XXII* (4), 18-21.

⁴⁸ Herremans, “Inventaire”, 308-310.

⁴⁹ Bernardo de Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum sive Historia Provinciæ Germaniæ Inferioris Sacri Ordinis FF. Prædicatorum* (Brussels: 1719): 213-214. The present stone tower was completed in 1681. Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 24.

⁵⁰ Adam Sammut, “Two Rediscovered Oil Sketches by Abraham van Diepenbeeck”. *The Rubenianum Quarterly* 2 (2019): 3; Jan van Damme, “Van Kloosterkerk tot Parochiekerk”. *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 834-838. See also Mariët Westermann, “A Monument for Roma Belgica: Functions of the *Oxaal* at ’s-Hertogenbosch”. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 45 (1994): 430-431; Baisier, “Kerkinterieurs”, 191-195; Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 28.

1).⁵¹ The screen was built between 1634-1639 when the two nave-facing altars were consecrated, the first to saints Dominic and Peter Martyr and the second to the True Cross.⁵² This was replaced by Verbruggen I's marble rood screen in 1655 the design of which is recorded in a lithograph (ill. 5.17).⁵³ Gaspar de Crayer painted the *Miracle of St Dominic in Soriano* and the *Deposition* as replacement altarpieces which both replicate the original iconography (ills. 5.18-19).⁵⁴ Above the entrance to the choir is a copy of the St Dominic in Soriano icon which was itself credited with a miracle in 1633 (ill. 5.20).⁵⁵ The choir was originally replete with colour. The limpid palette of the *Wrath of Christ* was once complimented by Van Diepenbeeck's Rubensian stained glass panels, polychrome statuary and heraldic emblems all of which were enhanced by shimmering silverware recovered from 's-Hertogenbosch (see Section 5). The effect was intensified by the sense of enclosure created by the rood screen which can still be experienced in the Sint-Jacobskerk choir for example (ill. 5.21).⁵⁶ Such a *Gesamtkunstwerk* required direction from an artistic superintendent who worked in multimedia. As demonstrated in chapters 2 and 4 Rubens' involvement in the Dominican Church went beyond delivering the goods. Rubens and Ophovius were friends of decades' standing and crucially they discussed 'settlements

⁵¹ Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 189-190; Jan Steppe, *Het Koordoksaal in de Nederlanden* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1952): 375-376.

⁵² Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 190.

⁵³ 'Conspiciuntur & hic quatuor Altaria marmorea, quorum duo media, cum odaeo admodum spectabili structa sunt liberalitate & munificentia caelibus puellae Barbarae Spers'. Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae* (The Hague: 1726-1727): III.5. Guido Persoons, *Sebastiaen de Neve's Communiebank uit 1655-1657 in Sint-Pauluskerk Antwerpen* (Antwerp: Kerkfabriek van Sint-Pauluskerk, 1981): 9, 14-15. See also Aloïs Janssens, "De Heilige Dominicus in Soriano. Het Koorhoogzaal. Barbara Spers". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 21-24.

⁵⁴ Sirjacobs and Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris", 1806-1807, inv. nos. E16 and E22. See also Hans Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer: Sa Vie et Ses Oeuvres* (Brussels: Arcade, 1972): 201-202, cat. nos. A.163-164.

⁵⁵ Sirjacobs and Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris", 1807, inv. no. E23; Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 188-189; Janssens, "Soriano", 23. 'Magna apud Antverpienses in veneratione est exemplar imaginis miraculosae S. P. N. Dominici in Soriano Calabriae Oppido ... "Erat in praedicta Civitate circa annum 1633 quaedam puella nomine Catharina Praet, quae ex quodam nocivo influxu adeo infirma decumbebat: ut nec pedibus suis stare posset. Portatur ad ecclesiam Praedicatorum, & oleo ex lampade, quae Suriani pendet ante praedictam S. Dominici imaginem, asportato linita, commendatur filia intercessioni S. Dominici in Soriano, & subito suis viribus, atque integrae sanitati restituiter"'. Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum*, 205.

⁵⁶ See Jeffrey Muller, *St. Jacob's Antwerp: Art and Counter Reformation in Rubens's Parish Church* (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 291-308.

concerning his place of burial' in 1631.⁵⁷ As this chapter proposes their plans encompassed not just a funeral monument but the entire choir.

In the 1630s Rubens directed two ambitious pictorial schemes for site-specific architectural settings, namely the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* and the decoration of King Philip IV of Spain's hunting lodge the Torre de la Parada.⁵⁸ In several recorded and occasionally surviving ecclesiastical commissions Rubens painted the high altarpiece and designed the architectural surround (see Section 7).⁵⁹ As well as possibly supplying the portrait drawing on which Ophovius' effigy was based Rubens could have designed the *Wrath of Christ*'s new retable even though no direct evidence survives. As Herremans points out in relation to architectural sculpture there was a 'huge amount of lost material in Rubens's oeuvre ... above all preparatory material' which owing to the 'practical vicissitudes of execution' meant that a demolished retable would disappear without trace.⁶⁰ Moreover as Section 8 argues Rubens would have had veto over the designs for Van Diepenbeeck's stained glass windows which contributed to the decorative scheme as backlit paintings. The decoration of the *ecclesia fratrum* was a political project that Rubens was personally on board with. Like Ophovius Rubens was an agent of Spain in the Dutch Republic from the 1620s.⁶¹ After the siege of Maastricht the artist was dispatched by Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia to negotiate peace with Frederik Hendrik in the Generality Lands; before that

⁵⁷ Herremans, *CRLB XXII* (4), 197, cat. no. 17.

⁵⁸ John Rupert Martin, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XVI: The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (London: Phaidon, 1972); Svetlana Alpers, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part IX: The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada* (London: Phaidon, 1971).

⁵⁹ Ria Fabri et al., *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXII (3): Architecture and Architectural Sculpture. The Jesuit Church of Antwerp* (London: Harvey Miller, 2018). See also Léon E Lock, "Rubens and the Sculpture and Marble Decoration". *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, Piet Lombaerde, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008): 155-174. For St Michael's Abbey see Valérie Herremans, *Rubens Unveiled: Paintings from Lost Antwerp Churches* (Ghent: Snoeck, 2013): 81-87.

⁶⁰ Herremans, *CRLB XXII* (4), 16; 200-203, cat. no. 17a.

⁶¹ Mark Lamster, *Master of Shadows: The Secret Diplomatic Career of the Painter Peter Paul Rubens* (New York City, NY: Anchor Books, 2010): *passim*.

Rubens repeatedly made reference to Ophovius' activities in his correspondence.⁶² By turning the choir into a generator of missionary zeal with the *Wrath of Christ* as its pictorial engine, Rubens helped the monastery realise the objectives of the Dutch Mission in which Ophovius was a major figure.

2: Ophovius as St Dominic

This priest [Ophovius] deserves not only esteem but also much praise because of his great zeal for promoting our religion as well as the goodness and soundness of doctrine with which he is endowed.

Guido Bentivoglio to Scipione Borghese, 1612.⁶³

This section examines the genesis of the *Wrath of Christ* in the context of Ophovius' early career. With reference to his portrayal as St Dominic the high altarpiece is interpreted as a piece of visual rhetoric which urged novices in the monastery to extinguish heresy from the sinful world and by extension join the Dutch Mission. Born in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1570 Ophovius moved to Antwerp just after *Reconquista* to profess in the Dominican monastery.⁶⁴ After a period of study he returned to Antwerp where he was made diocesan inquisitor, prior of the monastery in 1608 and then definitor and provincial. In 1615 Ophovius was appointed Dominican prefect of the Dutch Mission, a longstanding confessional initiative which was absorbed by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (the *Propaganda Fide*) after the latter's establishment in 1622.⁶⁵ The expiry of the Twelve Years' Truce put

⁶² Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 516; Max Rooses and Charles Ruelens (eds.), *Correspondance de Rubens et Documents Épistolaires Concernant sa Vie et ses Œuvres (Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus)* (Soest: Davaco, 1887-1909): II.337, 378, 469.

⁶³ 'In questo padre concorrono parti degne non meno di stima che di molta lode, così per il suo gran zelo verso le cose della religion nostra come per la bontà e dottrina di che egli è dotato'. Joannes Cornelissen (ed.), *Romeinsche Bronnen voor den Kerkelijken Toestand der Nederlanden onder de Apostolische Vicarissen, 1592-1727* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1932): I.178-179, no. 232.

⁶⁴ See L. F. W. Adriaenssen, "De Erfgenamen van Heer Ghijsel Back: 11. Bisschop Ophovius en Zijn Familie". *De Brabantse Leeuw* 40, no. 1 (1991): 45-63. For concise biographies of Ophovius see Tax and Tax-Coolen, "Portretten", 85-87; Bogaerts, *Repertorium*, I.80-89, no. 224.

⁶⁵ A. M. Frenken, "De Bossche Bisschop Michaël Ophovius O. P. 1570-1637". *Bossche Bijdragen* 14, no. 1 (September 1936): 19-35. Cornelissen, *Romeinsche Bronnen*, I.179-660. See also Charles H. Parker, *Faith on*

Ophovius on the front line of the Dutch Mission. In 1623 Isabella dispatched him to Heusden in the Generality Lands to persuade the governor Willem Adriaan van Horne, Lord of Kessel to defect to Spain.⁶⁶ This turned out to be a trap. Imprisoned for eighteen months in The Hague he and fifty others were released in exchange for over 240 Dutch prisoners of Spain.⁶⁷ As compensation Isabella offered Ophovius the episcopal seat of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1626.⁶⁸ Known as “little Rome” and considered unconquerable the city’s capitulation to Frederik Hendrik in 1629 was a severe blow to Spain’s *reputación* and indeed being its northernmost outpost, the entire enterprise of Catholic mission within Europe.⁶⁹ Banished from his hometown in 1636 Ophovius died in Lier in 1637; soon after his body was interred in the Dominican Church.⁷⁰

Ophovius’ place in history was secured by his role in the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch. Having negotiated the terms of capitulation he was the first to sign the treaty (Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Den Bosch) (ill. 5.22).⁷¹ A Dutch broadside entitled *Hollands Triomff-Tonneel* shows Ophovius betrothing the ‘*Bosscher Maeght*’ to the prince of Orange while Count Grobbendonk the Habsburg governor acts as witness (Rijksmuseum,

the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age (Cambridge, MT: Harvard University Press, 2008): 32; Josef Metzler, “Foundation of the Congregation ‘de Propaganda Fide’ by Gregory XV”. *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum: 350 Years in the Service of the Missions, 1622-1972*, Josef Metzler, ed. (Rome: Herder, 1971): I.79-111. For more on the Dutch Mission see Christine Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland’s Golden Age: Heretics and Idolaters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 47-63; Paul Arblaster, “The Southern Netherlands Connection: Networks of Support and Patronage”. *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570-1720*, Benjamin Kaplan et al., eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009): 127-130; Joke Spaans, “Orphans and Students: Recruiting Boys and Girls for the Holland Mission”. *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570-1720*, Benjamin Kaplan et al., eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009): 183-199; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 24-68.

⁶⁶ Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 35-57.

⁶⁷ See Cöp, “Het Proces en de Vrijlating van Michael Ophovius: De Aanslag op Heusden in 1623 nogmaals Tegen het Licht Gehouden”. *Noordbrabants Historisch Jaarboek* 34 (2017): 113-143.

⁶⁸ Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 57-62.

⁶⁹ Peter de Cauwer, *Tranen van Bloed: Het Beleg van 's-Hertogenbosch en de Oorlog in de Nederlanden, 1629* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008): 124-144; Westermann, “A Monument for Roma Belgica”, 389.

⁷⁰ Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 82-106.

⁷¹ Cauwer, *Tranen van Bloed*, 124-138; Kuijer, 's-Hertogenbosch, 635-637; L. Pirenne, “Bisschop Ophovius en Abt Jan Moors, Ondertekenaars van het Capitulatieverdrag van 1629”. *Bossche Bijdragen* 26 (1962-1963): 159-180.

Amsterdam) (ill. 5.23).⁷² The events of the siege, the treaty's articles and Ophovius' final sermon were widely reported.⁷³ Ophovius is best known however for Rubens' portraits of him as prior, as bishop and as St Dominic. Other ecclesiastics in the early-seventeenth-century Spanish Netherlands had more clout including the archdukes' mendicant confessors, the archbishops of Mechelen and the apostolic vicars of the Dutch Mission yet the publicity Ophovius received was the envy of them all.⁷⁴ Ophovius used art to consolidate his ecclesiastical status. As bishop he tried to secure a painting by Hieronymus Bosch for the Sint-Janskathedraal (see Section 5); for the Sint-Pauluskerk Ophovius commissioned some of Rubens' first Antwerp paintings, the *Real Presence* and possibly an early high altarpiece (see below). Rubens' previous work for the Order as well as other Antwerp churches prompted Ophovius to commission the *Wrath of Christ* from him. Two decades before the choir was built Rubens and Ophovius helped give the *ecclesia laicorum* a distinctive confessional identity for preaching and administering the sacraments.

Ophovius was elected prior on the strength of his record as a scholar and priest. He was made prefect of both major brotherhoods, the rosary and *Soeten Naam* and his learned, theatrical sermons won a popular following.⁷⁵ According to official testimony during his first priorship (1608-1611) he 'amazingly restored the devastated monastery' to its 'original state and splendour' which won him the 'highest admiration' of fellow-citizens.⁷⁶ With no

⁷² See also Margriet van Boven, 'Het Beleg van 's-Hertogenbosch Gevisualiseerd'. *Bossche Bouwstenen* 2 (1979): 89-96.

⁷³ See for example Anonymous, *Articles Agreed vpon and concluded be-tweene ... Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange ... and the vanquished Towne of S'hertogenbosh* (London: 1629); Anonymous, *A Jornall of Certaine principall passages in and before the Towne of S'hertogenbosh* (London: 1629).

⁷⁴ Craig Harline and Eddy Put, *A Bishop's Tale: Mathias Hovius Among his Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 26-46.

⁷⁵ Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 19-25. In 1603 Ophovius published a hagiography of St Catherine of Siena Michaël Ophovius, *D. Catharinæ Senensis Virginis Sanctissimæ Ord. Prædicatorvm* (Antwerp: 1603). See also Stefanus Axters, "Bijdragen tot een Bibliographie van de Nederlandsch Dominikaansche Vroomheid. III". *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 7 (1933): 163-164.

⁷⁶ "[26 April 1612] Testamur insuper, praefatum Rdum P. Provincialem summam operam navasse, ut conventum praefatum mirum in modum devastatum restauraret, quemadmodum ipsius opera et industria cum summa civium admiratione restauratus et in pristinum statum et splendorem propemodum redactus est". Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 121-122, app. II.G.

choir to speak of Ophovius commissioned new altarpieces for the restored transept including the *Real Presence* which dates from 1609.⁷⁷ In 1611 the merchant Jan Le Grand wrote enthusiastically of Rubens ‘god of painters’ and the ‘diverse works he made [in Antwerp] which are held in great esteem’; the Dominican Church was an obvious place to see them.⁷⁸ As Natalya Gritsay claims Ophovius may have commissioned the *Resurrection* which has been recently restored for a temporary high altar (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg) (ill. 5.24). Like the *Real Presence* the *Resurrection* displays clear stylistic continuity with Rubens’ Italian period. A resurrected Christ stands triumphant over his tomb while Roman guardsmen are blinded by the light; the composition prefigures Jan Moretus I’s epitaph in Antwerp Cathedral on a grand scale (see Chapter 2). Although unrecorded before the eighteenth century the painting makes for a plausible centrepiece in the restored transept.⁷⁹ Such unambiguous Eucharistic symbolism could have been used to back up friars’ sermons when Tridentine eschatology was strongly in vogue.⁸⁰

Appointed provincial of Lower Germany in 1611 Ophovius set about reforming Dominican monasteries under his remit to Italian standards.⁸¹ His militant devotion won encomium from Antwerp councillors who called his friars ‘brave soldiers of Christ and

⁷⁷ Cynthia Lawrence, “Before *The Raising of the Cross*: The Origins of Rubens’s Earliest Antwerp Altarpieces”. *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 2 (1999): passim; Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, II.73-78, cat. no. 56; Damme, “Na 1585”, 974-975.

⁷⁸ ‘Wy hebben hier een goed meester die de god vande schilders is genaempt, Peeter Rubbens ... Hy heeft hier diverse stukken gemaect die in groote extime gehouden worden als namentlyck opt Stadhuyjs, tot Sinte Michiels, Preeckheren ende Borchtkerck, die fray syn’. Adolf Monbaillieu, “P.P. Rubens en het ‘Nachtmael’ voor St.-Winoksbergen (1611), een Niet Uitgevoerd Schilderij van de Meester”. *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1965): 195-196, app. 2.

⁷⁹ Natalya Gritsay, “Rubens’ *Resurrection of Christ*” (conference paper, The Vladimir Levinson-Lessing Memorial Readings, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, 2015). See also “Peter Paul Rubens: *The Resurrection*. An Exhibition in the ‘Masterpieces Reborn’ Cycle”, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, 2015. The assertion that the *Soeten Naam* chapel was the ‘primary site of the celebration of the Eucharist in the Dominican Church prior to the completion of its choir and high altar in 1639’ is unsupported. Lawrence, “Before The Raising of the Cross”, 280.

⁸⁰ See Gerrit vanden Bosch, *Hemel Hel en Vagevuur: Preken over het Hiernamaals in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de 17de en 18de Eeuw* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1991): passim; Alfons Thijs, *Van Geuzenstad tot Katholiek Bolwerk: Maatschappelijke Betekenis van de Kerk in Contrareformatorisch Antwerpen* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990): 116-125.

⁸¹ Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 26-28; Marie Juliette Marinus, *De Contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585-1676): Kerkelijk Leven in een Grootstad* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1995): 185.

evangelists of the Word of God' as well as Bentivoglio, Papal Nuncio at the Brussels court (see above).⁸² Before his departure for Heusden Ophovius had already achieved international prominence. At the 1612 provincial capital in Rome Ophovius discussed the 'most grave business' of the Dutch Mission in an audience with Pope Paul V; the Remonstrant or Arminian Controversy (1610-1620) which threatened to erupt into civil war was a chance to pursue confessional divide and rule in the fledgling republic.⁸³ Ophovius and the pope resolved to ramp up the Dutch Mission from bastions in Brabant. During his second term as prior beginning in 1617, Ophovius was named vicar-general of Lower Germany.⁸⁴

Ophovius sat for Rubens' portrait plausibly to mark his appointment as Dominican prefect in 1615 (Mauritshuis, The Hague) (ill. 5.25). De Wit saw a prime version hanging in 'one of the rooms' of the Antwerp monastery as confirmed by a mid-eighteenth-century etching and only the Mauritshuis version bears evidence of Rubens' hand (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 5.26).⁸⁵ This is a talking picture. With his right hand thrust outwards Ophovius' mouth is parted in mid-sermon and he glances to one side as if mildly perturbed while otherwise addressing his audience forthrightly.⁸⁶ In his mid-forties Ophovius' tonsure and beard are dappled with flecks of white hair; combining a black mantle with a white scapular his hair-shirt habit as a symbol of poverty and penance serves to buttress his moral

⁸² '...strenuos Christi milites et divini verbi praecones'. Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 122, app. II.G. See also Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 29-30.

⁸³ See Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 467-469. For correspondence with Ophovius about the Synod of Dort see Cornelissen, *Romeinsche Bronnen*, I.252-253, no. 327.

⁸⁴ Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 31-35; Ambrosius Bogaerts, "De Professielijsten van het Predikherenklooster te Antwerpen (1586-1796)". *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 49, nos. 1-2 (1966): 16-17.

⁸⁵ In Eene van de kamers van het Convent siet men het Portret van ... Ophovius, Laetsten Bischop van S'Hertogen bosch, door Rubens geschildert. Het selve gaet in print uyt door van den Bergh gesneden'. Wit, *Kerken van Antwerpen*, 59. *Antv. apud PP. Praed.* See also Tax and Tax-Coolen, "Portretten", 107-109, cat. nos. 6-7. Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XIX (2): Portraits of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp* (London: Harvey Miller, 1987): 141-142, cat. no. 126. See also Tax and Tax-Coolen, "Portretten", 99-105, 111-113, cat. nos. 1-3, 12-13; Peter Sutton (ed.), *The Age of Rubens* (Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1993): 279-281, cat. no. 23.

⁸⁶ The sideways glance is a feature of Renaissance talking pictures including Titian's *Portrait of Cardinal Pietro Bembo* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, inv. no. 1952.5.28). Susan Nalezyty, *Pietro Bembo and the Intellectual Pleasures of a Renaissance Writer and Art Collector* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017): 78-82; Ben Broos, "Een Schilderij nader Bekeken. Peter Paul Rubens: Portret van Michiel Ophovius". *Mauritshuis Nieuwsbrief* 4, no. 1 (April 1991): 13-16.

authority as an orator.⁸⁷ In his statuesque bearing Ophovius embodies not *pathos* but *ethos* i.e. gentle persuasion instead of violent emotion as Nils Büttner argues in relation to classical rhetorical theory.⁸⁸ As Quintilian wrote in the *Institutio Oratoria*, ‘All emotions inevitably languish, unless they are kindled into flame by voice, face, and the bearing of virtually the whole body’; if words themselves mattered less than ‘how we utter them’ delivery divided into voice (*pronuntiatio*) and gesture (*actio*) was paramount because hearing and sight were the ‘two senses by which all emotion penetrates to the mind’. In good oratory *pronuntiatio* and *actio* worked in equilibrium to hold the audience’s attention through ‘evenness’ and ‘variety’; in particular the *actio* of the hand spoke as mankind’s ‘common language’ in which vein Ophovius’ portrait conveys ‘meaning without the help of words’. Although ambiguous his body language suggests a rhetorical question is being posed.⁸⁹

In mute portraiture *actio* speaks louder than words. For Quintilian the ability to restrain violent emotions through *ethos* was a test of moral fibre and likewise in neo-stoic philosophy (see Chapter 4).⁹⁰ Meanwhile ‘immobility elicits awe’ on account of the ‘discipline’ and ‘self-possession’ it implies.⁹¹ Despite Cicero’s comment that abjuring emotion gave stoic speeches the ‘efficacy of pin-pricks’, orators were encouraged to emulate Seneca when Justus Lipsius’ teachings were at their most influential.⁹² Appropriately enough

⁸⁷ Hinnebusch, *Dominican Order*, I.339-343. For dress in oratory see Quintilian and Donald A. Russell (ed. and trans.), *The Orator’s Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001): V.157-163.

⁸⁸ Nils Büttner and Ulrich Heinen (eds.), *Peter Paul Rubens: Barocke Leidenschaften* (Munich: Hirmer, 2004): 256-258, cat. no. 57.

⁸⁹ Quintilian, *Orator’s Education*, V.85-87, 91, 107, 119, 129, 137-139. See Jon Hall, “Cicero and Quintilian on the Oratorical Use of Hand Gestures”. *The Classical Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2004): 143-160; Fritz Graf, “Gestures and Conventions: The Gestures of Roman Actors and Orators”. *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, eds. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993): 36-58. See also John Bulwer, *Chirologia: or The naturall language of the hand ... Whereunto is added Chironomia: or, the art of manuall rhetorick* (London: 1648-1654). My thanks to Jon Hall at the University of Otago for his assistance.

⁹⁰ Büttner and Heinen, *Barocke Leidenschaften*, 258, cat. no. 57.

⁹¹ Frank Fehrenbach, “The Unmoved Mover”. *Art, Music, and Spectacle in the Age of Rubens*: The Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi, Anna Knaap and Michael Putnam, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013): 118-119.

⁹² Shadi Bartsch, “Rhetoric and Stoic Philosophy”. *The Oxford Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*, Michael J. MacDonald, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017): 215-216. See Anthony Grafton, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001): 228. Ophovius’ gesture is therefore signalling comportment. See illustration N, ‘Perspicuitatem’. Bulwer, *Chirologia*, II.65.

for a mendicant cleric his body language complies with medieval Christian notions of *modestia*.⁹³ Unlike the priests admonished by Humbert of Romans for ‘[twisting] preaching to make it serve the purposes of their own vanity’ Ophovius’ bearing is dignified in its limited movability; while stopping some way short of a strident *allocutio* his gesture evokes statues of Roman orators such as *L’Arringatore* (Archaeological Museum, Florence) (ill. 5.27).⁹⁴ Rubens’ portrait treads a fine line between stone and flesh as do classical figures in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* as Caroline van Eck relates. However much Ophovius’ embodiment of *ethos* was a sign of constancy his face is enlivened by Rubens’ brushwork to make this effigy almost speak as Renaissance art theorists thought the best pictures should. Ophovius’ foreshortened right hand meanwhile serves to catch attention in a way that recalls Quintilian’s comparison between dynamic, mould-breaking artworks and good oratory.⁹⁵

If Rubens’ portrait represents oratory in motion the *Wrath of Christ* is a visual sermon delivered by Ophovius in the guise of St Dominic.⁹⁶ Long presupposed this identification is newly supported by the appearance of a study head from Rubens’ studio which exactly matches the tonsured features of St Dominic; to make the saint resemble Ophovius Rubens added signs of age to the hair and forehead (private collection) (ill. 5.28).⁹⁷ Around this time Rubens was commissioned to paint the *Virgin and Child with St John, Worshipped by Repentant Sinners and Saints* for an unknown ecclesiastical venue undoubtedly by Ophovius

⁹³ Dilwyn Knox, “Gesture and Comportment: Diversity and Uniformity”. *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. Volume 4: Forging European Identities, 1400-1700*, Herman Roodenburg, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 293-299.

⁹⁴ Simon Tugwell (ed.), *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (Ramsey, NJ: Paulist Press, 1982): 236; Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 19. While thought to be Etruscan, this statue was admired by the Romans. See Tobias Dohrn, *Der Arringatore: Bronzestatue im Museo Archeologico von Florenz* (Berlin: Mann, 1968).

⁹⁵ Caroline van Eck, “Animation and Petrification in Rubens’s *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*”. *Art, Music, and Spectacle in the Age of Rubens: The Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Anna Knaap and Michael Putnam, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013): 143-165; Eck, *Classical Rhetoric*, 5-6, 151.

⁹⁶ Tax and Tax-Coolen, “Portretten”, 127-129, cat. no. 26. See also Brachlianoff, “Quelques Précisions”, 6-9; Sutton, *Age of Rubens*, 281, cat. no. 23.

⁹⁷ Karoline Weser et al., *Koller Zürich: Gemälde Alter Meister, Lot 3001-3093* (Zurich: Koller Auctions, 2018): 54, lot no. 3034. See also Nico van Hout, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XX (2): Study Heads* (London: Harvey Miller, forthcoming).

(Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel) (ill. 5.29).⁹⁸ Here St Dominic leans over St Francis' shoulder pleading like he does in the *Wrath of Christ* for mercy on a penitent humanity represented by the sacramental archetypes of the Magdalene and the Prodigal Son. As well as sharing Ophovius' physiognomy Dominic's foreshortened right hand is deliberately reminiscent of the Mauritshuis portrait (see also Section 5).⁹⁹ Ophovius' inclusion in the *Wrath of Christ* must have outraged some. Not only did it ignore Tridentine image reforms of the sixteenth century, to be depicted as St Dominic risked transgressing the edicts of the provincial council of Mechelen which in 1607 banned 'living persons' from altarpieces.¹⁰⁰ To particularly esteemed individuals among whom can be counted Nicolaas Rockox and the archdukes, the ordinary rules did not apply.¹⁰¹ Continuing in this tradition Capello had himself depicted as St Ambrose in a 'hidden portrait' on the 1670 retable predella (ill. 5.30).¹⁰² Concerning Ophovius his was not a 'secular portrait' (*effigies sacerdotum*) in the sense that the Bishop of Antwerp Joannes Malderus would stringently prohibit.¹⁰³ In the context of the province Ophovius could claim to be St Dominic's successor and was lauded to that effect by contemporaries (see above).

As argued in Chapter 1 painting was not merely the handmaiden of oratory but its equal in a religious setting where artworks with a didactic *compositio* and a persuasive

⁹⁸ Bernhard Schnackenburg, *Staatliche Museen Kassel: Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister. Gesamtkatalog* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996): 262-263, inv. no. GK 119.

⁹⁹ Gierse, Büßeraltar, 48-53. See also Fiona Healy, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part IV: The Holy Trinity, Life of the Virgin, Madonnas, Holy Family* (London: Harvey Miller, forthcoming).

¹⁰⁰ Valérie Herremans, "Ars longa vita brevis: Altar Decoration and the Salvation of the Soul in the Seventeenth Century". *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (2010): 93. See also Adolf Monbaillieu, "Het Probleem van het 'Portret' bij Rubens' Altaarstukken". *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 24 (1976-1978): 161.

¹⁰¹ Herremans, "Ars Longa", 93-100; Monbaillieu, "Het Probleem", 162-168.

¹⁰² Valérie Herremans, "Iconographic Typology of the Southern Netherlandish Retable (c. 1585-1685)". *Machinae Spirituales: Les Retables Baroques dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux et en Europe*, Brigitte D'Hainault-Zveny and Ralph Dekoninck, eds. (Brussels: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, 2014): 127; Valérie Herremans, "Vroomheid Verbeeld. Iconografie van de Zeventiende-Eeuwse Zuid-Nederlandse Retabelsculptuur: De Rol van de Opdrachtgevers". *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage 1550-1700*, Hans Vlieghe and Katlijne van der Stighelen, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005): 194.

¹⁰³ Monbaillieu, "Het Probleem", 161. See also Valérie Herremans, "The Legitimate Use of Images: Depiction, Retable and Veneration in Post-Tridentine Flanders". *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 38, no. 3 (2015-2016): 118-130.

argumentatio could substitute for rousing prose.¹⁰⁴ Within the Sint-Pauluskerk the *Wrath of Christ* communicated a cogent visual sermon extolling St Dominic's followers to go out and save the world. Comparisons between *ars rhetorica* and painting were commonplace in the Renaissance. For example the Venetian art theorist Lodovico Dolce argued that artists like orators should strive to 'move the soul of the viewers'; a painted *narratio* without this power was bereft of 'spirit and life' like rhetoric without *pronuntiatio* and *actio* for Quintilian. To be effective both painting and oratory required 'vividness' (*enargeia*) as well as presence (*energeia*) to deploy rhetorical flourishes and bravura brushwork and foster the illusion of life. A common ground established a rapport with the audience as Ophovius does using gesture in the Mauritshuis portrait. His presence as St Dominic in the *Wrath of Christ* can be compared to the 'narrator' recommended by Leon Battista Alberti for a *historia* whose purpose was to break the fourth wall and inform the spectator 'what is going on'.¹⁰⁵ Within the pictorial space Ophovius shields the world from Christ's thunderbolts with his foreshortened left hand. Within the actual space of the church he appeared to reach out to his fellow brethren as if to involve them personally in the sacred drama (see Section 7). In contrast with the Mauritshuis portrait the *Wrath of Christ* imparted a sense of missionary urgency through the use of *pathos* namely its lurid warning of apocalypse now (see Section 4). Yet in the spirit of *ethos* St Dominic's expression is one of stoic immovability. Positioned at the painting's dramatic fulcrum Ophovius was cast as the protagonist-cum-preacher of St Dominic's vision in order to localise the Dutch Mission within the environs of the Antwerp monastery. St Francis of Assisi who is shown kneeling in profile with his hands covering the Earth plays only a supporting role hence his relegation to the side.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ See also Vernon Hyde Minor, *Baroque Visual Rhetoric* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

¹⁰⁵ Eck, *Classical Rhetoric*, 6-8, 17-29, 56-73, 143-144.

¹⁰⁶ While relations were probably friendly between the Dominican monastery and the Friars Minor no evidence of a formal partnership is known. See Herremans, *Lost Antwerp Churches*, 24-58; Marinus, *Contrareformatie te Antwerpen*, 187-190; Stephanus Schoutens, *Geschiedenis van het Voormalig Minderbroedersklooster van Antwerpen (1446-1797)* (Antwerp: Van Os-De Wolf, 1894).

The political dimension of the *Wrath of Christ's argumentatio* is evident through a comparison with Nicolas Janssenboy's *Vita S. P. Dominici* (1622) which was written in-house. Perhaps in reference to Rubens' painting St Dominic's vision was chosen for the frontispiece (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent) (ill. 5.31). Dedicating the pamphlet to the new papal nuncio in Brussels Janssenboy also paid Ophovius the compliment of 'Mæcenas' for having renovated the Sint-Pauluskerk.¹⁰⁷ Chapter seven recounts the vision as told by Giovanni Garzoni a fifteenth-century Bolognese orator whose sermon could have been supplied to Rubens.¹⁰⁸ The next chapter which recounts Dominic's other vision in Rome sings of Dominican missionary exploits around the world (see Chapter 4). Having converted 'Albigensians ... Jews and Arabs' in the thirteenth century the Order now sought to overturn the Augsburg Settlement of *cuius regio, eius religio* in the Protestant lands of Bohemia, Scandinavia and Britain; heathens and infidels from Egypt to Nicaragua were also fair game.¹⁰⁹ While exaggerated here the Order's missionary remit was indeed global. Having founded a province in the Philippines in 1587 Dominican friars in Manila learnt Sinitic dialects such as Chineco in order to convert mainland China.¹¹⁰ The charge of redeeming the world from sin meant tackling Protestantism root and branch and reconquering Europe for Rome in the process. In 1611 Theodoor Galle published an illustrated life of St Dominic in collaboration with the Antwerp monastery. In plate thirteen the world Christ prepares to destroy is corrupted by the sins of avarice, lust and pride that the mendicant vows of poverty,

¹⁰⁷ 'Et quidem sic existimabat R. P. Michaël Ophovius S. Th. Doctor. qui cum nos Antwerpiae regeret, atque esset Vicarius eorum Fratrum, quos in Hollandiam, Zelandiam, ceterasque ditiones Confoederatas Superiores nostri dimiserunt; videbatur mihi fore dignus Mæcenas'. Nicolas Janssenboy, *Vita S. P. Dominici Ordinis Praedicatorum Fundatoris* (Antwerp: 1622): unpaginated.

¹⁰⁸ 'Praedicta narrat quidem paullo secius Joannes Garzo, Bononensis Orator: sed res fere incidit'. Janssenboy, *Vita*, 48, 47-55.

¹⁰⁹ '...haeretico mastigas, qui Albigesios, Manichaeos, Waldenses, Iudeos & Agarenos aut Inquisitionis fulmine exstinxerint'. Janssenboy, *Vita*, 56-71.

¹¹⁰ Simon Ditchfield, *Papacy & Peoples: The Making of Roman Catholicism as a World Religion, 1450-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

chastity and obedience were supposed to vanquish (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 5.32).¹¹¹ In the *Wrath of Christ* the scourge of Protestantism takes the form of a snake which encircles a cartographic globe; at the centre is an oversized Italy the *fons et origo* of true religion, Roman Catholicism.

3: Back to basics – the Dominican Church and the Early Christian revival

This section situates the Roman martyrs in the *Wrath of Christ* in the context of Catholicism's early modern globalisation which as Ditchfield identifies is a subject ripe for interdisciplinary study in relation to orders other than the Jesuits. The Dominicans wanted the high altar to possess *romanitas* with the aim of promoting the 'universal idea(l) of *Roma Sancta*' by evoking its Christian foundation.¹¹² The Order was already appealing to this ideal by having Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* on prominent display in the *ecclesia laicorum* as a beacon of *romanitas* framed by a cross-section of Antwerp's art industry (see Chapter 3). In a central Italian context the Order had a tradition of decorating their high altars with *toussaint* polyptychs in the Middle Ages which Rubens' altarpiece deftly condenses into portico format.¹¹³ However the preponderance of Roman martyrs in the *Wrath of Christ* connects it more closely with the contemporaneous Early Christian revival. This was a political as much as an ecclesiastical movement with a "back to basics" moral agenda that rested on invoking the supposed purity of the Church in the wake of Pentecost.¹¹⁴ After *Reconquista* Antwerp strove to emulate Rome by inviting a conventual invasion. It came to out-print Rome as a hagiographic publishing centre and its "seven hills" were

¹¹¹ The inscription reads: 'Vindicibus scelerum telis Deus impetit orbem./ At Virgo: iratam comprime, Nate, manum./ Spondeo, ait, meliora, homines qui corrigat, ille/ Est mihi Franciscus, quin mihi Dominicus?'. Joannes Nys and Theodoor Galle, *Vita et Miracula S. P. Dominici* (Antwerp: 1611): 13.

¹¹² Simon Ditchfield, "Romanus and Catholicus: Counter-Reformation Rome as *Caput Mundi*". *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, Pamela M. Jones et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 147.

¹¹³ Joanna Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches: Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013): 139-154.

¹¹⁴ For "back to basics" political agendas from the *Leges Juliae* to the present see Asa Bennett, *Romanifesto: Modern Lessons from Classical Politics* (London: Biteback, 2019): 84-95. See also John Major, *The Autobiography* (London: HarperCollins, 2000): 386-400.

enthusiastically albeit dubiously promoted (see Introduction).¹¹⁵ Rome had been considered the lodestar of cultural capital by Netherlandish artists and collectors since the Renaissance (see Chapter 3). The adoption of a Roman baroque style in the Spanish Netherlands was the subject of a recent exhibition and Rubens' designs for the architectural sculpture of the Jesuit Church in the same vein have been studied in extenso.¹¹⁶ The Italianate style of the *Wrath of Christ* began with the composition which is indebted to a lost altarpiece by Paolo Piazza for the Capuchin church in Augsburg which was engraved by Raphael Sadeler II in 1607 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (ill. 5.33).¹¹⁷ Piazza was one of the first to use St Dominic's vision to affirm the doctrine of intercession by including a pantheon of saints which does not feature in medieval sources (see above). In the company of Dominic and Francis are Peter and Paul, the church fathers and various female martyrs including Catherine of Alexandria. Rubens' wrathful Christ owes less to Sadeler's stiff rendering here than to Michelangelo whose muscular Messiah in the *Last Judgement* was widely known (Apostolic Palace, Vatican City) (ill. 5.34, detail). Rubens as Jeremy Wood puts it 'seized on the *terribilità* of this fresco' in three sketches made *ad fontes* in the Sistine Chapel which he then channelled into the *Wrath of Christ*.¹¹⁸

Rome was the planet around which the Catholic universe orbited hence the demarcation of Italy and by extension Rome as *caput mundi* on the globe which St Dominic is protecting (ill. 5.35, detail). In the fifth century Pope Leo I equated Early Christian Rome

¹¹⁵ Jean-Marie Le Gall, "The Lives of the Saints in the French Renaissance c. 1500 - c. 1650". *Sacred History: Uses of the Past in the Renaissance World*, Katherine van Liere et al., eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 209; Lawrence, "Raising of the Cross in Context", 256.

¹¹⁶ See Bossu, *Alla Luce di Roma*; Fabri, *CRLB XXII* (3), *passim*.

¹¹⁷ Brachlianoff, "Quelques Précisions", 11. See also Roberto Contini, "Paolo Piazza, ovvero Collusione di Periferia Veneta e Mondo Rudolfino". *Paolo Piazza: Pittore Cappuccino nell'Età della Controriforma tra Conventi e Corti d'Europa*, Sergio Marinelli and Angelo Contò, eds. (Verona: Banco Popolare di Verona e Novara, 2002): 83-84; Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer and Karel G. Boon (ed.), *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700. Part XXI: Aegidius Sadeler to Raphael Sadeler II* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1980): 270, cat. no. 15.

¹¹⁸ Jeremy Wood, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXVI (2): Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists. Italian Masters* (London: Harvey Miller, 2010): III.47-55, 182-197, cat. nos. 189-191.

with Jerusalem as a *civitas dei* calling it a ‘priestly and royal state and the head of the world through blessed Peter’s Holy See’. The spiritual and architectural project of *renovatio Romæ* began in earnest under Pope Gregory XIII who had Leo’s description emblazoned above a view of the city in the Gallery of Maps, which constitutes a ‘cartographic visualisation’ of Italy reflecting the peninsula’s former political dominance over the papacy (Apostolic Palace, Vatican City) (ill. 5.36). To have Italy apparently was to have the universe. In 1583 Gregory XIII added new maps to the Terza Loggia depicting the entire known world which signalled papal ambitions for conquering all four continents with reformed Catholicism (Apostolic Palace, Vatican City) (ill. 5.37).¹¹⁹ The papacy’s push for a centralised bureaucracy turned Rome into the ‘centre of official sanctity’ from where the Julian calendar was revised, saints were canonised and liturgical texts were ‘Romanised’.¹²⁰ Although political tension ran high between the courts of Madrid and Brussels and their French-leaning papal nunciatures as René Vermeir elucidates, the Tridentine *Missale Romanum* was adapted in the Spanish Netherlands ‘without real resistance’; as Bishop Malderus reported it was ‘observed fairly exactly’ by 1615.¹²¹ By standardising Catholic practice and stamping it with the papal seal Rome became a more effective epicentre of global mission.¹²²

Having expanded the frontiers of Christendom beyond Europe in the early modern period yet with Jerusalem part of the Ottoman Empire, Rome was marketed as the *fons et*

¹¹⁹ Ditchfield, “Romanus and Catholicus”, 132; Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005): 231-244. See also Antonio Pinelli, “Il ‘bellissimo spasseggio’ di Papa Gregorio XIII Boncompagni”. *The Gallery of Maps in The Vatican*, Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli, eds. (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1991-1994): I.9-71.

¹²⁰ Pamela M. Jones, “Celebrating New Saints in Rome and Across the Globe”. *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, Pamela M. Jones et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 150-154; Ditchfield, “Romanus and Catholicus”, 133-137.

¹²¹ René Vermeir, “The Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia and the Papal Court (1621-33)”. *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, Cordula van Wyhe, ed. (London: Paul Holberton, 2011): 338-357; Annick Delfosse, “Le Dispositif de l’Autel: Normes Liturgiques”. *Machinae Spirituales: Les Retables Baroques dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux et en Europe*, Brigitte D’Hainault-Zveny and Ralph Dekoninck, eds. (Brussels: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, 2014): 39-41.

¹²² Ditchfield, “Romanus and Catholicus”, 132.

origo of Catholic holiness.¹²³ Antonio Pinelli shows how patronage of the city's Early Christian shrines became 'inextricably linked to the exaltation of papal primacy'; this was accompanied by a mania for Roman catacombs thought to contain the relics of Christian martyrs which were mined on a proto-industrial scale.¹²⁴ Rome's surplus sanctity had a global market. The discovery of Roman catacombs was reported in Macau and the relics therein were exported as far afield as Mexico City.¹²⁵ For the *Wrath of Christ* to showcase a pantheon of Roman martyrs had topical resonance. Rubens affords particular prominence to saints Catherine of Alexandria, Sebastian, Flavia Domitilla and George of whom Domitilla best embodied Rome's new-found sanctity, "her" catacombs having been discovered in only 1593. In *Roma Sotteranea* (1632) the Maltese spelunker Antonio Bosio recounted how this 'illustrious Roman Virgin' was decapitated for her faith by order of Emperor Domitian.¹²⁶ In 1639 the high altar of the Dominican Church was consecrated with newly-purchased relics of saints Siviliani and Honophria who were described emphatically as 'Roman martyrs'.¹²⁷ As well as giving physical substance to the *Wrath of Christ*'s hagiographic *romanitas* these relics were testament to Ophovius' political connections with the *Propaganda Fide*. According to Jean Bolland the remains of Siviliani, Honophria and other Roman martyrs were kept by Jesuits in Vilnius in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; in 1636 as part of an agreement between King Władysław IV Vasa and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of

¹²³ See Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Simon Ditchfield, "Reading Rome as a Sacred Landscape, c. 1586-1635". *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 167-192.

¹²⁴ Pinelli, "Bellissimo Spasseggio", I.10-11; Giuseppe Guazzelli, "Roman Antiquities and Christian Archaeology". *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, Pamela M. Jones et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 535-536.

¹²⁵ Ditchfield, "Romanus and Catholicus", 139-141.

¹²⁶ James Stevenson, *The Catacombs: Rediscovered Monuments of Early Christianity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978): 47-52. 'Santa Flavia Domitilla illustrissima Vergine Romana ... che da Domitiano Imperatore fù relegata nell'Isola Pontia, e che poi in Terracina consumò il glorioso corso del martirio ... per la fede di Christo erano stati decapitati'. Antonio Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea: Nella quale si tratta De' Sacri Cimiterii di Roma* (Rome: 1650): 271.

¹²⁷ '...consecravimus in monasterio fratrum praedicatorum civitatis nostrae Antverpiensis chorum templi sive ecclesiae, una cum altaribus quinque: 1^{um} quidem ... appositis reliquiis Sancti Siviliani, martyris Romani, et Sancte Honophriae'. Nieuwenhuizen, "Oorkonden", 1512, doc. 44.

Austria they were transferred to the Society's college in Brussels. The relics were exhibited for public veneration in Antwerp before which pieces must have been secured for the Sint-Pauluskerk high altar.¹²⁸ Ophovius had good relations with the Jesuits and the Brussels court making him the most likely broker of these relics.¹²⁹

Early Christian history was appropriated as the moral foundation of Rome's *renovatio urbis*. Humanists had long deplored the "corruption" of the Church since Antiquity when brethren would 'burn with concern for the common salvation' according to Alberti.¹³⁰ Ecclesiastical scholarship acquired a polemical edge in the service of confessional identity-building. A new scholarly rigour was applied to Catholic hagiography 'in the face of Protestant doubt and disregard for the cult of saints' as represented by Cesare Baronio's revised edition of the *Martyrologium Romanum* (1586).¹³¹ A proto-archaeological method was likewise applied to Roman catacombs wherein relics and inscriptions were systematically recorded. The new "scientific" approach to Early Christian martyrdom was 'not just a matter of erudition, but of lived experience and devotion'; it was also a means for Rome to outmanoeuvre Protestants who laid claim to the same moral origins.¹³² In Antwerp Rubens' *Raising of the Cross* triptych celebrated the city's Christian founding fathers within the Burchtkerk which was itself conflated with pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. Rubens experienced the Early Christian revival *ad fontes* during his Roman sojourn. As well as visiting Santi Nereo e Achilleo and San Cesareo de Appia, Rubens' work for Santa Croce in

¹²⁸ Joannes Bollandus and Godefridus Henschenius, *Acta Sanctorum ... Februarii* (Antwerp: 1658): III.725.

¹²⁹ Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 45-52, 61.

¹³⁰ Anthony Grafton, "Church History in Early Modern Europe: Tradition and Innovation". *Sacred History: Uses of the Past in the Renaissance World*, Katherine van Liere et al., eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 12-13.

¹³¹ Simon Ditchfield, "What was Sacred History? (Mostly Roman) Catholic Uses of the Christian Past after Trent". *Sacred History: Uses of the Past in the Renaissance World*, Katherine van Liere et al., eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 76, 86; Giuseppe Guazzelli, "Cesare Baronio and the Roman Catholic Vision of the Early Church". *Sacred History: Uses of the Past in the Renaissance World*, Katherine van Liere et al., eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 52-57.

¹³² Guazzelli, "Christian Archaeology", 532-540. See also Howard P. Louthan, "Imagining Christian Origins: Catholic Visions of a Holy Past in Central Europe". *Sacred History: Uses of the Past in the Renaissance World*, Katherine van Liere et al., eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 145-164.

Gerusalemme brought him into contact with a ‘large collection of important relics’ including the *Titulus Crucis* in the Helena chapel which itself stood on soil imported from Golgotha by the Emperor Constantine’s mother (see Chapter 3).¹³³ Having met the pope in Rome in 1612 it may have been Ophovius who pushed to include so many Roman martyrs in the *Wrath of Christ*. The altarpiece’s full realisation as a mirror of sanctity would have to wait until the choir was ready and the decades following saw not only this but also Ophovius’ transformation into a quasi-saint himself. Combining St Dominic’s missionary zeal with the fearlessness of a Roman martyr Ophovius could confidently enter hostile territory as the Virgin’s Christian soldier. As the orator of St Dominic’s vision in the *Wrath of Christ* Ophovius extolled his Antwerp brethren to do the same.

4: Ophovius’ white martyrdom in Heusden and The Hague

On 13 September the Dominican Father, Michaël Ophovius, was consecrated Bishop of ’s-Hertogenbosch, having been imprisoned in Heusden and The Hague on pain of death for having tried to persuade the Lord Van Kessel, Governor of Heusden, to defect [to Spain]. He has made a fortuitous exchange of the hangman’s noose for the bishop’s mitre.

Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, 1626.¹³⁴

The following two sections examine the making of Ophovius as a bloodless martyr of the Eighty Years’ War.¹³⁵ Ophovius’ heroic virtue forged in the Generality Lands in the 1620s turned his patronage of the Dominican Church into an investment of moral capital. While

¹³³ Lawrence, “Raising of the Cross in Context”, 270-275. See also Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York City, NY: Zone, 2010): 193-194, 321-322; Sergio Guarino, “Rubens a Roma: I Lavori per S. Croce in Gerusalemme e S. Maria in Vallicella”. *Rubens e Roma*, Sergio Guarino and Rossella Magrì, eds. (Rome: De Luca, 1990): 11-30.

¹³⁴ ‘Il 13 di settembre è stato consacrato vescovo di Bolducq quel Padre Domenicano chiamato Michel Ophovio, che fu prigioniero a Heusden y nella Haya, con gran pericolo della vita per haver voluto indurre a qualche tradimento il sig. Van Kessel, Governator di Heusden, che ha fatto un bel cambio del laccio colla mitra’. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, III.469.

¹³⁵ See Martin Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne’s Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Publications, 1988): 33-36.

Ophovius did not die violently he qualified as a white martyr by virtue of his persecution by the States-General *in odium fidei*. Arrested in Heusden and coming under fire in 's-Hertogenbosch Ophovius was willing to risk death on the strength of his faith (see Section 2). While painted years before, the *Wrath of Christ* acquired new significance with Ophovius' white martyrdom which made his pseudo-portrayal in the company of Roman martyrs considerably better-earned (see Section 3). Bloodless martyrdom was endorsed by Pope Gregory the Great who preached, 'If we do not lay down our bodies for Christ, let us at least conquer our hearts'. Partaking of Christ's cup could be done in secret (*martyrium in occulto*) 'even if there is no open persecution' (*pacis tempore*) by joining a mendicant order and mastering temptation while the ability to 'bear insults' and silently sustain the 'attacks of the enemy' was another cross to carry. As Carole Straw argues 'God makes the martyr'.¹³⁶ To miraculously survive martyrdom as saints Sebastian and Catherine of Alexandria initially did was a sign of divine favour as was clerical high office. Of the fifty-five saints who were canonised between 1588-1767 forty-nine were ecclesiastics and six were lay tertiaries; as Burke summarises these moral exempla were either founders of religious orders (Ignatius Loyola), missionaries (Francis Xavier, another Jesuit), wealthy philanthropists (Queen Elizabeth of Portugal), pastors (Pope Pius V) or mystics (Rose of Lima).¹³⁷ The encomium which Ophovius received as a missionary, philanthropist and pastor raised the stakes so that any misfortunes which befell him were bound to get noticed.

The philosophical foundation of sainthood was heroic virtue defined by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* as 'superhuman' and 'divine'.¹³⁸ This notion was first emblematised

¹³⁶ Carole Straw, "Martyrdom and Christian Identity: Gregory the Great, Augustine, and Tradition". *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus*, William E. Klingshirn and Mark Vessey, eds. (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1999): 251-255. See also Edward E. Malone, *The Monk and the Martyr: The Monk as the Successor of the Martyr* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1950).

¹³⁷ Burke, "Counter-Reformation Saint", 49-51.

¹³⁸ See Nils Holger Petersen, "Heroic Virtue in Medieval Liturgy". *Shaping Heroic Virtue: Studies in the Art and Politics of Supereminence in Europe and Scandinavia*, Stefano Fogelberg Rota and Andreas Hellerstedt, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 41-54; Romeo De Maio, *Riforme e Miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento* (Naples: Guida Editori, 1992): 139-160.

by Homer's *Iliad* wherein at his death the Trojan warrior Hector is praised as a 'god among men'.¹³⁹ For better or worse heroic self-sacrifice has been celebrated ever since.¹⁴⁰ Tertullian's embrace of Roman persecution in *Apologeticus*, 'the blood of Christians is seed' was enacted most spectacularly by the Roman martyrs.¹⁴¹ A sixteenth-century fresco cycle by Niccolò Circignani turned Rome's Santo Stefano Rotondo into a panopticon of Christian torture which ranges from John the Evangelist boiling in oil to Ignatius of Antioch being fed to the lions (ill. 5.38).¹⁴² Martyrdom against one's will was a real possibility in an age of religious wars and missionary expansion hence the massacres of Catholics *in odium fidei* at Gorinchem in 1572 and Nagasaki in 1597 which later became propaganda victories for their respective causes (see Chapter 1).¹⁴³ A 'self-image of martyrdom and heroism' was one of the Dutch Mission's confessional strategies lending 'validation to the true [Roman Catholic] church' as Christine Kooi explains.¹⁴⁴ Indeed all Catholic missionaries in Protestant-ruled countries saw themselves as martyrs-in-waiting.¹⁴⁵ While neither *in occulto* nor *pacis tempore* Ophovius' white martyrdom was framed by Spanish military campaigns in the Generality Lands. The most important element in the 'creation of martyrdom' is the narrator as Paul Middleton contends and claims to sanctity were often highly contested; for example

¹³⁹ Aristotle and David Ross (trans.), *The Nicomachean Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 118; Homer and Anthony Verity (trans.), *The Iliad* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 395.

¹⁴⁰ See Erik Eliasson, "The Late Ancient Development of a Notion of Heroic Virtue". *Shaping Heroic Virtue: Studies in the Art and Politics of Supereminence in Europe and Scandinavia*, Stefano Fogelberg Rota and Andreas Hellerstedt, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 17-40.

