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The Emperor Charles V as Santiago Matamoros

by Jan van Herwaarden, University of Rotterdam

Introduction: a missing painting?

Towards the end of 1983, in connection with Europalia 85 España, plans were mooted to mount an exhibition in the Belgian city of Ghent, which would survey the European significance of the Spanish veneration of the Apostle James the Great, otherwise known as Santiago de Compostela. Henri Defoer of the Catharijne Convent Museum in Utrecht and myself were asked to organize the Dutch contribution to this exhibition. Now, I very much wanted to borrow a certain painting for this exhibition, namely, the portrait of the emperor Charles V as Jacobus Matamoros, that is, James the Slayer of Moors. (Figure 1) The painting is presently in the Worcester Art Museum in Worcester, Massachusetts, USA. I was familiar with the painting thanks to an illustration in the book by Yves Bottineau, Les chemins de Saint Jacques, in which the picture is attributed to a painter from the Dutch city of Leiden, one Cornelis Corneliszoon Kunst (1492/3-1544).

The exhibition organizers entrusted the acquisition of the painting to George Zarnecki, then director of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute in London. The reply to his request to borrow the picture was a long time coming—and when it did arrive, was highly puzzling. We were informed that the painting was not present in the Worcester Museum, nor did they have anything comparable; presumably, they suggested, there was a confusion of Worcesters! Of course, Zarnecki immediately informed me of this curious news and all I could do was reiterate that my sources gave the location as Worcester Massachusetts. Meanwhile, time was running out and since there were many other equally interesting items of Jacobiana traveling to Ghent from far and wide, and it was high time the catalog was prepared, we decided to let the matter drop for the time being; but it continued to vex me.

It was to be many years later, when I was preparing material about the role of the Spanish veneration of St James as a component in the struggle against Islam during the Spanish Reconquista, that the portrait of Charles V as James the Slayer of Moors once more made an appearance—and this time the story received a fitting conclusion. The time had come to find out what exactly had happened to the painting. And what was the answer? The portrait most certainly was in the Worcester Museum in the USA—but it was said to be a completely different representation, to wit, the humiliation of the Roman emperor Valerianus (AD199-after 260) by the Persian king Sapor I (240/2-272). We were thus confronted with the question: what exactly did this painting represent?

Let us assume: the emperor Charles V as James the Slayer of Moors, Santiago Matamoros

According to the theory generally held until 1974 the panel represents the emperor Charles V mounted upon a white stallion with a Moorish dignitary prostrate before him: an allegory for Charles’s victory at Tunis in July 1535. He overcame Khair-ed-Din (1466?/1483?-1546), the lord of Algiers and admiral of the Turkish fleet, who had recently conquered the kingdom of Tunisia. The name literally means “Defender of the Faith”; he was also known by the
nickname Barbarossa. Upon the latter’s defeat by Charles, the legitimate “king”, Mulay Hasan (reigned 1526-1542), was restored to the throne. In general, Charles’s expedition was held to be a great success. His return journey from North Africa via Sicily and Italy was one uninterrupted triumphal progress, one of the highlights being held in Rome on Easter Monday, 17 April 1536 when the emperor made an important political speech in the presence of Pope Paul III. It isn’t so surprising that Charles V, in view of the popularity of the cult of St James and the emperor’s Spanish connections, was represented as James Matamoros: James the Slayer of
Moors. (Figure 2) The white stallion harks back to tales of the miraculous appearance of the Apostle James the Great in moments of conflict and crisis, as at the Battle of Clavijo. (Figure 3)
According to a 12th-century addition to the legend of St. James it was in this battle, which would have been fought in 834, 844 or 859, that St James helped the Asturian king Ramiro obtain victory. (Figure 4) This episode became extremely popular as a theme in visual art, but was much disputed while it was combined with the Reconquista promoting a tax payment known as the Voto de Santiago, to be paid by Christians to Compostela, once they had been freed from the yoke of the oppressors (that is, the Arabs). They owed their liberation to St. James, and so it was supposed to be quite logical that a small payment should be made to his shrine in gratitude for his help. Not surprisingly, those involved thought slightly differently, and thus the Voto proved the source of innumerable conflicts. It is remarkable to note that the whole theme is left out the three-volume Spanish standard work about the pilgrimages to Saint James by Vazquez de Parga, LaCarra and Úria Riù, Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela, published in 1948-1949: Franco had gained victory in the Spanish Civil War being assisted by his Moroccan troops. The Spanish expansion over the Atlantic brought the theme in the New World, where the Matamoros became Mataindios (Slayer of Indians) or Matacaribes (Slayer of the Caribbeans). (Figure 5) Interestingly, the statue of St James carried in processions in Santiago de Compostela also represents St. James as Matamoros; this is probably the most famous representation of this theme.

