

Official Portraits and Regional Identities

The case of Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519)

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In his monograph *Marketing Maximilian. The visual ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, Larry Silver investigates the multi-faceted artistic projects that Maximilian I undertook in order to further his fame and to shape his public image.² The recent exhibition *Kaiser Maximilian I. und die Kunst der Dürerzeit* analysed the emperor's life and his patronage of the arts with particular emphasis on the triumphal procession both on parchment and paper.³ In contrast to his father, Emperor Frederick III, Maximilian can be described as a most ambitious and modern patron. This applies not only to the employment of new media such as printed material, but equally to Maximilian's imaginative use of multiple likenesses. The present paper investigates the role of portrait paintings by focusing both on the geographic conditions that determined the production of images and on Maximilian's political agenda. Within the large body of portraits that have survived until today, one can identify at least five different types of images.⁴

Many of the court artists involved in creating the public persona of Maximilian are known by name: Ambrogio de Predis from Milan, Bernhard Strigel from Memmingen and Albrecht Dürer from Nuremberg. Each can be associated with one or two specific portrait types that were used and reused in different contexts. The Netherlandish painter Joos van Cleve was not formally attached to the imperial court, but nevertheless produced a distinctive portrait type that was important at the time.⁵ This essay will investigate the specific features of these portrait types and pursue the question as to whether there was a regional preference in particular for the image created by Joos van Cleve.

Ambrogio de Predis. The classical portrait

There exists only one copy of the portrait created by Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis, a painting signed and dated by the artist in the bottom left-hand corner.⁶ The Milan portraitist joined the Habsburg court in 1493, shortly after Maximilian had married Bianca Maria Sforza, his second wife. This particular portrait has occasionally been described as old-fashioned, as it adheres to the strict portrait in profile. It is, however, a classical format that was reintroduced at the beginning of the fifteenth century via coins and medals and remained popular well into the sixteenth century.⁷ The likeness emphasizes Maximilian's aquiline nose, a distinctive trait that appears in most of his

portraits. If the anonymous drawing in Berlin is an authentic likeness of the emperor, De Predis idealized his facial features.⁸ In this medium-sized portrait Maximilian wears a gold brocade dress with a black fur collar and a black hat probably made from the same material. While his position as King of the Romans is highlighted by a Latin inscription, he is wearing neither a suit of armour nor any of the attributes typical of this office. The pattern of his gold brocade dress has been interpreted by Karl Schütz as a symbol of his new alliance with the house of Sforza.⁹ The ceremonial chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece is the most prominent attribute in the painting. Maximilian was made a member of this Burgundian order on 31 April 1477, which was a significant moment in his life and in the history of the Order. The ceremonial inauguration is documented by a miniature in the Bruges chronicle of 1481¹⁰ and is also described in the Vienna statute book of the Order of the Golden Fleece.¹¹ Maximilian immediately took on the office of sovereign and head of the Order and greatly cherished his newly gained status. He held the office twice during his lifetime, first during the minority of his son Philip the Handsome (1478–1506), and a second time during the minority of his grandson the future Emperor Charles V (1500–1558). This portrait type was repeated in a modified version by an anonymous German artist showing Maximilian in a shoulder-length portrait, with the emperor facing to the right.¹²

Albrecht Dürer. A late portrait

A very different image of the emperor is represented by a portrait type that was created by Albrecht Dürer in 1518. At the request of the emperor, the Nuremberg artist drew Maximilian from life while he was staying in the city of Augsburg to attend the Diet of Augsburg. Dürer's charcoal drawing served as the blueprint for the two painted portraits now in Vienna and Nuremberg,¹³ and for the woodcut that was published in several editions soon after Maximilian's death in January 1519.¹⁴ Dürer's woodcut became the most widely distributed image of the emperor and exists in several editions; some prints were embellished with colour and shell gold.¹⁵ While the Vienna painting on wood and the Nuremberg painting on canvas were unique and probably not meant to travel, the woodcut inspired many contemporary printmakers: Hans Weiditz, Lucas van Leyden, Pieter de Jode and others.¹⁶

Joos van Cleve. Maximilian's Netherlandish likeness

The third portrait type can be associated with the Antwerp-based painter Joos van Cleve and his workshop (fig. 1). So far, this portrait has largely attracted the interest of a small number of van Cleve specialists such as John Hand and Cécile Scailliérez.¹⁷ The portrait exists in several replicas and copies that vary in size and shows numerous variations regarding the choice of attributes.¹⁸

Maximilian's body is always shown in a frontal position, with his head turned slightly to the left, so that his face appears in three-quarter view. In similar fashion to the portrait by Ambrogio de Predis, Maximilian wears a luxurious overcoat made from gold brocade and fitted with a broad fur collar. Maximilian's undershirt is black in colour and his head is covered with a soft black hat. He wears very fine leather gloves that are almost white in colour. Maximilian's only ornament is the

Order of the Golden Fleece; there are no references to his position as King of the Romans or as Holy Roman Emperor. While his left hand is portrayed as if resting on the ledge of the frame, his right hand is lifted up slightly higher and holds a posy of carnations.¹⁹



Fig. 1 Joos van Cleve and workshop, Maximilian I as sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece, wood, 30.8 x 21.1 cm, Berlin, KMPK, GG 1321.

