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# PUBLIC STATUES ACROSS TIME AND CULTURES

Edited by

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## 8 Monumentalising Burghers of the Low Countries

### Living Statues in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Joyous Entries

Stijn P.M. Bussels

#### Introduction

Already in the fifteenth century, public statues brought local heroes into memory in Italian cities; especially Donatello and Verrocchio excelled in emulating Graeco-Roman models with their equestrian statues of condottieri, respectively Gattamelata (1453) and Colleoni (1488).<sup>1</sup> Together with individual heroism, these grand statues expressed civic self-awareness and pride.<sup>2</sup> Whereas in the cities of the Low Countries a similar civic self-awareness and pride was flowering in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period,<sup>3</sup> we have to wait for a hundred years to find a comparable tribute to a local hero monumentalised in public space. In 1549, Prince Philip of Habsburg, the future King Philip II, was ceremonially welcomed in the most important cities of the Low Countries, in so-called joyous entries.<sup>4</sup> For this special occasion, the burghers of Rotterdam wanted to show off with their most celebrated son, the humanist scholar Erasmus, and constructed a hollow statue in wood in which a boy was hidden to recite a welcoming poem to the prince. This statue was only intended for temporary display, but the burghers appreciated it so much that a decade later, more precisely in 1557, they erected a stone version.<sup>5</sup> Finally, in 1622 Rotterdam commissioned the famous architect and sculptor Hendrick de Keyser to make a bronze statue of the humanist scholar.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, Erasmus of Rotterdam served as the subject for the first stone as well as the first bronze public statue in the Low Countries. That does not mean that before the mid-sixteenth century, Netherlandish people entirely lacked public statues. Quite to the contrary, hundreds, even thousands of statues were staged from the fifteenth until the seventeenth century most prominently in public space, but in contrast with the statue of Erasmus, temporarily. Here, the word 'staging' should be taken literally, as the statues were not made out of stone or bronze: the burghers themselves performed as statues by keeping quiet and standing in frozen poses for large audiences. These living statues often posed against a painted backdrop and could be accompanied by mannequins in papier-mâché or cloth. Moreover, several descriptions and depictions of these performances clarify that Graeco-Roman statues were emulated, especially in the poses, the clothing with rich draperies, or real or suggested nudity. We now call these performances *tableaux vivants*, but actually, due to their three-dimensionality and their indebtedness to antique sculpture, *statues vivantes* is a name at least as appropriate. Modern historians have never used the term, but early modern accounts of the joyous entries did refer to sculpture to name the civic performances.<sup>7</sup> They describe how burghers enacted statues on wagons and stages in processions

and theatre performances.<sup>8</sup> A famous example is the Antwerp theatre competition, the *Landjuweel*, where amateur players grouped in so-called Chambers of Rhetoric performed theatre plays but started the competition by performing as public statues on stages in streets and squares.<sup>9</sup> The word 'public' is appropriate here, as there were sisted not only of Antwerp burghers but also of Brabantines and even viewers from much further, such as the English merchant Richard Clough, who wrote in his diary that he was totally thrilled by the performances.<sup>10</sup> This chapter, however, will focus on another kind of festivities enjoyed by similar multitudes, the joyous entries. There, the public statues were performed on dozens of stages alongside the route throughout the cities in which the entering ruler paraded. Thus, we explore the ceremonial context from which the very first permanent statues originate, a context where civic self-awareness and pride was so clearly expressed that we could speak of an eminent tradition of 'monumentalising' burghers.

In the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, joyous entries were the most important public expression of political power relations. Almost everywhere in Europe it was a fixed and imperative diplomatic custom to welcome new rulers in the most important cities of their territories by presenting them with abundant decorations and celebrations.<sup>11</sup> The new ruler entered the city with his/her own noble retinue and was for the occasion accompanied by the most important representatives of the city. The event gathered crowds that marvelled at the magnificently dressed noblemen and burghers, as well as at the many festivities and festive constructions that the welcoming cities had organized especially for the occasion. Moreover, tournaments were fought and firework displays were ignited. But primarily, thousands of eyes focused on the platforms, triumphal arches, and pageant wagons on which burghers posed. Many of the burghers performing and witnessing must have felt pride that their city could accomplish such marvels.