Back to the painting: it currently hangs (since 1934) in the museum of Worcester (Massachusetts, USA). Horst Woldemar Janson wrote a report on the panel in the museum’s annual book of records in 1935, in which he referred to the appearance of St James during the Battle of Clavijo. The representation looks remarkably like the picture of James Matamoros on one of the banners that was carried during the expedition. Janson then refers to other similar portraits and suggests a resemblance between the facial expression of Charles V in this panel and later portraits by Titian, for example the famous picture of Charles V after the battle of Mühlberg, 1547. In the Worcester Art Museum catalog the resemblance is described as “far from compelling,” but this is very much a matter of opinion.

Janson doesn’t go so far as to attribute the panel to Jan Corneliszoon Vermeyen (1500-1559), who, being the court painter of Charles V, had shared the whole expedition from start to finish and who on the journey home through Italy remained for much of the time in the emperor’s company. In June 1546 Vermeyen made a contract with the emperor’s sister Mary of Hungary, who represented her brother as regent(ess) of the Low Countries, to produce designs which could be used for a series of tapestries on the subject of the expedition. This makes it highly possible that Vermeyen created the scene discussed, and in my opinion there is a striking likeness between the knight on this panel and the picture of Charles V in the cartoon Vermeyen made between 1546 and 1548 on which the second tapestry is based. (Figure 6) It is titled Charles V inspecting the troops at Barcelona, an event that apparently took place on Friday 14 May “at 5 o’clock in the morning by the Saint Daniel’s Gateway.” It is evident that these show one and the same person, namely Charles V.

As far as the actual painter of the panel is concerned, Janson came no further than suggesting that this may have been a pupil of the prominent Leiden painter Cornelis Engebrechtszoon (1468-1527), who then went on to work further in the circle of Vermeyen. Various writers have connected a number of names of originally Netherlandish artists with this piece, including that of Jan Wellenszoon de Cock (before 1485-c.1528) and Cornelis Corneliszoon Kunst (1492-1544), a son of Cornelis Engebrechtszoon (whose name, incidentally, is also mentioned from time to time in connection with this work). If either Jan Wellenszoon de Cock or Cornelis Engebrechtszoon had in fact painted this scene, then any reference to events at Tunis would naturally be out of the question.
FIGURE 4 *St. James comes to Ramiro’s Help*, picture on wood above the entrance to the Church of Villadangos del Páramo, along the way to Saint James between León and Astorga.

Photo: Jan van Herwaarden.

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FIGURE 5 Santiago Matamoros, 18th-century procession-statue, Santiago de Compostela. Photo: Jan van Herwaarden.
FIGURE 6  Jan Corneliszoon Vermeyen, *Cartoon of Charles V inspecting the troops at Barcelona* (c. 1548). Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.
An alternative theory: the Persian King Sapor and the humiliation of the Roman emperor Valerianus

In the catalog of the Worcester Art Museum published in 1974 the suggested date of the panel is around 1515-25 and - with an obvious reference to Jan Wellens de Cock - it is attributed to the Antwerp School. It states quite definitely that the scene represents the humiliation of the emperor Valerianus (AD199-after 260) by the Persian king Sapor I (240/2-272), who in 260 achieved a crushing victory over Valerianus, taking him prisoner; this interpretation was first voiced somewhat tentatively in 1927 following an exhibition held in London. By way of comparison, the Worcester catalog referred to the preliminary drawings of Hans Holbein the Younger from around 1521 made for the Council Chamber in Basle, showing a historical moralizing scene. Incidentally, the sketches were probably never implemented. (Figure 7)

The drawing clearly shows the Persian king Sapor mounting his horse using the bowed back of Valerianus as a footstool; the latter is crouched upon his hands and knees. This episode might well be seen as an illustration of the words in Psalm 110:1 “The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool,” a text that found its echo in the New Testament in Paul’s letter to the Hebrews (10:13) “...expecting till his enemies be made his footstool.” The episode is described by Lactantius (AD c. 250-c. 320), whose text only emerged for the first time in 1679. However, the story is mentioned as a prophecy in the description of the martyrdom of Pontius of Cimiez, who was executed in the persecutions under Valerianus in 257. In the life of this saint, probably written in the sixth century, there is a reference to a sermon in which he foretold that Valerianus would be humiliated in this manner by Sapor. The passage appeared in the Speculum Historiale by Vincent of Beauvais and was lifted from that source in around 1300, translated, and placed in the Second Part of the Middle Dutch Spiegel Historiae, a work consisting almost entirely of stories of the saints by Philips Uutenbroeke, and which continues the work of Jacob of Maerlant. However, as far as I know, this did not imply that the text was widely circulated through the Netherlands. The passage in the text from the Spiegel Historiae has been handed down in only one manuscript, which was produced in the Carthusian monastery of Herne in about 1400 and later found its way into the library of the monastery of Rookklooster near Brussels. In the Divisiekroniek of 1517 (which is important for the formation of images in the Netherlands) although Valerianus appears, he does so without the exemplum.