Bernhard Strigel. The first official portrait

A large group of portraits represents Maximilian wearing a polished suit of armour and carrying numerous regalia such as a half-arch crown, a sceptre, a sword, and a coronation cloak. While the paintings from this group show a wide range of styles and diverging facial features, they are all attributed to Bernhard Strigel and his workshop.²⁰ The Swabian artist Strigel was closely attached to Maximilian's court.²¹ He produced two different portrait types, one showing Maximilian clad in armour and another in which he is dressed in more 'civilian' or courtly dress.²² For many years, Strigel seems to have been Maximilian's preferred portraitist until he finally turned to Albrecht Dürer only a few months before his premature death.

Within the Strigel group very few panels can be dated accurately. The individual portraits are generally dated by means of circumstantial evidence, on the basis of the style of the armour or the particular crown Maximilian is wearing. Karl Schütz proposed that the earliest portraits date from circa 1500.²³ The Strigel portrait, now in Berlin, carries the date '1496' in the central axis of the painting (fig. 2), though the authenticity of the date '1496' has been questioned by Erich Egg because Maximilian was appointed King of the Romans in 1486 and crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1508.²⁴ The inscription 'DIVI MAXIMILIANI IMPERATORIS FIGURA ANNOS CUM ESSET NATUS QUADRAGINTA' to the right of the cloth of honour points to the year 1499, as Maximilian is described as being 40

years of age.²⁵ Dieter Vorsteher has recently argued in favour of 1496 being the year in which the panel was painted by Strigel. He proposed that the second inscription was added three years later, when the portrait was given away as a gift.²⁶



Fig. 2 Bernhard Strigel, Emperor Maximilian I dressed in armour and presenting his regalia, oil on parchment on wood, 76,5 x 48 cm, Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv.no. 1988/1496.



Fig. 3 Bernhard Strigel, Maximilian I as Holy Roman Emperor, circa 1507/08, oil on wood, 84 x 51.8 cm, Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum.

In portraits of this kind, Maximilian is always shown as a half-length figure in three-quarter view, turning body and face to the right. He is placed in front of a textile background that represents a cloth of honour. In addition to his military attire, he carries sceptre, sword and a crown. His bent right arm rests either on a window sill or on a pillow, demarcating the space of the sitter from that of the viewer. It has been suggested that Strigel's official portrait of Maximilian in armour was modelled on an earlier portrait of his father, Emperor Frederick III (1415–1493),²⁷ which Maximilian probably commissioned himself in the second decade of the sixteenth century. There are indeed a number of similarities, such as the choice of attributes and the positioning of the figure within the pictorial space. Both men hold emblems of power, the golden sceptre runs diagonally from lower right to the upper left, and the right arm rests comfortably on a horizontal parapet. All these factors point to an intrinsic interrelationship between these two portraits.

It can be assumed that they were both conceived as one left wing of a portrait diptych. Father and son are both turning to the right, facing their spouses Eleanor of Portugal and Bianca Maria Sforza on a complementary panel.²⁸ While only one version of the portrait of Emperor

Frederick III is known, multiple copies of Emperor Maximilian's portrait have survived. It can be assumed that many copies of Maximilian's official portraits were given away as gifts, as this was a common practice at the time. The inscription on a lost version from Strasbourg indicated that Maximilian donated the likeness to the Johannite monastery after his visit to the imperial city of Strasbourg in 1507.²⁹

Maximilian in Margaret of Austria's portrait collection

In the Netherlands, Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480–1530) represented the interests of her family as Regent and Governess of the Burgundian territories.³⁰ In all, she kept four portraits of her father in different parts of her principal residence, the so-called *Palais de Savoy* in Mechelen or Malines. The spatial contexts in which these portraits were once displayed can be reconstructed and thus provide significant clues to reconstructing the function of each of the likenesses.³¹ The portraits in question were located in Margaret's library, her dining hall and the small cabinet or *Studiolo* next to her bedroom. Margaret of Austria's stock list of movable items (1516) mentions a large portrait panel of Maximilian, which is described as follows:

autre tableau, plus grant, de l'empereur, habillé en son accoutrement impérial
[another panel, larger, of the emperor, dressed in his imperial accoutrement].³²

