



# The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400–1700

Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism

Edited by  
Herbert Karner, Ingrid Ciulisová  
& Bernardo J. García García



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2014

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# Preface

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**Krista De Jonge, PALATIUM Chair (KU Leuven – University of Leuven)**

Founded in 2010 and financed by the European Science Foundation, the PALATIUM research networking programme aims at creating a common forum for research on the late medieval and early modern European court residence or palace (*palatium*) in a multi- and trans-disciplinary perspective ([www.courtresidences.eu](http://www.courtresidences.eu)). In the broad and varied field of court studies, PALATIUM's focus on the court residence stands out as a main defining characteristic, distinguishing it clearly from similar initiatives in Europe. Fourteen research institutions from eleven European countries support this programme, amongst which the organizing institutes of this conference: the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Slovak Academy of Sciences, both of whom we sincerely thank for the essential role they have played in enabling the network and in making this event possible.

The choice of venue seems particularly fitting in retrospect because of PALATIUM's roots. It was in Vienna in 2008, at the occasion of the aptly named conference '*Vorbild, Austausch, Konkurrenz. Höfe und Residenzen in der gegenseitigen Wahrnehmung*' organized by our host, the Austrian Academy of Sciences together with the Residenzen-Kommission of the Akademie für Wissenschaften in Göttingen, that some of the essential contacts were made, which eventually led to the PALATIUM programme. The Hofburg Project of the Academy thus deserves particular mention. However, since PALATIUM could be called a 'network funded by a consortium', thanks are also due to the other member organisations who stand behind us and to our 'parent company' the European Science Foundation.

The world of the courts 1400–1700 constituted a network of truly European scale and international character. Within this context, the intricate Habsburg network of courts, born from the marriage alliances between the House of Austria, the House of Burgundy, the House of Spain and the House of Jagiellon in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, stood out because of its territorial reach, connecting the Low Countries with the Holy Roman Empire, Bohemia and Hungary, and the Iberian peninsula. PALATIUM quite naturally has addressed these 'Habsburg Spheres' on different occasions, first in its start-up stage in the meeting of Madrid in November 2010 ('*Felix Austria*'), and now on a vaster scale in the conference at Vienna in December 2011. The organizers have sought the input of many disciplines apart from the architectural historian's, combining the knowledge of the historian of art, of the theatre, and of collecting, with that of the specialist in religious history, politics, diplomacy and travel, to address the Habsburg world from different angles. The collection of essays presented hereafter thus offers a first example of the inclusive approach PALATIUM has sought to encourage.



# Introduction and Acknowledgements

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**Herbert Karner** (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

**Ingrid Ciulisová** (Slovak Academy of Sciences)

**Bernardo J. García García** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

The essays gathered in this volume were presented as papers at the conference *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe. Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism, 1400–1700*, which was organized by the Austrian Academy of Sciences in co-operation with the Slovak Academy of Sciences and held in Vienna on 7–10 December 2011. It should be noted that it was also the first thematic conference prepared within the framework of the European Science Foundation research networking programme *PALATIUM. Court Residences as Places of Exchange in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (1400–1700)*.

The history of almost all *PALATIUM* ‘member states’ – if they may be called that – relates closely to the House of Habsburg, which in the period under investigation was one of the most important royal houses of Europe. For this reason it was decided to organize the conference as an international scholarly meeting focused on the court culture of the Habsburg dynasty in its broader context. The scholarly concept of the conference was developed by the two convenors: Ingrid Ciulisová (Bratislava, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Institute of Art History) and Herbert Karner (Vienna, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute of History of Art and Musicology, Division of Art History (formerly the Commission of Art History)). The two convenors are indebted to Krista De Jonge (Chair of *PALATIUM*), Bernardo J. García García (Vice-Chair) and Pieter Martens (Programme Coordinator) for their kind assistance, for which they offer them their warmest thanks. Sincere thanks go also to the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Slovak Academy of Sciences for their generous support. Finally, we would like to thank John Nicholson for his final reading of the texts.

Of seventy-four abstracts submitted from eighteen countries, thirty-one papers were selected and delivered at the conference, including a poster section for younger scholars. The ceremonial opening lecture was delivered by Larry Silver (University of Pennsylvania). The chosen papers were devoted to various topics specified in the conference call, which is here recalled both as a testimony to the conference and for the sake of clarity. The editors believe that the present volume will serve a useful purpose in bringing together studies of some of the principal topics encountered in the study of the Habsburgs’ royal courts.

A variety of extant visual and written sources demonstrate that the members of the House of Habsburg devoted special attention to the creation of their ‘dynastic identity’ (e.g. the ‘Fürstenspiegel’, panegyric and emblematic literature). It was this phenomenon that motivated our attempt to trace a Habsburg dynastic ‘idiom’ in the sphere of archducal, kingly or imperial representation, particularly at the residence courts, and to consider its supranational features in contrast to its regional ones. Our intention was that court culture in Vienna, Madrid, Brussels, Prague, Bratislava and Budapest should be subjected to detailed examination and comparison – with a double focus trained on instances of interaction both within the Europe-wide Habsburg network and also with local traditions. All cases of exchange were to be elaborated upon with the help of visual media used by the Habsburgs, and were to be developed in the following four panels:

### **I. *Repraesentatio Majestatis and Residency***

The court residence is viewed as the nucleus of representation. Investigations were to focus primarily on the official apartments built up by the Habsburgs in relation to their court ceremony, with the principal question being: Is there a model unifying the court residences in Madrid, Brussels and Central Europe? Special attention was devoted to the display of codes and symbols of Habsburg princely representation. It was intended that all visual media and elements of performance (theatre, festivities, ephemeral art), including different sorts of collections (of artworks, books, horses, plants etc.), should be given further consideration in the contexts of their display.

Four case-studies are presented here. Bruno Meier reminds us that the early Habsburgs had a widespread regional presence from Alsace to the Aargau and describes its architectural expression (*‘Bescheidene Burgen und kleine Städte. Die Präsenz der Dynastie in den vorderösterreichischen Stammlanden im Spätmittelalter’*). In her precise analysis of Maximilian I’s building activities in Innsbruck (*‘Bausteine eines Residenzprojekts. Kaiser Maximilian I. in Innsbruck’*), Nicole Riegel demonstrates how an existing building complex was turned step by step into an imperial residence. Ivan Prokop Muchka examines the organ in Prague Cathedral as a case of Habsburg self-representation in his paper on *‘Architectura ancilla musicae: Architektur in der Beziehung zur Musik am Prager Hof der Habsburger’*. In his paper on *‘Palaces on the Edge of the Atlantic. The Architectural Reformation and the Space Ritualization of the Portuguese Royal Residences during the Reign of Philip I of Habsburg (1580–1598)’* Milton Pedro Dias Pacheco discusses the interventions of Philip II of Spain on Lisbon’s main royal palace at his succession to the Portuguese throne in the light of Habsburg representation of majesty.

### **II. Imperial, Royal or Princely Identity and Regional Patriotism**

The Habsburgs developed a supranational form of dynastic identity. In addition, however, other forms of identity were cultivated and articulated by the local nobility in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland. These forms of identity related specifically to what may be called *Landespatritismus* in the sense of loyalty to the traditions of the countries they still viewed as their respective ‘homelands’. We looked for various forms of expression of *Landespatritismus* in the visual arts as realized in the



palaces of the time. Works of art glorifying local saints or earlier rulers produced in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland were of particular interest in this context.

Five case-studies are contained within this section of the collection. Going against traditional Czech historiography, Jan Bažant demonstrates in *'Habsburg Mythology and the Waldstein Palace in Prague'* that the hero of its artistic programme is not its owner, regional potentate though he may have been, but the Habsburg Empire he served. Conversely, in her paper on *'Official Portraits and Regional Identities. The Case of Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519)'*, Dagmar Eichberger shows how a Habsburg ruler could adopt different types of artistic representation in accordance with the particular regional context he wanted to communicate with. Eva-Bettina Krems studies the role which dynastic portraits, specifically Velázquez', could play in the identity-building and foreign politics of the Spanish mid-seventeenth century Habsburg court (*'Dynastische Identität und europäische Politik der spanischen Habsburger in den 1650er Jahren: Diego Velázquez' Bildnisse als Teil einer höfisch-politischen Porträtkultur'*). Madelon Simons, in *'Presentation, Representation and Invisibility. Emperor Ferdinand I and his Son Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria in Prague (1547–1567)'*, connects the stucco decoration of Villa Stern near Prague with Ferdinand's activities as a collector and a patron, while critically considering the question of a Habsburg artistic idiom. In *'The Courts of the Habsburgs as Related by Jakub Sobieski'*, Cezary Taracha shows how an outsider viewed the different Habsburg courts, from Vienna to Madrid.

### III. Religious Practices at Court

A decisive element in Habsburg dynastic identity was what has been called 'Pietas Austriaca' (adoration of the Blessed Sacrament and veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Holy Cross, and the saints). How did these specific religious practices manifest themselves, either in public liturgy or in private devotion? How were these practices reflected in the art, culture and architecture of the court? What can be said about the sacred spaces at the Habsburg courts, their location, structure and function in ceremonial and private life? Are there possibly connections and interdependencies between princely residences and religious buildings? Can virtues such as 'pietas' and 'modestia' be seen as criteria for a reconsideration of Habsburg architecture? What differences or similarities can be seen between the Spanish and the Austrian Habsburgs in their practice and use of 'pietas'?

This section comprises three case-studies. Werner Telesko looks at the practice of 'pietas' at the seventeenth-century Viennese court, in particular at its veneration for the Holy Cross under Emperor Ferdinand II (*'The Pietas Austriaca. A political myth? On the Instrumentalisation of Piety towards the Cross at the Viennese Court in the Seventeenth Century'*), while Ilaria Hoppe examines its programmatic use in the decoration of Villa Poggio Imperiale, Florence, by his widowed sister Grand Duchess Maria Maddalena (*'Engendering Pietas Austriaca. The Villa Poggio Imperiale in Florence under Maria Maddalena of Austria'*). In her paper on *'Pietas Austriaca at the Lisbon Court. The Monumental Chapel and Funerary Tombs built by Catherine of Austria in the San Jerónimos Monastic Complex in Belém'*, Annemarie Jordan Gschwend shows how Catherine, queen of Portugal, showed herself a true Habsburg ruler in the creation of the royal Pantheon at Bélem.

#### IV. Habsburgs and Muslims

The long-standing threat posed by the Ottomans in eastern Central Europe and by the Moors in Spain provoked the construction of images and stereotypes of ‘enemies of the Faith’. Were there similar strategies in Spain and Austria, in particular within the context of court culture, for the creation of propaganda presenting the Habsburgs as ‘defenders of the Faith’? Did this image have any tangible influence on Habsburg court culture? Further issues were: Turkish perception of Habsburg courts and palaces; the possible role of the Ottoman palace as a rival to the Habsburg model; and manifestations of the triumph over the Moors and the Ottomans in palatial art.

In ‘*Europe’s Turkish Nemesis*’, our key-note speaker Larry Silver paints a broad panorama of the manifold image of the Turk in the long Habsburg sixteenth century, from Albrecht Dürer and Maximilian I, to Hans von Aachen and Rudolf II, showing the richness of artistic strategies available to Habsburg rulers in their propaganda war with the Turks. Pál Ács examines early ‘Ottoman Studies’ in his paper on ‘“*The Good and Honest Turk*”. *A European Legend in the Context of Sixteenth-Century Oriental Studies*’, particularly a strain which runs counter to the prevalent image of the Turk as the enemy. A famous pictorial instance, due to the Flemish artist Pieter Coecke van Aelst, is analysed by Annick Born in her paper on ‘*The Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcs. Süleyman and Charles V: Iconographic Discourse, Enhancement of Power and Magnificence, or Two Faces of the Same Coin?*’. The issue of cross-pollination is addressed both by Andrea Sommer-Mathis in ‘“*Alla turca*”. *Türkische Elemente in Theater und Fest an den Habsburgerhöfen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*’, and by Catherine Wilkinson Zerner in her paper on ‘*The Spanish Habsburgs and the Arts of Islamic Iberia*’, both demonstrating *pars pro toto* how the Habsburg courts in both Austria and Spain showed a continuing interest in the artefacts, mores and culture of their arch-enemy.



I

***Repraesentatio Majestatis* and Residency**

# Bescheidene Burgen und kleine Städte

## Die Präsenz der Dynastie in den vorderösterreichischen Stammlanden im Spätmittelalter (12. bis 15. Jahrhundert)

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**Bruno Meier** (Baden, Aargau)

Die von Legenden umrankte Frühgeschichte der Habsburger geht zurück auf das 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Die Ursprünge des Geschlechts werden im Umfeld des gräflichen Adels im Süden des Elsass vermutet, sicher seit dem frühen 11. Jahrhundert ist die Hochadelsfamilie, die erstmals 1108 urkundlich mit dem Zunamen 'von Habsburg' verbürgt ist, im Aargau im Norden der heutigen Schweiz präsent. Es wird in den folgenden Abschnitten darum gehen, die zentralen Orte im wachsenden Machtbereich der Habsburger zu definieren und die Bedeutung der vorländischen Zentren nach dem Erwerb der österreichischen Herzogtümer im Jahr 1282 zu skizzieren. Gab es vor und nach diesem Wechsel nach Wien Ansätze zu Hofhaltungen im Westen, wie manifestierte sich die Präsenz der Dynastie in den ehemaligen Stammlanden bis ins 15. Jahrhundert?<sup>1</sup>

### Gründungsorte: Die Habsburg und die Klöster Muri und Ottmarsheim

Die Frühgeschichte der Habsburger ist einzig über eine erzählende Quelle, die sogenannten *Acta Murensia*, die wahrscheinlich in der Zeit nach 1140 entstanden und in einer Abschrift aus der Zeit um 1400 überliefert sind, greifbar.<sup>2</sup> Darin wird die Gründung des Klosters Muri durch Radbot und Ita als Sühne für die Vertreibung von freien Bauern geschildert. Bischof Werner von Strassburg, der mögliche Oheim der Ita, genannt von Lothringen, soll gleichzeitig zusammen mit Radbot den Bau der Habsburg veranlasst haben. Kurze Zeit später soll von Radbots Bruder Rudolf das Kloster Ottmarsheim am Rand des Hardwalds östlich von Mülhausen gestiftet worden sein. Datiert werden die Gründungen der Klösters wie folgt: Muri auf das Jahr 1027, geweiht 1064 durch den Bischof von Konstanz; Ottmarsheim um 1030, geweiht 1049 durch Papst Leo IX. Ungefähr gleichzeitig soll die Habsburg entstanden sein.

Lassen sich diese erzählerischen Quellen mit dem heutigen Stand des Wissens in Übereinstimmung bringen? Die Habsburg ist in den Jahren 1978–83 und 1994–95 bauarchäologisch untersucht worden. Sie wird aufgrund verschiedener Befunde tatsächlich auf die Zeit um 1020/1030 datiert. Zusammen mit Ausbauten aus der Zeit um 1100 kann von einer grossen und im Vergleich zu ähnlichen Burgen am Ober- und Hochrhein repräsentativen Anlage gesprochen werden. Sie war zu der Zeit mächtiger als die Lenzburg, Sitz der damals in der Region tonangebenden Grafen im Aargau.<sup>3</sup>



Sie ist sowohl symbolischer als auch wehrhafter Ausdruck eines offenbar aufstrebenden Adelsgeschlechts. Die Habsburger sind im 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhundert Anhänger der staufischen Könige und orientierten sich in ihrer Gründungs- und Bautätigkeit wohl am staufischen Umfeld und dessen Burgenbau.



Abb. 2 Die ältere Burg des 11. Jahrhunderts ist auf der Rekonstruktion linker Hand sichtbar. Die Erweiterung rechts stammt aus dem 12. und 13. Jahrhundert.

Abb. 1 Der heute noch stehende, jüngere Teil der Habsburg stellt nur den kleineren Teil der ursprünglichen Burg dar. Im Hintergrund die Fundamente der älteren Burg.

Mit den beiden Klostergründungen markierten die frühen Habsburger gleichzeitig ihren damaligen Einflussbereich: den Süden des Elsass und den Aargau. Sicher nach 1100 übten sie gräfliche Rechte im oberen Elsass aus, nach dem Aussterben der Grafen von Lenzburg 1173 auch südlich des Rheins. Sie waren seit 1135 Vögte der Abtei Murbach im Elsass und nach 1173 des Klosters Säkingen, Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts auch des Klosters St. Blasien im Schwarzwald. Im Reich bewegten sie sich seit dem frühen 12. Jahrhundert in der Regel in treuer Gefolgschaft zu den Staufern.<sup>4</sup>

Sowohl in Muri (1953) wie in Ottmarsheim (1981) sind die Fundamente und die Stiftergräber archäologisch untersucht worden. An beiden Orten haben sich die Gründungserzählungen der *Acta Murensia* bestätigt. Im Zentrum des Oktogons in Ottmarsheim wurde ein gemauerter, mit Steinplatten bedeckter Sarkophag gefunden. Das offenbar ungestörte Grab enthielt Teile eines Schädels und Reste von Kleidung. Gemäss der Legende soll der Stifter Rudolf in päpstlichen Diensten im Kampf gegen die Normannen im Süden Italiens umgekommen sein. Vielleicht sind Teile seines Leichnams nachträglich bestattet worden.<sup>5</sup> In Muri wurden 1953 drei Gräber geöffnet. Im zentralen Grab vor dem ehemaligen Lettner konnte eine Frau identifiziert werden, im nördlich davon gelegenen Grab ein Mann mit einem Jüngling. Südlich davon war eine Sammelbestattung. Diese Situation entspricht der Erzählung in den *Acta Murensia*. Die Klosterstifterin Ita soll in der Mitte begraben worden sein, ihr Gatte Radbot zusammen mit dem früh verstorbenen Sohn Adalbert gleich daneben. Die Gräber sind nachweislich im Januar 1701 geöffnet worden, als Muri von Kaiser Leopold

zur Fürstabtei erhoben wurde. Graf Ehrenreich von Trautmansdorff, der damalige österreichische Gesandte in der Eidgenossenschaft, konnte sich von der Existenz der mythischen Vorfahren des Kaiserhauses an Ort und Stelle überzeugen.<sup>6</sup>



Abb. 3 Teile der Klosterkirche Muri (Krypta, Türme) gehen noch in die romanische Gründungszeit zurück. Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts ist in das romanische Kirchenschiff ein mächtiger, achteckiger Bau eingefügt worden, der grösste barocke Kuppelzentralbau der Schweiz.



Abb. 4 Die Kirche von Ottmarsheim zeigt bis heute den achteckigen Grundriss der Gründungsanlage, typologisch angelegt an die karolingische Pfalzkapelle in Aachen. Das Damenstift ist nie zu einer grossen Abtei gewachsen und hat deshalb die ursprüngliche Struktur bewahrt.