Furthermore, the story about Pontius only occurs in one Middle Dutch manuscript martyrology dating from 1574. In the Lives of the Saints, which were distributed throughout the length and breadth of the Netherlands, there is no mention of Pontius; his feast day isn’t listed in either a Southern or a Northern Netherlandish edition of the Golden Legend, Legenda aurea. However, Pontius does appear in most manuscripts and early printed editions of a Southern German version of the Lives of the Saints and later editions of this - both published in Nuremberg - although his feast day is given as 8 March. If we consider the contribution of Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547), active in Sélestat (Alsace) - who in all probability advised the council of Basle on this matter - and also the drawings by Holbein, the southern German sphere of influence radiated as far as Alsace and Basle. Sebastian Münster (1488-1552), a geographer active in Basle from 1529, also includes the Sapor-Valerianus account in his Cosmogræphiæ. As for the picture, according to the Worcester catalog it is supposed to be an extremely rare presentation of a scene used to symbolize the concept of Justice; apart from this panel the only other example we know of this scene is the Holbein drawing.

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Charles V as James Matamoros after all

Of course this doesn’t make the first explanation totally unacceptable, but the other interpretation, in view of the popularity of the James cult, seems more plausible. Charles V, when a young man, (Figure 8) once made a vow to go on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. It was like this: on Monday 7 September 1517 Charles V set sail from Middelburg in Zeeland for Spain. The ship’s captain was Jan Cornelis from Zierikzee, the very man who in 1506 had brought Charles’s father Philip the Fair to Spain. Five days into the voyage, according to the account followed here, thus on Friday 11 September, a violent storm blew up when the ship was crossing the Bay of Biscay. The storm lasted fourteen hours and it was noted on 12 September that “because of the tempest the king swore a vow that he
would make a pilgrimage to Santiago in Galicia.\textsuperscript{35} (Figure 9) This incident shows very clearly how closely Erasmus’s \textit{Colloquium Naufragium} (On shipwrecks) was related to actual incidents and how familiar a phenomenon his subject must have been for his contemporaries. For although the \textit{Colloquium} was first published in the \textit{Colloquia} edition of 1523, it was, in fact, based on an account Erasmus had heard of a shipwreck in January 1516. From other sources we also hear of vows hastily made in the face of threatening shipwreck. The formula
book of the chancellery of the Utrecht bishops provides a couple of examples of this type of vow, including a vow to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, for having been saved from shipwreck. In the report of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1519, the Dominican priest Jan Want observed in connection with this type of vow made in the hope of staving off shipwreck that he, as a priest, wasn’t permitted to make vows of this sort.\(^36\)

And what else happened to Charles V on that ocean trip in 1517? For a whole week the vessel tossed to and fro and no one knew exactly where they were on the sea: “everyone on board spent the whole night earnestly praying and the writer earnestly doubting.” Then on Saturday 19 September they spied land – the captain, Jan Corneliszoon, had observed the previous evening that they were approaching the coast of the Asturias, in northwest Spain. A discussion ensued as to whether they should bear away in the direction of Santander and from there travel on to Santiago de Compostela, or go ashore at the first possible opportunity. They decided on the latter course, whereby they would avoid further adverse winds. That day the king dined on board at midday and then everyone went ashore at Tazones and took the route inland towards Villaviciosa. After spending a few days there, they continued towards Santander. It proved impossible to fulfil the vow to make a pilgrimage to Santiago at that time, because when they landed they were told that the plague was raging in that part of the country.\(^37\)

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On his way back to The Netherlands we see, however, in 1520 Charles making his pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, approaching from the direction of Valladolid. He took the route that so many pilgrims have followed, the *Ruta de los Franceses*, coming from Astorga, traveling as follows, beginning on 15 March, with each place marking a day: Astorga, Rabanal del Camino, Ponferrada, Villafranca del Bierzo, Vega de Valcarce, Triacastela, Sarriá, Portomarín, via Ligonde towards Mellid and finally on Monday 27 March arriving towards the end of the day in Santiago de Compostela; the two Sundays during the trip were observed as days of rest and spent in respectively Ponferrada and Mellid. Once in Compostela Charles didn’t abandon his task of reigning monarch, and dealt out a vast quantity of honors to his loyal followers. But there was also time for relaxation, as appears from an item on an account stating that the king had paid a certain sum of money on 10 April to six trumpeters of the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela for entertaining him with their music while he was partaking of his midday meal. Charles stayed in and near Santiago until 12 April 1520, leaving on Friday 13 April for La Coruña, whence he set sail for The Netherlands on Sunday 20 May. Clearly, Charles V would have been familiar with the Spanish veneration of St James.