This painting is described as larger than the previous one depicting John the Fearless (*Jehan de Bourgoigne*). As the most prominent feature in this painting was Maximilian's imperial attire, it can be assumed that in her library Margaret displayed a copy of the Strigel's stately portrait as Emperor in order to represent her father as the ruling head of the Habsburg dynasty (fig. 3).³³ The richly furnished library was one of the more public spaces within the residence and was open to members of her court as well as to outside visitors.³⁴ This was the location where the military triumphs of the Habsburg family were commemorated: the victory over the Duke of Guelders, the Battle of Pavia, the conquest of the New Americas, and others. In her library Margaret also kept her personal copy of Dürer's *Arch of Honour*, the eternal monument to Maximilian's entire achievement.

The 1516 stock list of paintings in the library refers to a second, albeit somewhat smaller portrait of Emperor Maximilian. It is described as follows:

ung petit tableau du chief de l'Empereur, pourtant robe et bonnet de cramoisy, et une lettre en sa main
[a small panel of the head of the Emperor, wearing a crimson red robe and bonnet, and a letter in his hand].³⁵

This entry calls to mind a particular Strigel portrait in which Maximilian is dressed in a red overcoat with a fur collar. In this portrait Maximilian wears no armour and no regalia. He is proudly presenting the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece and holds a letter in his left hand. The two paintings that correspond to this description, however, are not particularly small in size. A fine portrait by Strigel in the National Trust collection measures 39.5 x 30 cm;³⁶ another version in Berlin measures 37 x 25.³⁷ The inscription in the Berlin portrait names Maximilian's position as Holy Roman Emperor: '*Maximiliani primi Romanoru(m) Imperatoris Archducis Austrie Effigies*'. His raised hand and his index

finger point forward as if giving instructions to a person outside of the picture frame. In the past, this portrait type has been labelled ‘Maximilian as a private man’, because he is depicted without his paraphernalia.³⁸ Maximilian’s attire corresponds to the image of the White King in Maximilian’s autobiography *Weisskunig*.³⁹ While this portrait type from the Strigel workshop served as an alternative likeness for Maximilian it is not clear when it appeared for the first time.

In addition to the portraits of Maximilian in the Mechelen library already mentioned, a portrait by Joos van Cleve was kept in Margaret’s official portrait gallery, the so-called *première chambre à chemynée* on the second floor of the western wing. In the household inventory of 1523–24 the portrait of the deceased emperor is described as follows:

Item, ung aultre tableau de la portraiture de l’empereur Maximilien, père de Madame, que Dieu pardonne, habillé d’une robe de drapt d’or, fourée de martre, a ung bonnet noir sur son chief, pourtant le colier de la Thoison d’or, tenant un rolet en sa main dextre.

[Item, another panel with the portrait of Emperor Maximilian, the father of Madame, whom God forgive, dressed in a robe made from gold cloth, lined with marten, a black cap on his head, wearing the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, holding a scroll in his right hand].⁴⁰

There are two paintings that match this description very closely, one in Brussels (fig. 4) and one in Berlin (fig. 1).⁴¹ These two panels are almost identical in size and colour. In the Brussels painting, three letters ‘M • R • I’ discreetly point to the identity of the sitter: M(aximilianus) R(omanorum) I(mperator). In both examples, Maximilian’s left hand rests on the edge of the frame, a popular motive in Netherlandish portraiture that can be traced back to Rogier van der Weyden. It can be assumed that Joos van Cleve’s workshop used a template to produce multiple copies of this new portrait type.⁴²



Fig. 4 Joos van Cleve and workshop, Maximilian I as sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece, wood, 33 x 23 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, inv. no. 2581.



Fig. 5 Anonymous, Maximilian as sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece, in the statute book of the Order of the Golden Fleece, parchment, 28.4 x 21 cm, Bruges, after 1518, Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2606, fol. 77.

A large, full-page miniature in the Vienna statute book of the Order of the Golden Fleece reproduces the same portrait type in which Maximilian is represented first and foremost as the sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece (fig. 5).⁴³ The sitter's posture and the patterning of his gold brocade dress are very close to the portrait panel in Berlin. If we assume that this copy was once kept in Margaret's portrait gallery, it is most likely that the miniaturist would have had access to this copy. This panel was just one of several paintings from Margaret's portrait gallery that were used as models by the illuminator of the Vienna statue book.⁴⁴

In this manuscript Maximilian is described as: 'Most distinguished and very powerful prince, *Monseigneur* Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Lorraine, of Brabant, of Luxemburg, etc'.⁴⁵ Given that this manuscript was made after 1518, it is remarkable that the caption accompanying Maximilian's portrait refrains from mentioning his rank as emperor. This wording confirms that Maximilian's public profile changed according to the different regional and political contexts in which he operated. In the Burgundian Netherlands he gained respect and exerted political influence by stressing his position as sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece, his role as Holy Roman Emperor not being an asset in this political region. In Margaret of Austria's official portrait gallery, many members of this prestigious order were represented with an emblem of their membership, mostly a gold pendant of the Golden Fleece hanging from a simple black string. Maximilian always wears the collar of the sovereign which consists of a gold chain with broad links and a gold pendant. Joos van Cleve's portrait of Maximilian I with a scroll (fig. 1) was thus considered most appropriate for Margaret of Austria's official portrait gallery.