### Adelsresidenzen im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert?

Der gräfliche Adel besass im 12. Jahrhundert in der Regel noch keine festen Residenzen und Hofhaltungen. Er war ständig unterwegs, im Dienst des Königs oder in Ausübung seiner Herrschaft. Beim Versuch, sogenannte Itinerare einzelner Vertreter der Dynastie aufgrund der verfügbaren Quellen zu erstellen, wird dies evident. Dennoch lassen sich zumindest für das 13. Jahrhundert erste zentrale Orte oder Stützpunkte ausmachen, an denen sich die Habsburger bevorzugt aufgehalten haben oder die sie für Herrschafts- und zunehmend für Verwaltungszwecke verwendet haben. Neben Burgen waren dies Stadthäuser in Bischofs- oder Reichsstädten, aber auch feste Häuser oder Stadtburgen in den eigenen Städten. Für Strassburg, Hagenau, Colmar, Mülhausen, Basel oder Rheinfelden, wo sich Vertreter der Dynastie nachweislich immer wieder aufgehalten haben, ist kein Besitz von eigenen Häusern belegt.<sup>7</sup> Hingegen sind die habsburgischen Kleinstädte Laufenburg am Rhein und Brugg unweit der Habsburg mit Stadtburgen belegt.



Abb. 5 Die Überreste der Burg Stein in Laufenburg am Rhein, im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert Sitz der Nebenlinie der Grafen von Habsburg-Laufenburg.

Graf Rudolf IV., der spätere König, der im Jahr 1240 die Führung innerhalb der Familie übernahm, hat kaum längere Zeit auf der Stammburg der Familie gelebt und wird sie auch kaum als Residenz verwendet haben. Seine politischen Ambitionen lagen in der Zeit der Stauferwirren und des Interregnums zwischen etwa 1245 und 1265 vornehmlich im Elsass und im Schwarzwald. Im Schwarzwald setzte er sich gegen adlige Mitkonkurrenten als Vogt des Klosters St. Blasien durch und gründete die Stadt Waldshut am Rhein. Im Elsass war er in die Konflikte zwischen der Stadt und dem Bischof von Strassburg involviert, erst auf bischöflicher, dann auf der siegreichen städtischen Seite. In diesem Zusammenhang steht der Ausbau der Ortenburg nordwestlich von Schlettstadt. Über seine Heirat mit Gertrud von Hohenberg im Jahr 1254 hatte Rudolf in diesem Raum Fuss gefasst. Er liess die Burg in den Jahren zwischen 1262 und 1265 markant ausbauen. Die Überreste der Burg lassen darauf schliessen, dass der Habsburger den Ort nicht nur als weithin sichtbares Symbol seiner Wehrhaftigkeit erbauen liess, sondern dass die Ortenburg auch Räume für residenzielle Funktionen beherbergte.<sup>8</sup>





Abb. 6 Die Ortenburg mit ihrem markanten, fünfeckigen und 30 Meter hohen Bergfried, ihr vorgelagert die Burg Ramstein. Die Habsburger verkauften die Burg bereits 1314. Sie wurde 1633 von den Schweden zerstört.



Abb. 7 Blick ins Innere der Burg mit der gotischen Fensterfront eines ehemaligen Festsaals im ersten Obergeschoss, der sich repräsentativ zur Ebene hin öffnet.

### Die Königswahl als Wendepunkt

Graf Rudolf IV. war mit seiner expansiven Politik erfolgreich. 1263/64 konnte er den Besitz der Grafen von Kyburg südlich des Rheins, ehemaliges Erbe der Herzöge von Zähringen, mit politischem Geschick unter seinen Einfluss bringen. Er erlangte Kontrolle über Städte und Burgen im heutigen Schweizer Mittelland wie Frauenfeld, Winterthur, Baden, die Lenzburg oder Freiburg im Uechtland. Gegen die Ansprüche der mächtigen Grafen von Savoyen im Westen konnte er sich durchsetzen. Damit schwang er sich zum wichtigsten adligen Mitspieler zwischen Strassburg und Zürich auf.

Ab 1268 stand er nicht zum ersten Mal in Fehde mit dem Bischof von Basel. Die Bischofsstadt wäre für ihn ein natürlicher Residenzort gewesen, als Scharnier zwischen seinen Einflussbereichen im Elsass und im Raum des Aargaus, quasi Mittelpunkt eines kleinen Fürstentums.<sup>9</sup> Ein mehrjähriger Kleinkrieg war die Folge, in dem auch die habsburgische Klosterstiftung in Ottmarsheim von Basler Söldnern geplündert wurde. Im Sommer 1273 schliesslich sammelte der Habsburger seine Verbündeten zu einer Belagerung von Basel. Im Lager vor Basel erhielt Rudolf die Nachricht von seiner Wahl zum römischdeutschen König. Er scheint für die wählenden Fürsten ein nicht zu mächtig erscheinender Kompromisskandidat gewesen zu sein. Damit veränderten sich der Anspruch und die Ausrichtung des dynastischen Wegs der Habsburger völlig. Als König schloss er mit der belagerten Stadt Basel umgehend Frieden. Sein Residenzprojekt war damit kein Thema mehr.

Der vom 'kleinen' Grafen zum König gewordene Rudolf änderte seine Politik schlagartig. Aus heutiger Perspektive erscheint sein Handeln in den folgenden Monaten und Jahren derart zielgerichtet, dass man meinen könnte, dass dies von langer Hand geplant gewesen sei. Er verstand offenbar die Mechanik der Reichspolitik aufs Beste. Er verständigte sich mit den wählenden Fürsten auf eine Stärkung der im Interregnum stark beschädigten Stellung des Reichs, insbesondere durch Rückforderung von dem Reich entfremdeten Rechten, erreichte mit einer systematischen Verheiratung seiner Nachkommen in die fürstlichen Häuser eine Integration seiner kleinen Grafenfamilie unter die Grossen des Reichs und schaffte es schliesslich, eine Koalition zustande zu bringen, mit der er den mächtigsten Reichsfürsten herausfordern konnte: König Ottokar von Böhmen.<sup>10</sup>

Der Konflikt entstand aus der Rückforderung der von Ottokar in den Jahrzehnten zuvor usurpierten Herzögtümer Österreich, Steiermark, Kärnten und Krain sowie der Windischen Mark. An einem Reichstag in Augsburg im Mai 1275 sicherte sich der neue König die Rückendeckung der Reichsfürsten für ein Vorgehen gegen den Böhmen, dem die österreichischen Reichslehen abgesprochen wurden. In den südöstlichen Ländern brach die böhmische Herrschaft bereits im Herbst 1276 zusammen. Die Grafen von Görz-Tirol wurden zu Rudolfs wichtigsten Verbündeten. Der ungarische König Ladislaus IV. wandte sich ebenfalls gegen Ottokar. König Rudolf erschien im Oktober 1276 ein erstes Mal vor Wien. Ottokar von Böhmen musste klein beigeben. Der reiche König musste sich vom gräflichen Emporkömmling demütigen lassen. Der Friede war aber nur von kurzer Dauer. Am 26. August 1278 fand schliesslich auf dem Marchfeld bei Dürnkrut nordöstlich von Wien die entscheidende Auseinandersetzung statt. Rudolf von Habsburg konnte mit seiner schwäbischen Hausmacht und mit den Verbündeten Ungarn und Görz-Tirol seinen übermächtig erscheinenden Gegner überwinden. Ottokar kam in der Schlacht selbst ums Leben.<sup>11</sup>

Damit hatte der König alle Trümpfe in der Hand. Es gelang ihm in den folgenden Jahren die Reichsfürsten dazu zu bringen, einer Verleihung der österreichischen Herzögtümer an seine Söhne zuzustimmen.

Kärnten überliess er seinem Verbündeten Meinrad von Görz-Tirol. Seinen ältesten Sohn Albrecht verheiratete er mit dessen Tochter Elisabeth. Ende 1282 konnten seine Söhne die Herzögtümer aus der Hand des königlichen Vaters in Empfang nehmen. Eine innerfamiliäre Hausordnung vom 1. Juni 1283 hielt fest, dass Albrecht die österreichischen Lehen erhalten sollte, der jüngere Rudolf sollte wohl im Westen mit einem wiedererrichteten Herzogtum Schwaben ausgestattet werden. Mit dem böhmischen Königshaus gingen die Habsburger 1285 eine doppelte Verbindung ein. Der jüngere Sohn Rudolf heiratete Agnes, Tochter des Ottokar. Guta von Habsburg ehelichte den als böhmischer König nachfolgenden Wenzel II. Damit zeichnete sich Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts bereits eine Strategie der Habsburger ab, die böhmische Krone ins Haus zu bringen. Eine Strategie, die notabene erst 1526 unter Ferdinand I. von dauerhaftem Erfolg gekrönt war.

### **Eine königliche Residenz?**

Eine Reichsverwaltung oder eine Reichsresidenz existierte nicht. Der Habsburger besaß keine glanzvolle Burg und Stadt wie Ottokar in Prag. Königswahlort war Frankfurt, Krönungsort Aachen. Die wichtigen politischen Entscheidungen wurden an Reichstagen gefällt, die in der Regel in den grossen Reichs- und Bischofsstädten wie Nürnberg, Augsburg oder Frankfurt durchgeführt wurden. Solche Reichstage waren für die königliche Hofhaltung letztlich in erster Linie ein enormer Kostenfaktor. Oft musste sich der König von der entsprechenden Stadt die Auslagen dafür ausleihen. Im Februar 1291 als Beispiel, kurz vor seinem Tod, erliess König Rudolf der Reichsstadt Zürich für sechs Jahre die Reichssteuern. Dafür löste Zürich bei der Stadt Erfurt Rudolfs Schuld vom Reichstag im Dezember 1290 ab.<sup>12</sup> Rudolf selbst hat sich nie sehr lange im neuen Herrschaftszentrum in Wien aufgehalten. Die Reichsgeschäfte erforderten Präsenz an verschiedenen Orten. Es ist eher sein Sohn Albrecht, 1298 nach dem Konflikt mit Adolf von Nassau selbst zum König gewählt, der Wien als neuen Mittelpunkt der Dynastie aufgebaut hat.

Es stellt sich nun die Frage, welche Orte in den vorländischen Stammländern mit allenfalls residenziellen Funktionen bestehen blieben. Die Untersuchung der nachfolgenden Periode bis zum Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts zeigt, dass dies stark von der innerfamiliären Konstellation abhing, das heisst, ob und wenn ja welcher Familienzweig die vorländischen Besitzungen beherrschte.

### Brugg und Königsfelden als zeitweiliges Gravitationszentrum

Kurz nach dem Tode von Herzog Rudolf II. im Frühling 1290 wurde sein Sohn Johann geboren. Die Witwe und junge Mutter Agnes von Böhmen hielt sich zu dieser Zeit im alten Habsburgerstädtchen Brugg auf. Hier hatte die Familie wahrscheinlich zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts gleichzeitig mit Gründung und Aufbau der Stadt eine Stadtburg gebaut. Die Stadt und eine Brücke entstanden am Engnis der Aare einige hundert Meter flussabwärts der Burgstelle Altenburg, die in den Mauern eines römischen Kastells entstanden war. Der Stifter von Ottmarsheim, Rudolf, wird in den *Acta Murensia* mit dem Zunamen von Altenburg benannt. Der Raum südlich der Aare, das später Eigenamt genannte Gebiet zu Füßen der Habsburg selbst, wird alter Besitz der Dynastie gewesen sein. Dieser Besitz war Teil des von Herzog Rudolf in die Ehe mit Agnes von Böhmen eingebrachten Eheguts. Die Brugger Stadtburg erfüllte deshalb kurzzeitig eine Funktion als Residenz. Allerdings befand sich die Witwe gegenüber ihren Schwägern in einer prekären Situation und kehrte denn auch 1295 nach Prag zurück, wo sie kurze Zeit später verstarb.<sup>13</sup>



Abb. 8 Das Habsburger Stadtschloss in Brugg. Lithographie vor dem Abbruch 1864. 1290–1295 Residenz der Agnes von Böhmen, Witwe von Herzog Rudolf. Herzog Leopold III. verkaufte das feste Haus im Jahr 1383 an seinen Dienstmann Friedrich Effinger.

In Sichtweite der Stadtmauern von Brugg fand auch das einschneidende Ereignis statt, das die Geschichte der Dynastie in den folgenden Jahrzehnten entscheidend prägen sollte: der Mord an König Albrecht I. Albrecht war nach dem Tod seines Vaters im Sommer 1291 nicht als Nachfolger im Reich gewählt worden. Er arrangierte sich vorerst mit dem neuen König Adolf von Nassau. In den folgenden Jahren spitzten sich die Konflikte zwischen dem Habsburger und dem König einerseits, und den Reichsfürsten andererseits zu. Die Fürsten setzten Adolf von Nassau im Juni 1298 ab und



wählten an seiner Stelle Albrecht von Habsburg-Österreich. In der Schlacht bei Göllheim in der nördlichen Pfalz setzte sich der Habsburger durch, sein Kontrahent kam um. Albrecht konnte sich in den folgenden Jahren als König erfolgreich etablieren. Und er setzte die Heiratspolitik seines Vaters fort. Mit Verbindungen nach Böhmen, Ungarn, Savoyen und gar Aragon knüpften er und seine Kinder das Netz erfolgreich weiter.<sup>14</sup>

Ein Konflikt mit seinen Neffen Johann, dem Sohn der Agnes von Böhmen, erwies sich aber als verhängnisvoll. Herzog Johann hatte, kaum volljährig geworden, Anteil am Erbe beansprucht, möglicherweise Ansprüche an das Herzogtum Schwaben, das durch seinen früh verstorbenen Vater hätte wieder aufgebaut werden sollen, mindestens aber Ansprüche an die vorländischen Besitzungen, Ehegut seiner Mutter. Albrecht scheint ihm die Herausgabe dieses Erbteils verweigert zu haben, ein letztes Mal an einem Hoftag in Baden am 30. April 1308. Am Folgetag, als das Gefolge in Richtung Rheinfeldern loszog, wo sich Albrechts Gattin Elisabeth von Görz-Tirol aufhielt, überfiel Herzog Johann mit einer kleinen Gruppe von Verschwörern den vorausreitenden König nach dem Übergang über die Reuss auf der Höhe des ehemaligen römischen Legionslagers Vindonissa.

Der Mord an Albrecht war eine familiäre Katastrophe und beeinträchtigte die Ambitionen der Habsburger auf den Königstitel auf lange Zeit. Die Gegenkönigswahl von Herzog Friedrich dem Schönen 1314 scheiterte und die Dynastie erlangte erst 1437 wieder die Königswürde, dann aber nachhaltig und auf lange Zeit.



Abb. 9 Die Darstellung des Mordes an König Albrecht I. am 1. Mai 1308 bei Brugg. Linker Hand die Stadt Baden, aus der das königliche Gefolge losreitet. In der Mitte der Übergang über die Reuss. Rechts anschliessend die Mordszene, im Hintergrund fliehen die Mörder, im Vordergrund stirbt der König in den Armen des Bischofs von Strassburg. Rechter Hand die Stadt Brugg, auf der Anhöhe im Hintergrund die Habsburg. Kolorierte Zeichnung aus dem Ehrenspiegel des Erzhauses Österreich von Johann Jacob Fugger, 1555.

Am Ort der Ermordung stiftete die Witve zusammen mit ihren Kindern ein Doppelkloster: Königsfelden. Unter massgeblicher Förderung von Elisabeth von Görz-Tirol und ihrer Tochter Agnes, Witve des schon 1301 verstorbenen Königs Andreas III. von Ungarn, entstand in den folgenden Jahren und Jahrzehnten ein reich ausgestatteter Franziskaner- und Klarissenkonvent. Königsfelden war in den Anfängen nicht nur Memoria für die Ermordung Albrechts, sondern auch wichtiger Begräbnisort für die Familie. Neben der 1313 verstorbenen Witve Elisabeth wurden auch die Tochter Agnes, die Söhne Leopold I. und Heinrich und einige weitere Verwandte in Königsfelden

begraben; schliesslich auch Herzog Leopold III. nach seinem Schlachtentod bei Sempach.<sup>15</sup> Das Kloster entwickelte sich für etwa 50 Jahre zur eigentlichen vorländischen Residenz der Habsburger, da Agnes von Ungarn 1316/17 dort Wohnsitz nahm, ohne in den Orden einzutreten. Sie prägte bis zu ihrem Tod 1364 die Politik der Familie stark.



Abb. 10 Die Klosterkirche Königsfelden von Süden. Am Seitenschiff angebaut die Überreste des Klarissen-Kreuzgangs, rechter Hand noch erhaltene Gebäudeteile des Frauenkonvents. Das Kloster ist in der Reformation 1528 aufgehoben worden und diente als bernische Landvogtei. Grosse Teile der Konventgebäude wurden im 19. Jahrhundert abgebrochen.

Agnes von Ungarn füllte während einiger Zeit die Rolle einer *'Mater familias'* aus, vor allem in den ersten Jahren, als ihre Brüder teils noch minderjährig waren. Sie war aufs Beste vernetzt mit dem Königshof und der Kurie in Rom. In den Konflikten mit der sich ausbildenden Eidgenossenschaft vertrat sie einerseits die Interessen ihrer Familie, andererseits spielte sie zumindest bis etwa 1350 auch die Rolle als Vermittlerin in verschiedenen Konflikten zwischen den eidgenössischen Städten und Ländern und dem Adel.<sup>16</sup> Allerdings begannen sich die Machtverhältnisse seit den 1350er-Jahren, vor allem im Konflikt mit der Stadt Zürich, gegen die Habsburger zu wenden. Die eidgenössischen Länder der Innerschweiz begannen, sich mit den Reichsstädten des Mittellandes (Bern und Zürich) zu verbünden und erlangten so eine Stärke, die den habsburgischen Landesherrn gefährlich werden konnte. Agnes Bruder, Herzog Albrecht II., zeigte sich während 14 Jahren nicht mehr im Westen. Seine Intervention in Zürich zusammen mit König Karl IV. im Jahr 1353/54 war nur teilweise erfolgreich.<sup>17</sup> Karl IV. soll in diesem Jahr Agnes von Ungarn in Königsfelden einen Besuch abgestattet haben. Die beiden Familien waren über eine Heirat der Königstochter Katharina mit Herzog Rudolf IV. in Verbindung getreten.

Im Bildprogramm der teilweise erhaltenen Glasmalereien von Königsfelden schuf Agnes einen eigentlichen Memorialort für die Dynastie, einerseits im heilsgeschichtlich ausgerichteten Programm des Chors (bis um 1340), andererseits in einem dynastisch aufgebauten Scheibenzyklus im

Langhaus der Kirche (bis um 1360). Von diesem Scheiben sind allerdings nur wenige überliefert. Die Stifterscheiben von Elisabeth und Agnes sind indirekt über die Zeichnungen im Habsburger Ehrensiegel von 1555 überliefert.<sup>18</sup>



Abb. 11 Stifterbild der Agnes von Ungarn nach dem Vorbild der Glasscheiben im dynastischen Zyklus von Königsfelden, um 1360. Zeichnung im Ehrensiegel des Erzhauses Österreich von Johann Jacob Fugger 1555.