Now back to 1535 and the emperor’s expedition to Tunis which from the very start caused quite a sensation. This appears from the correspondence of Erasmus, which I now quote. (Figure 10) On 21 February 1535 Erasmus wrote from Freiburg im Breisgau to his financial representative in Antwerp Erasmus Schets (died 1550) that “the emperor was preparing himself to confront the pirate,” by which he meant Barbarossa. A week later Erasmus informed his Polish friend Piotr Tomicki (1464-1535) about the preparations for the expedition which, according to some people – at least so Erasmus reported – was a dubious enterprise. Erasmus received further news concerning preparations for the expedition, from Genoa, Rome and Antwerp; in both Genoa and Antwerp a fleet of considerable size was being equipped. Meanwhile Charles V, having spent several months in Madrid, announced on 1 March 1535 that he was leaving for Barcelona where he would prepare his expedition against Barbarossa. The following day Charles left Madrid for Barcelona where he arrived on Saturday 3 April, after he had made a pilgrimage to the cloister of Our Lady of Montserrat to beseech God’s blessing on his enterprise. On Thursday 1 June 1535 the fleet sailed out from Barcelona bound for North Africa.

At the close of July Erasmus received a message from Düsseldorf from Conrad Heresbach (1496-1576), councillor to duke Willem V of Cleves, saying that every day new and favorable news arrived concerning the war against Barbarossa; in Brabant people were already celebrating the emperor’s victory with firework displays – which the writer considered somewhat premature. Considering the slow speed with which news traveled in those times it seems improbable that people in Düsseldorf or Brabant already knew that on 14 July the port of Goleta had been stormed, led by Charles in person, and captured, and that the emperor had triumphantly entered the city of Tunis on 21 July. In mid-August Erasmus received news from three of his correspondents telling of Charles’s victory, which meant the liberation of many thousand Christians who had previously been taken prisoner. One of Erasmus’s pen-pals even sent him a letter from Rome, with a sketch-plan of the situation in northern Africa. According to one report of the expedition, after the capture of Tunis on 21 July 1535 on that very day 20,000 Christian captives were liberated. This caused Erasmus’s faithful friend from Bavaria, Ambrosius Gumppenberg (c. 1500-1574) to write to him from Rome on 21 August 1535: “God gave the emperor victory in all things and his grace to us all.” Erasmus remained sceptical, especially since in his opinion the emperor would have been better employed attending to affairs in Germany where the city of Münster had fallen into the hands of the Anabaptists.
FIGURE 10 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Erasmus, the so-called Longford-portrait* (1523). Photo: After postcard, collection Jan van Herwaarden.
In one of the accounts of Charles’s expedition there is an explicit reference to the fact that a few days after the victory at Tunis the emperor and his entourage celebrated Mass on the feast day of James the Great (25 July). They attended the service, it is told, in a small Franciscan monastery on the outskirts of the city. We may assume that the recent victory was linked with the presentation of James as the Slayer of Moors, Matamoros. This seems all the more likely given that, according to another account, St James was invoked during a skirmish; furthermore 1535 was a Holy Year for Santiago because the saint’s feastday fell on a Sunday in that year. And still further, when Charles was in Naples during his triumphant procession through Sicily and Italy, he met the humanist and historian Paolo Giovio (1483-1552). The emperor told him in a private conversation how he had, as a kind of battle cry, called upon James the Great with a loud voice. This confirms beyond any doubt the relationship between Charles V and James Matamoros.

The picture now becomes clear: the victorious emperor mounted upon his steed beside a crouching figure, depicted in keeping with illustrations of James Matamoros as a wretched figure prostrate upon his back - quite a different position from the footstool-crouching figure of Valerianus in Holbein’s drawing. Thus it was with the caption “Charles V portrayed as St James” that the panel was used in 1964 to illustrate Yves Bottineau’s Les chemins de Saint Jacques. The same interpretation was followed by André Chastel (who attributed the panel to Cornelis Vermeijen) in a discussion over Charles V’s triumphal processions in Italy. Moreover, Chastel pointed out a parallel here with the depiction of Charles V as a victorious mounted figure on a triumphal arch that was constructed in Milan in 1541 and where beside the “Turk” and the “Indian” a third and similarly vanquished figure is shown, identified there as “Barbarossa.”