Maximilian as bridegroom

A second version of Joos van Cleve's portrait type was kept in Margaret of Austria's *petit cabinet*, an intimate space adjoining her stately bedroom. Instead of a scroll, Maximilian holds two carnations in his right hand. In 1523–24, the portrait was described as follows:

Item, ung aultre tableau de la portraicture de l'empereur Maximilien, tenant deux fleurs d'ulletz en sa main, habillé de drap d'or, pourtant la Thoison.

[Item, another panel with the portrait of Emperor Maximilian, holding two carnations in his hand, dressed in gold fabric, wearing the Fleece.]⁴⁶

John Hand lists three versions of this alternative portrait type from the Joos van Cleve workshop.⁴⁷ The Paris painting is the smallest, measuring 19 x 13 cm; the Amsterdam painting is the largest, measuring 34.6 x 24.4 (fig. 6). In the Amsterdam portrait, Maximilian's body is depicted down to the waist. This detail is comparable to the Berlin painting with scroll (fig. 1). The copies in Vienna (fig. 7) and Paris have rounded tops and opt for a narrower close-up concentrating more on Maximilian's head and hands. In all three paintings, Maximilian turns his head to the right and raises his left hand, which touches the ledge of the frame.

Marissa Bass has argued that the Amsterdam painting should be identified as the one from Margaret's collection because Maximilian holds two instead of three carnations.⁴⁸ The fact that the inventory does not explicitly talk about a small painting supports her assumption. The van Cleve portrait with two carnations was kept in the most secluded section of Margaret's residence, the *studiolo* next to her bedroom. It is significant to note, however, that Margaret gave away this portrait

to her bastard sister, in October 1527.⁴⁹ What was the reason for this decision? Did she herself lose interest in this portrait after her father died?



Fig. 6 Joos van Cleve and workshop, Maximilian I with Two carnations, oak, 34,6 x 24,4 cm (without frame), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. No. SK-A-3293.



Fig. 7 Joos van Cleve, *Maximilian I with three carnations*, oil on oak, 27 x 18 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. GG 972.

The Paris version is the only painting with a date. The year '1510' on the lower ledge of the frame provides us with a *terminus ante quem*.⁵⁰ It is unlikely that the blueprint for this portrait was conceived as late as 1510, because Maximilian did not visit the Netherlands in that particular year.⁵¹ Both the written correspondence between Maximilian and his daughter and the emperor's detailed itinerary demonstrate that Maximilian sojourned in the Netherlands in 1508/09 because of the ongoing war with the Duke of Guelders; in fact, he stayed continuously in this region from 1 November 1508 to 31 March 1509, Antwerp, Brussels, Gent, Kalkar, Mechelen, Lier, Dordrecht being some of the places he passed through at the time. During these five months Maximilian will have had many opportunities to meet Joos van Cleve in person.⁵² Given Maximilian's strong personal interest in commissioning official portraits, it seems more than likely that he himself selected the artist and decided on the choice of attributes, a scroll and several carnations. The specific nature of these images and the precision of the facial features suggest that the artist was given a chance to make a preparatory drawing from life. The large number of copies confirms that Joos van Cleve's portrait was considered an important likeness, a portrait that was copied over and over again.⁵³

In the light of these considerations the image of Maximilian with carnations raises several questions. Depicting a sitter with one or several flowers in his hand is usually understood as a symbol of love and courtship; it was a motive frequently employed in connection with betrothal or marriage

portraits.⁵⁴ Maximilian wedded his first wife Duchess Mary of Burgundy on 18 August 1477, a historically important event dating back more than thirty years. When Joos van Cleve started working on this new portrait, Maximilian had been married to his second wife for more than fifteen years. If this image refers back to the emperor's first marriage, we are dealing with a retrospective portrait and a considerable lapse in time. John Hand convincingly argued that this composition may have been modelled on a similar painting in Margaret of Austria's collection, the portrait of the Tudor King Henry VII as a potential bridegroom (1505).⁵⁵ At the time, Henry had the intention of marrying Maximilian's widowed daughter. For the King of the Romans, Henry VII was an important political ally, which was why he had been made a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece. After the marriage negotiations failed, the panel painting was kept in Margaret's illustrious portrait gallery. The treatment of the frame as pictorial border is reminiscent of the official portraits of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold by Rogier van der Weyden and his workshop.