Abb. 12 Die bis heute erhaltenen Stifterbilder von König Rudolf von Böhmen (links) und Herzog Albrecht II. Aus dem dynastischen Scheibenzyklus in Königsfelden, um 1360.

Im Umfeld von Königsfelden scheinen Agnes und ihre Brüder zumindest in Ansätzen ein Residenzprojekt vorangetrieben zu haben: den Ausbau der Lenzburg. Die Stammfeste der 1173 ausgestorbenen Grafen von Lenzburg war mit dem Kyburger Erbe nach 1264 an die Habsburger gelangt. König Rudolf I. hielt 1275 auf der Burg einen Hoftag ab. Die mächtige Höhenburg ist bis heute ein markantes Symbol adliger Selbstdarstellung im Aargau. In der Zeit um 1335/1340 liessen die Habsburger einen markanten Neubau erstellen, das Ritterhaus. Der grossräumige Palasbau mit zwei übereinanderliegenden Sälen von über 20 Metern Länge und über 10 Metern Breite beeindruckt bis heute. Möglicherweise war der Bau als Residenz für Herzog Friedrich II., dem Sohn des Otto, vorgesehen, der vor 1339 der letzte männliche Vertreter der Enkelgeneration von König Albrecht I. war. Für Friedrich war ein Eheprojekt mit Johanna, Tochter des englischen Königs Eduard III. geplant. Das Ehegut von Friedrich wird dabei, wie schon einige Jahrzehnte zuvor, aus dem vorländischen Besitz der Habsburger bestanden haben. Die Lenzburg wäre dazu die repräsentative Residenz gewesen. Der Bau wurde vollendet, allerdings scheiterte das Eheprojekt und Friedrich verstarb bereits 1344.<sup>19</sup>



Nachdem Herzog Albrecht II. und seine Gattin Johanna von Pfirt nach 15 kinderlosen Jahren mit Rudolf 1339 endlich einen Nachkommen bekommen hatten, war der Fortbestand des Geschlechts wieder garantiert.



Abb. 13 Die Lenzburg heute: linker Hand der Ritterhaus aus der Zeit um 1340, rechter Hand die Burg der Lenzburger aus dem 11. und 12. Jahrhundert.

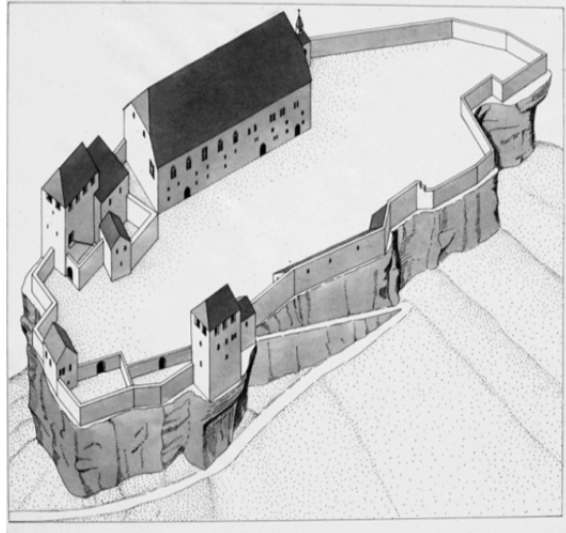
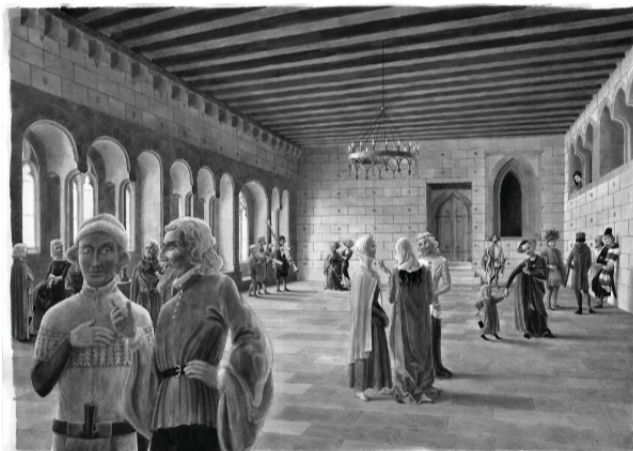


Abb. 14 Rekonstruierter Baubestand der Lenzburg in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts mit dem mächtigen Palasbau.

Abb. 15 Rekonstruktionsversuch des unteren, kleineren Rittersaals auf der Lenzburg mit der spätgotischen Fensterfront. Der Saal erinnert in seiner Grösse und Ausgestaltung an den nur noch ruinös erhaltenen Rittersaal der Ortenburg im Elsass aus der Zeit um 1265 (Zeichnung: Ruth Baur).



## Keine Residenzen mehr, nur noch Verwaltungssitze

Seit der Zeit um 1300 hatten die Habsburger die Verwaltungskompetenzen der Vorlande auf dem Landvogteisitz in Baden konzentriert, nicht weit von Brugg und Königsfelden gelegen. Die hoch über der Stadt gelegene Burg Stein, fast in Sichtweite der Reichsstadt Zürich, war Sitz des Landvogts im Aargau, zeitweise wurden von hier aus auch das Elsass und der Schwarzwald regiert. Die vorländischen Landvögte gehörten zur Spitzengruppe der habsburgischen Dienstleute und hatten, vor allem nach dem Tod der Agens von Ungarn 1364, eine grosse Bedeutung, da während des ganzen 14. Jahrhunderts die Herzöge sich selten im Westen aufhielten. Rudolf IV. scheint als junger Mann zeitweise unter den Fittichen seiner Tante Agnes gestanden zu haben, aber erst Herzog Leopold III. entfaltete wieder grössere Aktivitäten in den Vorlanden. Die Stadt Baden eignete sich speziell als zumindest kleine Residenzstadt, da seit dem 13. Jahrhundert die Bäder wieder instand gesetzt worden waren und sich zum wichtigsten Badekurort im Raum der späteren Schweiz entwickelt hatten. Das Angebot an Gasthöfen und Gästebetten war gross und das gesellschaftliche Leben der Bäder bot auch für die Politik ein gutes Umfeld.

Der 1351 geborene Leopold III. hatte mit dem Hausvertrag von 1364 bereits in jungen Jahren die Verantwortung in Krain, im Tirol und in den Vorlanden übernommen. Er residierte nach seiner Heirat mit Viridis Visconti aus Mailand 1368 vorerst auf der Burg Tirol bei Meran. Er entfaltete von dort aus eine aktive Politik sowohl im Süden in Richtung Adria wie auch im Westen am Rhein. 1368 begab sich Freiburg im Breisgau unter habsburgischen Schutz, 1375 sicherte sich Leopold das Montforter Erbe in Vorarlberg (Feldkirch), 1381 die Grafschaft Hohenberg am Oberlauf des Neckar. Neben seiner Italienpolitik stand in den folgenden Jahren Basel im Mittelpunkt, gut 100 Jahre nachdem bereits sein Urgrossvater Rudolf sich um die Stadt bemüht hatte. Die Habsburger waren seit 1330 mit dem Erwerb von Schaffhausen, Rheinfelden, Breisach, Neuenburg am Rhein, Laufenburg und Freiburg im Breisgau am Ober- und Hochrhein zur beherrschenden Macht geworden. Die mittendrin gelegene Stadt Basel stand in einem schweren Konflikt mit dem Bischof als Stadtherrn. Herzog Leopold III. nutzte diese Konstellation, konnte 1375 Kleinbasel gewinnen und erhielt ein Jahr später von König Wenzel die Reichsvogtei über die Stadt.

Nach einem schweren Konflikt mit den Basler Stadtbürgern an der sogenannten 'bösen Fasnacht' in Basel im Januar 1376 verhängte der König die Reichsacht über Basel. Der Habsburger stand kurz davor, die Stadt in seinen Machtbereich eingliedern zu können: ein idealer Residenzort für die seine vorländischen Besitzungen. Allerdings veränderte sich die Situation in den folgenden Jahren dramatisch. Leopold setzte bei der Bischofswahl in Basel 1382 auf den falschen Kandidaten und verlor den Rückhalt beim König. Die Neu-Kyburger, seine Verwandten im Raum Bern, die unter seiner Lehensherrschaft standen, begannen einen Konflikt mit der Reichsstadt Bern und mussten in der Folge 1384 ihren Besitz der Stadt Bern unter Druck verkaufen. Und ein Jahr später begann die Stadt Luzern, de jure noch habsburgische Landstadt, de facto Teil der eidgenössischen Bünde, aggressiv in das noch habsburgisch beherrschte Umland auszugreifen. Herzog Leopold musste reagieren, um einem

Zusammenbruch seiner Herrschaft südlich des Rheins vorzubeugen. Er sammelte seine vorländische und tirolische Anhängerschaft und verlor im Juli 1386 gegen die Eidgenossen Schlacht und Leben bei Sempach. Das Kloster Königfelden wurde zum zweiten Mal Memorialort für einen toten Habsburger. Leopold und seine engsten Mitstreiter wurden in der Klosterkirche beigesetzt.<sup>20</sup>

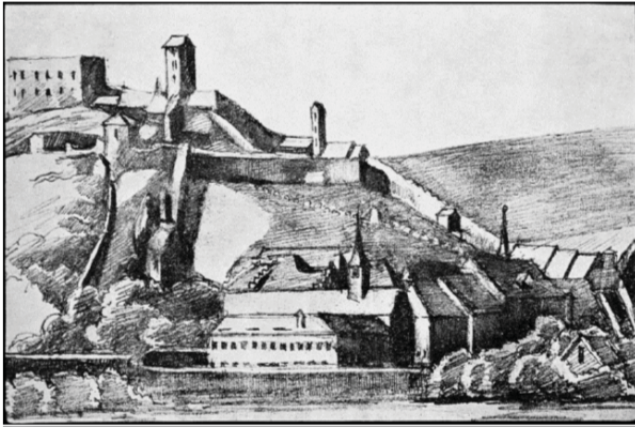


Abb. 16 Die Ruine der 1415 zerstörten Burg Stein im Zustand der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts, vor dem Wiederaufbau durch die Stadt Baden. Zeichnung von Johann Rudolf Rahn nach einem Altargemälde aus dem Kapuzinerkloster, um 1650. Linker Hand sichtbar der ursprüngliche Palasbau.



Abb. 17 Die Überreste der 1712 ein zweites Mal zerstörten Burg Stein im Weichbild der Stadtsilhouette von Baden.

### Der Anfang vom Ende im Aargau

Die Katastrophe vom Sempach war ein schwerer Einschnitt für die Dynastie. Leopolds Bruder Albrecht III. reiste in den Westen und versuchte zu retten, was zu retten war, mit wenig Erfolg. Luzern war verloren, die Blüte des vorländischen Adels bei Sempach umgekommen. 1393 erfolgte ein Friedensschluss auf 20 Jahre. In den folgenden Jahren war die Familie wieder kaum präsent im Westen, die innerdynastischen Probleme verhinderten eine Rückgewinnung des Verlorenen. Leopold IV. war zeitweise im Westen, seine Gattin Katharina von Burgund residierte auf der Engelsburg in Thann im Elsass, dem Verwaltungszentrum im Sundgau. Das spätgotische Münster von Thann verdankt den beiden grosszügige Förderung. Leopolds Bruder Friedrich IV. übernahm schliesslich definitiv ab 1406 die Regentschaft in Tirol und in den Vorlanden. Er residierte aber meist in Innsbruck. Die Parteinahme für das Kloster St. Gallen in den sogenannten Appenzellerkriegen brachte seine Herrschaft in der Ostschweiz und in Vorarlberg zeitweise schwer ins Wanken. Und schliesslich führte sein Konflikt mit König Sigmund am Konzil von Konstanz 1415 zum Zusammenbruch der vorländischen Herrschaft. Der König hatte die Reichsacht über Friedrich verhängt, nachdem dieser auf den Gegenpapst Johannes XXIII. gesetzt hatte.



Die Konkurrenten Friedrichs, die Bischöfe von Chur, Brixen und Trient, die Adligen an Hoch- und Alpenrhein sowie die eidgenössischen Städte und Länder brachten die Herrschaft des Habsburgers jenseits des Arlbergs in kurzer Zeit zum Einsturz. Friedrich konnte zwar bis 1425, dem endgültigen Friedensschluss mit dem König, den grössten Teil der Verluste zurückgewinnen. Auch einen Reichskrieg Sigmunds gegen Tirol konnte er abwehren. Die Besitzungen im Aargau blieben aber verloren. Die Städte Bern und Zürich lösten die Reichspfandschaft 1418 aus und verweigerten eine Rückgabe. Damit hatten die Habsburger ihre alten zentralen Orte aus der Frühzeit ihrer Geschichte verloren: Baden, Brugg, die Lenzburg und auch die Habsburg selbst. Der symbolisch schwerste Verlust war das Kloster Königsfelden, Grabstätte der Familie. Wiedergewinnungsversuche schlugen fehl. König Friedrich III. reiste zwar 1442 auf seiner Krönungsreise demonstrativ durch die Eidgenossenschaft und besuchte Königsfelden, es blieb aber bei der Symbolik. Sein Vetter Sigmund von Tirol verlor in den folgenden Jahren mit Freiburg im Uechtland und dem Thurgau die letzten Positionen südlich des Rheins. Allein die sogenannten Waldstädte am Rhein, Waldshut, Laufenburg, Säkingen und Rheinfelden verblieben dem Habsburger, der 1474 vor dem Hintergrund der Bedrohung durch Karl den Kühnen von Burgund einen 'ewigen' Frieden mit der Eidgenossenschaft schloss. Der Schwaben- oder Schweizerkrieg Maximilians mit den Eidgenossen 1499 änderte nichts mehr an der Situation.<sup>21</sup>



Abb. 18 Das Rathaus in Rheinfelden aus den 1530er-Jahren. Die Inselburg Stein als herrschaftlicher Sitz war 1446 im Krieg mit Basel geschleift worden.



Abb. 19 Der Regentenpalast der vorderösterreichischen Regierung in Ensisheim, ein Renaissancebau aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts.

Die verbliebenen Besitzungen im Elsass, im Breisgau, im Schwarzwald und in Schwaben wurden vorerst von Ensisheim in der Nähe von Mülhausen aus verwaltet, nach dem Verlust des Elsass an Frankreich 1648 von Freiburg im Breisgau aus: das sogenannte Vorderösterreich, oder auch die 'Schwanzfeder des Kaiseradlers', wie es im 18. Jahrhundert genannt wurde.<sup>22</sup>



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## Abbildungen

Abb. 3, 4, 5, 13, 17, 18, 19: Foto Autor.

Abb. 1, 2, 14, 15: Aargauer Kantonsarchäologie.

Abb. 6, 7: Biller/Metz 1995.

Abb. 8, 9, 12: Aargauer Denkmalpflege.

Abb. 9, 11: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Abb. 16: Zentralbibliothek Zürich.

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<sup>1</sup> Grundlage des Artikels ist mein Buch über die Habsburger im Mittelalter: Meier 2008. Allgemein zur Dynastie siehe Krieger 1994. Verschiedene Aspekte aus der neuesten Forschung siehe: Rauschert et.al., 2013, insbesondere die Beiträge von Thomas Zotz, Alois Niederstätter und und Martina Stercken.

<sup>2</sup> Siehe dazu die Neuedition von Sieber u. Bretscher 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Frey 1986, Frey 1998.

<sup>4</sup> Meier 2008, pp. 11–34.

<sup>5</sup> Wörner 2006, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Meier 2011, p. 17, 103f.

<sup>7</sup> Krieger 2003, pp. 18–32.

<sup>8</sup> Biller u. Metz 1995.

<sup>9</sup> Zotz, Thomas, Zentren und Peripherien des habsburgischen Imperiums, in: Rauschert et.al. 2013, pp. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Krieger 2003, pp. 84–114.

<sup>11</sup> Krieger 2003, pp. 115–161.

<sup>12</sup> Meier 2008, p. 9f.

<sup>13</sup> Meier 2008, p. 95f.

<sup>14</sup> Zum Königsmord, Stiftung und Aufbau von Königsfelden siehe die neuesten Forschungen in Teuscher u. Modellmog 2012, insbesondere der erste Artikel von Tobias Hodel, pp. 11–47.

<sup>15</sup> Lauro 2007, pp. 240–47.

<sup>16</sup> Entgegen der Ansicht von Andreas Bihrer; siehe Bihrer, Andreas, Zwischen Wien und Königsfelden. Die Kirchenpolitik der Habsburger in den vorderen Landen im 14. Jahrhundert, in: Rauschert et.al. 2013, besonders pp. 124–133.

<sup>17</sup> Meier 2008, pp. 110–36.

<sup>18</sup> Zu den Glasgemälden von Königsfelden siehe Kurmann-Schwarz 2008.

<sup>19</sup> Frey 2008.

<sup>20</sup> Meier 2008, pp. 137–52.

<sup>21</sup> Meier 2008, pp. 156–213.

<sup>22</sup> Zur Geschichte Vorderösterreichs siehe den materialreichen Sammelband Vorderösterreich 1999 sowie Speck 2010.

# Bausteine eines Residenzprojekts

## Kaiser Maximilian I. in Innsbruck

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**Nicole Riegel** (Universität Würzburg)

Innsbruck gehört zu den ältesten habsburgischen Höfen, gewann jedoch erst unter Maximilian I. den Status einer königlichen und schließlich kaiserlichen Residenz (Abb. 1). In den beiden Jahrzehnten nach seiner Regierungsübernahme in Tirol 1490 widmete Maximilian einen Großteil seiner baulichen Aktivitäten der Stadt und dem Hof Innsbruck. Diese betrafen die Hofburg selbst, den Neuhof mit dem Goldenen Dachl, den Wappenturm mit der südlich anschließenden Äußeren Burg und das Zeughaus – Maßnahmen, die funktional, fortifikatorisch und insbesondere im Hinblick auf Zeremoniell und Repräsentation miteinander verbunden sind und deshalb nicht getrennt voneinander betrachtet, sondern auf ihre Zusammenhänge und urbanistischen Implikationen befragt werden sollen. Der folgende Beitrag versteht sich als Vorbericht eines umfangreicheren Untersuchungsprojekts, weshalb die Fußnoten auf ein Minimum beschränkt wurden.



Abb. 1 Albrecht Dürer, Innsbruck von Norden, Wien, Albertina, Inv. 3056.