The question now arises as to who is the vanquished figure in our scene? If we follow the line of interpretation taken so far, the answer is Khair-ed-Din Barbarossa, usurper of the throne of Tunis, who was overcome by Charles’s army. (Figure 11) However, it is also quite possible that the figure represents Mulay Hasan. After all, he was the monarch who had been forced to flee and who, thanks to Charles’s victory, was restored to his throne. However much he was now an ally, he was and remained an unredeemed infidel, only able to survive thanks to the Christian emperor to whom he owed his sceptre and his throne. This interpretation gains a certain support when we know that Mulay Hasan was present in Charles’s army camp and that the artist Vermeyen had actually seen him. Consequently he made a portrait (whereabouts currently unknown) of which there is an extant copy in the form of a woodcut coloured in by hand. With a little imagination we may detect a certain similarity between the subjected figure in this woodcut and that on the panel under discussion.

So we’re looking at either Mulay Hasan or Barbarossa, but in any case at a vanquished Moor and a triumphant emperor. Were we to follow this interpretation we should have to give the painting a later date than the Worcester catalog, naturally after August 1535, which would mean it couldn’t have been the work of Jan Wellens de Cock (or Cornelis Engebrechtszoon). Indeed, it may even be the case that the picture was painted well after the events at Tunis and (in view of the likeness we have noted between the two “Charles” portraits) that it dates from the same period as the cartoons for the tapestries - the late 1540s. This would also imply that whoever painted the panel must have belonged to the immediate circle of Jan Corneliszoon Vermeyen, or possibly the artist was actually Vermeyen himself...?

One objection to the Matamoros interpretation is mentioned in the Worcester catalog: the primary attribute of St James, namely the scallop shell, is nowhere to be seen. However, this is not in fact decisive, since the most typical feature of the Matamoros representation is the saint’s white horse; this appears in a fourteenth-century fresco originally painted in the church of St

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FIGURE 12 Desiderius Helmschmid, *Breastplate of the armor of Charles V*, made by the armorer in Augsburg. Photo: Madrid, Real Armería
James in Bologna where the saint is depicted clothed in a capacious cloak and seated upon a
gallopping white stallion with not a scallop shell in sight.55 A further problem raised by the
catalog, regarding the crown-like headgear and the sceptre of the prostrate figure, also puzzles
me. After all, these are the attributes of a vanquished Moorish ruler, whether that was Khair-ed-
Din Barbarossa or Mulay Hasan.

In the Worcester catalog the “unicity” of Charles as James Matamoros is assumed in
contrast to the Sapor-Valerianus theory, with - for the time being - only one parallel. We should
recognize that in the sixteenth century James Matamoros was an extremely popular figure.
Princes such as Charles V and Philip II had themselves portrayed as the Moor-Slayer, Matamoros.
The picture of James Matamoros was also popular on military banners. Furthermore, it seems
highly probable that the victory at Tunis persuaded Charles V, when he was having the breastplate
made for the armour he would wear during the 1541 expedition against Algiers, to decorate it
with the figure of the victorious Matamoros. (Figure 12) Indeed, even the breastplate armor
worn by horses at that time might be decorated with a picture of the Slayer of Moors.56 Thus we
are shown the emperor Charles V pictured as a miles christianus, a soldier of Christ, and depicted
as James the slayer of the infidel Moors.

**In conclusion: whichever way we look at it, the picture represents Charles V as Jacobus
Matamoros**

So far, so good: but should we take the picture seriously? Isn’t the artist befuddling us
with something like a display by Don Quixote (before the hero existed)? For instance, what are
we to make of the bare legs sprouting from a pair of boots? And isn’t the motif of the breastplate
too effeminate? The knight’s plumed helmet has an exaggerated air to it, reminiscent of the mass
of feathers which Holbein places upon the head of his Persian king, Sapor: not the normal
headgear of a Christian prince or knight, though Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553) in around
1507 provided St George with a similar plume.57 It would seem that what we are dealing with
here is a satirical representation of the miles christianus, the Christian soldier. The Spanish
context permits this taunting tone, as it cannot be denied that Erasmus, through his Enchiridion
militis christiani and his ironic outlook on contemporary events, prepared the ground for the
flourishing of the later exotic fantasies of Cervantes in Spain.58 But in any case, the panel
certainly doesn’t represent Sapor and Valerianus, but is an allusion - satirical or not, it’s hard to
tell - to the emperor Charles V as James the Moor-Slayer, Jacobus Matamoros.