¹⁴¹ Tertullian et al., *Apology*; *De Spectaculis*; *Minucius Felix*; *Octavius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931): 227; Lawrence S. Cunningham, "Martyrdom in Roman Catholic Perspective". *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Christian Martyrdom*, Paul Middleton, ed. (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2020): 357-365. See also Michael Lapidge, *The Roman Martyrs: Introduction, Translations, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

¹⁴² See Conor Daniel Kissane, "Broken Bodies and Unruly Images: Representations of Martyrdom in Counter-Reformation Rome" (PhD thesis, University College London, University of London, 2019). See also Kirstin Noreen, "Ecclesiae militantis triumphi: Jesuit Iconography and the Counter-Reformation". *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 3 (1998): 689-715.

¹⁴³ See M. Antoni J. Ucerler, "The Christian Missions in Japan in the Early Modern Period". *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2018): 322-324. See also Cunningham, "Martyrdom", 361.

¹⁴⁴ Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics*, 58.

¹⁴⁵ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770: Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 82-93.

the attempted canonisation of Pope Gregory X between 1622-1645 as lobbied for by Piacentine ecclesiastical historian Pietro Maria Campi was a drawn-out failure.¹⁴⁶ Narratives of sainthood were used as political weapons hence the polemical hagiographies of Richard Verstegan and John Foxe most famously (see Chapter 1).¹⁴⁷ While saints in the early modern period were indeed subject to a ‘more rigorous canonization procedure’ this process could be fast-tracked with the right connections.¹⁴⁸ As Burke and Thomas Worcester argue the creation of sainthood was cultural history *par excellence*.¹⁴⁹ In this vein Ophovius’ white martyrdom can be framed in neo-stoic terms. Modelled on Senecan ideals of constancy advocated by Michel de Montaigne and Justus Lipsius the wise hero or *sapiens* was ‘courageous, passionless, immovably enduring in adversity’ and overcame misfortune by ‘resolute death or suicide’.¹⁵⁰ Rubens’ oeuvre notably the *Decius Mus* tapestry series is pervaded by this masculine ideal.¹⁵¹ Impassivity in the face of death was the ultimate test of moral fibre; as William Shakespeare had Julius Caesar proclaim, ‘Cowards die many times before their deaths;/ The valiant never taste of death but once’.¹⁵²

The *Wrath of Christ* portrays St Dominic the stoic standing resolutely in the line of fire as Christ prepares to destroy the world (ill. 5.39, detail). While the saint’s flailing hands and dynamic pose suggest perturbation his upward gaze remains impassive at the sight of Christ’s Michelangelesque *terribilità*; by contrast the tear shed by St Francis betrays a degree

¹⁴⁶ Paul Middleton, “Creating and Contesting Christian Martyrdom”. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Christian Martyrdom*, Paul Middleton, ed. (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2020): 12-29; Ditchfield, “How Not to Be”, 379-422; Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 212-269.

¹⁴⁷ Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe’s Book of Martyrs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

¹⁴⁸ Ditchfield, “Thinking with Saints”, 169-175; Ditchfield, “How Not to Be”, 419.

¹⁴⁹ Thomas Worcester, “Saints as Cultural History”. *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke*, Melissa Calaresu et al., eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010): 191-205.

¹⁵⁰ Geoffrey Miles, *Shakespeare and the Constant Romans* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996): 39.

¹⁵¹ Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991): 181-210. See also Lisa Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics and Allegory in the Art of Rubens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 63-112.

¹⁵² William Shakespeare and David Daniell (ed.), *Julius Caesar* (Walton on Thames: Thomas Nelson, 1998): 221.

of emotional weakness. The juxtaposition of Dominic with the vengeful Christ could not be starker. Channelling the jealous God of the Old Testament his body language echoes Seneca's description of an angry man in *De Ira*, whose eyes 'blaze and sparkle, his whole face is crimson with the blood that surges from the lower depths of the heart, his lips quiver, his teeth are clenched ... His whole body is excited and performs great angry threats; it is an ugly and horrible picture of distorted and swollen frenzy'.¹⁵³ Christ in Rubens' altarpiece expresses *ira* through his scowl, flushed cheeks, clenched fists and flaming red robes.¹⁵⁴ Within a neo-stoic framework such *pathos* was a necessary rhetorical device. By conveying Christ's righteous *ira* with due intensity the *Wrath of Christ's argumentatio* that only the Order could redeem a sinful humanity was hammered home. This is what Quintilian prescribed in the *Institutio Oratoria*. While to state something matter-of-factly 'does not touch the emotions', to describe the storming of a city with *enargeia* and *energeia* i.e. vividness and presence is to bring into view 'flames racing through houses and temples, the crash of falling roofs ... shrieks of children and women [and] the old men whom an unkind fate has allowed to live to see this day' (see Section 2).¹⁵⁵ Such vividness has another rhetorical effect in the visual realm; as Suzanne Walker describes Rubens' hunting scenes the *Wrath of Christ* is 'pervaded by a sense of emotional intensity that compels attention to the expressions of individual figures'.¹⁵⁶ Christ's *ira* serves as a powerful foil to St Dominic's constancy and ergo that of Ophovius.

¹⁵³ Seneca and John W. Basore (trans.), *Moral Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928): I.109.

¹⁵⁴ See also Jane Kromm, "Anger's Marks: Expressions of Sin, Temperament, and Passion". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60 (2010): 35-51.

¹⁵⁵ Quintilian, *Orator's Education*, III.379.

¹⁵⁶ Suzanne Walker, "Composing the Passions in Rubens's Hunting Scenes". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60 (2010): 109-122. See also Ulrich Heinen, "Huygens, Rubens and Medusa: Reflecting the Passions in Painting, with Some Considerations of Neuroscience in Art History". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60 (2010): 151-176; Ulrich Heinen, "Peter Paul Rubens: Baroque Leidenschaften". *Peter Paul Rubens: Barocke Leidenschaften*, Nils Büttner and Ulrich Heinen, eds. (Munich: Hirmer, 2004): 28-38.

As Seneca prescribed in *De Ira*, ‘The good man will perform his duties undisturbed and unafraid’.¹⁵⁷ In a Dominican context the grounds for such stoicism were surely faith, hope and charity, the theological virtues defined by St Thomas Aquinas.¹⁵⁸ The ‘ascetic impulse’ for self-mastery according to Gregory the Great was a means to ‘sacrifice oneself to God in the heart’ as made literal here in St Dominic’s stoic willingness to lay down his life to redeem the world.¹⁵⁹ Ophovius would first put these heroic sentiments to the test in Heusden. The debacle of his arrest there was widely reported in the Dutch Republic. According to Pieter Bor’s *Gelegentheyt van 'sHertogen-Bosch* (1630) Ophovius tried to bribe Lord Van Kessel with the countship of Horne, the Order of the Golden Fleece and 100,000 ‘or as some say 300,000 crowns’. Van Kessel’s reaction was apparently one of outrage claiming that for all the Spanish crown jewels he would never betray the fatherland.¹⁶⁰ As archival research shows Ophovius was framed in order to be used as a political bargaining chip by the States-General (see Section 2).¹⁶¹ His arrest also provided Dutch propagandists with valuable fodder. In 1626 Adriaen van de Venne prefaced his *Album* with a view of Heusden (British Museum, London) (ill. 5.40). The twenty-fifth drawing in sequence is an old poacher with a fulsome grey beard; overburdened with dead hares and with eyes downcast, a dog barks at him while rabbits scurry (ill. 5.41). As Martin Royalton-Kisch suggests this sorry-looking individual is a caricature of Ophovius whose

¹⁵⁷ Seneca, *Moral Essays*, I.137.

¹⁵⁸ See Joseph P. Wawrykow, “The Theological Virtues”. *The Oxford Handbook of Aquinas*, Brian Davies and Eleonore Stump, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 287-304.

¹⁵⁹ Straw, “Martyrdom”, 255.

¹⁶⁰ ‘...om het Casteel ende Stadt van Heusden te restitueren aen hare natuurlicke Princen / mits datmen hem soude vereeren metten tytel van het Graeffschap van Hoorn / ende hem maecken Heere vande ordre des gulden Vlies / ende hondert duysent Croonen / (oft so sommige seggen 300000 Croonen) tot een vereeringe / ende datmen oock zijne kinderen tot hooge staten soude promoveren. De Heere van Kessel dese propositie ghehoort hebbende / onstack in gramschap / ende seyd met heftighe woorden / dat hy ten respecte zijns ampts ende gegenwoordigen staet / die Eerts hertoginne / op ‘thoochste vyant was / ende al waert dat hem alle de Schatten des Conincx van Spaengien voorgedragen ende gepresenteert werden / datmen hem tot ghenen verrader maken en soude / seggende hem voorts aen dat hy zijn gevangen blijven most’. Pieter Christianzoon Bor, *Gelegentheyt van 'sHertogen-Bosch Vierde Hooft-Stadt van Brabant* (The Hague, 1630): 147. See also Various, *Staatkundige Historie van Holland* (Amsterdam: 1756-1803): XL.68-71; Jacobus van Oudenhoven, *Beschryvinge der Stadt Heusden* (Amsterdam: 1743): 198-201; Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh, in ende omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden* (The Hague: 1669): 228.

¹⁶¹ Cöp, “Het Proces”, 118-132. See also Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 35-41.

attempt to “poach” Heusden was indeed “hounded out”. This fits in with the overall politics of the *Album* which presents an upbeat view of the Dutch campaign under the auspices of Frederik Hendrik. The identification of the poacher as Ophovius is cemented by the prefatory topographical view emblazoned with the motto ‘The Land’s Fortress’ (*TLANTS STERCKTE*) describing Heusden. Van de Venne based his drawing on a print by Theodor Matham dated 1625 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 5.42).¹⁶² In the accompanying inscription Samuel Ampzing addressed ‘devout Batavians and intrepid Heroes’ urging them to be ‘true to the Fatherland with your property and blood’. Ophovius’ attempt to buy Heusden’s loyalty is alluded to in lines describing it as ‘A wall of the Fatherland ... which irritates and defies Brabant, and rejects her glory’.¹⁶³ On the Spanish side Ophovius’ conduct was never in doubt. Writing to Archduchess Isabella Rubens contrasted the ‘betrayal or double-crossing’ of Lord van Kessel with Ophovius’ ‘good faith and integrity’.¹⁶⁴

The next phase of Ophovius’ white martyrdom was imprisonment in The Hague between 1623-1624 most of which was spent in the Gevangenpoort’s hospitable Ridderkamer at Isabella’s behest (ill. 5.43).¹⁶⁵ From there Ophovius wrote to the Dominican monastery requesting ‘two linen shirts of wide cut, because I am a heavy person and in middle age I am no longer as thin as I used to be’.¹⁶⁶ However well-fed by his captors the prospect of public execution hung over Ophovius for the duration. By seeking political assistance from her allies Isabella turned the Heusden debacle into an international event.

¹⁶² Royalton-Kisch, *Album*, 33-34, 92; 144, no. 1; 190, no. 25; *passim*.

¹⁶³ Translated in Royalton-Kisch, *Album*, 35. See also Catherine Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994): 66-67.

¹⁶⁴ ‘...V. A. vederà che sarà un tradimento o un trattato doppio, per poterlo poi rivelare al re, et farli parere la sua fede et integrità, come fece il signor Van Quesel con el padre Opovio’. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, III.337, note 1.

¹⁶⁵ Cöp, “Het Proces”, 125-127. See also Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 41-57.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Alsoo betrouwende dat het selve door V.E. goetherlicheijt sal geafstectueert worden brekle mits desen, mij beliest door enige van V.L. dressaere oft dienaeresse te doen maecken twee hemden van lijnwaet groot van fatsoen, want ick een swaer persoon joft immer niet cleijn en ben ende van middelbaer prijse’. Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Familiearchief Pots, Michaël Ophovius to Dierck de Jonghe, 22 April 1623 (3.20.46.IV.185). My thanks to Frans Blom at the University of Amsterdam for identifying this humorous passage.

Among those throwing their weight behind Ophovius' release were King James I of Great Britain and various high-ranking ambassadors.¹⁶⁷ Ophovius briefly served time in the Gevangenpoort's dungeon with a fellow missionary, the Jesuit Petrus Maillart whom the Dutch authorities had 'so mercilessly lashed, that for fifteen years he cursed his wounds to the death'.¹⁶⁸ When writing to the *Propaganda Fide* in 1625 Ophovius spoke only of fear and loathing in a moment of self-mythologizing; drawing solace from the Catholic faith incarceration apparently did not stop him winning arguments against Reformed theologians.¹⁶⁹ Ophovius also reported back the discovery of Greenland and its colonisation by Danish 'heretical merchants excited by the prospect of riches'.¹⁷⁰ While the anger and sarcasm expressed here belied his true emotions the image of a stoic Ophovius resigned to his fate could be constructed in retrospect (see Section 8). Ophovius' accumulation of moral capital continued after swapping the 'hangman's noose for the bishop's mitre' in the frontier city of 's-Hertogenbosch which became a warzone soon after his appointment.

¹⁶⁷ Cöp, "Het Proces", 126-127; Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 43-45. For James I's intervention see Geeraert Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie, en andre Kerkelyke Geschiedenissen, in en Ontrent de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: 1671-1704): IV.1102-1104.

¹⁶⁸ 'soo ongenadig geveterd geweest, dat hem 15 jaar lang tot in den dood zijn wonderen verzwoeren'. Cited in P. J. Blok and P. C. Molhuysen (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1911-1937): III.811. See also F. van Hoeck, "De Gevangenschap van P. Petrus Maillard, S. J., 1622-1624". *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis van het Bisdom Haarlem* 41 (1922-1923): 236-255; Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 45-55.

¹⁶⁹ 'Supervenit mea ab haereticis pro obsequo fidei et Majestatis Catholicae captivitas, quam biennio fere in carceribus curiae Hollandiae perpessus sum cum praesentaneo mortis periculo, in quo quam constanter consolando catholicos et disputando cum praecipuis haereticorum professoribus ac concionatoribus me habuerim, testes sint ipsi haeretici, qui non obstante contractu inito cum serenissima Infante et 240 captivis liberatis pro me, rabie adacti me cum patre quodam Jesuita ad subterranea loca ultimo mense damnarunt, etsi Dei providentia fuerim inde liberatus'. Cornelissen, *Romeinsche Bronnen*, I.335, no. 407. See also Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 53-56.

¹⁷⁰ 'Non desii etiam in carcere constitutus propagandae fidei occasiones expiscari, inter quas haec praeclarissima obtigit de Groenlandiae inventione, quae multis saeculis solo nomine nota putabatur a mari absorpta atque adeo ut rex Dianae ejusque praedecessores, qui hujus insulae dominium habuerunt, de illa invenienda penitus desperarent. Contigit interim quosdam mercatores haereticos spe lucri excitari et ad quaerendam hanc insulam navem instruere cursumque versus Septentrionem instituere in Majo praeterito anni 1624'. Cornelissen, *Romeinsche Bronnen*, I.335, no. 407.

5: ‘Tears of blood’ – the siege of ’s-Hertogenbosch and its aftermath

With tears of blood this letter of mine has to be written, that which brings news about the agreement made today on 14 September with the prince of Orange and the States-General of the United Provinces, to bring this city, which is so Catholic and pious and its dominion under their subjection and this had to happen merely because of a gunpowder shortage, when only two days remained [of the siege].

Ophovius to Fabio Lagonissa, Papal Nuncio to Brussels, 1629.¹⁷¹

This section looks at Ophovius’ tenure as bishop of ’s-Hertogenbosch and its consequences for the Antwerp monastery. Ophovius continued to be involved in monastery affairs: he authenticated a historic relic, donated thousands of gulden towards the choir’s construction and sent silverware from the Sint-Janskathedraal to be stored in the premises after the siege. His attempt to secure a beloved cult statue the Zoete Lieve Vrouw of ’s-Hertogenbosch for the Dominican Church opens the *ecclesia fratrum* to interpretation as a simulacrum of his former episcopal seat to the extent that it was in effect the Sint-Janskathedraal-in-exile. In August 1625 the see fell vacant; as highlighted already Ophovius was the obvious candidate because he was the former vicar-general of the Dutch Mission and a native Boschenaar.¹⁷² When nominated his reforming zeal was stressed by many witnesses; significantly the Sint-Janskathedraal having ‘caught fire two times in 40 years’ needed ‘much repair work’ and with this in mind a representative of States-Brabant praised Ophovius’ efforts in ‘completely reconstructing’ the Dominican monastery.¹⁷³ His appointment was confirmed by Pope Urban

¹⁷¹ ‘Con lachrime di sangue dovrà esser scritta questa mia, la quale apporta nuova dell’accordo fatto oggi agli 14 di Settembre con il principe d’Orange e gli signori Stati Generali delle Province Unite, per render questa città tanto cattolica e fedele a Dio et il re suo nella soggezione loro, e questo per mera necessità, la quale è proceduta dal mancamento di polvere, il quale solamente restò per difendersi dalli assalti continui del inimico per doi giorni’. Cornelissen, *Romeinsche Bronnen*, I.373, no. 439.

¹⁷² Johannes Peijnenburg, *Zij Maakten Brabant Katholiek: De Geschiedenis van het Bisdom ’s-Hertogenbosch* (Den Bosch: Bisdom, 1987): 90; Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 57-62.

¹⁷³ ‘L’église cathédrale consacrée à St-Jean l’Évangéliste est assez vaste; elle a été brûlée deux fois depuis 40 ans et a besoin de beaucoup de réparations’. Louis Jadin, “Procès de Nomination de Michel van Ophoven (Ophovius), Proposé pour le Siège Éiscopal de Bois-le-Duc. – 1626 (1)”. *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 8 (1928): 186. ‘Adrien Queslius, lic. J. U., avocat au Conseil de Brabant ... il sait aussi que son couvent à Anvers est tout à fait reconstruit, tant il sut s’arranger avantageusement avec le Magistrat. Le témoin l’estime très digne d’être nommé évêque de Bois-le-Duc’. Jadin, “Procès de Nomination”, 183.

VIII in July 1626 and his episcopal coat of arms had a star and tree with the motto 'Light and Fruit' (*Luce et Fructu*) (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent) (ill. 5.44). The ceremony which took place in Antwerp Cathedral on 13 September was performed by the Archbishop of Mechelen, Jacobus Boonen and the bishops of Antwerp and Ghent, Malderus and Antoon Triest.¹⁷⁴ Ophovius' election as bishop was a well-publicised event as evidenced by Rubens' correspondence.¹⁷⁵ Writing a few days after his ordination, the artist joked about his friend's release in a letter to Dupuy in which he also described the failed Dutch advance on Kieldrecht and Tilly's victory over the Danes at the battle of Lutter (see Section 4).¹⁷⁶ Sarcasm aside Rubens considered Ophovius' appointment a victory for the Catholic cause. As for the new bishop he expressed gratitude that his 'boat' had been recalled 'from the storm of Holland' to 'calm waters' in what he thought was the 'peaceful harbour' of 's-Hertogenbosch.¹⁷⁷ Ophovius' inauguration was cause for rejoicing and festivities.¹⁷⁸ The office of bishop in this period was as much political as pastoral but this seat especially so.¹⁷⁹ In 1628 Ophovius pressed for a ceasefire in the Generality Lands together with Rubens and Madame Tserclaes.¹⁸⁰ The same year Ophovius planned to found a 'missionary seminary' in Antwerp

¹⁷⁴ Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 57-59. See also Tax and Tax-Coolen, "Portretten", 133-134.

¹⁷⁵ Rubens to Jan Brant, 20 July 1625: 'Io ho fatto le diligence per l'esclusione d'altri contrattanti et mi viene risposto che al presente non c'è cosa alcuna, y particolarmente mi fu nominato il padre Ophovio di non haver commissione ne introduttione alcuna ne sapevano per qual causa havesse domandato il passaporto et che il 14 non haveva ordine alcuno di trattar di questo negocio'. Margin: 'Supplico V. S. si metta l'animo in riposo toccante gli Padri Cappuccini mentionati nella sua al suo Signor Padre et altri che potrebbono dargli sospetto per che sino adesso il luoco è vacante y V. S. ben avanzata inanzi a tutti che potrebbono cominciar di novo o repigliar qualche pratica interrotta'. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, III.378.

¹⁷⁶ 'Io farò per quanto potrò per informarmi non già di bagatelle, sed summa sequar fastigia rerum; ma per questa volta non habbiamo novita di sorte alcuna poiche col corriero ult^{te} passato ho scritto alquanto larga^{te} al sig^c di Valavez toccante l'impresa degli Ollandesi sopra Kildrecht y della rotta data dal Tilly al Re di Danimarca, che viene confirmata da tutte le parti nella maniera da me avisata'. Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, III.469.

¹⁷⁷ 'Ad altum certe mare navicella mea revocatur, quam benignissima aura Suae Serenissimae Celsitudinis ex Hollandica tempestate ad portum quietis in sacra mea religione revocarat'. Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 137, app. V.A.

¹⁷⁸ Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 60-61. See for example the dedication in Augustinus Wichmans, *Apotheca Spiritualium Pharmacorum Contra Lvem Contagiosam Aliosque Morbos* (Antwerp: 1626): unpaginated.

¹⁷⁹ See Harline and Put, *A Bishop's Tale*, 163-176. See also Marcus K. Harmes, *Bishops and Power in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013); Jennifer Mara DeSilva (ed.), *Episcopal Reform and Politics in Early Modern Europe* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).

¹⁸⁰ Nicholas de Baugy, 26 May 1628: 'Le peintre Rubens ... s'est rendu icy, comme aussy la damoiselle T' Serclaes et le P. Oppovius, évesque de Bois-le-Duc, qui ont tant faict d'allées et de venues pour tascher de

to supply his diocese with priests; this also came to nothing but not before the idea was approved by the episcopal authorities and significantly the *Propaganda Fide*. While 's-Hertogenbosch had long been an outpost for missionary orders this “little Rome” came to symbolise the Dutch Mission even more strongly with Ophovius in charge.¹⁸¹

Ophovius sought to acquire new art for his diocese and in the 1610s two altarpieces by Rubens may have reached 's-Hertogenbosch at his behest (see Section 2). The most famous local artist was Hieronymus Bosch whose work was admired into the seventeenth century.¹⁸² Karel van Mander praised Bosch's ability to conjure the ‘ghosts and monsters of Hell’ with his paintbrush while Jean-Baptise Gramaye claimed that Bosch's altarpieces still adorning the Sint-Janskathedraal ‘lose nothing in comparison with ... the pictures of Apelles’; as Büttner points out ‘Bosch’s works ... were seen to have artistic merit irrespective of their religious function’.¹⁸³ Securing them for the city was a matter of local pride and Ophovius tried to purchase one for 100 gulden, namely Bosch's high altarpiece for the Dominican church in Brussels which probably depicted St Dominic disputing with Albigensian heretics as described in *Het Schilder-Boeck*; the prior of the Brussels monastery came to regret not selling it to Ophovius (presumed lost) (see Chapter 2).¹⁸⁴ As bishop

conduire les affaires de deçà aux termes d'ung accommodement avec les Hollandois’. Various (eds.), *Compte-Rendu des Séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire ou Recueil de ses Bulletins* (Brussels: M. Hayes, 1834-1902): III.38; Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 74.

¹⁸¹ ‘...etiam aliarum in *Hollandia*, & australibus plagis, errantium reductionem meditari coepit, & in eum finem Antverpiæ Seminarium Missionariorum Ordinis nostri fundare statui, qui fidem Catholicam in Germania, Hollandia, Olsatia, Dania, Norvegia, Suecia aliisque regionibus australibus praedicarent & foverent’. Bernardo de Jonghe, *Desolata Batavia Dominicana seu Descriptio Brevis omnium Conventuum et Monasteriorum Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum quæ olim extiterunt in Belgio Confoederato* (Ghent: 1717): 122. Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 74-75; Kuijper, 's-Hertogenbosch, 604. Arblaster, “The Southern Netherlands Connection”, 123-130; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 82-83, 98; L. van de Meerendonk, “De Bossche Kloosters in de Tijd van de Reformatie en de Contra-Reformatie, van 1520 tot ca. 1630”. *Bossche Bouwstenen* 6 (1983): 73-83.

¹⁸² See Paul Vandenbroeck, “Jeroen van Aken en 's-Hertogenbosch”. In *Buscoducis: Kunst uit de Bourgondische Tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch*, A. M. Koldeweij, ed. (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1990): 394-402.

¹⁸³ ‘Wie sal verhalen al de wonderlijcke oft seldsaem versieringhen, die *Ieronimus Bos* in't hooft heeft ghehad, en met den Pinceel uytghedruckt, van ghespoock en ghedrochten der Hellen, dickwils niet alsoo vriendlijck als grouwlijck aen te sien’. Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem: 1604): 216 verso; Nils Büttner, *Hieronymus Bosch: Visions and Nightmares* (London: Reaktion, 2016): 32-33.

¹⁸⁴ Paul Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch: De Verlossing van de Wereld* (Ghent: Ludion, 2002): 326-327, nos. 50a-b. ‘Obtulit nisi R^{mus} Ophovius pro pictura illa 100 florenis’. Rijksarchief Leuven, Dominikaans

Ophovius maintained close ties with the Antwerp monastery and in 1628 he verified relics there using his episcopal authority; belonging to the *Soeten Naam* brotherhood these were pieces of the True Cross and the Crown of Thorns. As recounted in Ophovius' certificate the provincial of Lower Germany, Cornelis van Ertborn who had started to rebuild the Sint-Pauluskerk in the sixteenth century received a 'holy thorn' from the *Sainte-Chapelle* in Paris. During the Revolt the relics were evacuated to Cologne by a 'virtuous and Catholic' merchant-chaplain and upon their return the brotherhood commissioned a 'new and large silver ornament' which was replaced in 1648 (ill. 5.45).¹⁸⁵ Instead of a local bishop the monastery asked Ophovius to authenticate the relics because in Antwerp Ophovius was considered the successor of Van Ertborn and ultimately Albert the Great who had founded the monastery in the thirteenth century (see Introduction). Ophovius continued to be involved in the choir's construction and was named when the monastery took out a loan to finance the vaulting of the transept in April 1626.¹⁸⁶ Three years later Ophovius made the 'liberal and auspicious donation' of 4,000 gulden out of 'obligation towards [his] monastery'; the first thousand was for marble stonework, while the rest was to 'build the

Provinciaal Archief, Petrus du Fay to Thomas Leonardi, Palm Sunday 1638 (909); Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch*, 326, no. 50a; Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 62, note 3.

¹⁸⁵ '...den voorgenomenen H:Doorn van de Kroon des Heere te Parijs van den aller Christelijksten Koning voor geschenk gegeven – met een deeltje van het houd des H:Kruis bewaerd wierd, door een deugdzaem en Catholijk man, Theodoricus de Mon, koopman van Antwerpen, dan ter lijd Kappelmeester van den Autaer in't Broederschap van het Allerheiligste sacrament bij de paters Predikheeren, wechgenoemen, en naer Keulen overgebracht'. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Relieken, Authenticiteitsaktes en Vereringstoelatingen, 6 October 1628 (PR D.10.3C). '...hebben hem vercierd met een nieuw en groten zilver verciersel of ciborie van het broederschap van den allerheiligsten naem Gods'. Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Relieken, Authenticiteitsaktes en Vereringstoelatingen, 6 October 1628 (PR D.10.3C). Sirjacobs and Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris", 1830, inv. no. K18; Godelieve van Hemeldonck, "Sint-Pauluskerk Antwerpen: De Schatkamer. Historisch Overzicht van de Collectie". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1666.