Für die kunsthistorische Erforschung der Bautätigkeit Maximilians in Innsbruck sind die wichtigsten Grundlagen vor rund hundertzwanzig Jahren in den Regesten des Wiener Jahrbuchs

gelegt worden.<sup>1</sup> 1921 gelang Moriz Dreger in einer akribischen Analyse der 'ältesten Geschichte der Innsbrucker Hofburg' die Identifizierung der beiden Dürerschen Hofansichten (Abb. 2-3).<sup>2</sup> Dieser Aufsatz blieb das Fundament jeder weiteren Untersuchung, etwa der erhellenden Beobachtungen Patrick Werkners im Tiroler Burgenbuch ebenso wie der umfassenden Dokumentation von Ricarda Oettinger in der Österreichischen Kunsttopographie.<sup>3</sup> Hinzu kamen in jüngster Zeit die Untersuchungen von Lieselotte Hanzl-Wachter zu Bau und Ausstattung in mariatheresianischer Zeit sowie die monographisch angelegte Geschichte der Hofburg von Benedikt Sauer.<sup>4</sup> Dem Hofleben und den Ansätzen einer Residenzbildung Maximilians in Innsbruck hat sich die Forschung vor allem von historischer und kulturhistorischer Warte gewidmet, vertreten durch Anneliese Gatt, Monika Fritz sowie zuletzt Ingeborg Wiesflecker-Friedhuber und Manfred Hollegger.<sup>5</sup>



Abb. 2 Albrecht Dürer, Burghof in Innsbruck gegen Süden, Wien, Albertina, Inv. 3057.



Abb. 3 Albrecht Dürer, Burghof in Innsbruck gegen Norden, Wien, Albertina, Inv. 3058.

Von kunsthistorischer Seite blieben diese Anregungen weitgehend unbeantwortet.<sup>6</sup> Zwar hat Dreger bedeutende Erkenntnisse zur relativen Bauchronologie gewonnen, doch weder ist bislang die Entstehungsgeschichte detailliert erörtert noch durch die Methoden der Bauforschung hinreichend geprüft. Über die Funktionen konnte vielfach nur gemutmaßt oder an Legenden entlanggearbeitet werden. Eine systematische Untersuchung von Reise- und Gesandtenberichten im Hinblick auf die funktionale Struktur der Innsbrucker Hofburg selbst sowie auf eine auch zeremoniell bedingte Relation zu anderen Fixpunkten in der Stadt wie dem Goldenen Dachl und der Pfarrkirche steht völlig aus. Genausowenig hat man sich bisher der Frage gewidmet, wie sich die Residenz des Kaisers im internationalen Rahmen eigentlich ausnimmt. Ihr kunsthistorischer Rang ist kaum einmal thematisiert worden. Überlegungen zur Semiotik maximilianischer Architektur in Innsbruck konzentrierten sich auf den Wappenturm und das Goldene Dachl, jedoch nicht auf das Ensemble im



urbanistischen Kontext.<sup>7</sup> – Und dies, obwohl schon Koschatzky auf die treffende, wenn auch zugleich topische Charakterisierung Martin Luthers hingewiesen hat: *'Inspruck parva est, sed aequalibus aedificiis composita, ac si esset una continua domus'* [Innsbruck sei klein, aber durch gleichartige Gebäude so gefügt, als wäre es ein einziges ausgedehntes Haus].<sup>8</sup>

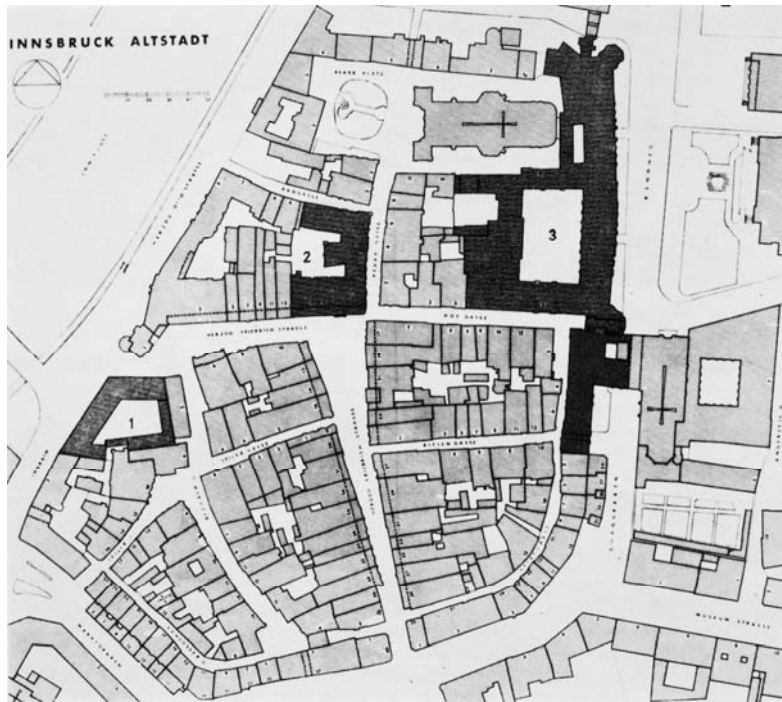


Abb. 4 Innsbruck, Stadtplan mit Andechsische Burg (1), Neuhof (2) und Mitterhof (3).

Versuchen wir zunächst eine Revision der Fakten. In Innsbruck ist mit Baumaßnahmen Maximilians naturgemäß erst nach der Abdankung Erzherzog Sigmunds am 16. März 1490 und Maximilians Regierungsübernahme in Tirol zu rechnen.<sup>9</sup> Der außerordentlich baufreudige Sigmund hatte am Beginn seiner Regentschaft 1446 noch die alte andechsische Burg an der Innbrücke bezogen, ab Ende der fünfziger Jahre aber sowohl den Neuhof mitten in der Stadt als auch den damals als Mitterhof bezeichneten Komplex an der Ostflanke der Stadtmauer durch Erwerbungen und Baumaßnahmen vergrößert und in diesem Mitterhof, der späteren Hofburg, auch gewohnt (Abb. 4).<sup>10</sup> Das heißt, Maximilian übernahm mit Innsbruck 1490 bereits eine beträchtliche und dazu rezent erweiterte Bausubstanz, die die Hauptadern der Stadt kontrollierte – eine gute Grundlage, um die erzherzogliche in eine königliche Residenz zu verwandeln. Wann Maximilian diese Aufgabe in Angriff nahm, ist unsicher, doch muß in der Hofburg schon bald nach 1490, spätestens 1492 mit einem neuen Frauenzimmerbau begonnen worden sein, den Dürer um 1495/96 als äußerlich abgeschlossenen Bau zeichnen konnte (Abb. 3).<sup>11</sup> Wenige Tage, nachdem Bianca Maria Sforza am 23. Dezember 1493 in Innsbruck eingetroffen war, schrieb sie nach Ferrara, die Burg gefalle ihr sehr gut, und sie glaube nicht, daß sie älter sei als fünf Jahre.<sup>12</sup> Ob die Königin bei ihrer Ankunft in Innsbruck ein wohl vorbereitetes Logis beziehen konnte, ist damit nicht gesagt. Der Gemahl ließ bekanntlich einige Zeit auf sich warten, die Hochzeit fand erst am 16. März 1494 statt.<sup>13</sup> Mitte Januar war bei

einem Brand das Saggentor zuschaden gekommen, was man in der Folge zum Anlaß nahm, den Wappenturm davorzusetzen, der laut Bauinschrift am südöstlichen Eckerker 1496 kurz vor dem Abschluß stand.<sup>14</sup>

Anfang März 1496 starb Sigmund, seine Witwe verheiratete sich noch im selben Jahr neu, so daß der von Sigmund als Alterssitz genutzte Neuhof für Maximilian verfügbar wurde.<sup>15</sup> Der König unternahm hier zweierlei: Zum einen funktionierte er die Stadtresidenz in einen Verwaltungsbau mit großem Archiv für die Hofkammer um, zum anderen setzte er an der Fassade mit dem Prunkerker des Goldenen Dachls einen fernwirksamen Akzent.<sup>16</sup> Die dendrochronologische Untersuchung ergab für die hier verwendeten Hölzer eine Fällzeit im Winter 1497/98, die Ausmalung ist inschriftlich 1500 datiert. Im selben Jahr wurde auch das vergoldete Kupferdach bezahlt.<sup>17</sup> Parallel dazu, im Mai 1498, beauftragte Maximilian Hofmaler Kölderer, sein 'stüblin in unserm neuen frauenzimmer' auszumalen, d.h. er bemühte sich um eine ergänzende Ausstattung der Wohnräume in der Hofburg.<sup>18</sup> Von Mitte September 1500 datiert eine Vereinbarung, aus der hervorgeht, daß Maximilian mittelfristig einen Umbau der Hofburg plante – zumindest gab er dies vor.<sup>19</sup> Auch erfahren wir, daß er ein Bad 'auf dem Inn', wohl in Flußnähe, besaß.<sup>20</sup> Im Dezember sollten, wie so oft, im Auftrag Maximilians Truhen in der Burg gesucht und umgeräumt werden: Aus der 'stubn, darinn die junkfrawen gewesen sein' sollten einige in zwei kleinere Gewölbe, andere in das 'gewelb im newen paw' transferiert werden. Welcher neue Bau gemeint ist, bleibt offen.<sup>21</sup>

Aus dem Jahr 1500 besitzen wir auch erste Hinweise auf die Errichtung des neuen Zeughauses im Osten der Stadt an der Sill, das eine Erweiterung und Neustrukturierung des Geschützbestandes, der bis dahin in der alten andechsischen Burg am Inn und partiell möglicherweise auch im schon 1465 erwähnten Harnaschhaus südlich der Hofburg aufbewahrt worden war, erlaubte.<sup>22</sup> Auf eine geplante Neuverwendung dieses Harnaschhauses deutet unter anderem die von Maximilian 1503 verfügte Erwerbung benachbarter Bauten, des Hufschmiedhauses und des Goldschmiedhauses, zugunsten einer Neugestaltung, mit der das unmittelbare architektonische Umfeld der Burg gebessert werden sollte. Maximilian verlangte in diesem Zusammenhang, was sehr charakteristisch ist, die Einrichtung einer für ihn vom Harnaschhaus aus zugänglichen Drechselstube mit kaminbeheizter Kammer.<sup>23</sup> In den Kontext dieser Veränderungen beim Harnaschhaus gehört die 1505 datierte illusionistische Fassadenmalerei, die ehemals über die Stadtmauer hinweg sichtbar, sich im Inneren des Stiftskellers fragmentarisch erhalten hat.<sup>24</sup> 1506 war der neue Hofplattnererbau in der Neustadt begonnen, in dessen Obergeschoß ein Saal zur Ausstellung der Harnische dienen sollte.<sup>25</sup> Etwa gleichzeitig dachte Maximilian an eine Verlegung seines Innsbrucker Marstalls.<sup>26</sup>

Ab 1507 wird das ehemalige Harnaschhaus als Wappenhaus bezeichnet, wenigstens hat dies die Forschung immer so verstanden.<sup>27</sup> Ende März legte Kölderer eine Aufstellung seiner aktuellen Arbeiten vor, darunter 'zwo visierung gemacht zu dem newen paw bey dem wappenhaws' sowie 'drey visierung zu kn. mt. capellen zu hof'.<sup>28</sup> Die ihm übertragene Ausstattung des Wappenhauses, insbesondere der Gehörnstube, sowie die Neuausmalung der Hofkapelle standen also noch aus. 1508/09 scheint der an die Kaiserproklamation in Trient sich anschließende Venezianerkrieg Maximilian in Atem gehalten zu haben,<sup>29</sup> doch im März 1510 wurde damit begonnen, den langen Saal zwischen Paradeis und Neuem Bau zu erhöhen und umzugestalten.<sup>30</sup> Im selben Jahr wurden auch im Neuhof einige Räume gewölbt zwecks Aufnahme des Archivs der Raitkammer.<sup>31</sup> In der Silvesternacht

1510 auf '11 starb Bianca Maria Sforza,<sup>32</sup> und damit scheint auch Maximilians Bautätigkeit in Innsbruck weitgehend erloschen zu sein. Als nach der habsburgisch-jagiellonischen Doppelhochzeit die beiden Bräute Anna und Maria einige Jahre in der Innsbrucker Hofburg verbrachten, kam es zu Reparaturen und Nachbesserungen, nicht jedoch zu eingreifenden baulichen Veränderungen.<sup>33</sup> Hieraus entsteht der Eindruck, daß Maximilians Residenzprojekt für Innsbruck an seine Ehe mit Bianca Maria Sforza und deren gemeinsame Repräsentationspflichten gebunden war und sich auf die knapp zwei Jahrzehnte zwischen 1490/92 und 1510 begrenzte. Dem entsprechen auch die nach 1510 nur noch seltenen Aufenthalte des Kaisers, nämlich für je drei Wochen im Sommer und im November 1511, dann erst wieder im Januar 1514. Ein letzter längerer Aufenthalt datiert von September 1514 bis März 1515. Kürzere Präsenzen Maximilians sind noch im Sommer 1515 verzeichnet, gefolgt von wenigen Tagen im August 1516.<sup>34</sup> Daß die Innsbrucker Maximilian Ende des Jahres 1518 die Aufnahme verweigert haben, ist hinreichend bekannt.<sup>35</sup>

Zwischen den frühen neunziger Jahren und 1510 hingegen hat Maximilian den Ausbau seiner Innsbrucker Residenz über alle finanziellen Engpässe und andere Schwierigkeiten hinweg nicht nur kontinuierlich betrieben, sondern auch systematisch. Zunächst ging es um neue Wohnräume und wahrscheinlich einen halbwegs standesgemäßen Komfort in der Burg. Die Notwendigkeit zur Erneuerung des Saggentors nach dessen Brand 1494 dürfte dann die Aufmerksamkeit verstärkt auf die Außenerscheinung gelenkt haben: Nach dem Bau des Wappenturms ergab sich mit dem Tod Sigmunds die Gelegenheit, auch den Neuhof fernwirksam zu akzentuieren – Zufälle, die jedoch mit Bedacht genutzt wurden. Ab 1500 wurde das Zeughausprojekt realisiert und die äußere Burg der Repräsentation verstärkt einbezogen. Danach scheint man darangegangen zu sein, den noch bestehenden sigmundischen Teil der Hofburg durch einen größeren Saalbau zu ersetzen im Sinne einer Vereinheitlichung der Ostfront. Diese letzte Phase dürfte bereits im Kontext der Annahme des Kaisertitels zu verstehen sein. – Bemerkenswert an diesen Maßnahmen ist zum einen, daß der Landesfürst an den drei prominentesten Punkten der Stadt nicht nur ansässig war, sondern daß er die entscheidenden Zugänge der Stadt und ihr Zentrum auch zeichenhaft besetzte, ja sie sogar in ihren Fassadenmalereien motivisch zueinander in Beziehung setzte, zum andern, daß er bemüht war, die Ostfront der Stadt nach Norden und Süden für seine Residenz weitmöglichst zu vereinnahmen, um damit dem von außen Kommenden die fürstliche Herrschaft zu demonstrieren, aber auch um größere Bauvolumina zu suggerieren, als sie tatsächlich vorhanden waren. Hierin spricht sich ein beträchtliches urbanistisches Bewußtsein aus, für das Vergleichbares im deutschen Sprachraum erst zu finden wäre.<sup>36</sup> Selbstverständlich wird Maximilian von der ab 1490 mit Mitteln der Urbanistik betriebenen Inszenierung der Herrschaft der Sforza in Vigevano über 'seiner' Mailänder Familie erfahren haben.<sup>37</sup> aber abgesehen davon, daß sich hier keine formale, sondern allenfalls eine prinzipielle Vergleichbarkeit konstatieren läßt: lagen hier Maximilians Maßstäbe? Oder verstehen sich die architektonisch-zeichenhaften Fixpunkte im Stadtbild eher als Antwort auf den Bedarf des höfischen Zeremoniells bei Empfängen und festlichen Anlässen?



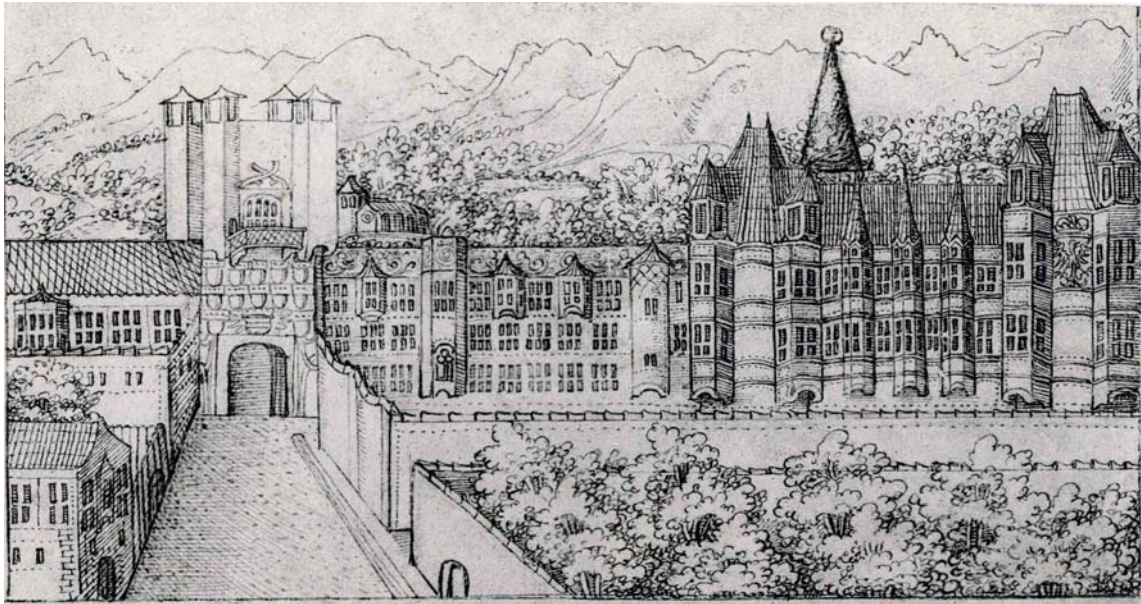


Abb. 5 Augustin Hirschvogel (attr.), Vedute der Innsbrucker Hofburg von Osten, Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität, Inv. B 458.