Certainly in the Low Countries, joyous entries were of the highest political importance.<sup>12</sup> The Low Countries belonged to the Burgundian and Habsburg territories which were scattered, and certainly under Philip's father, Emperor Charles V, became almost inconceivably vast. The connection between a new ruler and the Netherlandish cities had to be strengthened by all means, especially in periods of turbulence such as the Dutch Revolt, starting in 1568. Moreover, the powerful cities in the Low Countries had a strong feeling of independence and self-esteem and time and again expressed that in the joyous entries. Even more than anywhere else in Europe, in the Low Countries, the ceremonial welcoming of a new ruler was the mass medium par excellence to present that ruler straightforwardly to the burghers, as well as to give central stage to these burghers. All possible visual and textual laudations alongside the entry route had to bearm the new ruler. Similarly, in these laudations the burghers could publicly present their list of wishes to the new ruler. The burghers addressed the new ruler with a diplomatic monologue, as it were, expressed by inscriptions and paintings on a rich diversity of ephemeral constructions, but even more prominently with motionless and silent burghers on stages. That civic monologue did certainly not call into question that the new ruler would be the most ideal ruler. The precise definition of the ideal ruler, however, was strongly defined by what the burghers thought to be the best for their city.

The cities in the Low Countries spared no trouble or expense for the organization. For example, Antwerp spent for Philip's entry of 1549 about twice as much money as



they would spend to build their new town hall some 15 years later.<sup>13</sup> The municipalities entrusted the public performance of the civic diplomatic monologue to the most prominent artists and scholars. In turn, the latter relied on centuries-old traditions in which the active role of the burghers was essential. The moment of culmination in the joyous entries consisted of the burghers exclaiming loudly their oaths of loyalty to the new ruler on the central square of the city (Figure 8.1). Previous to this, their representatives already had literally aligned themselves with the ruler by joining him or her in the parade that crossed the city. Moreover, the burghers had to present the new ruler with their civic ideals by standing motionless and silent on a series of stages that were erected along the entry route.

In this chapter, I will focus on the question why the municipalities and the organisers chose again and again to place their burghers on platforms, triumphal arches and pageant wagons to let them become public statues. Why did burghers enact personifications and mythological and biblical figures with no or with only sparse movement and words on such crucial political occasions? Since the joyous entries are well-studied, it is surprising that this question has never been put before. Political historians concentrated in the first instance at the precise message that the living statues expressed. They linked an iconographical analysis with concrete political affairs, rarely taking the specific medium into consideration.<sup>14</sup> If they concentrated on the fact that these were men and women staging the message, this was contrasted with the paintings on the

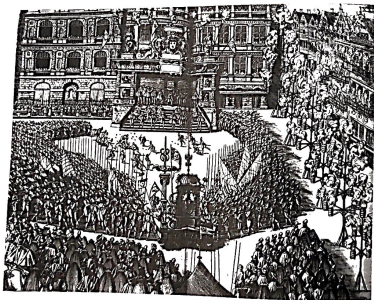


Figure 8.1 Abraham de Bruyn, 'Swearing of the Oaths at the Grand Place'. Engraving in *La joyeuse & magnifique entrée de Monseigneur François*, plate 21. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1582. University Library Ghent, Res. 1373.

triumphal arches, which became increasingly important in the sixteenth century and displaced the staging of burghers in the seventeenth century. An explanation for this burghers, as it were, were literally pushed from the stage to give the full attention to the ruler. In their turn, art and architectural historians have merely concentrated on the frames of the stages, such as George Kernode looking at fifteenth- and sixteenth-century examples. He saw these frames as the missing link between sculpted Gothic and Renaissance tombs and early modern theatre scenes, such as the one in Shakespeare's *Globe*.<sup>16</sup> Kernode presented the ephemeral decorations of the entries as the gateway of the sculptors and architects to the theatre makers.<sup>17</sup>

### Markers of Liminality

Due to their focus on the rise and fall of the living statues, historians of politics, art and architecture have never questioned why, for centuries, the cities of the Low Countries chose time and again to stage motionless and silent burghers on platforms, triumphal arches and pageant wagons for crucial public events of civic diplomacy. In order to start answering this question, we can rely on anthropology, as it is essential to see the joyous entries as *rites de passage*. Thanks to the anthropologists Arnold van Gennep and later Edith and Victor Turner, we can see the entering ruler in a joyous entry as a novice who has to go through a so-called liminal phase to be recognized in his or her new position. Edith and Victor Turner define liminality as follows: 'In liminality the novice enters a ritual time and space that are betwixt and between those ordered by the categories of past and future mundane existence'.<sup>18</sup> The passage from the one situation to the other of an individual or group, to summarise the theory in a nutshell, can be generally accepted thanks to a ritual in which for a certain amount of time a distance is taken from the way people deal with each other in common life. The public acceptance of the social change stands or falls by the success in framing the change in words and/or actions that do not achieve a direct and concrete goal and therefore appear useless in the eyes of outsiders. However, these words and/or actions are essential to clearly mark the passage of the individual or group to all participants and thus to perform that passage. Therefore, the words and/or actions in a rite of passage often rely on tradition and address cultural memory.