¹⁸⁶ '...is ghecommen ende ghecompareert in propre personen den eerw. pater Miehiel van Ophoven ... jeghenwoordelyck ghe nomineert Bisscop van Shertogenbossche ... Ende bovendien dat den noot verheyste dat het cruyswerck vanden hoogen choor werck overwelt met voeghinghe van eenighe venstereien tot vasticheyt van tzelve werck alsnu zoude moeten worden opghemaect om de stellinghe (die alsnu over het werck stonden) te proffiteren ende omme andere merckelycke redenen die hem comparant daertoe moveerden (zoo hy verclaerde)'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Notariaat, Cornelis de Brouwer, 1628-16430 (N 751): unpaginated. Published in Damme, "Na 1585", 975, 977-978, app. E.

walls' and for a 'true relic' for the high altar (see Section 3).¹⁸⁷ As Peter de Cauwer recounts Ophovius was then warning 'like a lonely Cassandra' that 's-Hertogenbosch was in danger having received 'precise information very early' about the Republic's advances.¹⁸⁸ Made at a time of crisis this 'liberal and auspicious' gift highlights where his priorities lay.

The siege of 's-Hertogenbosch brought out Ophovius' true colours. The States-General's military offensive began in earnest on 30 April and concluded on 14 September when the capitulation treaty was signed (see Section 2). Victory was won by 'state of the art siege warfare'; financed by lucrative West India Company privateering Frederik Hendrik circumvallated the city and drained the surrounding marshland before mounting an assault with 'great skill and generalship' as illustrated in numerous maps (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) (ill. 5.46).¹⁸⁹ From May until September Ophovius lived under enemy fire

¹⁸⁷ 'Die ix aprilis 1629 ... Seggende ende verclarende hoe dat hij inde voirs. qualiteyt heeft aengenomen de liberale ende goetgunstige donatie inter vivos van myne Eerweerdichsten heere heer Michiel Ophovius Biscop van Sertogenbosch'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Notariaat, Cornelis de Brouwer, 1628-16430 (N 751): unpaginated. Published in Damme, "Na 1585", 979, app. F. 'Ego infrascriptus Eps. Buscoducensis fr Michael Ophovius volens conscientia mee & obligationi tum erga conventum meum ... emisi summam quatuor millim florenorum idq. sub hyce sequentibus conditionibus. Primo ut tua millia florenorum ex quatuor quos dono, & donasse me hoc instrumento fateor, applicentur ad faciendam testudinem chori in eodem conventu idque quoad marmera de lapides qui comparari debent a jove. latomo qui materialibus & opera sua ad illos disponendum supra dictam testudinem, pro dicta summa 3000 flo. meeum secundum delinationem factam convenit, relique vero mille floreni impendentur pro fabro murario & alijs expensis faciendis in eodem testudine. Ree autem donatio sit sub expressa conditione, quod due sorores mee Maria & Anna vita utriusque durante, si me ante illas mori contigerit a conventu supradicto Antverpiensi habebunt pensionem seu annum additum personalem...'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Notariaat, Cornelis de Brouwer, 1628-16430 (N 751): unpaginated. Published in Damme, "Na 1585", 980, app. F. 'Inter recepta computari debet secundus circuitus per civitatem (Antverp.), qui per captivitatem nostram oblitus fuit et ascendit ad 3534 fl. 6 st., sed plus fuit expositum a me etc.'. A. M. Frenken, "Het Dagboek van Michaël Ophovius, 4 Augustus 1629 - einde 1631". *Bossche Bijdragen* 15, nos. 1-3 (March 1938): 280.

¹⁸⁸ Cauwer, *Tranen van Bloed*, 17, 59.

¹⁸⁹ Cauwer, *Tranen van Bloed*, 10, 26, 35, 292-301; Hart, *Dutch Wars of Independence*, 69-70. See also Kuijper, 's-Hertogenbosch, 607-637; Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982): 178-179; Paul Abels, "Het Beleg van Dag tot Dag". *Het Beleg van 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629*, Margriet van Boven and Maureen Trappeniers, eds. (Den Bosch: Noordbrabants Museum, 1979): 30-35; J. B. Kist, "Iets over de Belegering van 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629". *Het Beleg van 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629*, Margriet van Boven and Maureen Trappeniers, eds. (Den Bosch: Noordbrabants Museum, 1979): 25-29; C. M. Schulten, "Militaire Aspecten van het Beleg van 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629". *Bossche Bouwstenen* 2 (1979): 17-30; J. Wackie Eysten, "De Verovering van 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629". *Vragen van den Dag* 45, no. 2 (February 1930): 115-121; Joannes Cornelissen, "Het Beleg van 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629". *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 9 (1929): 111-148.

during which time he threw himself into the war effort, converting lead from a monastery roof into bullets and carrying out pastoral duties at great personal risk.¹⁹⁰ Ceaseless cannon fire did not deter Ophovius from celebrating the feast of St Dominic even when the Vuchterpoort was blown up during the procession.¹⁹¹ With the aim of marshalling divine favour such acts of recklessness dramatically raised Ophovius' stock as a white martyr. Before the city fell Ophovius delivered his final sermon in the Sint-Janskathedraal which was published in English with an anti-papal disclaimer. The bishop began by attacking his audience for living in 'amazement and feare [sic]' as martyrdom would make them 'Children of the eternall and everlasting life'; he urged Bosschenaars to 'fight now manfully for ... the holy Church' against the 'unfaithfull heretickes the *Geuses*' because the prospect of no 'pictures in their Churches' under Calvinist rule was reason enough never to surrender. While it seemed 'unpossible for us to be relieved' the Almighty could still be invoked using 'your Beades or Roosencrosses'; privately Ophovius blamed not satanic forces but Spanish misgovernment for the ensuing calamity.¹⁹²

As Israel relates the fall of 's-Hertogenbosch was a 'shattering blow' that yielded 'overall strategic superiority' to the Republic.¹⁹³ From the Dutch perspective Frederik Hendrik was David to the Spanish Goliath as portrayed in a historical allegory by Jacob Gerritz. Cuyp (Noordbrabants Museum, Den Bosch) (ill. 5.47).¹⁹⁴ Philip IV could only explain the loss as the price of his sins by which he meant too many mistresses.¹⁹⁵ The surrender was especially humiliating for Ophovius who wrote of the 'subjection' of his

¹⁹⁰ See P.-J. Rens, "De Bosschenaren Gedurende het Beleg". *Bossche Bouwstenen* 2 (1979): 31-44. Cauwer, *Tranen van Bloed*, 135-136; Abels, "Het Beleg", 32.

¹⁹¹ Abels, "Het Beleg", 33; Frenken, "Dagboek", 15-16.

¹⁹² Anonymous, *Certaine Principall Passages*, 12-18; Cauwer, *Tranen van Bloed*, 133-134.

¹⁹³ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 507-508. See also Baena, *Conflicting Worlds*, 169.

¹⁹⁴ Margriet van Boven and Maureen Trappeniers (eds.), *Het Beleg van 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629* (Den Bosch: Noordbrabants Museum, 1979): 110, cat. no. 60. See also Kuijer, *'s-Hertogenbosch*, 643-645; Samuel Ampzing, *Naszousche Lauren-Kranze* (Haarlem: 1629).

¹⁹⁵ John H. Elliott, *Spain and its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989): 247. See also Otto van Zyl, *Historia Miraculorum B. Mariae Silvadvcensis, iam ad D. Gaugerici Bruxellam translatea* (Antwerp: 1632): 353-359.

‘Catholic and pious’ flock in ‘tears of blood’ (see above). The capitulation’s first clause stipulated the religious conditions; while Catholics were granted freedom of conscience ‘The spirituall or Ecclesiasticall persons [sic], as Fryers, Priests, Monkes, shall depart out of the Towne within 6. weekes’ and as illustrated by Claes Jansz. Visscher II all ‘ecclesiastical ornaments and images’ were cleared out with them (ill. 5.48, detail).¹⁹⁶ Before 1629 the Sint-Janskathedraal was a treasure-trove of precious ornament; by Ophovius’ command five wagonfuls of it were transported to the Antwerp monastery including ‘two monstrances, silver ciboria, twelve chalices, a gilded silver ostensory, two copper lecterns in the shape of Moses and David, a silver statue of Christ, a silver pax dish engraved with the Last Supper and episcopal vestments’.¹⁹⁷ Arriving later were a portrait series of the city’s bishops, six silver candlesticks and Abraham Bloemaert’s high altarpiece *Christ and Mary Interceding with God the Father* (Sint-Janskathedraal, Den Bosch) (ill. 5.49).¹⁹⁸ Ophovius gave Isabella a richly decorated statue of St John the Evangelist to try and satisfy her acquisitive urge but otherwise all moveable property from the Sint-Janskathedraal was retained by the Order until 1642 when the new bishop of ’s-Hertogenbosch-in-exile Joseph Bergaigne had it transferred to the archdiocese of Mechelen.¹⁹⁹ In the meantime the monastery brimmed with mementos

¹⁹⁶ Anonymous, *Articles Agreed Upon*, 3. *Een groot getal wagens met Huysraet kerckelycke ornamenten en Beelden*. Boven and Trappeniers, *Beleg van ’s-Hertogenbosch*, 95, cat. no. 46. See also Kuijer, ’s-Hertogenbosch, 642-643.

¹⁹⁷ See P. Placidus, “Zorgen van Bisschop Ophovius na den Val van Den Bosch in 1629”. *Bossche Bijdragen* 13, no. 2 (September 1935): 155; Henny Molhuysen, “Verhalen en Legenden III: Gestolen Sieraden”. *Brabants Dagblad* (29 April 1993).

¹⁹⁸ C. Peeters, *De Sint Janskathedraal te ’s-Hertogenbosch* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1985): 339; Placidus, “Zorgen”, 151-154. ‘Occupata Civitate, supellec, pro majori parte, cura P. Joannis David tunc Sacristae majoris asportata fuit. Reliqua, quae non adeo commode asportati poterant, pretio, plerumque viliori, divendita fuerunt’. Jonghe, *Desolata Batavia Dominicana*, 98. For Bloemaert’s high altarpiece see Xander van Eck, *Clandestine Splendor: Paintings for the Catholic Church in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008): 30-33; F. J. van der Vaart, “De Intercessie bij God de Vader: Het Altaarstuk van Bloemaert voor de Sint-Jan”. In *Buscoducis: Kunst uit de Bourgondische Tijd te ’s-Hertogenbosch*, A. M. Koldewej, ed. (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1990): 561-563; Peeters, *Sint Janskathedraal*, 367-368. The contents of the Dominican monastery in ’s-Hertogenbosch were also transferred to that in Antwerp. ‘Ornamenta Ecclesiae, picturae, libri, aliquot statuae Sanctorum, vita ambitus & Sacelli Ss^{mi} Rosarii, Archivum Conventus, cum sigillis suis, navi imposita fuerunt, ut veherentur Antverpiam’. Jonghe, *Desolata Batavia Dominicana*, 98.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Imprimis image Stⁱ Joannis Evangelistae argentea cum bireto rubeo et corona deaurata cum insignibus caesareis, aliisque margaritis; ponderatque cum catena et soliis, et pede argenteo, sexaginta octo libris’. Placidus, “Zorgen”, 153, 178-179, app. 10. Jan Mosmans, *De St. Janskerk te ’s-Hertogenbosch: Nieuwe Geschiedenis* (Den Bosch: G. Mosmans Zoon, 1931): 492; Peeters, *Sint Janskathedraal*, 339.

from the bailiwick imbued with the trauma of exile. Of all treasures to be rescued the Zoete Lieve Vrouw of 's-Hertogenbosch was the most coveted (Sint-Janskathedraal, Den Bosch; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich) (ills. 5.50-51).²⁰⁰ Initially condemned as firewood on account of its ugliness the miraculous statue became the object of fervent pilgrimage and had provided the cathedral with a major source of income since its discovery in the fourteenth century.²⁰¹ After the city's fall the Zoete Lieve Vrouw was entrusted to local noblewoman Anna van Hambroeck who as the cult's chief patron could arbitrate the statue's fate. Supported by the cathedral chapter and Catholic Bosschenaars Isabella wanted it for Brussels; however as reported by the archduchess' parliamentary secretary '[Ophovius] will be difficult to persuade, because he wants to put the said image in the church of the Dominicans in Antwerp'.²⁰² Van Hambroeck's devotion to the Zoete Lieve Vrouw was so intense she was compelled to live nearby, telling Ophovius that Antwerp's 'air and rabid sickness' made such arrangements impossible there.²⁰³ Even though all parties considered the Catholic restoration of 's-Hertogenbosch inevitable Van Hambroeck insisted on giving the Zoete Lieve Vrouw its own staffed chapel in the interim which was not possible in a monastic church. Yet Ophovius remained intransigent and Van Hambroeck would not send the statue to Brussels 'without the consent of my most honourable lord the bishop'; under pressure from Isabella he complied only very reluctantly.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Peeters, *Sint Janskathedraal*, 365-366.

²⁰¹ Henny Molhuysen, "Verhalen en Legenden II: Ex Voto's als Dank voor Verhoord Gebed". *Brabants Dagblad* (28 July 1988); Henny Molhuysen, "Verhalen en Legenden I: De Zoete Moeder". *Brabants Dagblad* (7 July 1988); Zyl, *Historia Miraculorum*; Augustinus Wichmans, *Brabantia Mariana Tripartita* (Antwerp: 1632): 369-383; Peeters, *Sint Janskathedraal*, 54-55; Kuijper, 's-Hertogenbosch, 297.

²⁰² Placidus, "Zorgen", 135-137, 154-158. "...como dicha damusela avia venido de Bolduque en Amberes con cierta imagen milagrosa de Nostra Senora ... a quien aviendo mostrado mi carta, dice que el obispo pone difficultad en consentirselo, pretendiendo, a lo que parece de poner dicha imagen en la yglesia de los Fraylos de San Domingo en Amveres". Placidus, "Zorgen", 181, app. 13.

²⁰³ '[2 February 1630] Adfuit D^a Anna Hambroeck, quae mecum egit de Imagine vel Statua B. Virg. Buscoducis et de fundatione 15 virginum. Dicebat, se non posse Antverpiæ vivere propter aerem et morbum caninum. Ego consolatus sum illam et promisi omne subsidium'. Frenken, "Dagboek", 83.

²⁰⁴ "...het miraculeus belt van de Soete Moeder Godts van Sertogenbos, het welck ick van wegen den erwerdichsten heere den bisschoep". Placidus, "Zorgen", 177, app. 8; 159-163. See also Aart Vos, 's-Hertogenbosch: *De Geschiedenis van een Brabantse Stad, 1629-1990* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997): *passim*; J. P. W. A. Smit, "De Overdracht van het Beeld der Zoete Lieve Vrouwe van 's-Hertogenbosch aan Prelaat en

Although Ophovius failed to secure the Zoete Lieve Vrouw for Antwerp this episode is nonetheless significant. Until the silverware was requisitioned for Mechelen the Sint-Pauluskerk was the Sint-Janskathedraal-in-exile at least in the minds of the Order (see sections 5-6). The trauma of 's-Hertogenbosch's fall could only increase the efficacy of the cult; having escaped the 'Babylonian captivity' of the States-General the Zoete Lieve Vrouw was splendidly installed in Brussels as consolation for so great a strategic and symbolic loss.²⁰⁵ As such Ophovius' reluctance to relinquish the holy statue speaks volumes about his ambitions for the *ecclesia fratrum* wherein it would have been the jewel in the crown, attracting pilgrims and patronage from the Generality Lands to enhance the feeling of exile; indeed wailing Bosschenaars took part in the procession accompanying the Zoete Lieve Vrouw's transfer from the Coudenberg Palace to Brussels Cathedral in 1630.²⁰⁶ As well as wagonfuls of silverware Ophovius returned from 's-Hertogenbosch with equivalent sums of moral capital which he invested in the Dominican Church in tandem. By turning the *ecclesia fratrum* into his memorial chapel the fall of "little Rome" made Ophovius a living legend whose example could proselytise Dominican friars into joining the Dutch Mission.

Kanunniken Regulier der Abdij van Sint Jacobs opt Caudenberg te Brussel". *Taxandria* 20, no. 2 (1913): 26-33; Denis de Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia Christiana* (Paris: 1715-1874): V.402.

²⁰⁵ 'Et hi tamen non solum Ierusalem interceperunt, sed & gentem illam a Deo tam dilectam, funditus paene exciderunt, ut jam de Assyria, & Babylonica captivitate taceam'. Wichmans, *Brabantia Mariana*, 382.

²⁰⁶ Maarten Delbeke, "Religious Architecture and the Image in the Southern Netherlands after the *Beeldenstorm*: Shrines for Miracle-Working Statues of the Virgin Mary". *The Companions to the History of Architecture. Volume I: Renaissance and Baroque Architecture*, Alina Payne, ed. (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2017): 434-466; Placidus, "Zorgen", 163; Zyl, *Historia Miraculorum*, 359-365.

6: Hero-worship – the *ecclesia fratrum* as Ophovius' memorial chapel

When it had pleased God to look upon our prayers with more kindly eyes, Ophovius – and in turn others somewhat younger – took charge of matters ... For restoring the face of this church and monastery to the splendour we see today, we concede the laurels to their leader, Ophovius.

Hyacinthus Choquet, *In Fvnere Michaelis Ophovii Oratio*.²⁰⁷

This section begins to reconstruct the decoration of the Dominican Church choir c. 1639 and asks questions about how it could have functioned as Ophovius' memorial chapel. Rubens' likely role in this project is the subject of the following section. If all political lives end in failure Ophovius' was no exception; having been arrested on his first missionary assignment the unconquerable bastion of 's-Hertogenbosch also fell under his watch. As such the construction of his heroic martyrdom and its commemoration in the *ecclesia fratrum* should be read 'against the grain'. As John Winkler explains in relation to classical Greek literature, 'My aim is ... to infiltrate [the] text with questions, like those of a visiting anthropologist, who notices problems which native experiences raise without directly addressing'.²⁰⁸ The target of widespread satire north of the border (see sections 2 and 4) Ophovius' enshrinement as a second saint Dominic or Paul could not have worked in the literal sense but only by analogy. As Steven Pinker explains, '[While] the illusions foisted upon us by physical images are never more than partially effective ... The ability to entertain propositions without necessarily believing them ... is a fundamental ability of human cognition'.²⁰⁹ The *ecclesia fratrum* was a hypothetical world that had to be entertained. Constructed by those with intimate knowledge of his failings including Rubens who had previously mocked him,

²⁰⁷ '...at cum Numini nostrorum preces benignioribus oculis videre placitum fuit, rerumque nostros inter potitus est OPHOVIVS, ac deinceps ali aetate paulo inferiores, religionis amore aud impares, in restituenda huius templi & domus facie, in splendorem quem hodie cernimus, ab iis, eorumque principe OPHOVIO, cui palmam concedimus, strenue est desudatum'. Choquet, *In Fvnere*, 13. My thanks to Robert Smith at the University of York for his assistance.

²⁰⁸ John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (London: Routledge, 1990): 104.

²⁰⁹ Steven Pinker, *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (London: Penguin, 2019): 215.

Ophovius' heroic martyrdom made for an effective moral exemplum only after his quasi-sainthood had been sufficiently abstract.

According to his funeral oration Ophovius 'took charge' of building and decorating to the extent that he deserved a laurel crown. That Rubens was involved in the *ecclesia fratrum* is known from Ophovius' diary. On 4 February 1631 the bishop visited Rubens at home '*pro disponenda sepultura*'. Herremans argues that Ophovius sought his advice for something like a 'burial chapel with an altar' within the choir space. Ecclesiastical dignitaries including Bishop Triest arranged their *commemoria* long in advance of their deaths; while Ophovius' funeral effigy 'as executed' might be too archaic to have been Rubens' design proper, the physiognomy of the face closely resembles one of his later portrait types.²¹⁰ More broadly Rubens could have designed a new retable for the *Wrath of Christ* and his role in finalising the stained glass windows and securing patronage from the Brabantian nobility is discussed in Section 8. The *ecclesia fratrum* was set in motion by Rubens and Ophovius but neither actively sought authorship of the decorative scheme. Artworks and in particular architectural spaces should be seen as composites or as Roland Barthes put it '[tissues] of quotations' engaged in 'mutual relations of dialogue'. The *ecclesia fratrum* was less of an ego-monument than a nucleus of time-honoured ideals which Ophovius was shown to embody; the axis of this 'multiplicity' was the viewer who unlike Barthes' blank slate of a 'reader' had a 'history, biography, psychology' born of the confessional context. The decorative palimpsest which enshrined the *Wrath of Christ* was an innovative hagiographic construction that audaciously interweaved the lives of legendary saints with that of Ophovius. As Michel Foucault observed the 'characteristic signs, figures, relationships and structures' of works of art can create an 'endless possibility of discourse'

²¹⁰ '4 Febr. Ivi ad D^{um} Rubbenium pro disponenda sepultura'. Frenken, "Dagboek", 183. Herremans, *CRLB XXII* (4), 201, cat. no. 17a. See Katlijne van der Stighelen and Jonas Roelens, "Made in Heaven, Burned in Hell: The Trial of the Sodomite Sculptor Hiëronymus Duquesnoy (1602-1654)". *Facts and Feelings: Retracing Emotions of Artists, 1600-1800*, Hannelore Magnus and Katlijne van der Stichelen, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015): 7.

through their abstraction into archetypes.²¹¹ In this way Ophovius was used as a missionary paradigm for the province of Lower Germany.

The capture of 's-Hertogenbosch made Antwerp a frontier city within the Habsburg Empire's shifting borders; although the Dutch only came close at Kallo in 1638 the threat of invasion was cause enough for a siege mentality to take hold.²¹² As the new *Roma Belgica* Antwerp assumed 's-Hertogenbosch's mantle as a defensive bulwark (see Section 5).²¹³ The decoration of the *ecclesia fratrum* as the Sint-Janskathedraal-in-exile reflected wider trends of confessional displacement. Catholics in Protestant states were reluctant to dispense with their sacred locations which they 'mobilised as living links with the holy history of these territories' as Alexandra Walsham argues in a Welsh context.²¹⁴ The Sint-Janskathedraal as it was under Ophovius continued to exist in the minds of local Catholics as represented by Saenredam's painting of 1646 in which the choir is depicted not as it was then but 'in full Catholic splendour and all decked out for Mass' albeit with the wrong high altarpiece; thus was the space 'fictionally [repossessed] for Catholic worship' for the satisfaction of the patron as Judith Pollmann argues (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC) (ill. 5.52).²¹⁵ Similarly the Order used objects and symbols to appropriate the paradigm of the Sint-Janskathedraal for their missionary agenda. Ophovius' legend was enshrined in many places in the monastery down to the refectory wall and in the choir his white martyrdom was put to political use (see Chapter 2). As Ditchfield explains saints in the early modern period became 'tropes or discursive tools' through which 'family tragedy and dishonour' could be turned

²¹¹ Roland Barthes and Stephen Heath (trans.), *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1977): 148; Michel Foucault "What is an Author?". *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, Donald Preziosi, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 310.

²¹² Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 512-523, 527-537. Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin, 2010): 661; Hart, *Dutch Wars of Independence*, 26-28; Israel, *Hispanic World*, 259-260.

²¹³ For the appearance of the choir c. 1629 see Kuijper, 's-Hertogenbosch, 204-214.

²¹⁴ Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014): 187.

²¹⁵ Judith Pollmann, "Burying the Dead; Reliving the Past: Ritual, Resentment and Sacred Space in the Dutch Republic". *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570-1720*, Benjamin Kaplan et al., eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009): 93.

into martyrdom and thus weaponised.²¹⁶ Portrayed as St Dominic in the *Wrath of Christ* and surrounded by scenes from the life of St Paul in stained glass, Ophovius' trials and tribulations were shown to have universal ramifications. By evoking the origins of Christian Rome itself Ophovius' personal *historia* joined 'that past' with a 'powerful present' which was the end goal of all holiness rhetoric.²¹⁷

In her book on Naples Cathedral, Hills conceptualises the early modern chapel as 'machinic' i.e. a generator of sanctity with 'spiritual, technical, corporeal ... and material matters and qualities' for component parts; housing the relics of Naples' protector saints most importantly the miraculous liquefying blood of San Gennaro, the Treasury Chapel is an exuberant ecclesiastical palimpsest in which paintings are embedded (ill. 5.53). The 'perpetual state of emergency' that came with being situated at the foot of Vesuvius stoked the engine of this *machina spiritualis* because Naples' protector saints were constantly being invoked.²¹⁸ Likewise conflict in the Generality Lands was cause for the *ecclesia fratum* of the Dominican Church to fire on all cylinders as a generator of missionary zeal within which the *Wrath of Christ* became a rhetorical doomsday machine that made more strident analogies between sacred history and recent political events. For Cicero history was an art best entrusted to orators who alone could make events memorable and use their historical knowledge to '[shed] light upon reality, [give] life to recollection and guidance to human existence, and [bring] tidings of ancient days'. The iconography of the decorative scheme can be compared to the *inventio* stage at the beginning of an address during which the speaker presented a range of moral paragons to their audience (see Chapter 1).²¹⁹ By likening

²¹⁶ Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints", 157-160.

²¹⁷ Hahn, "Seeing and Believing", 1105. See also Ditchfield, "Romanus and Catholicus", 131-147.

²¹⁸ Helen Hills, *The Matter of Miracles: Neapolitan Baroque Architecture and Sanctity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016): 1-2, 216-217, 253; Hills, "How to Look Like", 218-229. See also Helen Hills, "Taking Place: Architecture and Religious Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Italy". *The Companions to the History of Architecture. Volume I: Renaissance and Baroque Architecture*, Alina Payne, ed. (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2017): 315-320.

²¹⁹ Marcus Tullius Cicero et al., *On the Orator* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942): 225, II.9.36; Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints", 176.

Ophovius to saints Dominic and Paul the discourse became a perpetual funeral oration, the gravitas of which was sustained by the exclusivity of the space behind the rood screen.