Diese Fragen, die hier noch unbeantwortet bleiben müssen, führen zur Diskussion der Funktion, die im gegebenen Rahmen auf die Hofburg selbst beschränkt werden muß. Mit den beiden Hofansichten der Albertina, die um oder kurz nach der Mitte der neunziger Jahre entstanden sein dürften (Abb. 2-3),<sup>38</sup> sowie mit einer Augustin Hirschvogel zugeschriebenen, zwischen 1525 und 1534 gezeichneten Vedute der Ostfront (Abb. 5) liegt uns eine sehr gute zeitgenössische Bilddokumentation vor,<sup>39</sup> die vor dem Hintergrund der Schriftquellen mit den im Vorfeld des mariatheresianischen Umbaus angefertigten Grund- und Aufrissen in Beziehung zu setzen ist (Abb. 6-10).<sup>40</sup>

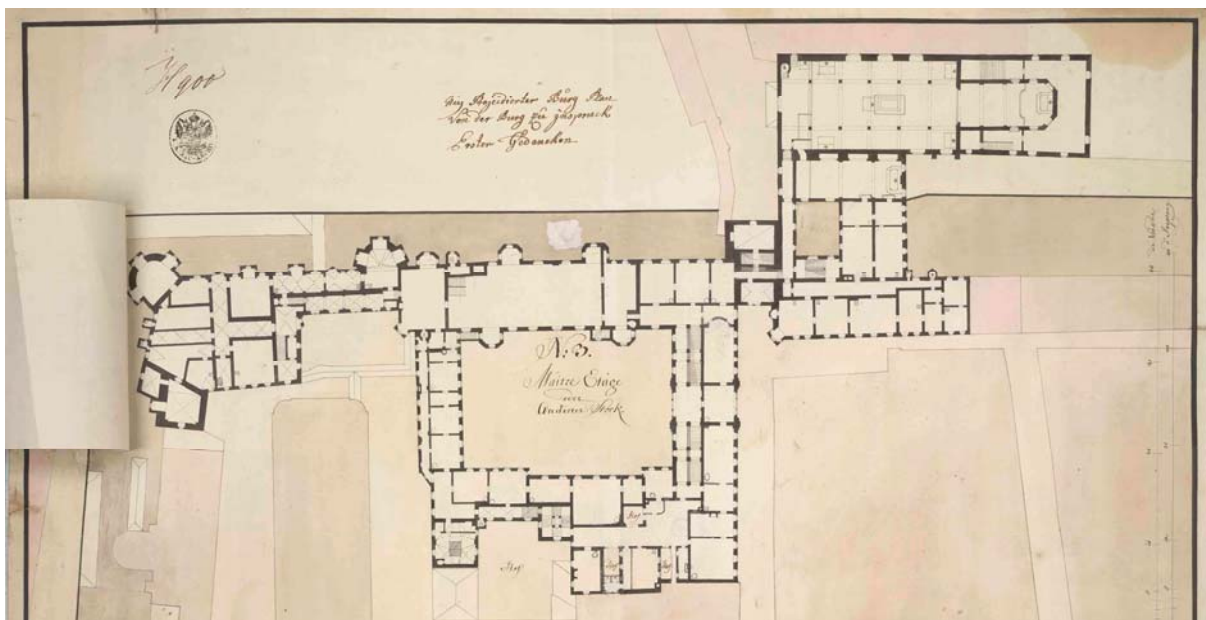


Abb. 6 Johann Martin Gumpp d. J., Innsbrucker Hofburg, Grundriß 2. OG (Ausschnitt), Wien, Albertina, Inv. 7549.



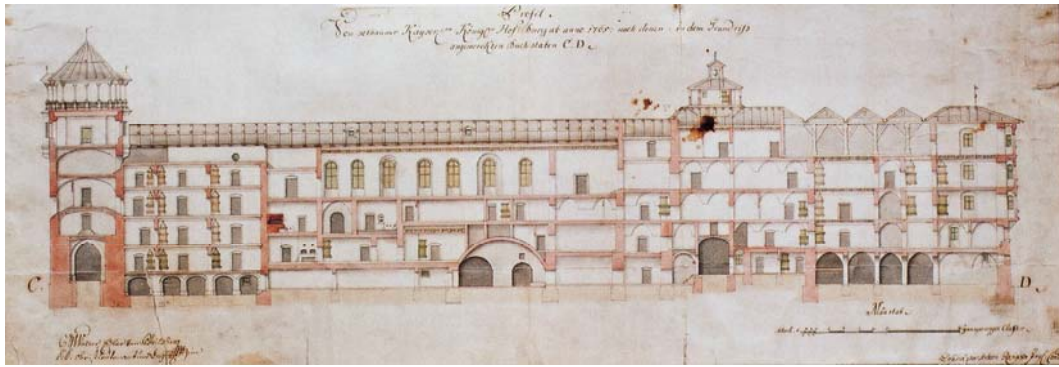


Abb. 7 Constantin Johann Walter, Innsbrucker Hofburg, Längsschnitt durch den Ostrakt, Innsbruck, Museum Ferdinandeum, Aigner-Codex, Bl. 3

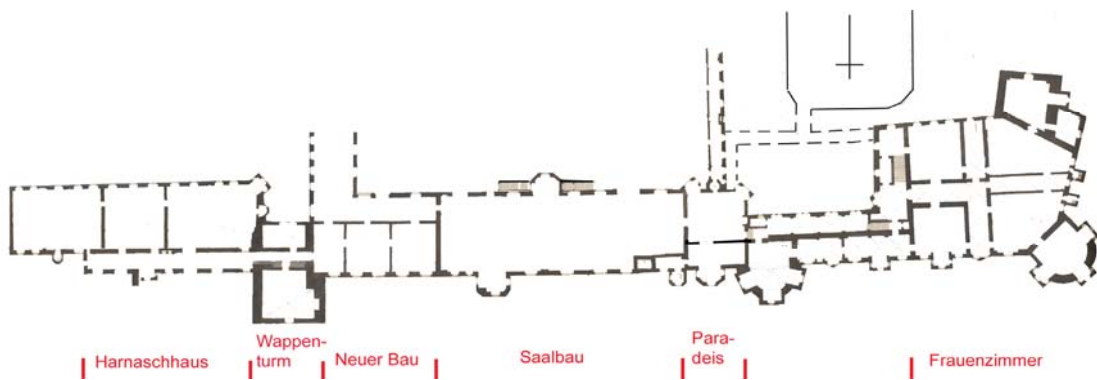


Abb. 8 Innsbruck, Hofburg, Grundriß 2. OG nach Gump (N. Riegel).

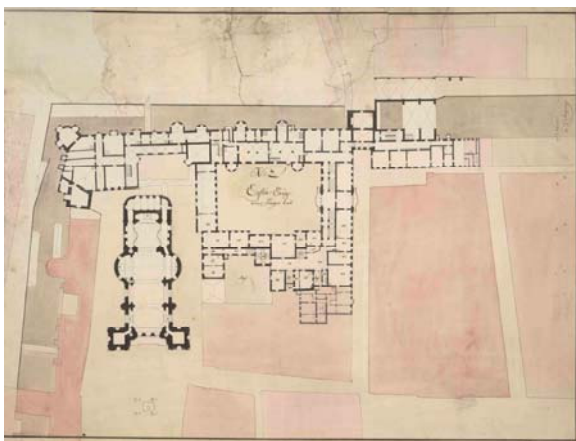


Abb. 9 Johann Martin Gump d.J., Innsbrucker Hofburg, Grundriß 1. OG, Wien, Albertina, Inv. 7548.

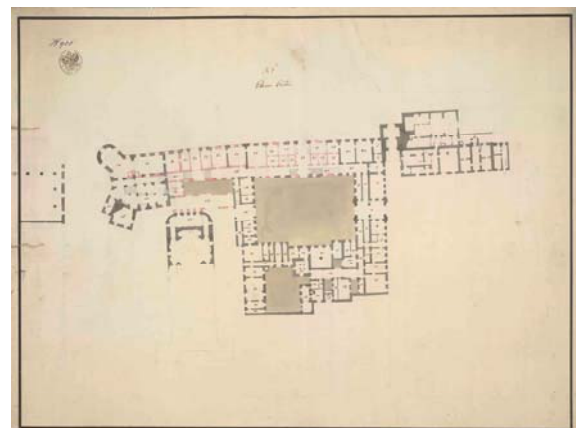


Abb. 10 Johann Martin Gump d.J., Innsbrucker Hofburg, Grundriß EG, Wien, Albertina, Inv. 7547.

Dabei sind allerdings Veränderungen in den Geschoßhöhen zu berücksichtigen. Schrift- und Bildquellen lassen keinen Zweifel daran, daß Maximilians früheste Bauvornahme, das Frauenzimmer, die Ausdehnung der Hofburg bis zur Nordostecke der Stadtmauer durch einen mächtigen, nahezu quadratischen Kopfbau fixierte, der die sigmundischen Bauten an Tiefe weit übertraf. Diesem Kopfbau südlich vorgelagert wurde ein kleiner Hof, an dessen Ostflanke eine dreiteilige Raumfolge mit begleitendem Flur vermutlich ältere Bausubstanz integrierte, während an der Westseite ein schmaler Gang zur Pfarrkirche und zum Haupthof der Burg führte. In Dürers Hofansicht (Abb. 3) ragt das Frauenzimmer mit seinem erkergeschmückten Fachwerkobergeschoß hinter dem Quergang des Hofes hervor, in der Außenansicht (Abb. 5) schließen sich Kopfbau und südlich angrenzender Flügel zu einer von Rundtürmen gefaßten Erkerfassade zusammen. Der den großen Hof begrenzende Gang stößt im Osten auf eine schmale zweiräumige Einheit, die schon in den Quellen maximilianischer Zeit als Paradeis bezeichnet wird.<sup>41</sup> Ihr folgt gegen Süden der große, seinerseits Älteres integrierende Saalbau. Im ersten Obergeschoß (Abb. 8-9) enthielt er die nach außen durch einen Erker artikulierte Schloßkapelle, im zweiten Obergeschoß den Hauptsaal, den Maximilian 1510 erhöhen und neu ausstatten lassen wollte (Abb. 6-8).<sup>42</sup> Die Verbindung von hier zum Wappenturm stellte der 1507 so genannte Neue Bau her, und am Wappenturm selbst lief ein Gang hinüber zum Harnaschhaus.<sup>43</sup> – Ein mit etwa 130 Metern Länge gewaltiger Komplex, der vorwiegend auf seine Außenwirkung hin orientiert war. Dem gegenüber blieb das Innere des Hofgevierts, den unverkennbaren Bemühungen um Geschlossenheit zum Trotz, im Westabschnitt von disparater, ja zufälliger Erscheinung (Abb. 2-3). Die vertikalen Erschließungswege sind mit einigen Fragezeichen behaftet, zumal der polygonale Turm im Hof nicht als Treppenturm angesprochen werden kann.<sup>44</sup> Doch scheint eine geradläufige Treppe von hier wenigstens bis auf Kapellenebene geführt zu haben. Das Frauenzimmer hingegen erschloß sich durch eine zweiläufige Treppe vom kleineren Hof her. Außerdem führte eine kleine Wendeltreppe vom hofbegrenzenden Quergang in das zweite Obergeschoß des Paradeis.

Auf der Grundlage dieser Beobachtungen stellen sich zunächst vor allem zwei Fragen, die im gegebenen Rahmen nur hypothetisch beantwortet werden können: 1. Was hat es mit dem Paradeis nördlich des Festsaaus auf sich? 2. Wo lagen und wie verteilten sich die Wohnräume von König und Königin? Komplex ist die Frage nach dem Paradeis. Man hat die eher aus der christlichen Sakralarchitektur geläufige Bezeichnung im Falle der Innsbrucker Hofburg durchwegs mit der Ikonographie der Ausmalung durch Kölderer erklärt: Denn 1548, als das Paradeis, das bei einem Brand 1534 sehr gelitten hatte, nach altem Vorbild wiederhergestellt werden sollte, wurden über den Vertäfelungen Paradiesesszenen an die Wand gemalt.<sup>45</sup> Allerdings stieß die Instruktion Ferdinands I., sich in der Neuausstattung daran zu halten, 'wie die vormalen gewesen' an Schwierigkeiten, da, wie im Zusammenhang mit der Vertäfelung geklagt wurde, 'niemand so gar eigentlich wüssend, wie dieselbig gewesen ist'.<sup>46</sup> Die Decke jedenfalls sollte in der Folge mit 'planeten und figur' geschmückt werden.<sup>47</sup> Über die Funktion des Innsbrucker Paradeis ist damit freilich noch nichts gesagt. Vor der Errichtung des Frauenzimmerbaus unter Maximilian dürfte der zweiräumige Baukörper den östlichen Repräsentationstrakt des Mitterhofs gegen Norden abgeschlossen haben. Er bestand ursprünglich aus hofseitiger Stube und feldseitiger Kammer und besaß vielleicht schon frühzeitig Erker zum Hof ebenso wie zur Rennwiese.<sup>48</sup> Mittels einer kleinen Treppenspindel verfügte er über einen direkten Zugang auch zum Westtrakt des Hofes, in dem bereits damals unter anderem die Küchen situiert gewesen sein könnten.<sup>49</sup> Stephan Hoppe vermutete auf der Grundlage dieser Disposition in der kompakten baulichen Einheit sehr plausibel das ehemalige herzogliche Logis.<sup>50</sup>

Mit den maximilianischen Erweiterungen der Hofburg nach Norden wurde sie hingegen zu einer Art zentralem Scharnier im Burgzusammenhang, nämlich zwischen den vom großen Burghof zugänglichen, gewissermaßen öffentlichen Repräsentationsräumen und dem vom inneren Hof erschlossenen Komplex, was eine Neuverwendung bedingte, die sich mit der Bezeichnung als Paradeis verband. Denkbar wäre unter diesen Voraussetzungen die Nutzung des dem Saal benachbarten Raums als Tafel- oder Trinkstube,<sup>51</sup> beweisbar ist dies derzeit indes nicht. 1520 fand hier der symbolische Vollzug der Ehe zwischen dem künftigen Erzherzog Ferdinand und Anna von Böhmen und Ungarn statt.<sup>52</sup> Raum- und funktionstypologisch bleibt die Bezeichnung als Paradeis bislang verschwommen, auch wenn zeitgenössisch eine Parallele bestand, die sogar im Kenntnishorizont Maximilians gelegen haben dürfte: Denn wie neue Forschungen ergeben haben,<sup>53</sup> ließ Bianca Marias Onkel, der Mailänder Regent Ludovico il Moro, in seiner Nebenresidenz Vigevano ab 1492/93 unter Konsultation von Donato Bramante nicht nur die schon erwähnte weitläufige Platzanlage gestalten, sondern auch das Kastell selbst modernisieren, etwa durch umfängliche Stallungen ebenso wie durch einen dreiseitig geschlossenen Gartenhof für seine Gemahlin Beatrice d'Este. Die Wohnräume des Vigevaneser 'Frauenzimmers' wurden auf diese Weise durch einen Giardino pensile erweitert, der gegen Süden durch einen Loggienflügel, im Norden durch ein Badehaus zur exklusiven Nutzung Beatrices abgeschlossen und, wie aus einem Bericht von 1550 hervorgeht, *'nuncupabatur nomine Paradisi'*. Der repräsentative Südflügel enthielt im Obergeschoß eine siebenachsige Loggia, darunter, auf Gartenebene, einen Saal mit anliegender Kammer.<sup>54</sup>

Eine solche, in Vigevano möglicherweise auf antike Palastgärten anspielende Konstellation läßt sich für die Innsbrucker Hofburg selbstverständlich nicht rekonstruieren,<sup>55</sup> doch bleibt bemerkenswert, daß das maximilianische Paradeis den vielleicht ebenfalls gärtnerisch gestalteten Inneren Burghof gegen Süden abschloß, und daß es über einen Gang mit dem Frauenzimmer verbunden war. So gesehen müßte es nicht überraschen, wenn das Innsbrucker Paradeis seinen ungewöhnlichen Namen in halbironischer Allusion auf die sehr viel anspruchsvolleren, im Umfeld der Übersiedelung Bianca Marias nach Innsbruck realisierten Maßnahmen Ludovico il Moros in Vigevano erhalten hätte und in Ermangelung einer veritablen *'Loggia delle Dame'* entsprechend illusionistisch ausgestattet worden wäre.<sup>56</sup> Doch gerät man mit solchen Überlegungen beim derzeitigen Kenntnisstand an die Grenze zur Spekulation.

Eine in der Funktionsfrage etwas höhere Indizendichte liegt im Falle des Innsbrucker Frauenzimmers vor.<sup>57</sup> Obgleich die älteste Quelle in einer Instruktion Maximilians, *'auch unser stüblin in unserm neuen frauenzimmer zum tail zu malen'* besteht,<sup>58</sup> hat die Forschung das Frauenzimmer bzw. die *'hintere vergätterte Burg'*, wie es später oft genannt ist, gerne als einzig und allein für die Frauen der Hofhaltung reservierten Abschnitt der Burg angesehen und sich besonders gerne deren vermeintlich klösterliche Abgeschiedenheit vorgestellt.<sup>59</sup> Die Tatsache, daß es sich um den größten und vor der Saalerhöhung 1510 zweifellos prominentesten Baukörper der Burg handelt (Abb. 3, 8), wurde dabei durchwegs außer Acht gelassen. Und vor allem: Wo hat der König residiert? Betrachtet man die Burg aus der Perspektive des Zeichners der Erlanger Vedute (Abb. 5), so beantwortet sich diese Frage durch die Architektursprache und den aufgemalten Tiroler Adler nahezu von selbst.<sup>60</sup> Wie schon gesagt, schließen sich in der Außenerscheinung das eigentliche Frauenzimmer mit dem Verbindungsflügel zum Paradeis optisch zusammen. Der Frauenzimmerbau selbst reicht etwa bis zum zweiten Polygonalerker von Norden. Betrachten wir die Aufteilung dieses Kopfbaus vor den barocken Veränderungen (Abb. 6-10), so lagen über einer gratgewölbten Tiefgeschoßhalle, deren

ursprüngliche Funktion wir nicht kennen, und deren unregelmäßige Pfeilerstellungen die Rücksichtnahme auf ältere Bestände hier vermuten lassen (Abb. 10-11), nicht wie heute drei, sondern nur zwei Stockwerke sowie das Dachgeschoß.<sup>61</sup> Die Etagen erschlossen sich über die erwähnte, südlich vorgelagerte Treppe am inneren Hof. Der Zugang von hier aus erfolgte über einen Mittelflur, an den sich links und rechts zwei nahezu identisch disponierte quadratische Räume fügten. Etwa im Zentrum des Baus traf der Mittelflur auf einen Quergang mit offenem Ostabschnitt und geschlossenem Westabschnitt. Der Mittelflur selbst fand einen Fortsatz gegen Norden, verengte sich hier allerdings in Entsprechung zur Pfeilerstellung darunter. Zu beiden Seiten dieses Fortsatzes lagen wiederum etwa gleichgroße, wohl sekundär unterteilte Räume, denen jeweils ein Turmzimmer beigefügt war. Beidseitig des verengten Mittelflurs verzeichnen die Grundrisse Abtritte. Am vorderen Mittelflur lagen mehrere Hinterladeröffnungen, die freilich nicht alle aus maximilianischer Zeit gewesen sein werden. Zwei fragmentarisch erhaltene, bauzeitliche Portalgewände, eines im ersten Stock gegen Westen, das andere im zweiten Stock gegen Osten, belegen, daß der Mittelflur dem ursprünglichen Baubestand angehört.<sup>62</sup> Im ersten Obergeschoß des der Kirche zugewandten Westteils hat sich die ursprüngliche Situation einigermaßen erhalten. Ein gekehltes Portal mit einbeschriebenem Spitzbogen führt hier vom Mittelflur aus in den ersten Raum linkerhand (Abb. 12). Der nördlich angrenzende Gang zeigt zwei bauzeitliche Türöffnungen gegen Norden und Süden (Abb. 13). Analoges ist auch für die Ostseite zu vermuten und für den zweiten Stock durch ein Schulterbogenportal belegt (Abb. 14).



Abb. 12 Innsbruck, Hofburg, Frauenzimmerbau, 1. OG, Mittelflur, Westseite, Portalfragment.

Abb. 11 Innsbruck, Hofburg, Frauenzimmerbau, sog. Tiefgeschoßhalle.