The retrospective nature of Emperor Maximilian's portrait by Joos van Cleve is less surprising than it seems at first sight. To Maximilian and his offspring, the union of the two dynasties—Habsburg and Burgundy—remained one of the most important events for this upward-moving dynasty. This is documented in his *Arch of Honour*, the *Triumphal Procession* and in the chivalric romance called *Theuerdank*. Between 1505 and 1516 Maximilian dictated the story of *Weisskunig* to his secretary Marx Treitzsauerwein. Maximilian's journey to the Netherlands, his arrival at the Bruges court, his meetings and negotiations with Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy, and the final marriage ceremony are dealt with in great detail. The luxurious coat that Maximilian is wearing in most of these woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair is reminiscent of the fur-lined overcoat in the portrait panels by Joos van Cleve and his workshop (fig. 1).⁵⁶ *Weisskunig*, Maximilian's alter ego, wears a rich collar and a royal crown—symbols of power that the young prince was still striving for in 1477.

In 1511, not long after the death of his second wife, Maximilian reissued a commemorative silver coin in the city of Hall, Tyrol, based on the design of an early medal by Giovanni Candida. The so-called '*Hochzeitsguldiner*' by Ulrich Ursentaler reproduces Maximilian's portrait as a young prince on one side and that of his young bride on the reverse.⁵⁷ The inscription 'ETATIS 19' points to Maximilian's young age, and the date 1479 equally refers back to the time of his youth. This minted likeness of Maximilian commemorates an event of the past that had ongoing political significance for the Habsburg family. It can be assumed that Maximilian distributed these coins among his allies.

In the light of Maximilian's ambition to glorify his union with the house of Burgundy, the commission of a portrait as an ageless courtier with flowers appears to be more of a strategic decision than an expression of romantic love. The modesty with which Maximilian is represented in this portrait can be interpreted as a well-considered manoeuvre. In the Burgundian Netherlands, Maximilian was seen more as an involuntary guest than as a potent ruler: in this region of his empire he was merely tolerated as Mary of Burgundy's husband and as the father of their children, Philip the Handsome and Margaret of Austria. Joos van Cleve portrayed Maximilian twice as sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece, always showing off the collar of the Order.

In this political context, the creation of a new likeness by Joos van Cleve in 1508/09 is as significant as the conception of an official portrait by Bernhard Strigel in 1496 (fig. 2). The Strigel portrait was developed at a time when Maximilian was climbing up the political ladder and had to assert himself as King of the Romans and as the most promising candidate for the position of Holy

Roman Emperor (fig. 3). Strigel's portrait of Maximilian in armour reflects this ambition and was employed across the Empire, as the copies in Strasbourg and Mechelen show.

The portrait that was conceived by van Cleve a decade later was probably employed within a much more limited geographical area, the Burgundian Netherlands. This portrait established Maximilian's role as leader of the Burgundian network (fig. 1) equal in importance to Philip the Good, Charles the Bold and Philip the Handsome. It reminded visitors to Margaret's residence that Maximilian was the acting sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece (fig. 5), while his grandson, the nine-year-old Charles, was still a minor. Maximilian's marriage to Mary of Burgundy was the key to his rise to power, a turning point in the history of the Habsburg dynasty. The portrait with a posy of carnations (fig. 6), on the other hand, was employed by Maximilian as a posthumous monument to his happy and prosperous union with Mary of Burgundy, the last heir to the Burgundian empire.

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Illustrations

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Fig. 6 Joos van Cleve and workshop, *Maximilian I with two carnations*, oak, 34.6 x 24.4 cm (without frame), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-3293.

Fig. 7 Joos van Cleve, *Maximilian I with three carnations*, oil on oak, 27 x 18 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. GG 972.

¹ In 2011, Philippe Lorentz kindly invited me to Paris to lecture on the early Habsburgs at the EPHA. It was in this context that I first developed the idea for this paper. I would like to thank the following colleagues for helping me to put the material for this essay together: Katrin Dyballa, Eva-Maria Höllner, Stephan Kemperdick, Pilar Silva Maroto, Matthias Ubl and Joost van der Auwera. I am grateful to Herbert Karner for encouraging me to pursue this topic and for his patience.

² Silver 2008.

³ Polleroß 2012, pp. 101–15; see also: Scheller 1999, pp. 70–76.

⁴ This includes the remarkable image of the deceased Maximilian on his deathbed (died on 2 January 1519), see Guido Messling, 'Monogrammist A.A., Das Totenbildnis Maximilians I., 1519', in *Kaiser Maximilian I.* 2012, cat. no. 127, pp. 380–83.