Historians such as Edward Muir use this anthropological theory that sees (what I would like to call) 'traditional extraordinariness' as the essence of the proper functioning of rites of passage to explain how in many rituals of the late Middle Ages and the early modern period exceptional moments and places had to be created.<sup>19</sup> For Muir, this applies to a range of rituals, from religious initiations, to rituals that took place on joining a guild, to our central subject, the joyous entries. Historians such as Jesse Hurlbut further focused on the latter. More precisely, they have looked at the structure that was followed time and again to gradually accept the new ruler.<sup>20</sup> They studied how the liminal phase was prepared, performed and brought to a fruitful ending with the help of fixed and preconceived patterns that enabled the step from everyday life to ritual time and place and eventually the step back to everyday life, albeit in a (slightly) changed society.

Following these anthropologists and historians, we can see the burghers' enactment of statues in the joyous entries as crucial elements in the passage of the central person to becoming the new ruler. More precisely, we can say that the living statues are

'markers of liminality'. The motionless and silent burghers behave extra-ordinarily, 'beyond the normal'. However, precisely because in the literal sense of the word as 'beyond the normal'—the entering ruler they do so, they visualize and accentuate for all parties involved—the entering ruler and his/her retinue, the municipality and the burghers in the parade, the thousands of bystanders, and even for themselves—the crucial step in a diplomatic event, important for the city as well as the ruler.

The organising municipalities attached great importance to the fact that the living statues were all burghers. The days and weeks before the actual performances, they used public ordinances to remind everyone that it was crucial that every actor would show up on time. To strengthen this demand, the municipalities threatened with heavy fines.<sup>21</sup> Of course, this can partly be related to practical matters, as it was and is problematic if an actor is missing on stage. On the other hand, however, it will also have been a factor that the burghers had to be closely involved in the support and even the creation of the passage of the ruler. The fact that burghers were performing on the stages did not go unnoticed. In their accounts, noblemen accompanying the ruler praised the elegance of the performance of the City Maiden, a recurring figure in the clearest examples is the performance of the kindest words. In the descriptions, a dozen of which have survived, we see how the beauty of the civic girl and the beauty of her city become closely intermixed.<sup>23</sup> In his report of Philip's entry into Antwerp in 1549, Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella, a Spanish nobleman who accompanied the prince during his entries in the Habsburg territories, describes the performance of Antverpia as follows:

A young girl kneeling saluted the Prince very respectfully and with a modest expression on her face. Over a long dress in crimson satin, she wore a short robe in white satin, and on her hair, instead of a garland, she had a beautiful two-foot high tower like that of the church of Our Lady: this insignia, together with the red and white colours of her dress, made her recognisable as the opulent city of Antwerp.<sup>24</sup>

In the *statue vivante* of a girl elaborately dressed, everyone could literally and figuratively stand still for a certain amount of time and reflect on the grandeur of the city. So besides the new identity of the central person, namely the new ruler, civic identity was also reconfirmed by this public statue in the rite of passage.

In many cities of the Low Countries, the City Maiden welcomed the new ruler on a platform, triumphal arch or pageant wagon right at one of the city gates, so directly at the moment when the ruler entered the city.<sup>25</sup> Thanks to this specific location, we could say that the City Maiden ushered in the liminal phase. The start of the liminal phase of the joyous entries often relied strongly on tradition. For example, in Antwerp practically nothing changed in the performance of Antwerp's City Maiden Antverpia on her magnificent pageant wagon for more than half a century, that is, from the entry of François d'Anjou in 1582 till the entry of Don Ferdinand in 1635.<sup>26</sup> Time and again the audience saw a richly dressed girl sitting silent and frozen on an impressive throne. Since the living statue of Antverpia appeared in precisely the same way in the yearly Whitsun procession, her performance was strongly embedded in the ritual customs of the city.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the Whitsun procession was not only of religious importance, it was also the traditional way to publicly present new members of the municipality,



Figure 8.2 Pieter van der Borcht, 'Antverpia Welcomes Albert and Isabella'. Engraving in Johannes Bochiuis, *Historica narratio projectionis et inaugurationis Serenissimorum Belgii Principum Alberti et Isabellae . . .*, 186–87. Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, 1602. University Library Ghent, Acc. 1858.

thus having to find public acceptance.<sup>28</sup> So the 'traditional extraordinariness' of the performance of the City Maiden was at least yearly used to introduce and to receive approval for political change (Figure 8.2).