Sucht man den Räumen Funktionen zuzuweisen, so legt sich im Vergleich mit zeitgenössischen Beispielen die Folge Stube, Gang, Kammer mit Abtritt, Turmstube zu beiden Seiten des Mittelflurs nahe. Die Identifizierung der Raumkonfiguration mit zwei gleichförmigen Appartements drängt sich auf – Appartements, die über den engeren, abgeschlossenen Mittelflur im Nordabschnitt diskret zu verbinden waren. Ein paar feinere Unterschiede zwischen beiden Appartements liegen in Aussicht und Komfort: im Osten der Blick auf die Rennwiese, im Westen auf die Kirche. Dem entsprechend ist die östliche Stube mit einem Erker ausgestattet, die westliche nicht. Die ihrerseits mit Erkern versehene östliche Turmstube gestaltet sich ganz zeitgemäß als eine Art



Rundstube, hingegen haftet der im alten Torturm der Stadtbefestigung eingerichteten westlichen Turmstube die Unregelmäßigkeit einer Kompromißlösung an. Folgt man dieser Lesart der architektonischen Disposition, so liegt die Hypothese nahe, der Frauenzimmerbau habe die eigentliche Wohnung des Königspaares dargestellt, wobei Bianca Maria der der Kirche zugewandte Westteil und Maximilian der nach draußen gewandte Ostteil zugestanden hätte. Die Appartements wären in diesem Fall beide im zweiten Obergeschoß auf etwa derselben Ebene wie die Repräsentationsräume zu denken. Die Tatsache, daß die Grundrisse keine Geheimgänge verzeichnen, spricht gemeinsam mit der Parallelität der Appartements bis in die Abtritte hinein gegen eine geschoßweise Aufteilung der Wohnung. Eher wäre zu vermuten, daß im Dachgeschoß die Hofdamen beherbergt wurden, und daß im ersten Obergeschoß bedarfsweise Gäste und vielleicht die höchstrangigen Bediensteten untergebracht waren.<sup>63</sup>



Abb. 14 Innsbruck, Hofburg, Frauenzimmerbau, 2. OG, Mittelflur, Ostseite, Portalfragment.

Abb. 13 Innsbruck, Hofburg, Frauenzimmerbau, 1. OG, Gang im Westabschnitt, Portalfragmente.

Nun mag die schlichte Folge Stube, Gang, Kammer, Turmstube für die Wohnung eines Königs zu klein erscheinen. Doch ist zu berücksichtigen, daß in der Flucht des hier angenommenen maximilianischen Appartements drei weitere Räume lagen (Abb. 8), darunter eine zweite Rundstube – Räume, die zwischen dem Paradeis auf der einen und den eigentlichen Wohnräumen auf der anderen Seite lagen, und die vielleicht im Zusammenhang privater Audienzen genutzt werden konnten. Auch ein Privatoratorium wäre in diesem Kontext denkbar.<sup>64</sup> – Wie aber verhalten sich die Aussagen der Schriftquellen zu einer solchen Rekonstruktion der Funktionen? Dagegen könnte zunächst sprechen, daß für das Frauenzimmer Ordnungen vorliegen, die das Miteinander der Hofdamen regelten, Zeiten der Öffnung und Schließung festlegten und die Bewachung des Frauenzimmers organisierten.<sup>65</sup> Diese Sicherheitsvorkehrungen werden aber nicht allein der Sorge um den Lebenswandel der Hofdamen geschuldet gewesen sein, sondern zum einen auch der Tatsache, daß sich im Frauenzimmer der Hausschatz befand,<sup>66</sup> zum anderen, daß der König in seiner Residenz selbst ebenfalls vor dem Zutritt Unbefugter geschützt sein mußte. Daß Frauenzimmer nicht mit Klöstern gleichzusetzen sind, zeigt beispielsweise auch eine königliche Instruktion vom November

1493, in der befohlen wurde, das Frauenzimmer der Wiener Hofburg herzurichten, damit des Königs Schwager Herzog Albrecht von Bayern dort logieren könne – dies erscheint bemerkenswert, auch wenn es damals mangels Königin auch keinen weiblichen Hofstaat in Wien gegeben hat.<sup>67</sup>

Wichtiger ist, daß im Innsbrucker Frauenzimmer, und zwar vermutlich im weniger exponierten Turm, das Schatzgewölbe und das Briefgewölbe lagen, und daß sicherlich beides dem König ganz unmittelbar zugänglich gewesen ist. Als im Mai 1510 im Auftrag des abwesenden Königs wie so häufig vergeblich bestimmte Truhen gesucht wurden, präziserte Maximilian den Standort: Die gesuchte Truhe war vor dem Transport in das ‘obergewelb’ ‘in unnsrer camer darinn wir bey unnsrer gemachl gelegen sein, gestannden’.<sup>68</sup> Diese Quelle war schon Dreger bekannt, und er ist der einzige, der daraus geschlossen hat, daß Maximilian wenigstens zeitweise im Frauenzimmer gewohnt hat.<sup>69</sup> Die jüngere Forschung hat angesichts des eingangs zitierten Auftrags an Kölderer von 1498, dem König sein ‘stüblin in unserm neuen frauenzimmer’ auszumalen, Maximilian eine Art Gästezimmer im Frauenzimmerbau zugestanden.<sup>70</sup> Möglicherweise aber wird man künftig einen Schritt weiter gehen dürfen: Sofern der König in Innsbruck war, hat er wahrscheinlich im Frauenzimmer residiert – dem regulären Logis des Königspaares.

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## Abbildungen

Abb. 1-3, 6, 9-10: Wien, Albertina, Inv. 3056, 3057, 3058, 7549, 7548, 7547.

Abb. 4, 7, 11-14: Archiv des Autors.

Abb. 5: Erlangen, Graphische Sammlung der Universität, Inv. B 458.

Abb. 7: Innsbruck, Museum Ferdinandeum, Aigner-Codex, Bl. 3.

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<sup>1</sup> Quellen zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Haussammlungen 1883ff.

<sup>2</sup> Dreger 1921.

<sup>3</sup> Werkner 1982. Oettinger 1986.

<sup>4</sup> Hanzl-Wachter 2004. Sauer 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Gatt 1943. Fritz 1968. Wiesflecker-Friedhuber 2005. Hollegger 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Der von Wiesflecker-Friedhuber 2005, p. 129, geäußerten Annahme einer 'im einzelnen genau untersuchte[n] Baugeschichte der maximilianischen Burg' ist aus kunsthistorischer Sicht zu widersprechen. Einige der zahlreichen offenen Fragen werden im Folgenden skizziert.

<sup>7</sup> Zum Goldenen Dachl siehe zuletzt Morscher, Grossmann u. Grebe 2004 (mit Angaben der älteren Literatur). Zum Wappenturm siehe Werkner 1981, außerdem Grossmann 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Koschatzky 1971, Kat. Nr. 7; Luther, Tischreden, Bd. 5, 1919, p. 638f, Nr. 6392. Luther könnte sich darin auf Albertis '*Civitas et domus diffinitio philosophica*' bezogen haben. Vgl. Alberti, ed. Orlandi/Portoghesi 1966, p. 64f: '*Quod si civitas philosophorum sententia maxima quaedam est domus et contra domus ipsa minima quaedam est civitas, quidni harum ipsarum membra minima quaedam esse domicilia dicentur?*' (*De re aedificatoria*, I, 9). Denselben Gedanken nimmt auch Baldassare Castiglione in seinem '*Libro del Cortegiano*' (I,2.5) auf, wenn er die herzogliche Residenz in Urbino beschreibt: '*Federico edificò un palazzo, secondo la opinione di molti, il più bello che in tutta Italia si ritrovi; e d'ogni opportuna cosa si ben lo fornì, che non un palazzo, ma una città in forma di palazzo esser pareva.*' Siehe Castiglione 2002, Bd.1, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Zu Maximilians Regierungsübernahme 1490 siehe Wiesflecker, Bd. 1, 1971, pp. 258–64; Hollegger 2005, pp. 68–72; zusammenfassend auch Wiesflecker-Friedhuber 2005, pp. 127–28.

<sup>10</sup> Werkner 1982. Dankl 1986.

<sup>11</sup> Die Entstehungszeit der Veduten der Innsbrucker Hofburg und der Stadt Innsbruck in der Albertina (Inv. 3056, 3057, 3058) ist unsicher. Anhaltspunkt für die Datierung ist der Bau des Wappenturms an der Stelle des 1494 niedergebrannten Saggentors. Eine durch einen Stich Salomon Kleiners aus der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts überlieferte Bauinschrift '1496' am südöstlichen Eckerker wurde von der Forschung als Schlußinschrift und damit als 'terminus ante quem' verstanden, da die Innsbruck-Vedute noch den eingerüsteten Wappenturm zeigt. Davon ausgehend, daß Hofburg-Ansichten und Innsbruck-Vedute (trotz markanter stilistischer Unterschiede) von ein- und derselben Hand stammen und Albrecht Dürer zuzuschreiben seien, die Hofburg-Ansicht gegen Süden den Wappenturm aber nicht zeigt, wurde die erste Italienreise Dürers für die Jahre 1494/95 angenommen, wobei die Hofburg-Ansichten auf der Hinreise und die Innsbruck-Vedute auf der Rückreise entstanden sein könnten. Grossmann 2007 plädierte hingegen für eine spätere Datierung in Anbetracht der Position der Inschrift ein Stück weit unter dem Turmhelm, welcher erst danach, also frühestens 1496 aufgesetzt worden sein könnte. Christoph Metzger (frdl. mündl. Mitteilung) erkannte zudem, daß in der Hofburg-Ansicht gegen Süden Silberstiftspuren davon zeugen, daß der Zeichner den Helm des Wappenturms durchaus im Blick hatte und erwog, ihn in die Vedute aufzunehmen, möglicherweise aber davon Abstand nahm, um die Ansicht des Hofburginneren nicht zu verunklären. Die Datierung der Blätter hängt demnach davon ab, welches Gewicht man der Position der von Salomon Kleiner dokumentierten Bauinschrift beimißt.

Ich danke G. Ulrich Grossmann herzlich für die Diskussion dieser Frage und den anregenden Austausch über die maximilianische Hofburg.

<sup>12</sup> *Regesta Imperii*, XIV, Nr. 2883. Vgl. auch Weiss 2010, p. 62 (ohne Nachweis).

<sup>13</sup> Wiesflecker-Friedhuber 2005, p. 129. Weiss 2010, pp. 62–66.

<sup>14</sup> Oettinger 1986, pp. 59–60; sowie zuletzt Grossmann 2007.

<sup>15</sup> Pizzinini 1986, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Felmayer 1972, p. 103.

<sup>17</sup> Morscher, Grossmann u. Grebe 2004, pp. 11–14.

<sup>18</sup> Schönherr 1884, p. VII, Reg. 585; *Regesta Imperii*, XIV, Nr. 6217; siehe auch Oettinger 1986, p. 57 mit Anm. 16.

<sup>19</sup> ‘nach dem wir willens sein, ettlich der oberuerten zimer mit der zeitt durch gepew zu verkeren’, in Wien, HKA, gb 5, f. 99=84. Siehe auch *Regesta Imperii*, XIV, Nr. 10875.

<sup>20</sup> *Regesta Imperii*, XIV, Nr. 10797.

<sup>21</sup> Zimerman, Fiedler u. Paukert 1883, pp. XXXVI–XXXIX, Nr. 219; *Regesta Imperii*, XIV, Nr. 11307. Siehe auch Dreger 1921, pp. 146–47 und p. 161.

<sup>22</sup> Zum Harnaschhaus siehe Dreger 1921, p. 152; Oettinger 1986, p. 55f; zum Zeughaus Garber 1928.

<sup>23</sup> Zimerman u. Kreytzi 1885, p. XXVI, Nr. 2542 u. 2543. Dreger 1921, p. 154.

<sup>24</sup> Oettinger 1986, pp. 225–27.

<sup>25</sup> Schönherr 1884, p. XXVI, Nr. 793.

<sup>26</sup> Tiroler Landesarchiv, Kammer-Kopialbuch, Bd. 29, f. 93v (12. Juni 1506).

<sup>27</sup> Dreger 1921, p. 152. Oettinger 1986, p. 209 mit Anm. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Schönherr 1884, p. XXVIII, Nr. 831.

<sup>29</sup> Wiesflecker, Bd. 4, 1981, pp. 1–66. Hollegger 2005, pp. 191–98.

<sup>30</sup> Schönherr 1884, p. XLVIII, Nr. 978 u. 980. Dreger 1921, p. 161. Eine Bezeichnung dieses Saals als ‘Goldener Saal’ ist anders, als von Oettinger 1986, p. 58, nahegelegt, 1510 noch nicht nachweisbar.

<sup>31</sup> Tiroler Landesarchiv, Kammer-Kopialbuch, Bd. 48, 6. September 1510. Siehe auch Felmayer 1972, p. 103; sowie Wiesflecker, Bd. 5, 1986, p. 297.

<sup>32</sup> Weiss 2010, pp. 179–80.

<sup>33</sup> Gatt 1943, p. 157 u. pp. 195–97. Fritz 1968, p. 23. Wiesflecker, Bd. 5, 1986, p. 385.

<sup>34</sup> Kraus 1899, passim.

<sup>35</sup> Wiesflecker, Bd. 4, 1981, p. 422.

<sup>36</sup> Hinzuweisen wäre hier beispielsweise auf die Umgestaltung von Halle an der Saale zur erzbischöflichen Residenzstadt insbesondere unter Kardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg in den zwanziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts. Vgl. Scholz 2006, pp. 81–83. Siehe außerdem Albrecht 2010 sowie die jüngst erschienenen Tagungsakten ‘Städtisches Bürgertum und Hofgesellschaft’ 2012.

<sup>37</sup> Zu Vigevano zuletzt Giordano 2011. Auch die schon im 15. Jahrhundert berühmte Residenz Federicos da Montefeltro in Urbino, der seinerseits die Stadt im Sinne der herzoglichen Repräsentation umstrukturiert hatte, dürfte im Kenntnishorizont Maximilians gelegen haben. Vgl. Franchetti Pardo 1982, pp. 527–32.

<sup>38</sup> Siehe oben, Anm. 11.

<sup>39</sup> Graphische Sammlung der Universität Erlangen, Inv.-Nr. B 458. Wie bei den Hofburg-Veduten der Albertina gilt auch hier der Zustand des Wappenturmdachs als Datierungsanhalt in die Zeit zwischen 1525, dem Ersatz des von Dürer auf der Innsbruck-Vedute dargestellten, spitzen Helms, der durch Blitzschlag beschädigt worden war, und 1534, als ein neuerlicher Brand das in der Erlanger Zeichnung gezeigte Provisorium zunichte machte. Siehe hierzu Oettinger 1986, p. 82.

<sup>40</sup> Von besonderer Bedeutung sind die auf der Grundlage einer Vermessung im Herbst 1754 angefertigten Risse Johann Martin Gumpfs d. J., die den damaligen Zustand der Hofburg vergegenwärtigen. Diese Serie wird ergänzt durch entsprechende Deckblätter sowie eine eigene Planfolge des nach dem Siebenjährigen Krieg ausführenden Baumeisters Constantin J. Walter, der ab 1763 mit dem Auftrag einer umfassenden Erneuerung

des Rennwegtraktes die Gumpsschen Pläne einer Revision unterzog. Siehe hierzu Dreger 1921, pp. 135-144; sowie Oettinger 1986, pp. 65–76 und pp. 86–93.

<sup>41</sup> Nachrichten vom 8. und 17. März 1510, siehe Regesten in Schönherr 1884, p. XLVIII, Nr. 978 u. 980.

<sup>42</sup> Siehe oben, Anm. 30.

<sup>43</sup> Dreger 1921, p. 154 u. pp. 161–62.

<sup>44</sup> Grossmann 2007, p. 230.

<sup>45</sup> Schönherr 1890, p. CIX, Nr. 6741. Vgl. Dreger 1921, p. 149. Werkner 1982, p. 119.

<sup>46</sup> Schönherr 1890, p. CV, Nr. 6737.

<sup>47</sup> Schönherr 1890, p. CV, Nr. 6737.

<sup>48</sup> Siehe Dreger 1921, pp. 158–59.

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Oettinger 1986, pp. 189–91.

<sup>50</sup> Freundliche mündliche Mitteilung vom 6. Dezember 2011.

<sup>51</sup> Zum Raumtyp der Tafelstube siehe Hoppe 2010. Zum Raumtyp der Trinkstube fehlen Untersuchungen. Als zeitgenössisches Beispiel sei hier auf die 1540 dokumentierte Trinkstube im Salzburger Bischofshof verwiesen. Vgl. Riegel 2009, p. 330.

<sup>52</sup> Zoller 1816, pp. 195–96, berichtet über den symbolischen Vollzug der Ehe am 11. Dezember 1520 in der Innsbrucker Hofburg, 'allwo in einem Zimmer nächst dem großen Saal, das Paradies genannt, 2 prächtige Betten mit goldenen Decken bereitet waren'.

<sup>53</sup> Pertot 2009.

<sup>54</sup> Pertot 2009, pp. 21–22.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. Galter u. Käppel 2012.

<sup>56</sup> Hinzuweisen ist hier auch auf eine am Mailänder Hof 1490 anlässlich der Hochzeit des Herzogs Gian Galeazzo Sforza von Leonardo da Vinci inszenierte '*Festa del paradiso*', in der Jupiter auftrat, um Gottvater für die Geburt einer so schönen und tugendhaften Frau wie der Braut zu danken. – Ein Fest übrigens, an dem Gesandte des Kaiserhauses teilnahmen, und dessen Beschreibung durch den Hofdichter Bernardo Bellincioni 1493 kurz vor Maximilians Hochzeit mit Bianca Maria Sforza im Druck erschien. Siehe Solmi 1904.

<sup>57</sup> Siehe hierzu Dreger 1921, pp. 146–47. Zum Bau- bzw. Raumtyp des Frauenzimmers siehe Hoppe 2000. Jüngst würde das Thema auf der PALATIUM-Tagung 'Princes, Princesses and their Lodgings' (Paris, INHA, 27.-30. Juni 2011) ausführlich diskutiert. Die Tagungsakten sind in Vorbereitung.

<sup>58</sup> Schönherr 1884, p. VII, Reg. 585.

<sup>59</sup> Zuletzt Bojcov 2005.

<sup>60</sup> Dargestellt ist der Tiroler Adler mit dem Erzherzogshut, der sich einer Aktualisierung unter Erzherzog Ferdinand verdanken könnte. Wie oben in Anm. 39 dargelegt, dürfte die Zeichnung zwischen 1525 und 1534 entstanden sein.

<sup>61</sup> Vgl. Dreger 1921, pp. 141–47.

<sup>62</sup> Vgl. Oettinger 1986, pp. 115–17 mit Abb. 99–101.

<sup>63</sup> Für das späte 15. Jahrhundert ist die Lage von Frauenwohnräumen nur selten zu ermitteln, wie Hoppe 2000 dargelegt hat. Ein Beispiel für eine 1470 geplante Unterbringung des weiblichen Gefolges im zweiten Obergeschoß wäre das Berliner Schloß. Aus späterer Zeit ist die Lage des Frauenzimmers im obersten Stock und in Zwerchhäusern häufiger dokumentiert. Siehe Hoppe 2000, p. 164.