**Notes**

1. Europalia 85 España, Santiago de Compostela. 1000 jaar Europese bedevaart (St Pieters Abbey, Ghent 1985).

2. Yves Bottineau, *Les chemins de Saint-Jacques* (Paris-Grenoble n, 1964) 55; recently, the German art-historian
Norbert Wolf wrote in his book *Die macht der heiligen und ihrer Bilder* (Stuttgart, 2004) 162 without any
restriction or comment: “A picture of the Dutch painter Cornelius Cornelisz. surnamed Kunst in the Museum of
Worcester (MA) shows around 1535, so perhaps after the expedition in Tunis, the emperor Charles V on his
horse as Matamoros, the orthodox warrior and catholic champion against the Infidel.”

3. Besides Bottineau’s contribution this applies in the first instance to the description given by H.W. Janson, “A
mythological portrait of the emperor Charles the Fifth,” *Worcester Art Museum Annual 50* (1935) 19-31; see also:
Wolfgang Braunfels, “Tizians Augsburger Kaiserbildnisse” in Wolfgang Braunfels (Hrsg.), *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien*


16. De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Friday 14 May 1535: *En este día (viernes), a las 5 de la mañana, S.M., a caballo, presenció el alarde de gentes de guerra, a la puerta de San Daniel.*

17. Seipel (pub.), *Kriegszug*, 27, Abb. 15: “Der Kaiser bei der Musterung”; Horn, *Vermeyen II*, Plate XI (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum); cf. however *Ibidem* I, 15 and 74, note 150-151, where Horn, with scant argumentation, entirely dismisses the panel here under discussion.


21. Among others by Max Friedländer, cf. Walter S. Gibson, *The paintings of Cornelis Engebrechtsz* (New York, 1977), no. 89, who has grave doubts about this attribution and also excludes the possibility that it was made by pupils of Cornelis Engebrechtsz or artists belonging to his circle.


24. Gert Kreytenberg, “Hans Holbein d.J. - Die Wandgemälde im Basler Ratsaal,” *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 24 (1970) 77-200: hypothetical reconstruction: 78, 80, fig. 2 and 85, fig. 5: it refers to two drawings one of which was the workroom copy; 80, n. 11: texts (nos. 8 and 2); 81: “Wir wissen nicht einmal mit gewißheit, ob alle diese Entwürfe ausgeführt wurden”: from Sapor etc. in any case, no remnant has ever been found; cf. Heinrich Alfred Schmid, *Hans Holbein der Jüngere. Sein Aufstieg zur Meisterschaft und sein englischer Stil* (2 vols, continuous pagination; Basle 1948; separate *Tafelband* (Basle, 1945) 1, 163-174; 172: Sapor, and *Tafelband*, 23: Abb. 16.


28. The manuscript is presently in Vienna (Oesterreichische National-Bibliothek, Cod. 13.708) and re-emerged thanks to Ferdinand von Helmwald (1843-1884) who discovered it there; Jos A.A.M. Biemans, *Onze Speghelte Ystoriale in Vlaemscbe* (2 vols, continuous pagination; Louvain 1997) 116-123; 450-452: MS. 64 (the fragment in question not in MS. 8, at that place, 355-359); 117: the section copied out by Philip Utenbroeke in 1402; see also J. Deschamps, *Middelnederlandse handschriften uit Europese en Amerikaanse bibliotheken* (Leiden, 1972) 95-98: no. 28, both considered the MS. to be the product of the Rooklooster monastery near Brussels; cf. however Erik Kwakkel, *Die dietsche boeke die ons toebehoeren. De kartuizers van Herne en de productie van Middelnederlandse handschriften in de regio Brussel* (1350-1400) (Louvain 2002) 17: the Rooklooster theory; 34 and n. 93: the MS. was produced in the Carthusian monastery of Herne and later turned up in the Rooklooster monastery, cf. 117; 181-183; 97-112; 130-135: on the production and destination of the Vienna codex; 264-271: content of the Vienna codex (I thank Biemans who brought to my attention the doctor’s thesis of Dr
Kwakkel).

29.Chronijck ende historien van Holland ..., van nieuw oversien ... by W. van Gouthoeven (Dordrecht, 1620) 22: II.17: Ten leste wert Valeriaen gevangen van de Coninc van Persen daerup hy starf.

30.E.A. Overgaauw, Martyrologes manuscrits des anciens diocèses d'Utrecht et de Liège (2 vols.,continuous pagination; Hilversum 1993) II, 734; Pontius 14 May, on the basis of the martyrology of Usuard (9th century) only in MS. Berne, OPrem (I, 227-229), dating from 1574 (I, 244-247).