The history of Antwerp between 1582 and 1635 was turbulent. The entry of the French Duke François d'Anjou in 1582 was a direct act of hostility towards the Habsburgs. Anjou's appointment as the new Duke of Brabant meant that the Spanish King Philip II was no longer recognized as sovereign, and this began an open revolt against him.<sup>29</sup> This atmosphere of defiance prompted an assertive performance of Antwerp's self-confidence. Subsequent entries into Antwerp were performed after the Habsburg reconquest of the southern territories by Ernest of Austria in 1594,<sup>30</sup> by Albert and Isabella in 1599,<sup>31</sup> and by Don Ferdinand in 1653.<sup>32</sup> These entries served to enforce the power of the Spanish crown, so from the outset, the performed submission of Antverpia was once again crucial. Strikingly, it was Antverpia's pageant of 1582 that was reused. Calvinist strategy was thus appropriated to honor the Habsburgs—the sworn enemy.<sup>33</sup> Thus, tradition was a crucial building stone in the functioning of the *statues vivantes* as public markers of liminality. Tradition surpassed in terms of importance the concrete political situation, even in one of the most turbulent periods in the history of the Low Countries. Next to tradition, however, other factors of the living statues

strengthened the 'traditional extraordinariness', since the performance of public stat-  
ues referred to painting, tapestry and sculpture in a most remarkable way.

### Painting and Tapestry

Let us first look at the 'picturesque' in the literal sense of the word as 'resembling a painting'.<sup>34</sup> The fact that the link with painting was close is famously exemplified in Philip the Good's entry into Ghent in 1458. There, only two decades after its completion, burghers meticulously staged the famous altarpiece of the brothers Van Eyck. Just like in the real polyptych, the stage was separated into different levels. On one level, the audience could admire a living statue of God sitting enthroned and being accompanied by Mary, John the Baptist and angels singing and making music. On another level, the Lamb of God held the central position; whether that was an actual lamb or a model is not documented. It was approached from all directions by worshippers.<sup>35</sup> By choosing to stage the altarpiece, the organisers used this festive occasion to lay the accent on one of the city's most precious possessions, but at the same time on its humility. The organizers urged Philip the Good to forgive the burghers of Ghent, as they had tried to revolt against him, just as the Lamb bears the sins of the world.<sup>36</sup> However, in contrast with modern historians discussing the political message, we must not forget that instead of straightforwardly using Van Eyck's altarpiece itself to publicly proclaim this message, burghers enacted it. The suggestion of three-dimensionality that Jan Van Eyck had developed to unprecedented highlights in his use of perspective and in his *paragone* with sculpture (most eminent in the grisailles of the Ghent altarpiece) was in 1458 emulated by publicly staging living statues.

The living statues of the joyous entries often showed a close interaction with painting. For the first frozen and silent performance in the Bruges entry of Prince Charles, the future Emperor Charles V, in 1515, a forest was painted on the backdrop of the stage. It is reproduced in the first book with prints devoted to a joyous entry, Remy Dupuys' *La triumpante et solennelle entrée* (Figure 8.3). With the arrival of the prince, a wild man opened one of the doors, revealing a scene of richly attired actors re-enacting Bruges' origin: the waldgrave Liederic divided territories, giving the city of Bruges to his son Ganymede, who became the first lord of Bruges. The second door was then opened by a wild woman, treating the audience to a scene of the biblical figure of Joshua. In this way, the Old Testament was linked with the founding story of Bruges. The comparison supplied the local history with an illustrious example. Moreover, Ganymede could be associated with the entering prince, who was seen as the successor of the legendary hero. In January of that year, the young prince was officially declared of age. From that moment on, he could fulfil his role as ruler over the Burgundian territories. Throughout the entry in 1515, the burghers of Bruges expressed their confidence that Charles would accomplish this task with great dignity, just as the young Ganymede had done before.<sup>37</sup> It is striking to see how, in the first of Bruges's performances, the painted landscape was very dominant. Although the account mentions a painted forest, the woodcut shows a mountainous background that could have met with surprise, since it does not immediately recall the plain Bruges of Liederic or the dry Canaan landscape of Joshua. The mountainous countryside does have strong similarities, however, with the renewal of landscape painting at that time. One of the most prominent figures here was Joachim Patinir who, till 1515, lived