<sup>64</sup> Einer der nach Osten gerichteten Erker könnte hierfür Verwendung gefunden haben.

<sup>65</sup> Gatt 1943, p. 16 u. pp. 195–97. Heinig 1999, p. 231.

<sup>66</sup> Zimerman, Fiedler u. Paukert 1883, p. XXVI, Reg. 219.

<sup>67</sup> *Regesta Imperii*, XIV, Nr. 115.

<sup>68</sup> Tiroler Landesarchiv Innsbruck, Kammer-Kopialbuch, Bd. 47, 6. Mai 1510.

<sup>69</sup> Dreger 1921, p. 179.

<sup>70</sup> Weiss 2010, p. 98.



# *Architectura ancilla musicae*

## Architektur in der Beziehung zur Musik am Prager Hof der Habsburger

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Dieser kurze Aufsatz beschäftigt sich mit der Renaissanceorgel im St.-Veits-Dom und damit auch mit den Fragen nach der habsburgischen Selbstpräsentation. Bemerkenswert ist schon die Tatsache, daß sich König Ferdinand I. im Jahr 1547 entschied, nach dem Tod seiner Frau, Königin Anna, dem Prager Dom eine neue Orgel auf eigene Kosten zu stiften. Die Sorge um die Beschaffung des Instrumentes lag allerdings auf den Schultern seines Sohnes, des Erzherzogs Ferdinand II., Statthalter in Böhmen.<sup>1</sup>

Über das Aussehen und die Platzierung des Vorgängerinstruments, einer gotischen Orgel, wissen wir leider nicht viel, nur dass sie beim großen Brand auf dem Hradschin und der Kleinseite im Jahr 1541 zerstört wurde. Etwa zehn Jahre nach dem Brand (wobei die ersten Überlegungen dazu ins Jahr 1547 zurückgehen) mussten sich Ferdinand I. und sein Sohn Ferdinand II. entscheiden, wie die neue Orgel auszusehen habe: Sollte sie nach dem „französischen“ Vorbild ausgeführt werden, etwa gemäß den Orgeln im Dom zu Straßburg (Schwalbennestorgel) oder im Dom zu Perpignan, wo die Orgel auf einer mächtigen Stütze entlang der Seitenwand des Hauptschiffs steht? Oder sollte sie auf einer Musikempore, einer Tribüne oder einem Balkon am westlichen Ende des Domes, in einer besonderen Polarität zum Hochaltar stehen, und dessen Flügelform spiegeln (Abb. 1)? Die zweite Lösung erschien ihnen zweifellos würdevoller und repräsentativer, wie es sich für ein „königliches“ Instrument gehört, auch war es günstig, dass damit die glatte Wand, die damals an der Westseite des Domes als provisorischer Abschluss stand, abgedeckt werden konnte.

In der Korrespondenz der beiden Habsburger von 1553, die sich in dieser Sache fleißig austauschten (Erzherzog Ferdinand II. war zu diesem Zeitpunkt vierundzwanzig Jahre alt), finden wir in diesem Zusammenhang zuerst den etwas pejorativen Ausdruck „Orgelfuß“.<sup>2</sup> Während der Realisierung bekam dieser „Fuß“ imposante Ausmaße und eine Wirkung, die wir an Hand historischer Fotoaufnahmen aus der Zeit der Erweiterung des Domes um 1900 nachvollziehen können, wo man letztendlich entschied, dass die Musikempore vom westlichen Ende des alten Baues in das nördliche Querschiff des neuen Baues versetzt werden soll.



Abb. 1 Musikempore im St.-Veits-Dom, Prag.

Als im Jahr 1553 der Orgelbauer Friedrich Pfanmüller aus Amberg in Franken von den kaiserlichen Auftraggebern aufgefordert wurde, mit den Vorbereitungsarbeiten – etwa der Herstellung der Orgelpfeifen – anzufangen, war die definitive Gestalt des neuen Bauabschnitts des Domes und des neuen Instruments wohl noch nicht ganz klar. In diesem Beitrag kann man weder eine Zusammenfassung der Daten aus den Archivquellen bieten, obwohl sie noch nicht zufriedenstellend klassifiziert und analysiert wurden, noch näher auf den Wettbewerb für den Bau der Musikempore oder auf die zwanzig Jahre andauernden Peripetien beim Bau der riesigen Orgel eingehen. Es ist aber klar, dass die Aufforderung an den Orgelbauer, er solle das „größte und schönste Instrument der Christenheit“ bauen, von Anfang an da war.<sup>3</sup>

Der Stand unserer Kenntnisse über die Renaissanceorgel im St.-Veits-Dom war bisher vor allem hinsichtlich des eigentlichen Aussehens des Instruments lückenhaft. Die Renaissanceorgel wurde im Jahre 1757 Opfer der preußischen Bombardierung von Hradschin und musste durch ein neues Instrument vom Orgelbauer Antonin Gartner aus Tachau ersetzt werden (1762-1765).

Es gibt Dutzende Ansichten des Dominterieurs aus jener Zeit, auf denen meistens die Krönungsfeier der böhmischen Könige und Königinnen zu sehen sind, oder auch, wie im Fall Kaiser Rudolfs II., sein *Castrum doloris*. Diese Ansichten zeigen das Dominterieur jedoch immer Richtung Osten, zum Hochaltar.

Eine Ausnahme bildet eine aus Holz geschnitzte Tafel von Kaspar Bechteler, auf der die Verwüstung des Domes während der Regierungszeit des Winterkönigs Friedrich von Pfalz im Jahre 1619 dargestellt ist (Abb. 2). Auf dieser Tafel, die sich heutzutage im St.-Veits-Dom an der Zwischenwand zwischen dem Presbyterium und dem Kapellenkranz befindet, sieht man das Innere des Domes vom Süden, und auch die Musikempore ist hier – wenn auch sehr summarisch – dargestellt.

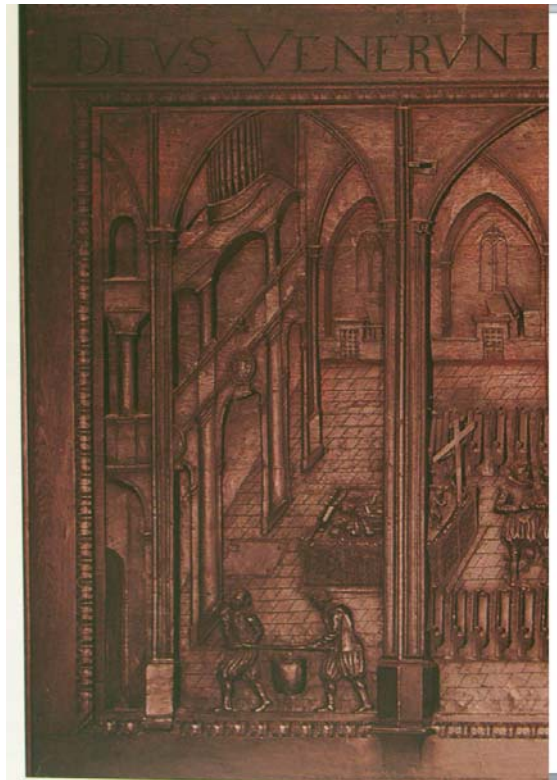


Abb. 2 Kaspar Bechteler, Der St.-Veits-Dom im Jahre 1619, während der protestantischen Plünderung (Detail).

Es gibt zwei Details, die von Bedeutung sind: Man kann deutlich erkennen, dass das Rückpositiv (also nicht das Orgelprospekt) konvex gewölbt war und dass es Flügel zum Schließen hatte. Zweitens sehen wir, dass sich im ersten Geschoß der Musikempore, wo einige Forscher das Rückpositiv und daher die Orgel zwischen zwei Stockwerken aufgeteilt vermuteten,<sup>4</sup> kein Instrument befand. Da man auf Bechtelers Relief einen Einblick in das Hauptschiff des Domes durch die Arkaden des Seitenschiffes hat, sieht man vom zweiten Geschoß der Musikempore, die uns vorrangig interessieren würde, nur sehr wenig. Man könnte vermuten, dass gerade das Thema des Reliefs, nämlich die ikonoklastische Plünderung des Domes, die Orgel selbst betroffen hat und dass sie vielleicht auch damals beschädigt wurde – was aber eine sehr unsichere Hypothese darstellt. Man könnte aber andererseits vermuten, dass die Szene der Auferstehung Christi, die am Hauptflügel des Orgelprospekts dargestellt war, für den Prediger Scultetius Grund genug war, die Orgel bei dem von ihm initiierten ikonoklastischen Angriff auf den Dom zu verschonen.

Es gibt eine weitere, ungefähre und sehr schematische Zeichnung des Hauptteils der Renaissanceorgel, aufbewahrt im Nationalarchiv in Prag, die den Stand der Arbeiten an der Orgel im Juni 1563 zeigt (Abb. 3).<sup>5</sup>

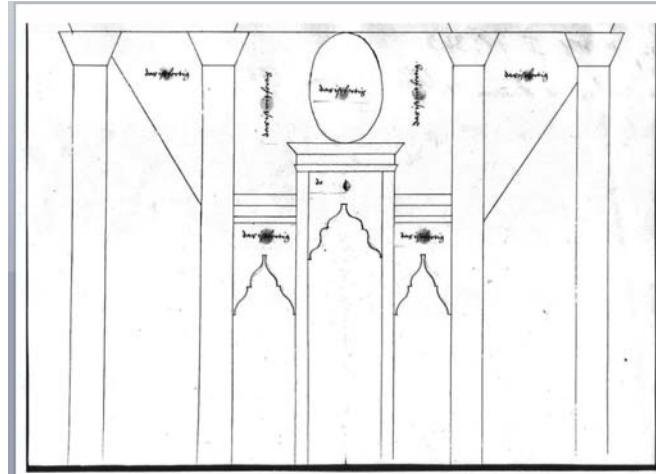


Abb. 3 Zeichnung der Orgel aus dem Jahre 1563.

Man sieht den Hauptteil des Orgelprospekts, gegliedert durch vier Säulen mit Kapitäl. Die mit Akanthusschnitzereien verzierten Teile oberhalb der Orgelpfeifen sind auf der Zeichnung mit Anmerkungen versehen, ob sie bereits fertig oder noch nicht fertig waren („das ist fertig“, „das ist nicht fertig“). Aus diesen Anmerkungen geht hervor, dass die Paneele im oberen Teil des mittleren Feldes noch nicht fertig waren. Diese summarische Zeichnung an sich wäre nicht so hilfreich, wenn man sie nicht mit einer wunderschönen Vedute von Salomon Kleiner mit der Aufschrift „*Schema mausolei regum Bohemiae, quod Pragae est in divi Viti*“ vergleichen könnte (Abb. 4 und 5).<sup>6</sup>



Abb. 4 Salomon Kleiner, *Schema mausolei regum Bohemiae, quod Pragae est in divi Viti*.



Der Grund für die Entstehung dieser Vedute war die Abbildung des Mausoleums der Habsburger. Man erkennt auch weitere Grabmäler im Dom, jenes der Familie Schlik, also ein aktuelles Werk Matthias Bernard Brauns, und die Grabstätte der Familie Lobkowitz an der Wand der Wenzelskapelle, ein weiteres Monument aus der Zeit um 1600. Was an dieser Abbildung überrascht, sind die Ungenauigkeiten in der Darstellung von Wolmuths Musikempore. Die Empore hat in Wirklichkeit ein Rippengewölbe, im Grundgeschoss mit auslaufenden Rippen, die bis zu den Nebenschiffen auslaufen. Auf der Vedute Salomon Kleiners sehen wir stattdessen ein barockes Gewölbe in der Form der böhmischen Kappe über Gurten. Es ist offensichtlich, dass sich der Künstler für die gotischen Formen des Domes, zu denen immer noch das Gewölbe Wolmuths aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert zählt, nicht begeistern konnte, da er z.B. auch das Parlersche Triforium, den Stolz der gotischen Architektur, als einfache toskanische Kolonnade darstellte.

Diese „künstlerische“ Ungenauigkeit Kleiners ist etwas schwierig zu verstehen, es scheint jedoch, dass der Künstler die Renaissance- und Barockformen und alle Grabmäler sehr treu abbildete, so dass wir dasselbe auch über den Teil vermuten können, der uns am meisten interessiert – die zweigeschossige Musikempore. Die Empore wird hier im ersten Stockwerk einschließlich der ausgerundeten Holzbrüstung und der kleinen Orgel, die im Jahre 1732 Erzbischof Josef Daniel Mayer von Mayern stiftete, detailliert und korrekt abgebildet.

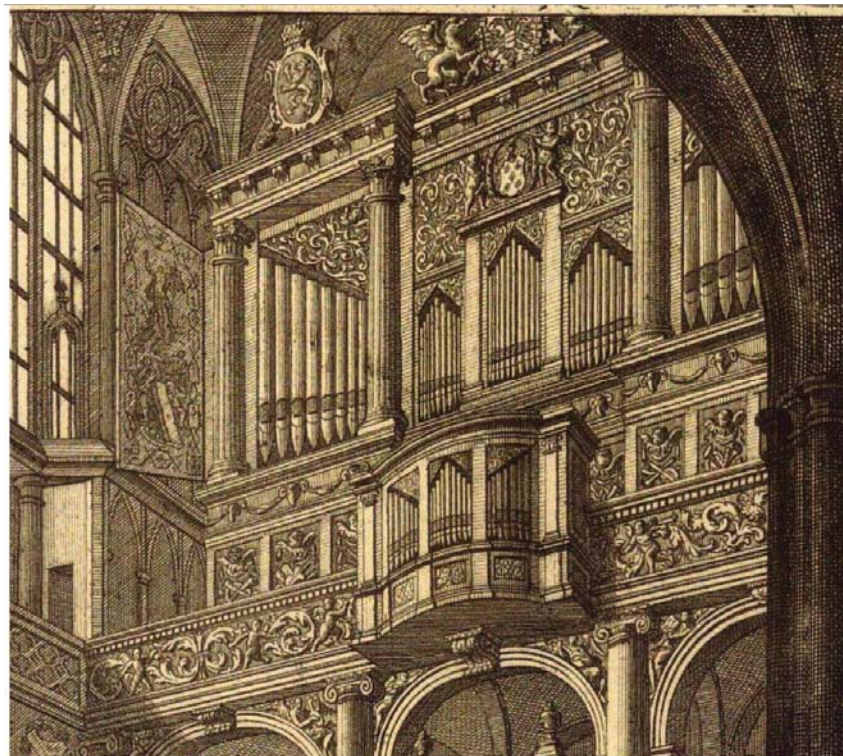


Abb. 5 Salomon Kleiner, *Schema mausolei regum Bohemiae, quod Pragae est in divi Viti* (Detail).

Im zweiten Geschoss mit voller Steinbrüstung mit einem Akanthusfries und Putten steht mittig das Rückpositiv, das wir auf Bechtelers Holzrelief identifizieren konnten, diesmal aber ohne Flügel zum Abschließen.

Den Orgelprospekt können wir mit der Zeichnung von 1563 vergleichen. Bis auf kleine Unterschiede in den Bögen des mittleren Teils ist die Gliederung des Prospektes identisch: Auf vier kannelierten Säulen oder Halbsäulen mit korinthischen Kapiteln ruht ein Gebälk mit dreiteiligem Architrav, einem Fries, auf dem glatte Metopen mit Triglyphenkonsolen wechseln, und einem abgestuften Gesims. In den Seitenfeldern sind die größten Pfeifen von Außen nach Innen abfallend gestaffelt, der mittlere Abschnitt hingegen gliedert sich in drei Pfeifenfelder, in denen die Pfeifen jeweils zur Mitte aufsteigend angebracht sind. Ein ovalförmiger Lorbeerkranz, gehalten von zwei Putten an der mittleren Achse des Prospektes, trägt ein Wappen mit fünf Gegenständen am silbernen Feld, das nicht identifiziert werden konnte.

Die Zeichnung von 1563 zeigt nicht die ganze Orgel – es fehlt insbesondere ein hoher Sockel, wo bei Kleiner ein Feld mit Musikinstrumenten, beflügelten Köpfen und einem Band mit Bockköpfen und Festons dargestellt ist. Solche Bockköpfe kennen wir unter anderem auch auf den Kapitellen in den Arkaden des Lustschlosses Belvedere im Königlichen Garten am Hradschin (Abb. 6).<sup>7</sup>



Abb. 6 Wandkapitell mit Ziegenbockköpfen, Sommerschloß der Königin Anna - Belvedere, Prager Burg.

Als oberer Abschluss der Orgel waren drei Wappen angebracht: das mittlere Wappen der Habsburger wird von Greifen gehalten, das südliche zeigt den böhmischen Löwen. Vom kunsthistorischen Gesichtspunkt ist die Abbildung des südlichen Orgelflügels vom größten Wert, an dem die Auferstehung Christi dargestellt ist. Christus mit gehobener rechter Hand hält die Siegesflagge in der Linken. Darunter sieht man das Grab, umgeben von Soldaten. Eine Bordüre umrahmt die Szene, die eher an das „Bandlwerk“ von Kleiners Zeit erinnert als an das „Beschlagwerk“ aus der Zeit von Francesco Terzio.

Die Darstellung des Flügels ist in einem Punkt etwas problematisch: Die vortretende Säulen oder Halbsäulen würden es erschweren, die Orgel zu schließen und so vor Staub zu schützen.

Dennoch müssen wir dankbar sein, dass uns diese Vedute Kleiners eine seltene historische Darstellung der Renaissanceorgel überliefert.

Noch einige Angaben zur Grösse des Instrumentes: Da wir die Disposition mit der Beschreibung der Register kennen („Pedal – Principal ganz durch – 32 Fuß“<sup>8</sup>), kann man mit einer Pfeifengröße um 10 m rechnen. Die Gesamthöhe der Kirche beträgt etwa 32 m, das zweite Stockwerk der Orgelempore reichte etwa bis zur Höhe von 15 m. Die verbleibende Höhe für die Orgel darüber betrug also ca. 17 m (bei einer Breite von 13 m), wobei dieser Bereich auf dem Stich Kleiners weitestgehend vom obersten Orgelgeschoß ausgefüllt gewesen zu sein scheint.

Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags ist es nicht möglich, sich zur Autorschaft der einzelnen Teile der Orgel oder zu ihrem Typus und Form zu äußern. Trotzdem möchte ich auf eine Parallele aufmerksam machen, die die Frage der Vorlagen teilweise angeht: Es handelt sich um eine hervorragende Orgel, die kurz vor dem Prager Instrument entstand, in der Mailänder Mauritius Kirche.<sup>9</sup> Wie bekannt, ist „*Francesco Terzio Bergamese*“ durch seine Abstammung und Schulung mit der Kunst Norditaliens verbunden und es ist ganz legitim, als Vergleich diese Orgel heranzuziehen, die Gian Giacomo Antegnati in den Jahren 1554 bis 1557 schuf (Abb. 7).