32.Williams-Krapp, Legendare, 189-191: Der Heiligen Leben compiled in around 1400 in Nuremberg, intended for a broad public; 332: the later edition of Der Heiligen Leben in c. 1406 in Nuremberg or nearby was intended for use in monasteries; 250-251: Pontius is listed as number 100 in 29 of the 33 MSS. of the Winterpart and mentioned (323) in 3 of the 10 MSS. of the later edition, placed there on 8 March.

33.Sebastian Münster, Cosmographei (Basle, 1550), II.32, CCXLIX: Er [Valerian] ward gefangen von der persiern künig und in schnöder dienstbarkeit von im gehalten. Dann solang Sapur der Persier künig lebt, müst Valerianus der keyser vor im niderfallen und sein füßschemel sein wann er auff ein pferd steigen wolt.

34.Karl Simon, Abendländische Gerechtigkeitsbilder (Frankfurt, 1948) 50; in addition it can be stated that the episode doesn’t occur in Frederic C. Tubach, Index exemplorum. A handbook of medieval religious tales. FF Communications 204 (Helsinki, 1969).

35.Date of departure: Allen III, 86-89, nr. 663, Cuthbert Tunstall to Erasmus (Bruges, 14 September 1517), II. 1-2: Vix tandem [7 September 1517] Hispaniarum Rex in regnum navigavit; De Foronda, Estancias y viajes, Friday 18 September 1517: El piloto de Zierixée llamado Juan Cornille (que es el que había conducido al Rey Don Felipe); Saturday 12 September 1517: ... quinto día de navegación, el barco del Rey sustuvo grandes temporales de viento contrario que poco tiempo después de la calma anterior se convirtió en bruma, no haciéndose camino alguno, sino tal vez retrocediendo, cuya niebla, creyéndola precursora de tormenta, hizo que se tomaran grandes precauciones. Siguió el duro temporal durante catorce horas y continuó hasta el día siguiente. La gran tormenta motivó el voto del Rey de ir a Santiago de Galicia, y se cree que si no fuera por la peste que allí reinaba, allí se habría verificado el desembarco.


37.De Foronda, Estancias y viajes, Friday 18 September: Pasandose todo el día cada uno de ellos con su creencia y el cronista en su incertidumbre; Saturday 19 September: ...dozavo del viaje, a eso de las seis de la mañana los pilotos se fueron convenciendo de no ser Vizcaya la tierra descubierta, lo que les contrarió mucho porque, como vizcaínos que eran, deseaban que el Rey desembarcase en su país y no en costas de Asturias, como las altas montañas descubiertas acusaban, dando razón a lo dicho la víspera por el piloto Juan Cornille. Se discutió si convendría torcer para Santander, encaminarse a Santiago o desembarcar allí mismo, resolviendo esto último para evitar que un viento contrario retardase el arribo, por ser prudente tomar tierra en el primer punto que, sin peligro, se presentara.En esto se estaba a seis leguas del puerto. ... El Rey de Castilla comió a bordo; desembarcó al anochecer en un puerto llamado Stasoins [Tazones], país de Sture [Asturië], y cenó y pernoctó en la villa de Villaviciosa.
38. De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Tuesday 10 April: Donativo de 18 libras y 15 sueldos a seis trompetas del Arzobispo de Compostela, por haber, el día diez, tocado sus instrumentos ante el Rey, durante su comida y para su recreo.


40. Allen XI, 71-74, nr. 2997, to Erasmus Schets (Freiburg im Breisgau, 21 February 1535) l. 88; Allen XI, 78-79, no. 3000, to Piotr Tomicki (Freiburg im Breisgau, 28 February 1535), ll. 57-60.

41. Allen XI, 111-115, nr. 3007, Franz Rothart (Franciscus Rupilius) to Erasmus (Rome, 29 March 1535), ll. 83-84; 91-93; Allen XI, 115-122, no. 3008, Louis de Spinula to Erasmus (Genou, 8 April 1535), ll. 267-268; Allen XI, 122-123, no. 3009, Erasmus Schets to Erasmus (Antwerp, 14 April 1535), ll. 45-54.

42. De Foronda, *Estancias y Viajes*, Monday 1 March 1535: imperial charter anunciendo su partida para Barcelona a hacer los preparativos contra Barba Roja; Wednesday 31 March 1535 at Montserrat, cf. Parker, “The political world of Charles V,” 163; Tuesday 1 June 1535: *Partí lo Emperador... de Barcelona per anar a Túnez*.