Figure 8.3 Remy Dupuys, 'First tableau vivant of the joyous entry of prince Charles in Bruges, 18 April 1515'. In *La triumpante entrée de Charles prince des Espagnes en Bruges 1515*, Facsimile. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1973.

in Bruges. In this city, he had begun to create groundbreaking landscape paintings, which presented a story, often biblical, in the foreground, much like the woodcut from Dupuy's account.

The living statues had close affiliations with other visual arts as well, enforcing them as markers of liminality. Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella repeatedly expresses his admiration for the living statues. A passage from his account of Philip's entry into Louvain in 1549 is exemplary. Louvain was traditionally the first city into which the Burgundians and Habsburgs made their entries. About the very first performance there, Calvete de Estrella writes:

All the characters played their roles with so much majesty and truthfulness in their poses, that one could recognize at first glance which hero each represented: the bearing, the attitude, the position of the feet, the hands, the heads, the complete immobility of their eyes and their bodies, the expressions of the actors, both women and men, offered a marvellous spectacle: one could call it a living tapestry (*tapiz de figuras vivas*).<sup>38</sup>

By speaking of a '*tapiz de figuras vivas*', Calvete de Estrella referred to the extremely expensive tapestries from the Low Countries that for centuries and centuries had been highly thought of in the whole of Europe in order to emphasize for his Spanish readers the most remarkable attractions of the entries in the Low Countries. Thus, the Spaniard acknowledges the extraordinary character of the stages with motionless actors and makes this understandable by linking it to a prestigious medium far more familiar to his Spanish readers. Moreover, Calvete de Estrella presents several parameters to explain the success of the *tapiz de figuras vivas*. There is the recognisability of the representation. The viewer could see immediately which character an actor enacted. Calvete de Estrella highly esteemed the clarity with which the diplomatic message was communicated. Besides, he describes the performances as *magestad* (majesty) and *marvillosa* (marvelous). Consequently, the *tapiz de figuras vivas* had to raise great admiration and wonder. Finally, the Spanish nobleman sees the extraordinariness of the stage, its immobility, as a basic condition for their success. As this parameter is explicitly addressed by foreign viewers only, local viewers must have taken it for granted. Nevertheless, the way the actors succeeded in being totally frozen must have been an important factor in the excitement raised by the performance, for foreign and local viewers alike.

#### *Statues Vivantes*

Even more than to painting and tapestry, however, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reporters make references to sculpture. For example, when for William of Orange's entry into Brussels in 1578 an actress enacted the Greek mythological figure of *Andromeda* in chains, the reporter writes that her appearance 'could have been taken for a marble statue'.<sup>39</sup> The practice of referencing Graeco-Roman sculpture as a means to strengthen the extraordinary character of the stages was already a century old. Even if in that period that was not explicitly indicated in the reports, clear references can be found in the visual representations of the stages, indicating that the performing burghers were 'monumentalised' into antique statues.

We can find a telling example in a stage of the 1496 entry of Joanna of Castile, the spouse of Philip the Fair, into Brussels, where living statues publicly represented the

Judgment of Paris. A clear diplomatic message was given. The three goddesses judged by Paris hold three gifts: the power of Juno, the wisdom of Pallas, and the grace of Venus. The French art historian Anne-Marie Legaré writes: 'Reuniting in herself the gifts that the three imperfect goddesses only own separately, Joanna of Castile appears as the ideal and universal princess'.<sup>40</sup> What interests us here, however, is how this diplomatic message was staged. The drawing of the performance leads us to suppose that naked women performed in Joanna's entry (Figure 8.4). If we consider the

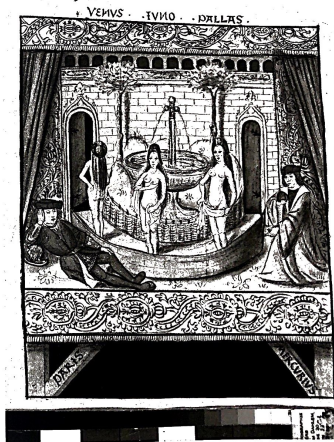


Figure 8.4 'Paris' judgement in the joyous entry of Joanna of Castile in Brussels, 9 December 1496'. Manuscript 78D5, fol. 57, Kupferstichkabinetms SMB, Bildarchiv preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, inv.no. 00049763.