Sanctity in this period was less ‘supraterrestrial and unified’ than idiosyncratic and local, a product of peripheries as well as centralised directives. Even in the Eternal City itself shrines did not communicate the divine in the abstract but were the ‘point at which historical time ... meets spiritual time through the [site-specific] martyred body’. For example Stefano Maderno’s relic-like statue of St Cecilia from 1600 collapses past, present and the eternal by representing her corpse in its freshly martyred state which was how Baronio claimed to have discovered her in the Roman catacombs (Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome) (ill. 5.54). Within Rome’s sacred topography churches could be very particular ‘[springs] of holiness’ as represented by St Cecilia’s bleeding neck wound which notionally consecrated the high altar by gesturing to soak her particular patch of Trastevere with Christian blood. The cult of saints in the form of relics made holiness commodifiable, transportable and even peripatetic to the extent that buildings could fly. According to legend the Mamluk capture of Acre prompted angels to transport the Virgin’s place of birth, the Santa Casa from Nazareth to Loreto where it was “discovered” in 1295 as illustrated by Guillaume du Tielt in the seventeenth century; a monumental pilgrimage complex was then built around the shrine (British Museum, London) (ills. 5.55-56).²²⁰ While pieces of the ancient hut were subject to a holy embargo the Santa Casa was copied around the world, the mania for which reached its peak in the seventeenth century.²²¹ In Antwerp the chapel of the scapular confraternity in the Calced Carmelite Church was built to the dimensions of the Santa Casa which together with the Marian iconography of Van Diepenbeeck’s stained glass windows cemented the order’s bond with the Virgin (see Section 7).²²² The Church of the Holy

²²⁰ Hills, “How to Look Like”, 212-217; Hills, *Matter of Miracles*, 351-385. Karin Vélez, *The Miraculous Flying House of Loreto: Spreading Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019): 3-5, 55. See also Orazio Torsellini, *Lavretanæ Historiae, Libri Qvinqve* (Mainz: 1600). Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 195-217.

²²¹ Vélez, *Miraculous Flying House*, 5-8, 117-152.

²²² Herremans, *Lost Antwerp Churches*, 101-102.

Sepulchre in Jerusalem received multiple simulacra in the medieval West including the Jeruzalemkerk in Bruges (ill. 5.57).²²³ Likewise the Burchtkerk in Antwerp had nineteen steps leading to the high altar just like the upper chapel of Calvary in Jerusalem.²²⁴ Rather than treated as fake these replicas were venerated for the prototypes they represented; in acts of pseudo-pilgrimage full-scale models had the ‘power to evoke emotions associated with the sacred past’ as Karin Vélez argues.²²⁵ Thus could the Dominican Church become a portal to sites beyond itself and substitute for the Sint-Janskathedraal during the ‘Babylonian captivity’ of Ophovius’ diocese.

The final years of Ophovius’ life were marked by bitter disappointment. After 1629 Ophovius resided in Geldrop Castle near Eindhoven as the guest of Amandus van Horne II from where Ophovius tried to assimilate Ravenstein into his diocese (ill. 5.58).²²⁶ Although approved by the *Propaganda Fide* his plans were opposed by the lord of Ravenstein as well as the prince-bishop of Liège; six months before Ophovius’ death Rome declared that in this affair ‘nothing shall change’.²²⁷ This was not the final insult because in 1636 the States-General banned Catholic clergy from ’s-Hertogenbosch outright forcing Ophovius to take up residence in Lier.²²⁸ On 7 May 1637 Ophovius attended the provincial chapter in the Antwerp monastery at which he paid for dinner and may have presented Neefs I’s interior view to the new provincial (see Introduction).²²⁹ Ophovius died that November of exhaustion

²²³ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 56-60; Vélez, *Miraculous Flying House*, 132-133. See also Oosterhout, “Architecture as Relic”, 4-23.

²²⁴ Lawrence, “Raising of the Cross in Context”, 264-265.

²²⁵ Vélez, *Miraculous Flying House*, 137-138. See also June L. Mecham, “A Northern Jerusalem: Transforming the Spatial Geography of the Convent of Wienhausen”. *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005): 139-160.

²²⁶ Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 83-99. See also Eugène Franken et al., *Kasteel Geldrop: Een Edel Verleden* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 2016); Anonymous, “Ophovius en ‘Zijn’ Kasteel: Bossche Bisschop Voelde Zich Bijzonder Thuis op het Kasteel van Geldrop”. *Bisdomblad* 42 (1997): 10.

²²⁷ ‘...in controversia, quae vertitur inter serenissimum principem Neoburgi et R. P. D^{um} Episcopum Buscoducensem super oppido Ravenstein nihil esse innovandum’. Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 99-104.

²²⁸ Frenken, “Bossche Bisschop”, 63-64, 98-105. See also Arthur Lens and Jos Mortelmans, *Gids voor Oud Lier* (Antwerp: Standaard, 1980): 73-74; Pieter Nuyens, “Mgr. Ophovius, Bisschop te Lier”. *‘t Land van Ryen* 1 (1951): 19-24.

²²⁹ ‘Provincia Germaniae inferioris sequentibus temporibus in hoc Conventu Capitula Provincialia celebravit ... Anno 1637 die 7 Maii. Rmus P. Michaël Ophovius Episcopus Buscoducensis, ex hoc Conventu assumptus,

and frustration according to his funeral oration, sentiments which Boucquet echoed when reporting to the *Propaganda Fide*.²³⁰ In spite or perhaps because of his famous generosity Ophovius died a pauper; only 166 gulden was found on his person and his legacy did not even cover the funeral costs.²³¹ While Ophovius had previously donated 4,000 gulden for the choir's construction others had to be called upon to pay for its decoration (see Section 8).

7: Rubens, Ophovius and 's-Hertogenbosch

This section sets out Ophovius' relationship with Rubens and in turn Rubens' connections with 's-Hertogenbosch. Using drawings made by Dutch artist Pieter Saenredam on a visit to the city in 1632, parities with the Sint-Janskathedraal in sculpture and furniture including Ophovius' funeral effigy are examined in turn. Rubens' relationship with Ophovius became more intimate after he was ordained bishop. The claim that Ophovius was Rubens' confessor as stated in the eighteenth-century etching after the Mauritshuis portrait cannot be substantiated (see Section 2) but their friendship is amply attested by Ophovius' diary entries.²³² In 1631 the year he visited Rubens' house '*pro disponenda sepultura*' the bishop

pro fide exul, Capitulum hoc sua praesentia honoravit, & omnes expensas mensae munifice persolvit'. Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum*, 208. See also Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 99.

²³⁰ 'Dum enim tantae calamitati suppetiae queruntur, & porro protrahuntur, ista malorum aerumnæ illæ sui populi gementis ac fatiscentis, eius animum labefactarunt, ut sola moestitudine contabescens nullius alterius morbi accessu, extremam vitae horam & periodum adspexerit'. Choquet, *In Fvnere*, 19-20. See also Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 105. 'P. Michael Ophovius, Ordinis nostri magnum columen et haereticorum mastys, post immensos labores, quos pro Ecclesia Dei et Regis Catholici defensione infracto animo pertulit, Lyrae pientissime in Domino obdormivit, magno omnium luctu'. Cornelissen, *Romeinsche Bronnen*, I.551, no. 574. See also Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 105.

²³¹ '...a morte sola centum sexaginta sex scuta penes eum reperta sint; argumento est, eum, thesaurum in Christi gazophylacio (ut cum Chrysologo loquar) repositum habuisse: *Nam, ait ille, manus pauperis est gazophylacium Christi (Ibidem)*'. Choquet, *In Fvnere*, 19; Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 105-106. Boucquet to Pierre Roose, 14 December 1637: 'Cum interea Conventus vere pauperrimus destituantur sua haereditate, adeo ut non supersit unde vel exequiae celebrentur, supplex rogo, ut pro sui prudentia et singulari affectu in hunc suum Conventum Antverpiensem statuere dignetur, quod in ejus bonum esse judicaverit, et harum latorem vel in hac causa occurrunt'. Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 163, app. 15.

²³² Jan de Hond and Paul Huys Janssen, *Pieter Saenredam in Den Bosch* (Eindhoven: Lecturis, 2013): 11-38. See also Marten Jan Bok and Gary Schwartz, "Pieter Jansz. Saenredam en 's-Hertogenbosch". *In Buscoducis: Kunst uit de Bourgondische Tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch*, A. M. Koldewey, ed. (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1990): 574-579. Their relationship was first discussed in Max Rooses, "Rubens en Ophovius".

was enjoying an active social life as part of Antwerp's metropolitan elite. On 28 January Rubens had lunch with Ophovius at Geldrop Castle and did so again on 7 August.²³³ The following day they dined at the house of Hendrik van Varick, the Margrave of Antwerp whose funeral effigy stands opposite Ophovius' in the Dominican Church (see Section 8).²³⁴ On 23 August Ophovius dined at Rubens' house in the company of his wife Helena Fourment and Dudley Carleton and his and a few days later the British ambassador invited Ophovius, Rubens and family to his residence; according to the bishop, 'After lunch, because the wine so displeased us, we were led to [Jan] Woverius' house and he threw a banquet, to which came Councillor [Jacob] Roelants etc.'.²³⁵ In the early modern period wining and dining were vital social lubricants by which means professionals could consolidate friendships and profitably network as practised by Rubens within the guild of Romanists of which Woverius was a member (see Chapter 4). As Section 8 demonstrates Ophovius' social connections were manifest in the heraldry of the choir which indicated who financed the decoration.

Rubens had longstanding connections with 's-Hertogenbosch and thanks to Ophovius was familiar with its sacred topography. Around 1615 Rubens painted the *Death of St Anthony Abbot* for the local hatters' guild who had a chapel in the Sint-Janskathedraal; several entries in Ophovius' diary are concerned with the fate of this altarpiece suggesting that he was personally involved in the commission (Schloss Weißenstein, Pommersfelden)

Rubens-Bulletijn 5, no. 3 (1900): 161-163. See also Herremans, *CRLB XXII* (4), 197, cat. no. 17. *P:P: Rubenij Confessarius*. Herremans, *CRLB XXII* (4), 197, cat. no. 17. Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, Den Bosch, 2166.2: Handschriften van het Bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch, *Dagboek van Ophovius, Bisschop van 's-Hertogenbosch, 1629-1632*. First published in full in Frenken, "Dagboek".

²³³ '28 Jan 1631. Mane invisit me Dus Amandus (van Horne) cum fratre et multi alii. Domi pransus cum Patribus. Invisi D. Rubbens etc.'. Frenken, "Dagboek", 181. '7 Aug. Domi invisi Rubbens'. Frenken, "Dagboek", 235.

²³⁴ '8 Aug. Pransus in domo Marcgravii cum D. van Oncle, Rubbens, D^o praeposito Trajectensi [N. Micault] et D^a Ridderspoors et filia et Patre Bocquetio'. Frenken, "Dagboek", 235.

²³⁵ '23 Aug. Post congregationem pransus cum D^o Montfort, ubi erat D^{us} Rubbens cum uxore [Helena Fourment] et D. van Oncle et Agens Regis Angliae [C(h)oran?] cum uxore'. Frenken, "Dagboek", 237. '25 Aug. Pransi in domo Agentis Angliae cum D^o decano Helverebeec, Martyni; aderant D^{us} Wouwerius, D^{us} Rubbenius cum uxore et nepte, doctor etc. Post prandium, quia vinum displicuerat, duxit nos D^{us} Wouwerius domum suam et dedit banquetum, cui supervenit D^{us} consiliarius Roelantius etc.'. Frenken, "Dagboek", 238.

(ill. 5.59).²³⁶ As Julia Gierse argues the *Repentant Sinners and Saints* altarpiece in Kassel was ordered by Ophovius c. 1618 ‘for a place with which the clergyman was closely connected’ which could have been ’s-Hertogenbosch (see Section 2). Bearing the features of Ophovius St Dominic’s liminal position behind St Francis but with his right hand demonstratively outstretched makes this his donor portrait; contemporary copies show that St Dominic originally occupied more pictorial space before it was trimmed and mounted onto panel (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg) (ills. 5.60, detail and 5.61). With its emphasis on the reformatory value of mendicancy the altarpiece was plausibly intended for ’s-Hertogenbosch’s Dominican monastery (see Section 5). In the artist’s possession at the time of his death Rubens may have kept the altarpiece as a friendship memento having possibly recovered it from ’s-Hertogenbosch after 1629. As Gierse identifies the Christ child and the infant St John the Baptist were modelled on Rubens’ children Albert and Nicolaas as evidenced by their matching poses in surviving drawn portraits; although to use such templates was common studio practice the disguised inclusion of Rubens’ children can be interpreted as a token of affection towards Ophovius (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest; Albertina, Vienna) (ills. 5.62-63).²³⁷ Both altarpieces were pretexts for Rubens to have

²³⁶ Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, I.92-95, cat. no. 64. See also A. M. Koldewej (ed.), *In Buscoducis: Kunst uit de Bourgondische Tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch* (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1990): 294, cat. no. 181; Hans Vlieghe, ‘Pieter Paul Rubens en ’s-Hertogenbosch’. *In Buscoducis: Kunst uit de Bourgondische Tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch*, A. M. Koldewej, ed. (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1990): 565-566. ‘30 Dec 1630. Respondi mag. Laurentio (v. Lommel) et scripsi, quod ante discessum meum compareret hic, frumentum venderet 32, 33 et ultra etc., effigiem Rev^{mi} conferret, libellos de obsidione Buscoducis secum ferret ... 10 Martii. Recepti litteras a D^o Arnaldo Godefridi van Aken Antverpiae, quibus significat, uxorem de Moij (Buscod.) ad instantiam junioris Swertii (canonici Buscod.) vendidisse tabulam S. Antonii etc. Scripsi D^o vicario hac de re ... 11 Martii ... Scripsi quoque de tabula, picta per Rubbens, S. Antonii, quae debetur D^o Arnaldo van Aken, quam vendidit uxor de Moij ... 16 Martii ... In prandio nemo nisi D^a Taeterbeeck, de Moij Sylvaeducensis, pictor et Swertius canonicus; venerunt cum Pastore in Mirloo. Tractavi negotium van Aken de ornamenti; et nec tabula vendita, nec ornamenti alienata etc.; imo accusabant ab Aken, quod quinque candelabra aenea altaris S. Antonii abstulisset et aliqua ornamenti’. Frenken, “Dagboek”, 173-194. See also Peeters, *Sint Janskathedraal*, 368-370.

²³⁷ My thanks to Arnout Balis and Fiona Healy at the Rubenianum, Antwerp for their assistance. Gierse, *Büßeraltar*, passim. See also Healy, *CRLB IV*, forthcoming; Júlia Tátrai and Ágota Varga (eds.), *Rubens, Van Dyck and the Splendour of Flemish Painting* (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2019): 140, cat. no. 13; S. P. Wolfs, “Het Bossche Dominicanenklooster”. *Bossche Bouwstenen* 6 (1983): 37-58; Jonghe, *Desolata Batavia Dominicana*, 94-105.

visited 's-Hertogenbosch which as Vlieghe suggests could have happened c. 1617.²³⁸ During his tenure as bishop Rubens painted Ophovius' portrait at three-quarter length (Bisschoppelijk Paleis, Den Bosch) (ill. 5.64, copy).²³⁹ In 1630 Ophovius arranged to have the original rescued from the captured city.²⁴⁰ Depicted afresh with completely grey hair this is the only portrait type to feature a Venetian-style background of colonnade and country vista which are recurring features in portraits by Titian.²⁴¹ It is possible that Rubens travelled to 's-Hertogenbosch before 1629 to paint it. A related drawing made *ad vivum* conveys the lifelikeness of the original; striking a similar pose Ophovius stares back at the viewer with frankness, resolve and a hint of trepidation (Musée du Louvre, Paris) (ill. 5.65).²⁴²

Rubens is thought to have designed the high altar of the Sint-Janskathedraal. This was built c. 1617-1620 by Hans van Mildert who was Rubens' 'intimate friend'; dismantled in the nineteenth century the retable survives in pieces (Heeswijk Castle) (ill. 5.66).²⁴³ Saenredam meticulously recorded its original appearance in a drawing upon which his famous painting of 1646 is based (British Museum, London) (ill. 5.67) (see Section 6).²⁴⁴ The portico featured life-size statuary and giant order columns in polychrome marble which as Herremans argues gave it 'strong affinity ... with Rubens's architectural sculptural idiom

²³⁸ Vlieghe, "Rubens en 's-Hertogenbosch", 566. See also Frans Baudouin, "Rubens en de Altaartuinen 'van Metaal' te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1616-1617". *Rubens and his World: Studies*, Arnout Balis and Frans Baudouin, eds. (Antwerp: Het Gulden Cabinet, 1985): 165-167.

²³⁹ Vlieghe, *CRLB XIX* (2), 142-143, cat. no. 127. See also Tax and Tax-Coolen, "Portretten", 115-119, cat. nos. 17-18; Koldeweij, *In Buscoducis*, 280, cat. no. 174.

²⁴⁰ '30 Dec 1630. Respondi mag. Laurentio (v. Lommel) et scripsi, quod ante discessum meum compareret hic, frumentum venderet 32, 33 et ultra etc., effigiem Rev^{mi} conferret, libellos de obsidione Buscoducis secum ferret'. Frenken, "Dagboek", 173.

²⁴¹ See for example Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian: Complete Edition* (London: Phaidon, 1969-1975): II.90-91, cat. no. 22; II.124, cat. no. 73; II.143, cat. no. 103.

²⁴² Vlieghe, "Rubens en 's-Hertogenbosch", 566-567; Vlieghe, *CRLB XIX* (2), 143-144, cat. no. 127a. See also Tax and Tax-Coolen, "Portretten", 119-120, cat. no. 19; Koldeweij, *In Buscoducis*, 281, cat. no. 175; Sutton, *Age of Rubens*, 281, cat. no. 23.

²⁴³ Willem Bergé, "Het Voormalige Hoogaltaar in de Sint-Jan". *In Buscoducis: Kunst uit de Bourgondische Tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch*, A. M. Koldeweij, ed. (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1990): 443-447; Peeters, *Sint Janskathedraal*, 338-339; Leyssens, "Hans van Mildert", 74, 103-105, 132. Further pieces are held by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam and the Noordbrabants Museum, Den Bosch. Bergé, "Voormalige Hoogaltaar", 447-451.

²⁴⁴ Hond and Janssen, *Saenredam*, 52-54, cat. no. 4; Koldeweij, *In Buscoducis*, 44, cat. no. 8. Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1995): 353-359, inv. no. 1961.9.33 (1395). See also Hond and Janssen, *Saenredam*, 116-119, cat. no. 16.

in the relevant period' (ill. 5.68).²⁴⁵ Once Bloemaert had delivered the high altarpiece the Sint-Janskathedraal churchwardens travelled to Antwerp in 1616 seeking advice on how to build a retable with *firmitas* and the right proportions to which end they consulted Rubens (see Section 5). The initial design which was sub-optimal by consensus could have been Van Mildert's; a new 'pattern' was delivered to the churchwardens before their departure from Antwerp and Rubens was the very likely author.²⁴⁶ Twenty years later if trying to evoke the Sint-Janskathedraal within the *ecclesia fratrum* the *Wrath of Christ* would have received a portico like this surmounted by a statue of St Paul and made of wood to save money (see Section 1).²⁴⁷ The hypothesis that Rubens could have designed the *Wrath of Christ*'s pre-1670 retable is supported by his work for other Antwerp churches. The high altars of the Jesuit Church and St Michael's Abbey and their respective altarpieces are extant but dispersed (Sint-Carolus Borromeuskerk, Antwerp) (Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp; Heilige Trudo, Zundert) (ills. 5.69-72). In the case of the Jesuit Church Rubens' design for the architectural surround survives (Albertina, Vienna) (ill. 5.73).²⁴⁸ Concerning the *Adoration of the Magi* for St Michael's Abbey Barbara Haeger describes the retable as once 'very effectively [reinforcing] the theme of triumph apparent in the painting'.²⁴⁹ Rubens designed the freestanding statues of saints Norbert and Michael

²⁴⁵ Bergé, "Voormalige Hoogaltaar", 453-463. Herremans, *CRLB XXII (4)*, 73.

²⁴⁶ '...voors. patroon en was hen niet seer behaechelijck ten respecte van de disproportie der beelden als ettelycke te groot ende d'meeste deel van dyn te cleyn geteekent synde door de groote hoochte ende 't geene dan deselve beelden haere draeght up zouden hebbe oock te debil te syn gestelt ende meer andere imperfectien oft faulten ... dat [Rubens] hen een patroon ter begeerte van den selven [Kerckmeesteren] soude doen vuijtteekenend ende des anderend daegs voor hen vertreck in de herberghe gebracht wordden'. Herremans, *CRLB XXII (4)*, 71-73, notes 36-37. Bergé, "Voormalige Hoogaltaar", 441-443.

²⁴⁷ My thanks to Valérie Herremans at the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp for discussing this personally.

²⁴⁸ Fabri, *CRLB XXII (3)*, 177-198, cat. nos. 8-11; Herremans, *CRLB XXII (4)*, 139-152, cat. nos. 4-6. Other instances where Rubens was responsible for both the high altarpiece and the retable include the Cathedral and the Calced Carmelite Church in Antwerp, as well as Ghent Cathedral and Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle in Brussels. Fabri, *CRLB XXII (3)*, 126-139, 167-185, cat. nos. 1-3, 8a, 13.

²⁴⁹ Barbara Haeger, "Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi* and the Program for the High Altar of St Michael's Abbey in Antwerp". *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 25, no. 1 (1997): 61; Hans Devisscher and Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part V (1): The Life of Christ before the Passion. The Youth of Christ* (London: Harvey Miller, 2014): 214-219, cat. no. 43. See also Barbara Haeger, "Abbot van der Sterre and St. Michael's Abbey: The Restoration of its Church, its Image, and its

trampling heresy underfoot in two oil sketches (Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp; private collection) (ills. 5.74-75).²⁵⁰ The retable in the *ecclesia fratrum* would have likewise sported programmatic sculpture through which St Paul would have been set up in dialogue with the *Wrath of Christ* as an apostle of the Church Militant.²⁵¹

The *ecclesia fratrum* may have consciously emulated the Sint-Janskathedraal in other ways. Another of the cathedral's outstanding features was a sculpture-encrusted rood screen built in 1613 by Coenraet Norenburg II (Victoria & Albert Museum, London) (ill. 5.76).²⁵² Although much more grandiose than its Antwerp equivalent the intensifying effect of enclosure below lofty gothic vaulting as conveyed by Saenredam in his westward-facing drawing was surely comparable (Musées des Tissus et des Arts Décoratifs, Lyon) (ill. 5.77) (see Section 1).²⁵³ Within their narrowed walls both choirs contained handsome stalls which faced the high altar in horseshoe formation; those in 's-Hertogenbosch which date from the mid-fifteenth century combine freestanding saints with grotesque monsters, the craftsmanship of which was long admired (ill. 5.78).²⁵⁴ Those in Antwerp made between 1632-1638 feature putti, finely carved harvest motifs and a plethora of heraldry (see Section

Place in Antwerp". *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage 1550-1700*, Hans Vlieghe and Katlijne van der Stighelen, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005): 171-175.

²⁵⁰ Herremans, *CRLB XXII (4)*, 145-152, cat. nos. 5-6.

²⁵¹ For more on Rubens' work in architectural sculpture see Valérie Herremans, "[...] il marmo si sia intenerito in vita [...]. Rubens and Sculpture: A Status Quaestionis". *Alla Luce di Roma: I Disegni Scenografici di scultori Fiamminghi e il Barocco Romano*, Charles Bossu et al., eds. (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2016): 33-42; Valérie Herremans, "Rubens as an Inventor of Ornament". *Questions d'Ornements, XV^e-XVIII^e Siècles*, Ralph Dekoninck et al., eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013): 267-276.

²⁵² Westermann, "A Monument for Roma Belgica", 382-446; Peeters, *Sint Janskathedraal*, 337-338. See also Barbara Haeger, "The Choir Screen at St Michael's Abbey in Antwerp: Gateway to the Heavenly Jerusalem". *Munuscula Amicorum: Contributions on Rubens and his Colleagues in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, Katlijne van der Stighelen, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006): 527-546.

²⁵³ Hond and Janssen, *Saenredam*, 56-58, cat. no. 5; Koldeweiij, *In Buscoducis*, 46, cat. no. 9. See also A. M. Koldeweiij, "Pieter Saenredam had al Getekend wat Matthieu Brouerius de Nidek Beschreef: Het Doxsaal en de Koorbanken in de Sint-Jan te 's-Hertogenbosch". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 38 (1987): 185-200.

²⁵⁴ A. M. Koldeweiij, "Heiligen en Monsters: De Iconografie van het Beeldsnijwerk aan de Koorbanken". *De Koorbanken in de St Janskathedraal te 's-Hertogenbosch*, A. M. Koldeweiij, ed. (Den Bosch: Commissie Zomertentoonstelling Sint-Jan, 1991): 43-99; Peeters, *Sint Janskathedraal*, 349-354. A. M. Koldeweiij, "De Koorbanken in de Sint-Jan". *De Koorbanken in de St Janskathedraal te 's-Hertogenbosch*, A. M. Koldeweiij, eds. (Den Bosch: Commissie Zomertentoonstelling Sint-Jan, 1991): 5.

8) (ill. 5.79).²⁵⁵ Another row originally installed against the rood screen was sold in 1836 to Lady Dunraven and discovered by Sirjacobs at her former country house (The Gallery, Adare Manor) (ill. 5.80).²⁵⁶ Further augmented with statues of Dominican saints by Andreas de Nole I between the windows, the *ecclesia fratrum* came to be sumptuously furnished indeed (ills. 5.81-82).²⁵⁷ Considering that the Sint-Pauluskerk was only a provincial monastic church this is all the more remarkable.

The parity with 's-Hertogenbosch was most explicit in Ophovius' funeral effigy. As Lawrence was the first to recognise its blueprint was that of Gisbertus Masius in the Sint-Janskathedraal (ill. 5.83).²⁵⁸ Bishop from 1593-1614 Masius had a 'significant stake in the enhancement of his cathedral's magnificence' which included the rood screen. Ophovius strove to prove himself a worthy successor of someone considered an 'exemplary bishop' by Rome as broadcasted by the act of recreating Masius' tomb as his own.²⁵⁹ The portraits of his predecessors rescued from 's-Hertogenbosch would have been hung somewhere

²⁵⁵ Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 191-192. Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 62-66; Jan van Damme, "Het Koorgestoelte van de Antwerpse Sint-Pauluskerk". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 974-980.

²⁵⁶ Baisier, "Kerkinterieurs", 192; Damme, "Koorgestoelte", 1046. A replica which Lady Dunraven commissioned from Irish craftsmen is installed opposite while gothic-style misericords were added to the original choir stalls with 'some of the patterns taken from the cathedral of Cologne'. Caroline Wyndham-Quin, *Memorials of Adare Manor* (Oxford: Parker, 1865): 24. In 1840 it was reported, 'The boys are at work carving the bottoms of the seats of the stalls there, for which Seguier drew the patterns & most comical they look'. Glucksman Library, University of Limerick, The Earl of Dunraven Papers, Windham Wyndham-Quin, 2nd Earl of Dunraven to Caroline, Countess of Dunraven, 5 February 1840 (D/3196/E/3/107). The heraldry is likewise bogus. Raymond Sirjacobs, "Sint-Pauluskerk Antwerpen: De Wapenschilden op het Hoogkoor". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1701. My thanks to Anna-Maria Hajba at the University of Limerick for her assistance as well as to Sarah Ormston at Adare Manor for facilitating a visit to The Gallery.