⁵ Hand 2004, pp. 112–14.

⁶ Ambrogio de Predis, *Maximilian I*, oak, 44 x 30.3 cm, 1502, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. GG 4431. Karl Schütz, 'Ambrogio de Predis, Maximilian I., 1502', in *Maximilian I.* 2012, cat. no. 11, pp. 146–47; for a digital image see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giovanni_Ambrogio_de_Predis (accessed on 22 February 2013).

⁷ See also the medal by Benedikt Burkhart depicting Maximilian in armour, with the inscription 'MAXIMILIANUS ROMANO(RVM) REX IMPERATOR AVG(VSTVS)', 1505, Prague, Národní museum; for a digital image see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Maximilian_I_1505_av.jpg and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Maximilian_I_1505_rv.jpg (accessed on 11 February 2013).

⁸ Anonymous, *Maximilian I*, charcoal drawing, 37.3 x 25.3 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 10; Andreas Bayer has recently attributed this drawing to Ambrogio de Predis, in *Gesichter der Renaissance 2011*, cat. no. 106; for a digital image see:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ambrogio_de_Predis_001.jpg (accessed on 12 February 2013)

⁹ Karl Schütz, 'Ambrogio de Predis', in *Maximilian I.* 2012, p. 146.

¹⁰ *Exzellente Chronik van Flandern*, Brügge, 1481, in Brüssel, KBR, Ms.13073–4, f. 335v.; see Fillitz 1988, pp. 70–

71, ill. 4.

¹¹ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Cod. Vin. 2606, fol. 75: 'Et mondit seigneur le duc Maximilian ot empris et accepte le dit ordre pour en estre chief et souverain ce quil fit apres avoir rechet lordre de chevalerie en leglise de saint sauveur et le collier dudit ordre le derrnier jour du mois davril lan mil iiii^e lxxvij en la ville de bruges', quoted from Frimmel and Klemme 1887, p. 296.

¹² Anonymous, *Maximilian I*, painting on conifer, 54.6 x 36.1 cm, Berlin, SMPK, inv. no. GG 2111; although the date given in the inscription is 1504, the accompanying text seems corrupted and is thus less reliable; see: <http://bpggate.picturemaxx.com/webgate/cms/> (accessed on 5 December, 2012).

¹³ Albrecht Dürer, *Emperor Maximilian I*, Vienna, 1519, oil on limewood, 74 x 61.5 cm, Karl Schütz, 'Albrecht Dürer, Kaiser Maximilian I, um 1519', in *Maximilian I.* 2012, cat. no. 78, pp. 292–95; another version of this painting is held by the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg: Albrecht Dürer, *Emperor Maximilian I*, 1519, canvas, 86.2 x 67.2 cm, see Löcher 1997, pp. 213–16.

¹⁴ On the process of transferring the design from paper to canvas or wood, see Luber 1991, pp. 30–47.

¹⁵ Mende 2000, cat. no. 14, pp. 316–17.

¹⁶ Dagmar Eichberger, 'Kaiser Maximilian I., um 1519', in *Albrecht Dürer 2002*, cat. no. 252, pp. 456–59.

¹⁷ Scailliérez 2011, pp. 86–111.

¹⁸ Hand 2004, cat. nos. 2.1–2.10, pp. 112–14.

¹⁹ This motive is generally employed in portraits that were produced in the context of marriage negotiations. I

will come back to the meaning of this motive at a later point.

²⁰ For example, Bernhard Strigel and workshop, *Emperor Maximilian I*, wood, 60.5 x 41 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. GG 922; another version of the same type is inv. no. GG 4403, 75.5 x 49 cm.

A slightly later version shows Maximilian with his imperial mitre crown: Bernhard Strigel, *Maximilian I as Emperor*, circa 1507/08, wood, 82.8 x 50.5 cm, private collection / Innsbruck, Maximilianeum, inv. no. Gem 136.

²¹ Strigel's professional connection with Emperor Maximilian is based on an inscription on the back of a panel painting that shows Anna and Johannes Cuspian (1473-1529) and their offspring: 'Anno humanae reparacionis MDXX Mens octobri...Bernhardinus Strigil pictor civis Memingen nobilis qui solus edicto Caesare Maximilianu ut olim Apelles Alexandrum pingere iussus has imagines manu sinistra per specula ferme sexagenarius Viennae pingebat', Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. GG 6411, see also Karl Schütz, 'Bernhard Strigel, Die Familie Kaiser Maximilians I., zwischen 1515 und 1520', in *Maximilian I.* 2012, cat. no. 13, pp. 152.