Source: © bpk/ Kupferstichkabinetms, photo: Jörg P. Anders.



history of late mediaeval nudity on stage, however, there are diverse possibilities. The costumes of late mediaeval nudity on stage, however, there are diverse possibilities. The costumes of late mediaeval nudity on stage, however, there are diverse possibilities. The costumes of late mediaeval nudity on stage, however, there are diverse possibilities. The costumes of late mediaeval nudity on stage, however, there are diverse possibilities.

Historians have never put the focus on the fact that the postures of the female nudes clearly refer to antique sculptures. The figure in the middle of the drawing recalls the most famous female nude statue of Antiquity, Praxiteles' Aphrodite of Knidos, which was preserved in countless Roman copies and textual descriptions.<sup>43</sup> With one hand, she holds a veil and protects her private parts. Holding the other hand before the left breast, this figure resembles a specific variant of Praxiteles' original, of which nowadays the Aphrodite of Syracuse, the Capitoline Venus and the Medici Venus are the most famous. Interestingly, despite these connections with this Aphrodite type, following the inscription on the drawing the figure in the middle was not the lovely Venus but the powerful Juno. With regard to Venus, the draughtsman chooses to represent the moment when she turns away from the viewer. Thus, the body of the goddess of love is the most obscured of the three. All the more since her back is covered by her long hair. She has put one of her hands on her buttocks rather explicitly, thus emphasising she is making a pose. Besides the fact that the Graeco-Roman statues were used as a means to evoke ancient goddesses, the specific setting heightened the statue-like character of the three goddesses. Placed in front of a sort of Swiss weather house *avant la lettre*, the elegant performers were moved on a rotating plate from one door to the other. Thus, their well-considered poses could be totally fixed and were even more emphasised.

Graeco-Roman sculpture continued to influence the stages of the joyous entries in the Low Countries and the monumentalising of the performing burghers. We already saw that the reporter of the entry of William of Orange into Brussels explicitly referred to ancient sculpture. In the very same year, in 1578, Archduke Matthias had already made his joyous entry into the city. The fact that two entries were organized so close after each other illustrates the turbulent times. Matthias came at the request of the country's States General, which no longer recognized Governor Don Juan in this position, but Philip II still supported the latter.<sup>44</sup> However, we have to be careful not to let this political context entirely dominate our analysis of the entry, since these festivities, as we have already seen, were certainly not disconnected from the rich tradition of previous entries.

A series of 24 *statues vivantes* offered the Archduke various symbols of power. The woodcuts from the official account by Jean Baptiste Houwaert show that each living statue was performed on a simple stage, most frequently with a single actor or actress. On one of these stages, we see Temperance offering a costly robe to the Archduke (Figure 8.5). This cardinal virtue is represented in a traditional manner, as a woman who pours water into a bowl of wine. An inscription points to the allegorical meaning of this scene: 'Temperance decorates any person far more than only with rich dresses. She offers his highness (of noble character) the robe of honour, splendid and delightful'.<sup>45</sup> The robe, therefore, does not primarily stand for an outer sign of richness but instead was meant to encourage Matthias to use temperance. By dressing the entering ruler in symbolic articles of clothing in this series of stages, the Brussels municipality treated him as a novice who entered, to repeat Edith and Victor Turner, 'a ritual time

and space that are betwixt and between those ordered by the categories of past and future mundane existence'.<sup>46</sup> The discourse offered by the living statues was coherent and clearly communicated by a fixed format; a personification gave the Archduke a present that could be related to Matthias' ideal government. Most often, that personification made a gesture that referred to ancient sculpture. Temperance provides us with a clear example. Thanks to her gesture, but also her chiton-like garment and a



Figure 8.5 Jean Baptiste Houwaert, 'Tableau vivant of the joyous entry of archduke Matthias in Brussels, 18 January, 1578'. In *Sommere beschrijvinghe vande triumphelicke Incomst . . .*, plate XVII. Antwerp, 1579, 51. University Library Ghent, MEUL. 000334.