²⁵⁷ Sirjacobs and Dyck, "Integrale Inventaris", 1782-1783, inv. nos. C9, 11, 13, 15. See also Mannaerts, *Sint-Paulus*, 70-72; Marguerite Casteels, *De Beeldhouwers de Nole te Kamerijk, te Utrecht en te Antwerpen* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1961): 180-183.

²⁵⁸ Cynthia Lawrence, "Rubens and the Ophovius Monument: A New Sculpture by Hans Van Mildert". *The Burlington Magazine* 129, no. 1014 (1987): 587-588. See also C. J. H. M. Tax and A. C. M. Tax-Koolen, "Het Grafmonument van Ghisbertus Masius en zijn Plaats binnen de Evolutie van het (Bisschoppelijk) Praalgraf in Noordwest-Europa". *Trajecta* 2, no. 2 (1993): 113-129; Kuijper, 's-Hertogenbosch, 213-214; Peeters, *Sint Janskathedraal*, 365.

²⁵⁹ See Peijnenburg, *Zij Maakten Brabant Katholiek*, 67-75; Westermann, "A Monument for Roma Belgica", 390-392; Kuijper, 's-Hertogenbosch, 604.

prominent in order to exhibit Ophovius' episcopal lineage (see Section 5).²⁶⁰ Ophovius' life-size effigy has him kneeling on a cushion in full episcopal regalia with his mitre before him; the bishop's right hand is outstretched as if addressing the alabaster statue of the Virgin and Child which was added c. 1712-1731 (ill. 5.84). Ophovius' pose is almost the same as Masius' who is shown kneeling before a lectern which is what the Virgin and child statue undoubtedly replaced.²⁶¹ Saenredam's drawing of the Masius monument reveals the extent of its alterations. Aside from the fact that it was flipped, the whitewash over Masius' effigy conceals flesh tones, blue paint and gilding; also missing are the mitre and lectern heraldry and Masius' hands which originally held a crozier have been remodelled (Noordbrabants Museum, Den Bosch) (ill. 5.85). The Ophovius monument was likewise polychrome. Visible through chips in the whitewash are flesh tones on the face and hands and crimson for the chasuble; as revealed by a 1984 technical examination the mantle was 'painted black, red and gold to simulate brocade, with gold figurated borders' (ill. 5.86).²⁶² The mitre resembles the *mitra pretiosa* of the bishops of 's-Hertogenbosch; studded with pearls and coloured jewels its polychrome replica would have made an opulent addition (Noordbrabants Museum, Den Bosch) (ills. 5.87-88). As with Masius' tomb Ophovius also held a crozier

²⁶⁰ See C. J. H. M. Tax and A. C. M. Tax-Koolen, "Zeven Bossche Bisschoppen: Portretten in de Historisch-Topografische Atlas van het Stadsarchief 's-Hertogenbosch". *'s-Hertogenbosch* 1 (1993): 109-117; A. M. Koldeweij, "De Tijden Veranderen. Bisschoppen en Contrareformatie". In *Buscoducis: Kunst uit de Bourgondische Tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch*, A. M. Koldeweij, ed. (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1990): 269-310; A. C. M. Koolen, "De Bossche Bisschoppen 1559-1648". In *Buscoducis: Kunst uit de Bourgondische Tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch*, A. M. Koldeweij, ed. (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1990): 532-539.

²⁶¹ Cynthia Lawrence, *Flemish Baroque Commemorative Monuments, 1566-1725* (New York City, NY: Garland, 1981): 310, cat. no. 184. Herremans, *CRLB XXII* (4), 198-199, cat. no. 17; Cynthia Lawrence, "The Ophovius Madonna: A Newly-Discovered Work by Jan Claudius De Cock". *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1985): 273-293. See also Lawrence, "Rubens and the Ophovius Monument", 585-586; Cynthia Lawrence, "Het Waltmann Memoriaal: Een Verloren Werk uit de Sint-Michielsabdij van Antwerpen". *Antwerpen: Tijdschrift der Stad Antwerpen* 33, no. 4 (December 1987): 148. Tax and Tax-Coolen, "Ghisbertus Masius", 126.

²⁶² Hond and Janssen, *Saenredam*, 48-51, cat. no. 3; Koldeweij, *In Buscoducis*, 50, cat. no. 11. Peeters, *Sint Janskathedraal*, 172; Lawrence, "The Ophovius Madonna", 278; Lawrence, "Rubens and the Ophovius Monument", 586. The monument is awaiting better technical examination. See Herremans, *CRLB XXII* (4), 198, cat. no. 17, note 1.

probably in his left hand.²⁶³ In 1700 this ‘wooden staff’ was borrowed by the elderly Bishop Reginaldus Cools to make the processions that day easier on his limbs. To the extent that a living bishop could make use of its props the Ophovius monument stood as a convincing *vera effigies*.²⁶⁴

In spite of Ophovius’ inability to pay for it this ‘mausoleum’ or ‘monument’ was built in time for his funeral rites as Choquet indicated in his oration.²⁶⁵ The effigy stands within a niche above the entrance to the crypt at the same level as the high altar (ill. 5.89). It is not clear which architectural features were in place in 1638. The marble sarcophagus and surround which match the colour scheme of Verbruggen I’s monumental retable were remodelled c. 1670; however the mourning putto and funeral urn which surmount it are apiece with the sixteenth-century ‘South Netherlandish language of funerary forms’ (ill. 5.90).²⁶⁶ Apart from the epitaph above the crypt entrance which also displayed Ophovius’ coat of arms the memorial is strangely bereft of inscriptions, several of which append his funeral oration as published.²⁶⁷ One can imagine a more colourful original surround displaying such inscriptions with the bishop’s coat of arms painted on the lost lectern. The position of the Ophovius monument is most telling. Exactly like the ’s-Hertogenbosch

²⁶³ Koldeweij, *In Buscoducis*, 270, cat. no. 167. Another mitre associated with Ophovius is held by the Sint-Pauluskerk. Sirjacobs and Dyck, “*Integrale Inventaris*”, 1917, inv. no. G412. Herremans, *CRLB XXII (4)*, 198, cat. no. 17; Lawrence, “*Het Waltmann Memoriaal*”, 145.

²⁶⁴ ‘Op den 13 junii ... Ende alsoo den staf van Ste. Salvator, die geleent was, te swaer was mits den ouderdom van Sijne Hoochwt, soo wierdt genomen den houten staf van de tombe van wijlen den bischop Ophovius, ende alsoo den selfden seer oudt was ende vermeluwt, soo datter een deel afviel van den crock, ende evenwel soo ginck den bischop daer emde den geheelen wech, te weten geprecedeert van de clergie ende gevolcht van de magistraet, uijt de predickheerenkercke lanx de Swertsustersstrate...’. Jos van den Nieuwenhuizen, “*De Inhuldiging van Bisschop Cools in 1700*”. *Kwintet* 12 (April 1993): 85.

²⁶⁵ ‘Tandem cum praeter pauca hac in aede, quae omnibus conspicua sunt, in quibus eius mausoleum eminent, nusquam pro dignitate pietatis suaem magnifica monumenta reliquerit...’. Choquet, *In Fvnere*, 19.

²⁶⁶ Herremans, *CRLB XXII (4)*, 197-198, cat. no. 17.

²⁶⁷ *D. O. M./Fr. MICHAEL OPHOVIVS/Ord. Præd. S. T. D./qvem Conventvs hic 4.^{to} Priorem,/Belgium Provinciale,/ Sylva-Dvcis patria, VI Antistitem/vidit, svb hoc lapide/ iacet./ Obyt A^o 1637 4 Novembris./ Reqviescat in pace. Amen.* Sirjacobs and Dyck, “*Integrale Inventaris*”, 1765, inv. no. A193. ‘*Annus obitus 1637./ BVsCoDVCensIs EpIsCopVs/ DeCessIr e VIVIS:/ reqVlesCat In paCE ... Dies & annus obitus, 4. Nouembris. 1637./ EpIsCopVs sIILVae DVCensIs/ Ipso sanCtl CaroLI/ eheV! DefVnCtVs est ... Annus exequiarum, 1638./ MIChael ophoVIVs/ PraesVL CLarVIt/ LVCe & frVCtV ... Dies & annus exequiarum, 5. Ianuarii 1638./ PraeDICatores CeLebrant soLennes/ eXeqVIas EpIsCopI BVsCoDVCensIs, NonIs IanVarI*’. Choquet, *In Fvnere*, 21.

example it was installed on the north side of the high altar and in Saenredam's painting Masius' effigy is angled to face it (ill. 5.91, detail). This was artistic license to make the former bishop seem alive as confirmed by a comparison with the original drawing (ill. 5.92, detail). However in the case of Ophovius his upward-looking eyes and speaking gesture suggest some degree of interaction beyond the original lectern; as Lawrence suggested the statue was angled to face the *Wrath of Christ* directly on its initial sarcophagus. If so the hierarchy of intercession played out between St Dominic and the Virgin would have broken the fourth wall; if enacted in three dimensions the proselytising rhetoric of the altarpiece would have appealed to novices with greater *enargeia*. Whether Rubens designed the monument has been subject to much speculation. The sculptor of the effigy who was long assumed to be Van Mildert is not known and as Herremans contends Rubens can only be loosely associated with it 'as executed' but even without any direct involvement the effigy bears Rubens' imprint.²⁶⁸ While the speaking gesture is reminiscent of the Mauritshuis portrait Ophovius' physiognomy recalls Rubens' portraits of him as bishop including the Louvre drawing, a version of which may have been supplied to the sculptor (ill. 5.93) (see Section 2).²⁶⁹ Overall however the erection of the monument was Ophovius' project.

The Ophovius monument and its surroundings transformed the choir into a *lieu de mémoire* intended to represent the place where the bishop should have been laid to rest i.e. the Sint-Janskathedraal. The choir's machinic apparatus was supposed to affirm the tragedy of Ophovius' white martyrdom and by extension the legitimacy of Spanish claims to the Generality Lands yet Ophovius' failures as bishop and vicar-general combined with the political bankruptcy of reunification by 1639 risked puncturing this illusion. Perhaps to dispel any doubts the monastery commissioned Van Diepenbeeck's monumental stained glass window series; as well as evoking sacred spaces of yore through a degree of artistic

²⁶⁸ Lawrence, "Rubens and the Ophovius Monument", 586-587; Herremans, *CRLB XXII (4)*, 200-202, cat. no. 17a.

²⁶⁹ Cynthia Lawrence, "Rubens's Portrait of Ophovius: A New Source for Van Mildert's Effigy". *Source 5*, no. 2 (1986): 28-31; Lawrence, "Rubens and the Ophovius Monument", 588.

conservatism these windows put the *ecclesia fratrum* at the cutting edge of technological innovation.²⁷⁰

8: Abraham van Diepenbeeck's Pauline stained glass windows

I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.

St Paul to the Galatians.²⁷¹

This final section examines the commissioning and iconography of Van Diepenbeeck's lost stained glass windows to an extent never attempted before. As well as introducing the artist to the Dominican monastery Rubens and Ophovius were involved in the design process; the end product was a monumental Pauline series which framed the life of the entombed bishop and ergo the Order's role in the Dutch Mission in apostolic terms. As well as buttressing the *Wrath of Christ*'s supra-Catholic iconography the series implicitly conflated the life of St Paul with that of Ophovius who as the Brabantian St Dominic could be considered the Sint-Pauluskerk's third patron saint. Key to understanding the *ecclesia fratrum* is the rich array of heraldry it once displayed which indexed a high degree of investment from across the Generality Lands. To conclude the impact of the *Wrath of Christ* is considered with reference to the attempted conversion of Lucä in 1665 (see above).

Born in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1596 Van Diepenbeeck trained as a stained glass painter under his father.²⁷² Soon after enrolling in Antwerp's guild of St Luke as a 'gelaesschryver' in 1622 he produced the twelve-window *Life of the Virgin* series in the scapular chapel in

²⁷⁰ Tax and Tax-Coolen, "Ghisbertus Masius", 126-128.

²⁷¹ Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (eds.), *The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): NT.235, Galatians 2:20. 'Viuo autem iam non ego, viuit vero in me Christus'. Cited in Choquet, *In Fvnere*, 7.

²⁷² Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman, "Rubens as an Inspiration: Baroque Stained Glass in Antwerp and Brussels by Abraham van Diepenbeeck, Jan de Labaer and Hendrik van Balen". *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 88 (2019): 23-24; Hans Vlieghe, "Abraham van Diepenbeeck". *Meesters van het Zuiden: Barokschilders rondom Rubens*, Paul Huys Janssen, ed. (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 2000): 53; David Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck: Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painter* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982): 1.

the Calced Carmelite Church for which one design survives (Staatsgalerie Stuttgart) (ill. 5.94) (see Section 7).²⁷³ Seeking permanent residence in Antwerp Van Diepenbeeck petitioned the city council in 1624 with promises to bring his art ‘into the light’ and single-handedly revive ‘welded painting’ there.²⁷⁴ From then on Van Diepenbeeck worked not just in stained glass but also in Rubens’ studio as a painter and draftsman helping to produce cartoons for the *Triumph of the Eucharist* tapestries after the master’s oil sketches (The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota) (ill. 5.95).²⁷⁵ As Wood argues and Vlieghe confirms Rubens sent Van Diepenbeeck to Paris c. 1627-1629 to copy frescoes by Francesco Primaticcio and Niccolò dell’Abate, notably those in the Galerie d’Ulysse at the Palace of Fontainebleau (Albertina, Vienna) (ill. 5.96).²⁷⁶ Van Diepenbeeck was officially a ‘gelaesschryver’ until 1638 when he re-enrolled in the guild of St Luke as a master painter.²⁷⁷ Having declared himself the saviour of Antwerp’s stained glass industry Van Diepenbeeck’s quest to join the “nobler” rank of artists might explain the apparently exceptional quality of the Dominican Church windows.²⁷⁸ Rubens’ influence meanwhile can be seen in the

²⁷³ ‘Abram van Dipendaal, gelaesschryver’. Philip Rombouts and Theodoor van Lerius (eds.), *De Liggeren en Andere Historische Archieven der Antwerpse Sint Lucasgilde* (Amsterdam: Israël, 1961): I.587. Ruyven-Zeman, “Rubens as an Inspiration”, 24; Vlieghe, “Abraham van Diepenbeeck”, 53, 64; Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 1-2, 51, app. I, no. 1; Clement van Cauwenberghs, *Notice Historique sur Les Peintres-Verriers d’Anvers du XV^e au XVIII^e Siècle* (Antwerp: H. & L. Kennes, 1891): 57-58.

²⁷⁴ ‘...bij sijnen vader, heeft geexerceert ende geoeffent in de conste van gelas schilderen, daerinne hij soo heeft toegenomen, dat, sonder jactantie ende vantise gesproecken, hij meynt andere te boven te ghaen, waerdoor, ende dat deselve conste hier t’Antwerpen seer is verstorven, soo is hij van eenige goede vrienden van alhier gepersuadeert geworden herwarts te comen ende sijne conste int licht te brenghen’. FelixArchief Antwerp, Ancien Régime, Stadsbestuur, Privilegiëkamer, Rekwestboeken, 1600-1650 (PK 720): 182. Published in Frans Jos van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpse Schilderschool* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1883): III.779, note 1. See also Vlieghe, “Abraham van Diepenbeeck”, 55; Erik Duverger, “De Moeilijkheden van Abraham van Diepenbeeck met de Antwerpse Sint-Lukasgilde”. *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1972): 239.

²⁷⁵ Ruyven-Zeman, “Rubens as an Inspiration”, 24; Vlieghe, “Abraham van Diepenbeeck”, 56, 64. See also Nora de Poorter, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part II: The Eucharist Series* (London: Phaidon, 1978): 370-371, cat. no. 15d.

²⁷⁶ Jeremy Wood, “Padre Resta’s Flemish Drawings: Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau”. *Master Drawings* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 9-16. Wood’s attributions have since been contested. Alain Roy (ed.), *Theodore van Thulden: Een Zuidnederlandse Barokschilder (’s-Hertogenbosch, 1606-1669)* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991): 117. However Roy’s traditionalist revanche does not hold water. Vlieghe, “Abraham van Diepenbeeck”, 147, note 60.

²⁷⁷ ‘Abram Diepenbeeck, schilder’. Rombouts and Lerius, *Liggeren*, II.98; Duverger, “De Moeilijkheden”, 239-241.

²⁷⁸ Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 5.

corresponding oil sketches which have standalone artistic merit for the same reason. Visiting the church in 1687 Tessin II noted the ‘very highly esteemed painted windows with life-size figures of the history of St Paul, designed by Diepenbeck [sic]’; making the same attribution De Wit described the stained glass as ‘very beautifully arranged’.²⁷⁹ Installed by 1639 the series was among the most spectacular produced in seventeenth-century Europe and prompted the Milanese connoisseur Sebastiano Resta to comment ‘[Van Diepenbeeck] was excellent ... at painting windows and Rubens thought he was a great designer’.²⁸⁰ No trace is left of the windows and because archival and visual sources are so disparate the literature is a land of confusion (see below). While Van Diepenbeeck’s career as a stained glass painter has attracted recent scholarship much more remains to be said about his work for the Order.²⁸¹

In 1633 Van Diepenbeeck signed a contract with the monastery to deliver twelve large and five small windows to be painted ‘very curiously’ i.e. in his unique style.²⁸² While the original text does not survive a follow-up document dated 1637 indicates that the process of design and execution was considerably fraught and beset with last-minute changes to the number of windows and their sizes.²⁸³ Whatever the original plan only ten were extant in the

²⁷⁹ ‘Sonsten seijndt hier auch im chor die sehr hoch æstimirte gemahlte fenster mit lebensgrossen figuren von der histoire S. Pauli: vorgestellt durch Diepenbeck’. Laine and Magnusson, *Travel Notes*, 154. ‘In desen Choor syn alle de GLASEN geschildert door Abraham Diepenbeeck, & verbeelden het LEVEN VAN DE H. PAULUS, in differente vensters seer schoon geordonneert’. Wit, *Kerken van Antwerpen*, 54. ‘Les vitres sont à grandes figures du dessein de Rubens’. Monconys, *Journal des Voyages*, II.107.

²⁸⁰ ‘Abram Diepenberc Dipinse sopra le Vitriale di S. Paolo nel Choro de Domenicani di Anversa, non haveva grand habilità a colorir in tela, ma sì in vetri, e gran Disegnatore era stimato da Rubens’. Wood, ‘Padre Resta’s Flemish Drawings’, 41, app. 2.

²⁸¹ Ruyven-Zeman, ‘Rubens as an Inspiration’, 23-33; Jan van Damme, ‘Stained Glass in St Paul’s Church in Antwerp in the 17th Century. Historical Documents on the Work of Abraham van Diepenbeeck and Jan de Labaer’. *Stained Glass in the 17th Century: Continuity, Invention, Twilight*, Madeleine Manderyck et al., eds. (Corpus Vitrearum Belgium, 2018): 151-153; Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 9-10, 13, 51, app. 1, 85-87, cat. nos. 5-8.

²⁸² ‘...wel curieuselijck’. Branden, *Antwerpse Schilderschool*, III.779-780.

²⁸³ ‘Meester Abraham Van Diepenbeke, gelaeschilder heeft geseght ende verclaert, aengaende de naer wercke die hij aengenomen heeft ende aenneempt mits desen voor duurweerdich heer ende patres van convent vande Predicheeren alhier, dat hy der voorschreven werck sal spaeren zoo seer alst het mogelijck zal zyn. Item belange het vergrote vande vier gelasen staende inde choor vande kercke, zo oock noch dandere sesse gelasen die comparant boven de voorschreven sesse gelasen noch ghelevert moeten worden, de alle tesamen sellen innehorende de historie van st Pauwels, op wiens name dese voorschreven kerck is gewydt, alle ende yegelick de voorschreven gelasen heeft geleest ende gelaest mits de voornoemde comparant dat hy alle het

eighteenth century.²⁸⁴ As can be seen in Verbruggen II's print but also its preparatory drawing, the glass in the apse was left clear in the seventeenth century allowing the *ecclesia fratrum* to be spot lit from the east (Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp) (ill. 5.97).²⁸⁵ Being of equal size and unobstructed by a retable the ten choir windows were best suited for an ambitious Pauline cycle (ill. 5.98). During the French occupation a number of windows were removed and 'sold by Englishmen' most likely from the north side.²⁸⁶ Those to the south were shattered in 1830 by a Dutch munitions explosion which also destroyed the stained glass in the *Soeten Naam* chapel (see Introduction and Chapter 4). However several windows remained in place long enough to be recorded in the nineteenth century. In all seven out of ten episodes can be identified with certainty and the surviving oil sketches project the appearance of four. In sequence the windows were read from left to right beginning to the south nearest the high altar and continuing towards the transept; the sixth window resumed the sequence from the north side of the rood screen which ended back at the high altar (fig. 5.3).²⁸⁷ The author proposes the following iconographic sequence.

werck dien aengaende sal maecken, zo als hy daer over daer van begeren sal cousten het voorgenaemde werck, dies sal an hy comparant moeten opgeleyst ende betaelt worden voor yeder gelas de somme vierhondert vijftich gulden vers. te betaelen opde keuringe ende zoo telcken datter drye gelasen selen gestelt wesen. Ende Item dat de voorschreven heer patres boven de voorschreven prijs noch selen hebben te dragen d'oncosten die sullen vallen opt vergrooten vande voorschreven thien gelasen. Ende belanghen d'andere seven gelasen die hy comparent mede aengenomen heeft, de sullen volmaect wesen selen de gepristeert worden naer de model daer offe het werck aenbesteet es ende zoo de gelasen bevonden worden minder van werck sal naer advenant betaelt worden ende ingevalle van meerder werck sal de vermeerderinge niet behooren betaelt worden'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Notariaat, Frans Ketgen, 1636-1642 (N 2276): 1509 recto-verso; Damme, "Stained Glass in St Paul's", 151. See also Cauwenberghs, *Notice Historique*, 59-60; Branden, *Antwerpse Schilderschool*, III.779-780.

²⁸⁴ 'De 10 differente glaesen van d'hooge choor is verbelt het leven van den heilighen apostel Paulus geschildert door Abraham Diepenbeck'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Ancien Régime, Stadsbestuur, Privilegiemamer, Beschrijving van Kerken, Kloosters en Andere Bezienswaardigheden, Predickheerekercke (PK 197): unpaginated; 'In de zelve Choor zyn alle de Glazen geschildert door Abram van Diepenbeek verbeeldende het Leven van den heiligen Apostel Paulus in tien differente Glazen, zeer schoon geordonneert'. Gerardus Berbie (ed.), *Beschryvinge van de Bezoenderste Schilderyen ende Autaeren, Glazen Beeldhouweryen, en Andere Rariteyten* (Antwerp: 1756): 63. See also Baisier, *Kerkinterieurs*, 197-198.

²⁸⁵ Bossu, *Alla Luce di Roma*, 215-216, cat. no. 31.

²⁸⁶ Jan Helbig, *De Glasschilderkunst in België: Repertorium en Documenten* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1943): 71.

²⁸⁷ Various, *Verzameling der Graf- en Gedenkschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen* (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1856-1903): V.29-30.

1. <i>The Conversion of Saul</i>	Acts 9: 1-9
2. <i>The Baptism of Saul</i>	Acts 9: 10-19
3. <i>The Escape from Damascus</i>	Acts 9: 23-31
4. <i>The Sacrifice at Lystra</i>	Acts 14: 8-18
5. <i>The Scourging of St Paul</i>	Acts 14: 19-28
6. <i>St Paul in Prison</i>	Acts 16: 19-40
7. <i>St Paul Preaching at Athens</i>	Acts 17: 16-34
8. <i>St Paul Healing a Young Man</i>	Acts 20: 9-12
9. <i>St Paul on Malta</i>	Acts 28: 1-10
10. <i>The Martyrdom of St Paul</i>	<i>The Golden Legend</i>

Each episode was framed with the donor's coat of arms in the window above and a quotation below. The *Conversion of Saul*, *Escape from Damascus*, *Sacrifice at Lystra* and *Scourging of St Paul* are described in the *Verzameling der Graf- en Gedenschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen* (1873). Oil sketches exist for the *Conversion of Saul*, the *Scourging of St Paul*, *St Paul Healing a Young Man* and *St Paul on Malta* while those for the *Baptism of Saul* and the *Sacrifice at Lystra* were recorded in aristocratic collections; as for *St Paul in Prison*, *St Paul Preaching at Athens* and the *Martyrdom of St Paul* these episodes had important iconographic precedents as well as particular resonance for Ophovius and the Order.

The template for any Pauline cycle was the *Acts of the Apostles*, a set of tapestries designed by Raphael for the Sistine Chapel c. 1515-1516.²⁸⁸ Whether or not Rubens had access to the original cartoons he would have seen the tapestries themselves 'in Mantua, Rome, Paris, Madrid [or] London' as Wood highlights.²⁸⁹ The Pauline sequence comprises the *Conversion of Saul*, *Stoning of St Stephen*, *Sacrifice at Lystra*, *St Paul in Prison* and *St Paul Preaching at Athens*; as well as possibly advising Charles I of Great Britain to purchase the cartoons Rubens sketched the designs in Italy and made six painted copies including after

²⁸⁸ Mark Evans and Anna Maria De Strobel, "The Story of St Paul (*The Pauline Cycle*)". *Raphael: Cartoons and Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, Mark Evans et al., eds. (London: V&A Publishing, 2010): 95-127. See also Sharon Fermor, *The Raphael Tapestry Cartoons: Narrative, Decoration, Design* (London: Scala Books, 1996): 9-18.

²⁸⁹ Wood, *CRLB XXVI* (2), I.194-197, cat. nos. 22-28. See also Jeremy Wood, "Rubens and Raphael: The Designs for the Tapestries in the Sistine Chapel". *Munuscula Amicorum: Contributions on Rubens and his Colleagues in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, Katlijne van der Stighelen, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006): 259-282.

the *Sacrifice at Lystra* and *St Paul Preaching at Athens* (lost).²⁹⁰ Van Diepenbeeck was a great admirer of Raphael. Resta claimed that Rubens sent his protégé ‘throughout Italy ... to copy works for him to study and for his own use’; while Rubens discouraged lesser assistants from copying Raphael Van Diepenbeeck’s ‘vast’ ability was considered capacious enough to master his oeuvre.²⁹¹ In 1647 Constantijn Huygens accused the artist of plagiarising Raphael’s frescoes in the Villa Farnesina, Rome when designing a paintings cycle on the theme of Cupid and Psyche for Honselaarsdijk Castle.²⁹² Much later Van Diepenbeeck would design his own *Acts of the Apostles* tapestries based on Raphael’s exemplum.²⁹³ A clear parity existed with the stained glass in the Dominican Church; as David Steadman observed Van Diepenbeeck converted his oil sketches into tapestry designs by switching the layout to landscape as he did when adapting *St Paul on Malta* (see below).²⁹⁴ Other precedents for a Pauline cycle included Michelangelo’s frescoes in the Cappella Paolina and a print series dating 1546-1547 by Cornelis Bos whose drawings Rubens owned and retouched.²⁹⁵ *Acts of the Apostles* series had also been produced by Maarten van Heemskerck and Maerten de Vos in the sixteenth century. To judge from the 1637 document

²⁹⁰ Wood, *CRLB XXVI* (2), I.197-200, cat. nos. 22-28.