²² Bernhard Strigel and workshop, *Emperor Maximilian I*, limewood, 29 x 22 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. GG 828; for a digital reproduction see:

<http://www.lessing-photo.com/dispimg.asp?i=26010224+&cr=10&cl=1>.

²³ Schütz 2002, p. 17.

²⁴ Erich Egg, 'Bildnis König Maximilians I.', in *Maximilian I.* 1969, cat. no. 547, p. 148. According to Egg, the copy in Berlin, formerly in Schweinfurt, is the earliest portrait from this series. He questions the date '1496' as it is in contradiction with the inscription on the right-hand side.

²⁵ I wish to thank Brigitte Reineke for providing this information; Bernhard Strigel, *Emperor Maximilian I*, oil on parchment on wood, 76,5 x 48 cm, Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv. no. 1988/1496; for a digital reproduction see: http://www.dhm.de/datenbank/dhm.php?seite=5&fld_0=K1000080 (accessed on 15 February 2013).

²⁶ Dieter Vorsteher, 'Berhard Strigel, Kaiser Maximilian I., 1496', in *Hochrenaissance im Vatikan* 1999, cat. no. 72, pp. 454–55. This view is also adopted by Brigitte Reineke in *Im Atelier der Geschichte* 2012, cat. no. 8, pp. 32 and 346.

²⁷ Hans Burgkmair the Elder (?), *Emperor Frederick III*, wood, circa 1510, 78,5 x 51,5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. GG 4398. It has been suggested that it was based on a lost painting dating from 1468; Margot Rauch 'Friedrich III.', in *Werke für die Ewigkeit* 2002, cat. no. 11, pp. 45–47; for a digital reproduction see: http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Hans_Burgkmair_d._%C3%84._005.jpg (accessed on 15 February 2013).

²⁸ Hans Burgkmair the Elder (?), *Empress Eleanor of Portugal*, wood, circa 1510, 79 x 51.5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. GG 4399; Margot Rauch 'Eleonore von Portugal.', in *Werke für die Ewigkeit* 2002, cat. no. 11, pp. 47–49; for a digital image see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Hans_Burgkmair_d._%C3%84._006.jpg (accessed on 15 February 2013).

²⁹ Silver 2008, p. 102. A small number of portraits can be traced back to the collection of Archduke Ferdinand II, who established a portrait collection at Schloss Ambras.

³⁰ Eichberger 2005, pp. 48–55.

³¹ Eichberger 2002, pp. 58–115.

³² Lille, AdN, Chambre des Comptes de Lille, no. 123904, fol. 4: '*Les peintures estans en la librairie de madame*', in *The Inventories of Charles V* (2010), vol. III, p. 2393. The portrait is mentioned again in the household inventory of 1523–24: '*Celle de l'empereur trespassé*', Paris, BNF, Cinq Cents de Colbert 128, fol. 46v, see Eichberger 2002, p. 173, fn. 117. For more information on the various inventories, see Eichberger 2010, vol. III, pp. 2351–63.

³³ Bernhard Strigel, *Emperor Maximilian I*, Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum, oil on wood, 84 x 51.8 cm, circa 1507/08.

³⁴ Eichberger 2009, pp. 241–64.

³⁵ Lille, AdN, Chambres des Comptes, 123904, in *The Inventories of Charles V* 2010, vol. III, p. 2393.

³⁶ Bernhard Strigel, *Maximilian I*, oil on limewood, 39.5 x 30 cm, National Trust, Upton House, Banbury, Warwickshire, cat. no. 213; for a digital image see: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/the-emperor-maximilian-i-14591519> (accessed on 21 February 2013).

³⁷ Bernhard Strigel and workshop, *Emperor Maximilian I with scroll*, ca. 1515, limewood, 37 x 25 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 2110; for a digital image see: <http://bpgkate.picturemaxx.com/preview.php?WGSESSID=dcec51b266a2804a19350a3e18fc6aca&UURL=67f5b88c215c9a208c2b26be9036ab15&IMGID=00025455>. Further versions of this portrait exist in: Vienna [Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. GG 828], Kreuzlingen [Sammlung Kisters] and Innsbruck [Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, inv. no. 1277].

³⁸ Erich Egg, 'Bildnis Kaiser Maximilians I. als Privatman', in *Maximilian I*. 1969, cat. no. 551/552, p. 148.

³⁹ Larry Silver, 'Leonard Beck, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, Hans Schäufelein, Hans Springinklee, Weisskunig, 1514–16', in *Kaiser Maximilian I*. 2012, cat. no. 74, pp. 288–89.

⁴⁰ Paris, BNF, Cinq Cents de Colbert 128, fol. 59v, in *The Inventories of Charles V* 2010, vol. III, p. 2448.