43. Allen XI, 149-156, no. 3031, Conrad Heresbach to Erasmus (Düsseldorf, 28 July 1535), ll. 47-50: the premature celebration of the victory in Brabant.

44. De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Wednesday 14 July: *comenzó el ataque de la Goullette, se dio el asalto, dirigido personalmente por el Emperador, y entre una y dos de la tarde penetraron en la plaza*; woensdag 21 juli: *Toma de Túnez. Miércoles. S.M. entró en Túnez*.

45. Allen XI, 193-197, nr. 3037, Gocleniüs aan Erasmus (Louvain, 10 August 1535), ll. 85-91; Allen XI, 204-206, no. 3042, Erasmus Schets to Erasmus (Antwerp, 17 August 1535), ll. 45-49; Allen XI, 197, no. 3038, Anselmus Ephorinus to Erasmus (Rome 16 August 1535), ll. 12-14: sketch of the situation, cf. Allen XI, 295-297, no. 3104, to Gilbertus Cognatus (Basle, 11 March 1536), ll. 59-60; cf. the reports in: Allen XI, 222-224, no. 3050, Johann Koler to Erasmus (Augsburg, 31 August 1535), ll. 42-48; Allen XI, 228-229, no. 3055, Henricus Glareanus to Erasmus (Freiburg im Breisgau, 10 September 1535), l. 33; Allen XI, 235-236, no. 3061, Goclenius to Erasmus (Louvain, 28 September 1535), ll. 51-56; Allen XI, 250-251, no. 3071, Viglius to Erasmus (Spiers, 17 November 1535), ll. 32-33; Allen XI, 255-256, no. 3073, Christoffel van Stadion to Erasmus (Dillingen, 27 November 1535), ll. 21-23; Allen XI, 260-262, no. 3078, Damião de Gois to Erasmus (Padua, 22 December 1535), ll. 14-18; Allen XI, 269-270, no. 3084, to Leonard de Gruyères (Basle, 24 January 1536), ll. 5-8.

46. De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Wednesday 21 July: *la Magestat del Emperador y Rey N.S. ... prengue Túnez e desliurats passats vint milia creßtians qui staven presos en dita ciutatt de Túnez*.

47. Allen XI, 212-214, no. 3047, Ambrosius von Gumppenberg to Erasmus (Rome 21 August 1535), ll. 67-74; 73-74: citation.
48. Allen XI, 206-209, no. 3043, to Damião de Goís (Basle, 18 August 1525), ll. 106-110; Allen XI, 214-217, no. 3048, to Bartholomeus Latomus (Basle, 24 August 1535), ll. 68-74; Allen XI, 217-222, no. 3049, to Piotr Tomicki (Basle, 31 August 1535), ll. 116-137.


50. Antonii Ponti Consentini, Hariadenis Barbarossa seu bellum Tuneteum quod Carolus V Imperator cum Hariadeno Barbarossa et Turcis olim gessit, in: Antonius Matthaeus, Veteris aevi analecta, ... (5 vols; The Hague, 1738) I, 1-34 (with eulogy on 35-36); 15: Sed nec certe palluit, nec quicquam deforme aut dixit, aut fecit, nomen tamen Sancti Jacobi sibi ut praesto esset invocavit, ....


52. Bottineau, Chemins, 55, cf. 23, 203-204: on Jacobus Matamoros as representation.


54. Mulay Hassan was received by the emperor on Tuesday 29 June 1535 in his army encampment near La Golette, De Foronda, Estancias y viajes, Tuesday 29 June: ... llegó al campo de S. M. Muley Hassen, siendo recibido por el Emperador; portrait: Seipel (pub.), Kriegszug, 43, illustration no. 33: “Mulay Hassan, König von Tunis. Silvester von Paris nach Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen,” cf. Horn, Vermeien II, Figure A 48 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Étampes); there are also more or less contemporary portraits of Barbarossa that have survived: Horn, Vermeien II, Figure C 46 (by Agostino dei Musi); Münster, Cosmographei, DCXCIX: VI, “Von dem land Africa,” and a comparison may be made with the reclining figure shown here.


56. See for example 1000 jaar Europese bedevaart, 362-365, nos. 359-365; Serafín Moralejo, Santiago, camino de Europa. Culto y dultura en la peregrinación a Compostela (Santiago de Compostela, 1993) 421-426, nos. 116-118; 120; Steppe, “Iconografie” in 1000 jaar Europese bedevaart, 142: the breastplate; to be found in Madrid, Palacia Real, Armería A149-156: Armour of Charles V, c. 1540, breastplate with Santiago Matamoros.