²⁹¹ Cited in Wood, “Padre Resta’s Flemish Drawings”, 9.

²⁹² Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585-1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998): 75. See also Vlieghe, “Abraham van Diepenbeeck”, 57; Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 3; Erik Duverger, “Abraham van Diepenbeeck en Gonzales Coques aan het Werk voor de Stadhouders Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje”. *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1972): 185-189, 234-235, doc. 3.

²⁹³ Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 48; Wendy Hefford, “Ralph Montagu’s Tapestries”. *Boughton House: The English Versailles*, Tessa Murdoch, ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1992): 100-101; Jan Denucé, *Kunstuitlever in de 17e Eeuw te Antwerpen: De Firma Forchoudt* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1931): 199; Henry C. Marillier, *English Tapestries of the Eighteenth Century: A Handbook to the Post-Mortlake Productions of English Weavers* (London: Medici Society, 1930): 4-6.

²⁹⁴ Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 48.

²⁹⁵ Leo Steinberg, *Michelangelo’s Last Paintings: The Conversion of St. Paul and the Crucifixion of St. Peter in the Cappella Paolina, Vatican Palace* (London: Phaidon, 1975); Peter van der Coelen, “Cornelis Bos: Where Did He Go? Some New Discoveries and Hypotheses about a Sixteenth-Century Engraver and Publisher”. *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 23, no. 2/3 (1995): 131; Sune Schéle, *Cornelis Bos: A Study of the Origins of the Netherland Grotesque* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965): 28, 122-124, cat. nos. 35-44; Michael Jaffé, “Cornelis Bos en Peter Paul Rubens”. *Bulletin Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen* 7, no. 1 (1956): 6-12. See also Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XXVI (1): Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists. German and Netherlandish Artists* (London: Harvey Miller, 2009): 179-184, cat. nos. 84-87.

the overall sequencing and individual designs of the windows were decided by a committee made up of monastery friars; this was headed by the prior Capello who took guidance from Rubens and Ophovius (see Section 1).²⁹⁶ As well as refining the iconographic programme on account of his learning Ophovius may have chosen the artist for the job. Van Diepenbeeck returned to 's-Hertogenbosch after his stay in France passing through Eindhoven c. 1632; as Vlieghe argues Van Diepenbeeck could only have been there to visit Ophovius at nearby Geldrop Castle like Rubens before him.²⁹⁷ His visit came after Ophovius had visited Rubens at home '*pro disponenda sepultura*' on which occasion they may have discussed the Pauline stained glass series. If anything had given them the idea in the first place it was Van Diepenbeeck's windows in the Calced Carmelite Church which were the first of their kind in Antwerp since *Reconquista*.

The Dominican Church was dedicated to St Paul in 1571 (see Chapter 1).²⁹⁸ In comparison with Peter, De Voragine claimed that Paul was 'inferior in dignity, greater in preaching, and equal in holiness'.²⁹⁹ The apostle was not only the patron saint of preachers and missionaries but also together with Peter of Rome itself; significantly the two apostles charged St Dominic to 'Go forth and preach' according to the Order's foundation myth (see Chapter 4). As Matthew Levering outlines the Pauline epistles were central to the Thomist theology of love each of them having been subject to lengthy commentary by Aquinas.³⁰⁰ The appropriation of St Paul by the Order was manifest in Ophovius' funeral oration. By prefacing the narrative of his ministry with a mosaic of Pauline quotations Choquet inferred

²⁹⁶ 'Meester Abraham Van Diepenbeke, gelaeschilder heeft geseght ende verclaert, aengaende de naer wercke die hij aengenomen heeft ende aenneempt mits desen voor duurweerdich heer ende patres van convent vande Predicheeren alhier'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Notariaat, Frans Ketgen, 1636-1642 (N 2276): 1509 recto.

²⁹⁷ Vlieghe, "Abraham van Diepenbeeck", 55-56.

²⁹⁸ "...consecravimus in monasterio fratrum predicatorum civitatis Antwerpiensis templum sive ecclesiam in honorem Sancti Pauli, apostoli". Nieuwenhuizen, "Oorkonden", 1510, no. 43.

²⁹⁹ Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 351.

³⁰⁰ Matthew Levering, "Aquinas". *The Blackwell Companion to Paul*, Stephen Westerholm, ed. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2011): 361-374.

that the bishop was in the context of the Dutch Mission a second ‘*Magister Gentium*’.³⁰¹ In this vein the windows’ Pauline iconography may have been intended to evoke San Paolo fuori le Mura, the papal basilica and Roman pilgrimage site which houses St Paul’s tomb and was once decorated with an abundance of Pauline iconography (see Chapter 4).³⁰² The oil sketches are of roughly equal size and can be identified by the grid lines incised into each panel which show how the design would have fitted into a mullion support.³⁰³ While the sketches’ vivid colours, painterly plasticity and perspectival architectural backdrops are part of the Rubensian idiom to turn them into monumental stained glass was Van Diepenbeeck’s innovation.³⁰⁴ Two designs exist for the *Conversion of Saul* and the first, rejected version is a sketch in grisaille; while the composition here is too diffuse to be immediately legible the action of the second version in vivid colour with rearing stallions packs a weightier punch (Stadtmuseum Neuburg an der Donau; private collection) (ills. 5.99-100).³⁰⁵ The revised composition borrows more heavily from Rubens’ treatment of the subject but the red-swathed Christ in the clouds which is common to both ultimately derives from Michelangelo’s fresco in the Cappella Paolina (Courtauld Gallery, London; St Peter’s Basilica, Vatican City) (ills. 5.101-102).³⁰⁶ Depicting Christ with such *terribilità* was likely to have been at Rubens’ prompting (see Section 3). The fact that the second version inverts the compositional diagonal away from the altar suggests that the *Conversion* was originally intended for the north side of the apse but was then remodelled as one of ten choir

³⁰¹ Choquet, *In Fvnere*, 5-8.

³⁰² Nicola Camerlenghi, *St. Paul’s Outside the Walls: A Roman Basilica, from Antiquity to the Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 23-40, 181-216. My thanks to Amanda Lillie at the University of York for discussing this personally.

³⁰³ Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 9.

³⁰⁴ See Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman, “New Baroque Monumentality in Stained Glass in Antwerp in the 17th century”. *Stained Glass in the 17th Century: Continuity, Invention, Twilight*, Madeleine Manderyck et al., eds. (Corpus Vitrearum Belgium, 2018): 49-55.

³⁰⁵ Vlieghe, “*Abraham van Diepenbeeck*”, 66; Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 85-86, cat. no. 5; Hubert von Sonnenberg, “Rubens’ Bildaufbau und Technik. I: Bildträger, Grundierung und Vorskizzierung”. *Maltechnik Restauro* 85, no. 2 (1979): 95. Damme, “Stained Glass in St Paul’s”, 151-153; Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 9; 86, cat. no. 6.

³⁰⁶ Vlieghe, “*Abraham van Diepenbeeck*”, 66. See also David Freedberg, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VII: The Life of Christ after the Passion* (London: Harvey Miller, 1984): 114-118, cat. no. 30.

windows.³⁰⁷ Sketches for the *Baptism of Saul* (presumed lost) and *St Paul Healing a Young Man* were bought by Henry Temple, 2nd Viscount Palmerston and displayed in his London residence until 1837 (see below).³⁰⁸ In this episode Saul is baptised by Ananias after his conversion whereupon his sight is restored; iconographic precedents are found in Bos and De Vos' series (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; British Museum, London) (ills. 5.103-104).³⁰⁹ Moreover Saul's baptism was commonly acted out by chambers of rhetoric in the sixteenth century and taken with the previous one this window served to emphasise Saul's spiritual transformation from persecutor of Christ to partaker of his cup.³¹⁰ As such they set up an extended comparison between St Paul's mission to the Gentiles and that of the Order to expunge heresy from the sinful world.

Windows representing the persecution of St Paul were interposed with scenes of him preaching and performing miracles. Next was the *Escape from Damascus* the sketch for which was owned by Resta (presumed lost).³¹¹ Having angered the local Jewish population by preaching Christianity in their synagogues St Paul's followers 'took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket'; the apostle's own account, 'And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped' was quoted in the stained glass.³¹² This episode features in Bos and De Vos' print series; moreover Van Diepenbeeck would include

³⁰⁷ Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 9.

³⁰⁸ 18 October 1789: 'Paid at Antwerp for Pictures Drawings etc.'. Special Collections, University of Southampton, Broadlands Archive, 2nd Viscount Palmerston's Travelling Account Book, 1789 (BR12/2/9); 'Baptism of St Paul – Sketch – Vandyke – 0"11 x 0"11'. Special Collections, University of Southampton, Broadlands Archive, Account of Pictures at London and Broadlands, 1837 (BR101/65/4); 1837: 'Baptism of St Paul a sketch – Vandyke – £55'. Special Collections, University of Southampton, Broadlands Archive. Catalogue of Pictures belonging to Lord Palmerston in Hanover Square, 1837 (BR126/11).

³⁰⁹ F. H. W. Hollstein, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700. Part III: Boekhorst to Brueghel* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1950): 123, cat. no. 46; Christiaan Schuckman and Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer (ed.), *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700. Parts XLIV-XLVI: Maarten de Vos* (Roosendaal: Koninklijke Van Poll, 1995-1996): XLIV.193, cat. no. 897.

³¹⁰ Bart Ramakers, "Sight and Insight: Paul as a Model of Conversion in Rhetoricians' Drama". *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature*, Lieke Stelling et al., eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 339-368. See also Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 119-121.

³¹¹ 'S^t Paul's Escape'. Wood, "Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings", 46, note 38.

³¹² Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible*, NT.160, Acts 10:25-26; NT.231, 2 Corinthians 11:32-33. See also Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 351. IN SPORTA/ DEMISSUS SUM 2. Cor. Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.30.

it as one of his tapestries. The window is the first of several to depict St Paul “outside the walls” where he would eventually be martyred (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; British Museum, London) (Newhailes House, Musselburgh) (ills. 5.105-107).³¹³ The *Sacrifice at Lystra* was likewise made into a tapestry (Speke Hall, Merseyside) (ill. 5.108).³¹⁴ When St Paul heals a cripple the Lycaonians declare him and Barnabas to be gods in human form and prepare the due oblations.³¹⁵ Van Diepenbeeck would have known Raphael’s much-admired design with its dynamic composition and *all’antica* motifs through one of Rubens’ studio copies at least. In Raphael’s cartoon the apostles rent their clothes in anger as an ox is sacrificed; to incorporate such a cityscape highlighted the Gentiles’ paganism while lending an element of classical sophistication to the series (ill. 5.109). Two oil sketches for the *Scourging of St Paul* which the author is the first to attribute to Van Diepenbeeck have recently come to light (Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp; Schloss Ludwigsburg) (ills. 5.110-111).³¹⁶ This episode concerns Jews from Antioch and Iconium who ‘having stoned Paul, drew him out of [Lystra]’; left for dead the apostle simply gets on his feet.³¹⁷ Against a classical-medieval cityscape similar to what might have graced the *Sacrifice at Lystra* St Paul is flagellated with birch rods rather than stoned as described in the inscription below.³¹⁸ In shackles with his bare back exposed the poses of St Paul and his assailant are strongly reminiscent of Rubens’ *Flagellation* (see Chapter 1). Van Diepenbeeck’s tribute to his mentor showed the apostle to

³¹³ Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish III*, 123, cat. no. 48; Schuckman and Hoop Scheffer, *Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish XLIV*, 193, cat. no. 898. My thanks to Helen Wyld at National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh for her assistance.

³¹⁴ LYCAONIJ VOLEBA^{NT}/HOSTIAS IMMOLARE PAULO/Act. 14. Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.30.

³¹⁵ Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible*, NT.167, Acts 14:8-13.

³¹⁶ Sammut, “Oil Sketches”, 4. My thanks to Bernd Schoeppler and Eugene Pooley for arranging a viewing of the first version. The sketch was formerly in the collection of William Graham, Liberal MP for Glasgow. Oliver Garnett, “The Letters and Collection of William Graham: Pre-Raphaelite Patron and Pre-Raphaelite Collector”. *The Walpole Society* 62 (2000): 331, cat. no. d278. My thanks to the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg for bringing the second version to my attention.

³¹⁷ Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible*, NT.168, Acts 14:19-20.

³¹⁸ LAPIDA^{NTES} PAULUM/ DUXERUNT EXTRA CIVITATEM/Act. 14. Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.30.

be carrying Christ's cross which may have found ultimate expression in the final window (see below).

Reconstructing the north windows is more a matter of speculation. While there is no direct evidence for *St Paul in Prison* and *St Paul Preaching at Athens* to have been part of the series both feature in Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* as well as Van Diepenbeeck's own tapestry set (Apostolic Palace, Vatican City; The Royal Collection, on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London) (Peterborough Cathedral; Great Chalfield Manor, Wiltshire) (ills. 5.112-115). With Ophovius' coat of arms everywhere in the choir *St Paul in Prison* would have indirectly referenced his white martyrdom as a prisoner of the States-General even if he was freed by political bargaining rather than an earthquake.³¹⁹ According to De Voragine St Paul spent his incarceration debating religious matters with the Jews just as Ophovius did with Reformed ministers (see Section 4).³²⁰ Commissioned by the Order of Preachers *St Paul Preaching at Athens* was essential to include. The apostle was recruited as the monastery's patron saint on the basis of his oratorical skills; shown preaching against idolatry on the pagan Areopagus in Raphael's design the vehemence of Paul's gesture dramatizes his power to pull down the edifices of sophisticated Gentile belief systems.³²¹ As such a window like this would have exhorted novices to assume the apostolic mantle as accomplished preachers. *St Paul Healing a Young Man* is the most refined of the extant oil sketches (The Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie) (ill. 5.116).³²² After preaching at Troas until midnight Paul happens upon the dead Eutychus who fell out of a third-storey window while sleeping. Declaring 'his life is in him' they go for dinner.³²³ In a distinctly Netherlandish townscape a crowd gathers by the light of the moon

³¹⁹ Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible*, NT.170-171, Acts 16:19-40.

³²⁰ Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 351.

³²¹ Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible*, NT.172-173, Acts 17:22-34.

³²² Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 87, cat. no. 8. See also Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Hot Dry Men, Cold Wet Women: The Theory of Humors in Western European Art, 1575-1700* (New York City, NY: American Federation of Arts, 1997): 176, cat. no. 60.

³²³ Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible*, NT.176, Acts 20:6-12.

dressed in oriental garb and the nocturnal setting had Van Diepenbeeck pushing the limits of the medium. To convey chiaroscuro effects as well as smoke from burning torches in vitreous enamel was an unprecedented technical feat which would also have been demanded of him in the moonlit *Escape from Damascus. The Rescue of St Paul on Malta* for which two sketches survive was another miraculous scene putting the apostle at the mercy of the elements (Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp; Schloss Ludwigsburg) (ills. 5.117-118).³²⁴ According to the *Acts* Paul is shipwrecked and castaway on Melita where the ‘barbarous people showed no little kindness’ and in the oil sketch the old man is dragged by an anxious crowd onto the shore.³²⁵ While the maritime theme is not obvious here a drawn version of the composition in which the window was turned into a tapestry design features seagulls (Städel Museum, Frankfurt) (ill. 5.119).³²⁶ The massive medieval fortress in the background is supposed to represent St Paul’s Bay which was a bustling Roman harbour but it also evokes Valletta’s famous city walls which were built after the siege of Malta in 1565 (ill. 5.120).³²⁷ Guarded by the Knights of St John on the frontier with the Barbary Coast, Malta was the southernmost bastion of Catholic Christendom and a totemic prize for the Ottomans; as such the fortified island made a potent metaphor for Antwerp in Brabant’s perilous waters.³²⁸

The ten windows could also be read on a south-north axis. Furthest away from the high altar were two scenes of Paul’s persecution, his scourging and imprisonment. In reference to Gentile paganism and Raphael’s cartoons the *Sacrifice at Lystra* and *St Paul*

³²⁴ My thanks to the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg for bringing the second version to my attention.

³²⁵ Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible*, NT.187-188, Acts 27:40-44, 28:1-10; Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 86-87, cat. no. 7. See also Karoline Weser et al., *Koller Zürich: Gemälde Alter Meister, Lot 3001-3096* (Zurich: Koller Auctions, 2019): 33, lot no. 3023.

³²⁶ Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 62, app. 3.

³²⁷ See Thomas Freller, “The Pauline Cult in Malta and the Movement of the Counter-Reformation: The Development of its International Reputation”. *The Catholic Historical Review* 85, no. 1 (1999): 15-34.

³²⁸ See David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (London: Penguin, 2014): 429; Helen Vella Bonavita, “Key to Christendom: The 1565 Siege of Malta, its Histories, and their Use in Reformation Polemic”. *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 4 (2002): 1021-1043.

Preaching at Athens both shared emphatically classical backdrops. More superficially the *Escape from Damascus* and *St Paul Healing a Young Man* featured men descending out of windows while the *Baptism of Saul* and *St Paul on Malta* showed the apostle drenched in water. In such a programme the *Conversion of Saul* was plausibly combined with the *Martyrdom of St Paul*. It must be emphasised that Boeyermans' altarpiece was not installed for another thirty years (see Section 1). The Conversion of Saul was commonly paired with the Crucifixion of St Peter as can be seen in the Cappella Paolina as well as Caravaggio's two canvases in the Cerasi chapel (Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome) (ill. 5.121). The proximity of the apostle's conversion and martyrdom to the high altar would have been liturgically and symbolically significant not least with Ophovius' funeral effigy directly below the latter (see Section 7). The *Martyrdom of St Paul* is recounted in the *Golden Legend* which tells of the apostle's beheading by order of Emperor Nero and his burial outside Rome; although apocryphal Paul's martyrdom provided a corporeal basis for his cult; while San Paolo fuori le Mura was built around his tomb Paul's head is supposedly kept in another papal basilica San Giovanni in Laterano.³²⁹ Placed opposite the *Conversion of Saul* this episode would have brought the series full circle to double down on the Early Christian themes present in the *Wrath of Christ* (see Section 3). Moreover to have such a window plausibly with Rome in the background would have underlined the series' running theme of St Paul the outcast dying as he lived "outside the walls".

If the oil sketches are anything to go by the finished stained glass was exceptional in its time for possessing the modelling and spatial depth of paintings, as can be seen in Van Diepenbeeck's only surviving window the *Visitation* which was attributed to him only

³²⁹ Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 352-355. Camerlenghi, *St. Paul's Outside the Walls*, 28-31; Marina Docci, *San Paolo Fuori le Mura: Dalle Origini alla Basilica delle "Origini"* (Rome: Gangemi, 2006): 23-28, 113-132; Jack Freiberg, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 39. See also Alessandro Algardi's statue group for San Paolo Maggiore, Bologna. Jennifer Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985): 369-372, cat. no. 68.

recently (Sint-Jacobskerk, Antwerp) (ill. 5.122).³³⁰ The sequence proposed above would have been guided by Rubens the foremost tapestry designer of his day; as well as the *Achilles*, *Constantine*, *Decius Mus* and *Eucharist* series Rubens' thirty-nine ceiling paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp had set up a complex exegesis between the Old and New Testaments.³³¹ Ophovius' involvement was most clearly evidenced by the heraldry in the choir which signalled how the decorative scheme was financed.

In his journal Ophovius noted that between 1618-1626 over 68,244 gulden had been spent on the choir, a figure which must have risen several times by 1639.³³² Having started from ground zero the splendour of the *ecclesia fratrum* was testament to the power of mendicancy as a persuasive tool for attracting the patronage of wealthy elites (see Chapter 3). According to the 1637 document Van Diepenbeeck was paid 450 gulden per window which probably cost much more in materials.³³³ The *Verzameling* lists several donors: Bishop Malderus for the *Scourging of St Paul*, Ophovius for the *Sacrifice at Lystra*, Albert, Margrave of Bergen op Zoom for the *Escape from Damascus* and for the *Conversion of Saul* a branch of the Houtappel family.³³⁴ As well as providing for the common welfare as a special category of alms as Bert Timmermans elucidates sponsorship of the Pauline windows was a chance to display 'family pride and identity ... and [make] explicit rights and [dynastic] boundaries'.³³⁵ The patronage network for Van Diepenbeeck's windows was built up

³³⁰ Ruyven-Zeman, "Rubens as an Inspiration", 36-40; Ruyven-Zeman, "New Baroque Monumentality", 52-54. See also Muller, *St. Jacob's Antwerp*, 282-283.

³³¹ Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part X: The Achilles Series* (London: Phaidon, 1975); Koenraad Brosens, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XIII (3): Subjects from History. The Constantine Series* (London: Harvey Miller, 2011); Reinhold Baumstark and Guy Delmarcel, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XIII (2): Subjects from History. The Decius Mus Series* (London: Harvey Miller, 2019); Poorter, *CRLB II*. Anna C. Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence: Peter Paul Rubens' Ceiling Cycle at the Jesuit Church in Antwerp". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004): 155-195.

³³² 'Recepta pro choro ab a° 1618 usque ad annum 1626 ascendent ad 61269 (fl.), 16 st. ½. Exposita usque ad summam 68244 fl. 16 st. ¼.'. Frenken, "Dagboek", 280.

³³³ '...betaelt worden voor yeder gelas de somme vierhondert vijftich gulden'. FelixArchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Kerken en Kloosters, Notariaat, Frans Ketgen, 1636-1642 (N 2276): 1509 recto.

³³⁴ Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.29-30.

³³⁵ Bert Timmermans, "The Chapel of the Houtappel Family and the Privatisation of the Church in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp". *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern*

between Rubens and Ophovius. Ophovius knew the propagandistic value of stained glass which looked uniquely resplendent in an ecclesiastical setting; before putting his coat of arms above the *Sacrifice at Lystra* he had his portrait installed in a window in the Kluizekerk, Lier to commemorate his election as bishop (see Chapter 2).³³⁶ Here Ophovius may again have been consciously imitating his episcopal forebearer Masius whose stained glass window in St Peter's Church, 's-Hertogenbosch was copied by Saenredam (Noordbrabants Museum, Den Bosch) (ill. 5.123).³³⁷ Meanwhile Bishop Malderus, a long-time admirer of the Order who had ordained Ophovius in 1626 arranged to sponsor the *Scourging* before his death in 1633 (see Section 4).³³⁸ The *Conversion of Saul* had above it the names of Egidius Houtappel, his widow Digna de Smit, their daughter Cornelia Maria and her husband Peter Paschal de Decker.³³⁹ As Sarah Joan Moran illuminates, the family of Egidius' brother Godfried financed the decoration of the lady chapel in the Jesuit Church around 1639 when the *ecclesia fratrum* was finished.³⁴⁰ Having designed the ceiling and other decorative features in the lady chapel c. 1630-1635 Rubens could have persuaded Godfried's brother's family to sponsor the *Conversion* in the Sint-Pauluskerk.³⁴¹ Their heraldry in the window

Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, Piet Lombaerde, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008): 175-179.

³³⁶ *Posuit.../OPHOVIUS Episc.* Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.30. 'In fenestra vitrea juxta altare depicta est effigies R^{mi} P. Michaëlis Ophovii Episcopi Buscoducensis, qui locum hunc inchoavit, & egregie promovit'. Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicanum*, 397. See also Frenken, "Bossche Bisschop", 63-64.

³³⁷ Hond and Janssen, *Saenredam*, 78-80, cat. no. 9; Koldeweijs, *In Buscoducis*, 39, cat. no. 5.

³³⁸ *Reverendis./ D. IOANNES MALDERUS Episcopus Antwerp.* Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.29. Malderus' testament stated, 'Alle cloosters van de Stad van Antwerpen welcker Religieusen sullen met het lyck hebben gegaen ende in de uytvaert geweest laet ick achthien guldens eens'. Peter Jozef Visschers, *Gedenkschrift over den Hoogwaerdigen en Geleerden Heer Joannes Malderus, Vyfden Bisschop van Antwerpen* (Antwerp: P. E. Janssens, 1858): 25.

³³⁹ *Anno 1639/ D. DYMPHNA DE SMIT vidua/ ÆGIDII HOUTAPPEL et D. CORNELIA MARIA/ HOUTAPPEL eius filia uxor D. PETRI/ PASCHASII DE DECKERE Deo D. D.* Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.30. For the Houtappel family epitaphs in the Sint-Andrieskerk see Peter Jozef Visschers, *Verzameling van Grafschriften, in St. Andries Kerk, te Antwerpen* (Antwerp: P. E. Janssens, 1851): 24, 27, 241.

³⁴⁰ Sarah Joan Moran, "Resurrecting the 'Spiritual Daughters': The Houtappel Chapel and Women's Patronage of Jesuit Building Programs in the Spanish Netherlands". *Women and Gender in the Early Modern Low Countries*, Sarah Joan Moran and Amanda Pipkin, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 266-282. See also Timmermans, "Houtappel Family", 175-186; Francis de Decker, "La Famille Anversoise des Houtappel". *L'Intermédiaire des Généalogistes* 72 (November-December 1957): 343-345.

³⁴¹ Fabri, CRLB XXII (3), 198-199. See also Lock, "Rubens and the Sculpture and Marble Decoration", 155-174.

above may have displayed the insignia of Ranst, a seigneurie which came with ownership of Zevenbergen Castle near Breda (British Museum, London) (ill. 5.124).³⁴² The lordship of Ranst was formally inherited by Cornelia Maria and Peter Paschal de Decker in 1642; however in 1638 Godfried's daughter Maria petitioned the king of Spain to be able to sell their seat to her cousin Cornelia Maria whose name was inscribed on the heraldic window.³⁴³ It is plausible that other windows were paid for by prominent Brabantian families who like the Houtappels may have been part of the “Cologne connection”.³⁴⁴

Ophovius' connections in the Generality Lands were just as important as Rubens' contacts among the Antwerp elite.³⁴⁵ While the heraldry above many of the windows is lost to history some of the other sponsors are commemorated by furniture and sculpture. The heraldry on the choir stalls some of which was paid for c. 1635-1636 includes the coat of arms of Anthonie Schetz II, Count Grobbendonk and military governor of 's-Hertogenbosch during Ophovius' tenure as bishop (ill. 5.125) (see Section 2).³⁴⁶ Another coat of arms belonged to Martinus Ignatius van Horne, son of Amandus II who hosted Ophovius at Geldrop Castle after the fall of 's-Hertogenbosch (ill. 5.126) (see Section 6).³⁴⁷ Hendrik van Varick and his wife Anna Damant would almost certainly have sponsored a window as suggested by the placement of his memorial directly opposite Ophovius' effigy (ill. 5.127). Kneeling on a cushion in armour this likewise used to be polychrome; with comparable

³⁴² Jacques le Roy, *Brabantia Illustrata* (Leiden: 1705): 116.

³⁴³ Moran, “Spiritual Daughters”, 281, 318.