⁴¹ Joos van Cleve and workshop, *Maximilian I as sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece*, wood, 30.8 x 21.1 cm Berlin, KMPK, GG 1321; see *Gemäldegalerie Berlin* 1996, vol. 2, cat. no. 791; Joos van Cleve and workshop, *Maximilian as sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece*, wood, 33 x 23 cm, Brussels, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, inv. no. 2581; see *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 1984, p. 60.

⁴² The painting was studied with IRR by Molly Fairies in March 2001. The colour of the background is green, the hat is black; the underdrawing in executed in a dry medium, delineating his face and hands (correspondence with Eva-Maria Höllerer dating from 2 December 2012).

⁴³ *Statute book of the Order of the Golden Fleece*, Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2606, fol. 77: anonymous, 'Maximilian I as sovereign of the order', Bruges, after 1518, parchment, 28.4 x 21 cm; see *Das Statutenbuch des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies* (1934). For a digital image see:

<http://wwwg.uni-klu.ac.at/kultdoku/kataloge/37/html/2756.htm> (accessed on 20 February 2013).

⁴⁴ Eichberger and Beaven 1995, pp. 233–35.

⁴⁵ ‘*Tres excellent et tres puissant prince, monseigneur Maximilien, archidux d’Autriche, duc de Lothrie, de Brabant, de Luxembourg, etc.*’

⁴⁶ Paris, BNF, Cinq Cents de Colbert 128, fol. 81v; in *The Inventories of Charles V* (2010), vol. III, p. 2455.

⁴⁷ Hand 2004, pp. 112–14; [2.0] Joos van Cleve, *Maximilian I with carnations*, oak, 28.5 x 22.3 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. GG 972; [2.1] Joos van Cleve and workshop, *Maximilian I with carnations*, oak, 19 x 13 cm, the date 1510 is written onto the original frame; Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, inv. no. 2234; [2.2] Joos van Cleve and workshop, *Maximilian I with carnations*, oak, 34.6 x 24.4 cm (without frame), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-3293, for a digital image see:

<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objecten?q=maximiliaan+l&js=1&p=6&ps=12#/SK-A-3293,70>

(accessed on 20 February 2013).

⁴⁸ In the Vienna and the Paris copies Maximilian is holding three flowers instead of two, see *Netherlandish art in the Rijksmuseum* 2000, p. 43. One detail that raises questions in the Amsterdam version is the way in which the Order of the Golden Fleece is depicted. The filigree style in which the collar of the order has been painted does not correspond to the more solid chains in the other paintings. For digital information see: <http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/collectie/zoeken/asset.jsp?id=SK-A-3293&lang=nl> (accessed on 22 November 2011).

⁴⁹ Text in the margins of the entry quoted above: ‘*Ce tableau a esté donné par Madame à sa seur batarde, religieuse de Bois-le-Duc par sa lettre du 10 d’octobre anno 1527, pour ce royé.*’

⁵⁰ Hand 2004, p. 20.

⁵¹ *Itinerarium Maximilian I* 1899, pp. 48–56.

⁵² On the early career of Joos van Cleve see Hand 2004, pp. 13–21.

⁵³ This is also emphasized by Scaillièrez 2011, p. 104. The authors of the catalogue entry seem to question the supposition that Maximilian met up with the artists, see *Joos van Cleve* 2011, p. 179.

⁵⁴ *Joos van Cleve* 2011, cat. nos. 48–49, 50, pp. 180–81; see also Scaillièrez 2011, p. 104.

⁵⁵ Hand 2004, p. 20; anonymous, *Henry VII*, oil on wood, 42.5 x 30.5 cm, London, National Portrait Gallery, inv. no. 416. The inscription on the London painting documents that Henry’s portrait was painted on 29 October 1505 on command of Herman Rinck, a London agent for the Holy Roman Emperor; for a digital image see: www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw03078/King-Henry-VII?LinkID=mp02144&role=sit&rNo=1 (accessed on 21 February 2013).

⁵⁶ Hans Burgkmair, no. 53: *The marriage ceremony of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy in Bruges 1477*, in Maximilian I. and Treitzsauerwein 1775, online: <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/maximilian1775>.

⁵⁷ The 1511 silver coin is modelled on an earlier medal by Giovanni Candida; for a digital image of the 1511 silver coin, see: http://www.coingallery.de/KarlV/Maximil_D.htm. There are several versions in gold (Dresden, Prague, Vienna): Ulrich Ursentaler, *Kaiser Maximilian*, 1511, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Münzkabinett, inv. no. 886; for a digital image see: <http://www.habsburger.net/de/kapitel/kunst-im-dienste-der-herrschaft>; the reverse of Ursentaler’s coin is reproduced under: <http://www.habsburger.net/en/node/3120> (accessed on 21 February 2013).