³⁴⁴ For more on Houtappel family patronage see Bert Timmermans, *Patronen van Patronage in het Zeventiende-Eeuwse Antwerpen: Een Elite als Actor binnen een Kunstwereld* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2008): passim. Timmermans, “Houtappel Family”, 179-180. See also Fernand Donnet, *Les Exilés Anversois à Cologne, 1582-1585* (Antwerp: De Backer, 1899).

³⁴⁵ See Charles de Mooi, “Second-Class yet Self-Confident: Catholics in the Dutch Generality Lands”. *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570-1720*, Benjamin Kaplan et al., eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009): 156-167.

³⁴⁶ Sirjacobs, “Wapenschilden”, 1696. See also Cauwer, *Tranen van Bloed*, passim; Jean-Charles-Joseph de Vegiano, *Nobiliaire des Pays-Bas et du Comté de Bourgogne et Neuf de ses Suppléments* (Ghent: Gyselynck, 1862-1868): IV.1745; Anonymous, *Vitoria Qve el Governador de Boldvque Tvvo Contra el Principe de Orange* (Seville: 1629).

³⁴⁷ Sirjacobs, “Wapenschilden”, 1699. See also Félix-Victor Goethals, *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de Hornes* (Brussels: Polack-Duvivier, 1848): 299-300; Roy, *Brabantia Illustrata*, 109.

verisimilitude Van Varick's sword is removeable and his spurs can even spin.³⁴⁸ While Van Varick sat on the Council of War his wife was the daughter of Nicolaas Damant, Viscount of Brussels and Chancellor of Brabant.³⁴⁹ The funeral monument once had an abundance of heraldry and other chivalric props showcasing the noble lineages of both husband and wife as illustrated by an engraving (British Library, London) (ill. 5.128).³⁵⁰ In 1631 Rubens and Ophovius dined at the margrave's on which occasion they may have persuaded Van Varick to sponsor the *ecclesia fratrum* (see Section 6). The funeral monument of the margrave whose epitaph is likewise above the adjacent crypt entrance was as conspicuous as Ophovius' own.³⁵¹ Having also patronised the Augustinian, Capuchin and Discalced Carmelite churches Van Varick's choice of resting place was surely testament to his esteem for the bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch and his generosity towards the Dominican monastery.³⁵² The deliberate archaism of both his and Ophovius' effigies complimented the old-fashioned heraldic insignia displayed above Van Diepenbeeck's Pauline windows. Their stiffness, realistic detailing and implied social conservatism were a throwback to a bygone era, perhaps the reign of Emperor Charles V when the Netherlands were still united.³⁵³

³⁴⁸ Lawrence, *Commemorative Monuments*, 308-309, cat. no. 182.

³⁴⁹ Francis Drijböoms, "Wetenswaardigheden over Hendrik van Varick, uit Bouwel". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 470-473. See also Francis Drijböoms, "Nicolaas van Varick Verkocht Enkele Renten en Cijnsen ... Of de Lotgevallen van een Corencijns tussen 1647 en 1793". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1346-1349; Eric Halflants, "Autour d'un Petit Portrait d'Homme: Une Énigme Intéressante à Élucider! Le Margrave d'Anvers Henri de Varick ou le Commissaire d'Artillerie Jacques t 'Serwouters?". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 982-986.

³⁵⁰ Antonius Sanderus, *Le Grand Théâtre Sacré du Duché de Brabant* (The Hague: 1734): II.116-117.

³⁵¹ *Ici gist Messire/ HENRI DE VARICK/ Chlr, Viconte de Bryxelles,/ Seig^r de Boonendael, Bauwel/ et Olmen, dv Conseil de Gverre,/ Marcgrave d'Anvers./ trepassa l'an 1641 le 5 Octob./ et/ Dame ANNE DAMANT/ sa compaigne, Dame des dits/ lievx, trepassa l'an 1630/ le 6 de May.*

³⁵² Timmermans, *Patronen van Patronage*, 129, 208-209; Baisier, *Kerkinterieurs*, 29, 247; Bert Timmermans, "Een Elite als Actor binnen een Zeventiende-Eeuwse Kunstwereld: Uitbouw en Patronen van Patronage(netwerken) in de Antwerpse Nazomer". *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage, 1550-1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005): 210-211; Frans Hendrik Mertens and Karel Lodewijk Torfs, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen sedert de Stichting der Stad tot Onze Tyden* (Antwerp: J. P. Van Dieren en Cie, 1845-1853): V.399.

³⁵³ Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York City, NY: H. N. Abrams, 1992): 67-96.

Ophovius' Brabantian network was most clearly manifest above the *Escape from Damascus* window of the evidence that survives. Donated in 1636 the accompanying heraldry belonged to Albert van den Bergh whose family seat was at 's-Heerenberg in Gelderland (ill. 5.129).³⁵⁴ Albert's list of titles included Count of Walhain (Wallonia), Viscount of Sebourg (near Valenciennes) and Baron of Boxmeer (North Brabant) as well as Margrave of Bergen op Zoom. This fortress town on the Scheldt estuary which was subject to a failed Spanish siege in 1622 had long been Orangist territory but Albert nominally inherited the margravate from his wife and cousin, Maria Elisabeth Clara I after she died childless in 1633. However Albert's uncle Hendrik van den Bergh who fought on the Spanish side at the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch was rewarded Bergen op Zoom by Frederik Hendrik as usufruct when he subsequently defected to the Republic.³⁵⁵ By 1636 Albert's claims to the margravate were dubious indeed. Residing in Boxmeer Castle near Nijmegen Albert van den Bergh was one of the Generality Lands' most prominent patrons of the "old faith". In 1652 he and his second wife founded a Carmelite monastery in Boxmeer installing stained glass windows in the cloisters after designs by none other than Van Diepenbeeck.³⁵⁶ In the inscription to that depicting St Albert of Jerusalem the would-be margrave restated his claims to Bergen op Zoom (ill. 5.130). Albert's interest in the Antwerp monastery can be explained by his fervent devotion to the Virgin; having encouraged the establishment of a rosary brotherhood in Boxmeer Albert would have gone on pilgrimage to 's-Hertogenbosch to see the Zoete Lieve Vrouw before 1629 when he may have met the bishop (see Section 5). In

³⁵⁴ Anthonie Paul van Schilfgaarde, *Het Archief van het Huis Bergh* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1932): I.67.

³⁵⁵ ALBERT ... Marquis/ de Berghes sur le Soom Conte de/ Walhain Viscont^e de Zebourgh Baro^r/ de Boxmeer &^a anno 1636. Various, *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V.30. See Charles de Mooij, *Geloof Kan Bergen Verzetten: Reformatie en Katholieke Herleving te Bergen op Zoom, 1577-1795* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998): 419, 692-696. Wilhelmus Adriaan van Ham, "Het Doorluchting Huis van Bergen op Zoom". *Spiegel der Historie: Maandblad voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 4, no. 4 (1969): 149-150, 160-161, 179; Anthonie Paul van Schilfgaarde, *Het Huis Bergh* (Maastricht: Leiter-Nypels, 1950): 248-251. See also Diane Visser and Annemarie Vels Heijn (eds.), *Hendrik, Graaf van den Bergh (1573-1638): Van Spanje naar Oranje* ('s-Heerenberg: Stichting Huis Bergh, 2010).

³⁵⁶ These have been little studied. Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck*, 1, 5, 24; 52-53, app. 1, no. 10.

any case Ophovius actively sought good relationships with Catholic nobles in the region during his tenure. By declaring himself margrave of Bergen op Zoom despite having no jurisdiction over the territory Albert pronounced the new regime and its religion to be illegitimate. Albert's patronage of the Antwerp monastery was a sign of political weakness like these overweening dynastic claims. The seigneur of Boxmeer was only a small enclave within the Generality Lands from where Albert was all but powerless to prevent the advance of Protestantism in his family seat as Jaap Geraerts shows.³⁵⁷ The *Escape from Damascus* window demonstrates how noble and confessional identities were 'closely intertwined' because Catholic nobles 'did not merely offer support to the [Dutch] Mission but actively shaped it' as evidenced by Albert's patronage of the Carmelites in Boxmeer but also the Dominicans in Antwerp. Patronage of Catholic orders was a means to 'defend and promote' his dynastic 'authority, pre-eminence, and privileges' which had been seriously eroded by the States-General's military advances.³⁵⁸ As such Albert can be said to have sponsored the *Escape from Damascus* window in a show of loyalty to Ophovius' cause and ergo that of Spain.

With their lustrous appearance and Pauline iconography Van Diepenbeeck's stained glass windows gave apostolic clout to the Dominican monastery as part of Antwerp's sacred topography. By having prominent noble families in the region sponsor the windows and displaying their heraldry in the windows above, the Order were playing up their role as a hub of the Dutch Mission. Within the *ecclesia fratrum* the windows' likely iconographic sequence instructed novices to carry out the Order's mission to the latter-day Gentiles with stoic resolve. Exactly half the proposed episodes showed St Paul either being persecuted or

³⁵⁷ Jaap Geraerts, *Patrons of the Old Faith: The Catholic Nobility in Utrecht and Guelders, c. 1580-1702* (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 170-171, 190, 197. My thanks to Jaap Geraerts for discussing this personally. See also V. J. Roefs and I. Rosier, *Verborgen Kunst in een Oude Heerlijkheid* (Den Bosch: Zuid-Nederlandse Drukkerij, 1948).

³⁵⁸ See Rebekah Helen Lee, "The Matter of Nobility: Materially Constituting the Arenberg Family Body in the Habsburg Netherlands 1520-1620" (PhD thesis, University of York, 2018): 133; Piotr Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594-1648* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010): 171-201.

in mortal danger, scaling a wall in a basket, being driven out of Damascus with birch rods, imprisoned, shipwrecked and quite possibly beheaded. Despite the fact that St Paul's epistolary exchange with Seneca had long been proved a forgery the parities between their lives and philosophies were too good to pass over.³⁵⁹ To heroically brave death along Senecan-Pauline lines was further exhorted by Ophovius' effigy who like the apostle had been imprisoned for his faith and driven out of cities by hostile forces. Mirrored by the stoic figure of St Dominic in the *Wrath of Christ* the intention was to inoculate new missionaries from fear of persecution (see Section 2). By applying a neo-stoic gloss to the ministries of saints Dominic and Paul and Ophovius the three "patron saints" of the monastery, the *ecclesia fratrum* turned the Order into guardians of Antwerp's political future. By collapsing Rome of Early Christianity with 's-Hertogenbosch of the recent past using the *Wrath of Christ* and its decorative surrounds, Rubens and Ophovius were ultimately making a plea for Europe to be united first by papal primacy and second under Habsburg sovereignty.

Conclusion

The early history of the *Wrath of Christ* consists of two phases, its commission and display in the transept from c. 1618 and the altarpiece's installation in the *ecclesia fratrum* by 1639. The intervening decades saw the construction of not just the choir but also the legend of Ophovius' white martyrdom in the Generality Lands. Designated as his burial chapel the decoration and indeed the very existence of the *ecclesia fratrum* were indexical of Ophovius' moral capital and ecclesiastical celebrity. By telescoping sacred spaces both local and universal namely the Sint-Janskathedraal and Rome itself, the *Wrath of Christ* and the Pauline stained glass series turned the choir into a proselytising rhetorical machine

³⁵⁹ Harry M. Hine, "Seneca and Paul: The First Two Thousand Years". *Paul and Seneca in Dialogue*, Joey Dodson and David Briones, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 30-39; Brian J. Tabb, "Paul and Seneca on Suffering". *Paul and Seneca in Dialogue*, Joey Dodson and David Briones, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 88-108; Bart D. Ehrman, *Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 206-207; J. N. Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca* (Leiden: Brill, 1961): 6-25, 103-166.

engineered to further the ambitions of the *Propaganda Fide* as well as demarcate Antwerp as the northernmost frontier of Catholic Christendom as emblematised by the window *St Paul on Malta* (see Section 8). The impact of the *Wrath of Christ* within the *ecclesia fratrum* was supposed to touch the very soul.³⁶⁰ As Joost vander Auwera demonstrates a ‘larger-than-life figural composition’ had the effect of ‘[reducing] distances and blurring [the] boundaries between religious space and the physical space of the viewer’; as such the *Wrath of Christ* enacted St Dominic’s vision ‘in front of [one’s] eyes’.³⁶¹ The sense of divine encounter was amplified by the surrounding decoration especially the stained glass. As Rebekah Lee argues in relation to the *Judith and Holofernes* window in Sint-Jan Gouda the light pooling through stained glass made ‘all the objects it portrayed’ – in the case of the *ecclesia fratrum* the ministry of St Paul – ‘at once visible and holy’. The mutability of stained glass activated by the ‘true Sun, that is, God’ engaged with the ‘rhythmic spirituality’ of the liturgy and even ‘worked as part of the Eucharistic experience’ by echoing the transubstantiation ‘from mundane to holy’ taking place at the altar.³⁶² In this way the *Wrath of Christ*’s liturgical installation served to animate the divine presence of the Roman martyrs’ relics within the high altar (see Section 3).

To read the *ecclesia fratrum* against the grain is to turn Ophovius’ white martyrdom into a smokescreen for political failure. Not all visitors to the church thought of Protestantism as a snake encircling the world. The Calvinist Lucä thought the church very beautiful ‘if only the idols were removed’ (see above). The discourse which followed on the adoration of images took place in front of the high altar; rather than use *ethos* to persuade as Ophovius does in the Mauritshuis portrait the Dominican friar whom Lucä met had a fondness for

³⁶⁰ See Michele Bacci, *Lo Spazio dell’Anima: Vita di una Chiesa Medievale* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 2005): 128-134.

³⁶¹ Joost vander Auwera, ‘Format and the Devotional Experience of Nearness and Distance in Baroque Altarpieces’. *Machinae Spirituales: Les Retables Baroques dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux et en Europe*, Brigitte D’Hainault-Zveny and Ralph Dekoninck, eds. (Brussels: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, 2014): 192-193.

³⁶² Lee, ‘Matter of Nobility’, 135-136.

theatrics. He ‘fell down, struck his breast’ and made a direct appeal to Rubens’ altarpiece saying, ‘Here is my religion, what do you believe?’ Instead of emulating the stoicism of St Dominic or Paul as depicted so vividly in the choir the brethren who entered the fray apparently assailed Lucä with ‘lots of scornful and sarcastic questions’. Even with the *ecclesia fratrum*’s machinic apparatus on full power the Order failed to convert this heretic but Lucä was spooked nonetheless, describing the high altar as ‘suspicious and dangerous’ and running away from the monastery for fear of being converted believing the idols (*Gößen*) to possess some kind of demonic force. As Muller points out the friar’s ritual gestures were ‘distinctly Roman Catholic’ and no less dangerous for a visiting Calvinist because they invoked the mass and all its superstitious baggage. Moreover as evidenced by the friar’s equation of the *Wrath of Christ* with ‘my religion’ and his fervent use of *pathos* in front of it, the *ecclesia fratrum* can be said to have succeeded in evangelising monastery novices down the generations if not quite as Rubens or Ophovius had intended.

Conclusion

The early modern alliance of church and state and the interdependence of clergy and laity made the Dominican Church not some abstract realm of the sacred but the city of Antwerp in microcosm; within this theatre of political economy the artworks which Rubens painted, procured and had installed played many parts. By the author's estimation the *Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* cycle helped the Order turn the sacrilege of the Revolt into a retroactive Habsburg victory. The north aisle infused the story of Christ's Passion with Calvino-Turkish rhetoric to make guns out of rosaries and implement Project Fear, the purpose of which was to take back control and keep Antwerp Catholic. The cycle is unique in baroque painting because of its social genesis. It was commissioned by the monastery prior Joannes Boucquet and coordinated by Rubens with the help of his friends Jan Brueghel I and Hendrick van Balen; together they liaised with nine other local artists whose panels were sponsored by and tailored for elite members of the rosary brotherhood. By virtue of its scale and visibility the *Mysteries* cycle was also a paradigm of *pictura sacra*. Its implicit vulnerability to iconoclasm within a former Protestant temple was representative of the entire archducal enterprise of *renovatio ecclesiæ* which hung in the balance as the expiry of the Twelve Years' Truce loomed on the horizon. The acquisition of Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* 'out affection' for the Dominican Church as spearheaded by Rubens, Brueghel, Van Balen and the merchant Jan Cooymans was a cultural event of lasting resonance. As a "sacred possession" it acquired a high speculative price tag which was pegged to an augmenting aura, the catalyst for which was the painting's association with prominent artists and collectors such as Louis Finson. As the author has argued the altarpiece's gifting by 'diverse art-lovers' and 'diverse others' spearheaded by Rubens meant that it came packaged in the values of the metropolitan "liberal" elite which included merchants and members of Antwerp city council; moreover the bonds of friendship and trust which facilitated the *Rosary Madonna*'s purchase served to integrate it within the political economy. As well as

love for art and for each other the quadrumvirate of *liefhebbers* had it procured for civic benefit at a time when Antwerp was foundering behind Amsterdam as a world trade centre. Moving from the *ecclesia laicorum* to the *ecclesia fratrum* Rubens' *Wrath of Christ* high altarpiece was painted c. 1618-1620 but only installed much later. As the author has sought to reconstruct, it formed the centrepiece of the multi-media decorative scheme of the choir which enshrined the legend of Michaël Ophovius as a white martyr in the Generality Lands. While Rubens turned the figure of St Dominic into a pseudo-portrait of Ophovius, another parallel was surely drawn between Ophovius and St Paul whose life was emblematised in ten spectacular stained glass windows by Abraham van Diepenbeeck; by analogy Ophovius' failings as a missionary could be given the gloss of righteous persecution under the Babylonian captivity of the States-General. From what evidence survives the choir can be reconceptualised as Ophovius' funeral chapel in which space his former episcopal seat, 's-Hertogenbosch was signposted and symbolically telescoped by way of precious items rescued from the Sint-Janskathedraal which were held by the monastery until 1642. The many references to Rome in the *Wrath of Christ* such as the pantheon of martyrs allied the monastery with the Early Christian revival and by extension the universalising mission of Tridentine Catholicism of which Antwerp was the northernmost bastion and Ophovius a highly visible evangelist. The painting's visual rhetoric in tandem with the *machina spiritualis* of Ophovius' burial chapel were meant to galvanise friars into joining the Dutch Mission; by commemorating Ophovius as the monastery's third patron saint in all but name the objectives of the *Propaganda Fide* could be localised within Antwerp and made real.

This is not the last word on the subject. More archival research needs to be done into the patronage network of the *Mysteries* cycle and further oil sketches for the Pauline cycle of windows may yet be discovered. Most obviously the author has given little space to Rubens' earliest altarpiece for the Dominican Church, the *Real Presence in the Holy*

Sacrament (ill. X.1).¹ The records of the *Soeten Naam* brotherhood which date back to 1576 are held in the church archives and are key to unlocking the altarpiece's history if only someone can decipher them.² The *Real Presence* was the subject of an article by Cynthia Lawrence published posthumously; of particular interest are the early-seventeenth-century retable and the adjacent oratory which are briefly discussed in Chapter 5.³ The possible involvement of Cornelis van der Geest in commissioning the *Real Presence* and the relationship of the altarpiece to the *Raising of the Cross* in the Burchtkerk remain unresolved.⁴ To understand the *Real Presence* in its social, ritual and theological context would prove richly rewarding as a parallel study to the chapters on the *Mysteries* cycle. Another subject ripe for investigation is the convent of the Dominikanessen or second order female Dominicans which was founded by Boucquet in 1621.⁵ Around 1629 Anthony Van Dyck's lugubrious *Crucifixion with St Catherine of Siena and St Dominic* was installed in their now-demolished chapel (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp) (ill. X.2). This deeply personal work was painted at the behest of the artist's dying father to whom the nuns were apparently very kind.⁶ Despite the flowering of interest in early modern

¹ Hans Vlieghe, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VIII: Saints* (London: Harvey Miller, 1972-1973): I.73-80, cat. nos. 56-58.

² Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Ledenregister van de Broederschap van de Naam Jezus, 1576-1796 (PR 4); Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Rekeningenregister van de Kapelmeesters van de Naam Jezus, 1603-1691 (PR 17); Sint-Pauluskerk Archives, Antwerp, Predikheren, Rekeningenregister van de Confrérie van de Jongmans, 1616-1794 (PR 18). See also Adolf Jansen, "Het Altaar van den Zoeten Naam en de Tuinen in de St. Pauluskerk te Antwerpen". *Streven* (December 1940): 56-62; Adolf Jansen, "Het Gestoelte van den Zoeten Naam en de 'Tuinen' in de St. Pauluskerk te Antwerpen". *Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van Antwerpen: Jaarboek* 14 (1938): 45-49.

³ Cynthia Lawrence, "Confronting Heresy in Post-Tridentine Antwerp: Coercion and Reconciliation as Opposing Strategies in Rubens' *Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*". *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004): 86-115. See also Cynthia Lawrence, "Notes on the iconography of Rubens' *Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*: the Corpus Christi Cohort". *Sint-Paulus-Info: Wetenschappelijke Artikels*, Raymond Sirjacobs, ed. (Antwerp: Sint-Paulusvrienden, 2010): 1562-1569.

⁴ Vlieghe, *CRLB VIII*, I.78-79, cat. no. 56a. See also Michiel Jonker and Ellinoor Bergvelt, *Dutch and Flemish Paintings: Dulwich Picture Gallery* (London: D Giles, 2016): 177-181, cat. nos. DPG40A-B; Lawrence, "Confronting Heresy", 87.

⁵ Floris Prims, *Geschiedenis van het Prekerinnenklooster te Antwerpen: 1621-1801* (Antwerp: 't Groeiit, 1946).

⁶ Susan J. Barnes, *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004): 267, cat. no. III.28.

female spirituality and religious patronage this altarpiece remains all but unstudied.⁷ As for other monastic churches in Antwerp two are still extant in their early modern form, the Jesuit Church and that of the Augustinians; while much ink has been spilled over the former the latter is by comparison a blank slate (ill. X.3). Today an early music centre called AMUZ it once displayed a triad of spectacular altarpieces by Rubens, Van Dyck and Jordaens namely the *Virgin Adored by Saints*, *St Augustine of Hippo in Ecstasy* and the *Martyrdom of St Apollonia* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp) (ills. X.4-6).⁸ Designed by Wenzel Coebergher the church and its seventeenth-century decoration unlike the Jesuit Church which was struck by lightning and gutted by fire in the eighteenth century is remarkably well-preserved. Of the monastic churches that are no longer extant Valérie Herremans singles out St Michael's Abbey and those of the Friars Minor and the Calced and Discalced Carmelites, the altarpieces for which are mostly held by the KMSKA.⁹

This thesis has set its sights beyond the ecclesiastical to determine the place of churches within cities and in turn their integration into economic and political life. Today the holy city is a globalised phenomenon the streets of which are trodden by unprecedented numbers of pilgrims of another sort, the modern tourist. While certain buildings on the bucket-list like St Peter's Basilica in Rome or Hagia Sophia in Istanbul were built as self-conscious portals to the divine the vast majority of churches did not have the backing of popes, princes or patriarchs. Parish and monastic churches in Europe could only bring their congregation closer to God through more prosaic means like brotherhoods which operated as micro-economies of reciprocal altruism. As this thesis demonstrates the resulting decorative scheme in a monastic church could be no less splendid than a famous cathedral if

⁷ Sarah Joan Moran and Amanda Pipkin (eds.), *Women and Gender in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Leiden: Brill, 2019). See also Ann Roberts, *Dominican Women and Renaissance Art: The Convent of San Domenico of Pisa* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁸ Bart Demuyt (ed.), *AMUZ: Een Barokke Parel als Hedendaagse Concertzaal* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2018); Carl van de Velde, “Archivalia Betreffende Rubens’ *Madonna met Heiligen* voor de Kerk der Antwerpse Augustijnen”. *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1977): 221-234; Ferdinand Peeters, *L’Église Saint-Augustin à Anvers* (Antwerp: Veritas, 1930).

⁹ Valérie Herremans, *Paintings from Lost Antwerp Churches* (Ghent: Snoeck, 2013).

on a smaller scale. The Dominican Church was all the more impressive for acquiring many of its riches through tight-knit, informally organised groups of people from the professional classes such as artists, merchants and city councillors as well as the minor nobility. The decorative scheme reflected a paradigm shift towards *embourgeoisement* which saw feudal structures of patronage being replaced by ones in which wealth was predominantly self-made. The emergence of an urban, mercantile economy bred a new middle-class value-system where virtue was less inherited than acquired and indeed earned.

Successful cities are engines of cultural innovation facilitated by the diverse concentration of talent that a metropolis commonly attracts. As Steven Pinker argues in *Enlightenment Now*, ‘No one is brilliant enough to dream up anything of value all by himself. Individuals and cultures of genius are aggregators, appropriators, greatest-hit collectors. Vibrant cultures sit in vast catchment areas in which people and innovations flow from far and wide ... It explains why the fountains of culture have always been trading cities on major crossroads and waterways. And it explains why human beings have always been peripatetic’.¹⁰ The benefits of cosmopolitan living as so often extolled in contemporary discourse were apparent in the past albeit with some qualification.¹¹ Early modernists have drawn attention to the importance of provincial cities which have been anachronistically overshadowed by latter-day capital ones. Before the advent of the centralised nation-state smaller cities such as Haarlem, Leiden and Utrecht had flourishing urban cultures and time-honoured civic identities of their own as Elisabeth de Bièvre demonstrates in her revisionist

¹⁰ Steven Pinker, *Enlightenment Now: The Case for Reason, Science, Humanism and Progress* (London: Penguin, 2018): 450-451.

¹¹ See for example Edward Glaeser, *Triumph of the City: How our Greatest Invention Makes us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier and Happier* (London: Pan, 2012); Allen J. Scott, *The Cultural Economy of Cities: Essays on the Geography of Image-Producing Industries* (London: SAGE, 2000). Karel Davids and Bert De Munck, “Innovation and Creativity in Late Medieval and Early Modern European Cities: An Introduction”. *Innovation and Creativity in Late Medieval and Early Modern European Cities*, Karel Davids and Bert De Munck, eds. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014): 1-33; Patrick O’Brien et al. (eds.), *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). See also Peter Hall, *Cities in Civilization: Culture, Innovation, and Urban Order* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998).

account of Dutch urban artistic production.¹² While modern capital cities like Brussels were often merely the seat of government port cities like Antwerp were cosmopolises by virtue of the traffic of goods and people passing through them. Calvinists, Muslims and doubtless other “outsiders” were portrayed as threats to the body politic not least in the Dominican Church yet the burghers of Antwerp considered themselves to be citizens of the world as much as citizens of somewhere of which Rubens was the shining example. Within early modern cities the political role of churches was part and parcel of their professed status as houses of God. They attracted major investment from rulers and citizens alike because civic prestige and victory in the confessional struggle against Protestantism were at stake, hence the bellicose rhetoric often deployed in church decoration. To conclude this thesis one might ask the question, *quo vadis* for churches? A case for keeping them open in an age of declining faith beyond the fact that they are integral to built heritage is that as *lieux de mémoire* churches are places where history was quite literally made.

¹² Elisabeth de Bièvre, *Dutch Art and Urban Cultures, 1200-1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).