Abb. 7 Gian Giacomo Antegnati, Orgel in der Mauritiuskirche in Mailand.

Es handelt sich um ein Schrankinstrument, das im Inneren durch kannelierte Pfeiler in mehrere Felder gegliedert ist. Innerhalb dieser Gliederung sind die Pfeifen zur Mitte hin aufsteigend



gestaffelt. Der Reliefdekor ist ähnlich wie in Prag. Auf den Flügeln, die man schließen kann, sind große Gestalten der Hll. Barbara und Katharina dargestellt, umrahmt von einer Bordüre von ähnlichen Ausmaßen wie in Prag. Ein Kuriosum sind die Relieffiguren der halbnackten Sirenen aus der Odysseus-Legende, die deutlich belegen, wie stark die Beziehung zu antiken Themen war, die es möglich machte, solche Motive an einer Orgel in einer christlichen Kirche zu verwenden.

Die Erforschung der Musikempore und der Renaissanceorgel im St. Veits-Dom in Prag, die für unser Wissen über die künstlerischen Aktivitäten des Prager Statthalters Erzherzogs Ferdinands II. von Tirol von gleicher Bedeutung wie z.B. die Erforschung des Areals mit dem Namen „Neuer Thiergarten Stern“ mit dem einzigartigen Lusthaus, oder der Ausstattung des Königlichen Gartens auf der Prager Burg (mit Springbrunnen, Fischkalter usw.) sind, ist noch nicht abgeschlossen. Diese Ausführungen waren nun ein erster Schritt in diese Richtung.

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## Abbildungen

Abb. 1, 6, 7 Photo Author

Abb. 2 Photo Author

Abb. 3 Nationalarchiv in Prag.

Abb. 4, 5 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien.



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<sup>1</sup> Zur Prager Orgel siehe vor allem Quoika 1952; einen guten Überblick, Hilbert 1909, pp. 1–17, 41–47 und Hilbert, 1924, pp. 140–46; Muchka 2009, pp. 100–09. Bibliographie siehe Daněk 2009, pp. 142–55.

<sup>2</sup> Diesen Begriff benützten auch die Architekten und Künstler—siehe die Regesten im Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses—Kaiser Ferdinand I (Reg. 4284), Hans Tirol (Reg. 4282), Bonifaz Wohlmüt (Reg. 4288) und viele andere.

<sup>3</sup> Zitiert nach Quoika 1952 (siehe Anm. 1), p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Daněk 2006, p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> Sign. NÚ, ČDKM IV, P 191 I/Blatt 347.

<sup>6</sup> Ich bin meinem Kollegen Štěpán Vácha für die Bereitstellung einer Reproduktion der Vedute Salomon Kleiners aus der Nationalbibliothek in Wien sehr dankbar.

<sup>7</sup> In einer Nachricht vom 13. Mai 1563 informiert Francesco Terzio, der mit der Bemalung der Orgel beauftragt war, den Kaiser, dass die Orgel mit Konsolen, Blüten, Rosetten, Bockköpfen, Kapitellen geschmückt wird. Siehe Reg. 4346 '[...] *Primo le mensole che sono numero 22. Item rose e fiorini numero 18,. Item teste d'ariete numero 9. Item capitelli numero 4, i quali da me sono ingessiati, rasciati, et puliti et similmente le sue base.*' Sehr wahrscheinlich handelt es sich bei den Bocksköpfen um eine Allusion auf den Orden vom Goldenen Vlies und auf die Habsburger, siehe dazu Holzschuh-Hofer 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Siehe Quoika 1952 (zitiert in Anm. 1), p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Chiesa di S. Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore.

# Palaces on the Edge of the Atlantic

## The Architectural Reformation and the Space Ritualization of the Portuguese Royal Residences during the Reign of Philip I of Habsburg (1580–1598)

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*Portugal is mine because I inherited it, bought it and conquered it!*

D. Philip I of Portugal

Four hundred years after the death of D. Philip I of Portugal (Philip II of Spain, 1527|1580–1598) we have still not clearly recognized all the major architectural and artistic campaigns promoted in the Portuguese royal palaces during his reign. Despite the full-scale biographies dedicated to the Habsburg king that portray him as deeply connected with imperial expansion and religious fanaticism, he must also be seen as a profoundly devoted patron of the arts, a dedicated *Kunstfreund*.<sup>2</sup>

D. Philip I, the Prudent, was son of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), from the Austrian House of Habsburg, and queen Elisabeth (1503–1539), princess of the Portuguese House of Avis. After several political movements he inherited part of the vast Habsburg Empire. As hereditary prince he received the Netherlands and all the Spanish possessions, which included the Italian states of Naples, Milan, Sardinia and Sicily, and the French region of Burgundy. By marriage, he was briefly king-consort of England and in 1580, through *de iure sanguinis* but chosen by the divine will,<sup>3</sup> he inherited the throne of the Portuguese kingdom and vast overseas domains, including the territories of America, Africa and Asia, an empire on which the sun never set. Under his rule, the Habsburg Empire in the West reached the height of its influence and power.

In order to consolidate his political position, after the acclamation ceremony at Tomar Courts, on 16 April 1581, the monarch decided to observe and maintain all the vowed national sovereign privileges and traditional prerogatives. So, as had been predicted in *Tomar's charter* signed at the Palace of Almeirim on 20 March 1580, the king would keep the same legislative rights, with the exclusive right of national nomination for administrative positions; economic rights, with a currency of his own; religious rights, with the appointment of innate bishops; and cultural rights, with the native language. Despite his deep suffering because of the queen's death, during the acclamation

ceremony D. Philip I wore a white and gilded brocade suit to demonstrate to his new subjects the continuity of the Portuguese protocol royal rites.<sup>4</sup>

According to some Spanish and Portuguese Golden Age authors, Lisbon was the eyes of the Iberian Peninsula and one of the most eclectic, economic and crowded cities of Europe at the time. It was in any case the perfect capital for the Western Habsburg Empire. Curiously, in 1580 one of the worst fears of the dual monarchy opponents was the suspicion that the king wanted to establish the Empire's capital at Europe's tail and reinforce Lisbon as the utmost economic city of the world, combining all the Atlantic and Indic commercial routes.<sup>5</sup> Obviously, the king was not going to neglect the geographic potential of the Lisbon ports for the military campaigns, since it was from them that he prepared numerous armed expeditions, in particular against England, as his successors did too, the most famous but also the most disastrous episode being *La Armada Invencible* in 1588.

Raised with a deep religious faith but with an education firmly in the spirit of the Renaissance, the monarch, as he had done in other domains, undertook an enormous architectural campaign in Portugal, erecting or renewing important public infrastructures such as bridges, aqueducts, fortresses, and many others. He also made large sums of silver available to proceed with the renovation of some emblematic convents and monasteries, especially those which were related with the foundation of the kingdom.<sup>6</sup> In 1590 the marquis of Velada, Gómez Dávila (1541–1616), described the three main passions of the king, “his own personal trinity,” as architecture, gardens, and hunting.<sup>7</sup> These were indeed passions that he could enjoy to the full in the Portuguese royal residences. Determined to restructure the Portuguese kingdom to his own image, the king would spend more than two years as the powerful ruler of the vast Western Habsburg Empire in Portugal in order to reorganize it in accordance with the requirements for the administration of his global domains and his concern for political centralization.

In Lisbon the monarchs had two principal residences: the 13th-century Alcazar Palace (*Paço da Alcáçova*), on the urban hill, and a second, early 16th-century one located along the banks of the Tagus river embankments, the River Palace (so called *Paço da Ribeira*) [Fig. 1].<sup>8</sup> Probably dazzled with the epics of medieval knights that led him to his sad adventure in North Africa, D. Sebastian of Portugal (1554|1557–1578) had shown preference for the fortified residence (more for its suitability than its exquisiteness<sup>9</sup>), which he reformed. For that reason he relegated the River Palace to the background, and it entered into a certain material decay, already having been affected by two earthquakes in the 16th century. The medieval appearance of the River Palace, still in the Portuguese late Gothic, so-called *Manuelino* style, was visible from the exterior in its different building masses, a condition that determined the complexity and disorder of its interiors and exteriors (like the Alcazar of Madrid), especially if compared with the rigid frames of the monastery-palace of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.<sup>10</sup>

Although D. Philip I soon recognized the impossibility of living regularly in Portugal, after some personal observations about the material situation of the Portuguese Crown residences he promptly decided to promote an intensive program of architectural renovation and aesthetic enrichment, not only of the major royal palace, but also of the other countryside residences. Aiming at a pomp and visibility combined with the sober and austere mood proper to the Counter-Reformation, he also established new court ceremonial protocols, both civil and religious, for the

public and private palatine dependencies. Once more, art patronage would become vital to emphasizing the political project of *repraesentatio majestatis* and so to reinforcing adherence to the Spanish Habsburg monarchy on these regions on the edge of the Atlantic.



Fig. 1 Lisbon in 1572 with the River Palace (below) and the Alcazar Palace (above)

The truth, however, is that the monarch started his embellishment campaigns on the Portuguese residences before even being acclaimed as a sovereign. In November 1580, the duke of Alba, Fernando de Toledo y Pimentel (1507–1582), already in Lisbon after the invasion of the kingdom, sent to the king the plans of the royal residences to prepare for his arrival at Lisbon, which was probably carried out by the minister Miguel de Moura (1538–1600).<sup>11</sup> After that he sent also the building plans for the Salvaterra de Magos countryside palace made by the Italian Filippo Terzi (1520–1597), who was also to be responsible for the late designs of the Palace of Almeirim. The plan for Lisbon alcazar was made by Giovanni Battista Antonelli (1527–1588), another Italian military engineer working on this major reform plan.<sup>12</sup>

In his letters, the duke of Alba, who was the principal chamberlain of Royal Household and the first Portuguese viceroy nominee, describes both Lisbon residences. Concerning the palace erected near the river, he mentioned that it was a gloomy house, "sad as a prison" and that the second one, in the castle, was too cold to spend the winter periods.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, both residences were definitely not suitable for occupation by the King's Majesty!



Curiously, some years earlier, in 1571, the Portuguese humanist Francisco de Holanda (c.1518–1585) had already declared that Lisbon lacked one decent royal residence, stressing further the absence of a resilient fortress to keep the city safe.<sup>14</sup> Could this be the reason for the regular absence of the king D. Sebastian from the capital ten years before D. Philip I acclamation?<sup>15</sup> Besides, the cardinal-king D. Henry of Portugal (1512|1578–1580) refused to live in the main royal palace after his acclamation, thus creating a situation that certainly did not contribute to the cause of building maintenance during both reigns.

So it was that as early as 14 January 1581 the monarch instructed Duarte Castelo Branco (c.1540–?), count of Sabugal, to undertake a survey of all Portuguese royal residences projects, mainly the Lisbon River Palace and the seasonal palaces of Almeirim and Salvaterra de Magos, with the aim of lodging him.<sup>16</sup> In order to give the building greater comfort and better internal arrangements, the monarch called upon Filippo Terzi to coordinate the project's execution, aided by the Portuguese master builder Álvaro Pires, both under the administrative supervision of the count of Sabugal.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the opinion of several authors, we cannot today be sure who was the architect that drew the architectural plan of the palace, whether it was the Italian Filippo Terzi, or whether the Spanish Juan de Herrera (1530–1597) made a contribution of his own. Furthermore, the name of another Spanish architect, Francisco de Mora (1553–1610), appears to have been involved in a second phase at the beginnings of the 17th century.<sup>18</sup> Actually, Herrera had come up to Portugal with the mission of overseeing the installation of the king's embassy in Tomar's Courts and preparing the official entrance in Lisbon,<sup>19</sup> but he returned immediately to Spain to take over the numerous royal architectural projects.<sup>20</sup> Our position is that Terzi, a Bolognese military engineer at the service of the Portuguese Crown since 1577 and later nominated major architect-engineer of the reign, projected and directed himself the several campaigns under the close proximity of the king and his royal architect.<sup>21</sup>

On the basis of the letters sent to his young daughters, Isabel Clara Eugenia (1566–1633) and Catalina Micaela (1567–1597), during the *Royal Journey of Portugal Succession*, it appears that between 1581 and 1583 the monarch made several appointments related to the palatine residences, such as Lisbon, Sintra, Almeirim and Xabregas.<sup>22</sup> Concerning the Lisbon official residence, which had been erected as the new economic and financial centre by the *spices king* D. Emmanuel I (1469|1495–1521), grandfather of D. Philip I, near the shipbuilding harbor complex (the *Ribeira das Naus*) and the Indian and Mine Commerce Houses (*Casas da Mina* and *India*), D. Philip I described it as a huge building with large corridors, an exotic and delightful interior garden, and several balconies with magnificent views over the city. Nevertheless, despite the curiosity that was evident, he points out that it was carelessly organized internally.<sup>23</sup>

The available sources lead us to believe that Terzi met the monarch in Elvas in January 1581 to discuss the architectural plans personally. The king specified the refurbishment of the residential wings, including the royal chapel dedicated to the apostle of the Orient, Saint Thomas, and elevated to patriarchal status<sup>24</sup> during the reign of D. John V (1689|1706–1750). In the subsequent April the Italian architect informed the king that the works had been interrupted due to lack of money.<sup>25</sup>

As the king later wrote to his daughters, the works were almost finished before the official entry of D. Philip I into the Lisbon Palace<sup>26</sup> on 29 June, preceded by a magnificent *joyeuse entrée* with fifteen triumphal arches planned by Herrera.<sup>27</sup> However, on the occasion of the king's secret visit to the palace four days before, in the presence of his nephew and future viceroy, the monarch saw the progress of the works and stressed that the building still revealed some internal spatial disorder, perhaps on account of the large size of the residential structure, which was a reason for the excessive expenses that he had not anticipated. Up until 27 August 1581, the Crown had already spent 40,000 *réis*, the Portuguese currency of the time, within the maximum amount of 200,000.<sup>28</sup>

After the elder resident members of the royal Avis court were evicted, the Habsburg king manifested his intention of giving a larger unit to the palatine monument, reorganizing its interior and facades according to the classical and austere principles of Mannerism. But the major architectural work was the turret construction at the extreme end of the palace complex alongside the river and over the old bulwark. The *escorialesco* palatine turret [Fig. 2], with direct access from the river, was covered by an octagonal lead dome and had on its first two floors an arms room and, as we know from a 16th-century drawing and a description written in 1619, the artillery warehouse.<sup>29</sup>

Above these, between other rooms and stairs, was the royal library; on the last floor, occupying the entire area, was the throne chamber, also known as the ambassador's room.<sup>30</sup> The main connecting corridor between the palatine residential areas and the turret, a late medieval colonnade with several arches and balconies, was closed. These first works were completed before 1598.<sup>31</sup>

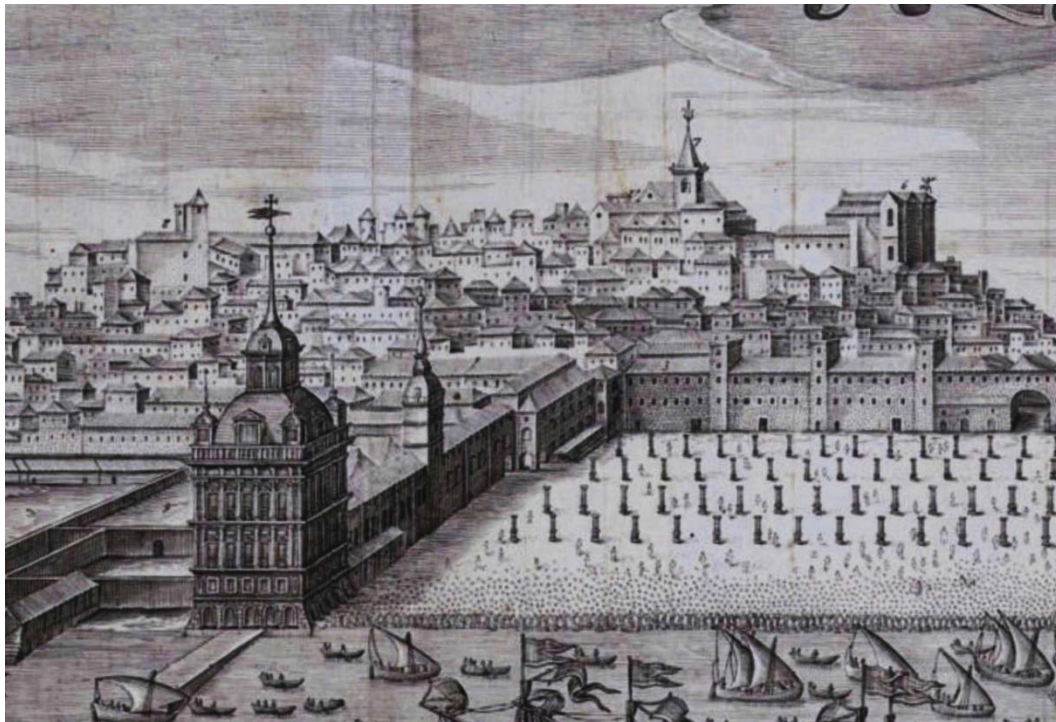


Fig. 2 The River Palace after D. Philip I's intervention. Detail from an engraving published in João Baptista Lavanha, *Viagem da catholica real magestade del Rey D. Filipe II* (Madrid, 1622).

Preceding the ambassador's room was another space devoted to the public staging of royal power, the *Tudescos'* room,<sup>32</sup> which accommodated the German royal guard of halberdiers serving in close proximity to the monarch. It was a multifunctional great chamber where the most important ceremonies took place, and where the king, and viceroys and governors later on, gathered the court, acclaimed their sovereignty and made their oaths,<sup>33</sup> as happened on 30 January 1583, when prince Philip, future D. Philip II of Portugal (Philip III of Spain, 1578|1598–1621) was sworn in as heir to the Portuguese throne.<sup>34</sup> It is obvious that all these architectural changes would leave their mark on the adjacent urban environment, especially around Commerce Square (*Praça do Comércio/Terreiro do Paço*).

In a brilliant political move D. Philip I had the last two Portuguese kings reburied in the Monastery of Belem before abandoning the kingdom in February 1583, taking with him the Portuguese Council. As his viceroy the monarch appointed his nephew the archduke Albert of Austria (1559–1621), who was assisted in government by a group of statesmen.<sup>35</sup> Having been in Portugal since the end of 1580, and after having assumed the reins of government two years later, the archduke would continue with the embellishment works desired by his uncle at the royal palaces until 1593, the year in which he was called to Madrid.<sup>36</sup>

Even though out of the kingdom, the monarch followed closely the works on the Crown palaces that had been his project from the beginning, as he had during the period he was among us, with the construction of the great monastery-palace of El Escorial. From this moment onwards, the royal residence of Lisbon would be a public image of the king's majestic power and the representation of his authority, but an empty palace without the presence of his legal representative ... *regis imago rex est*.<sup>37</sup> In fact, as the testimony of Inácio Ferreira (16th century) suggests, with the king's departure Lisbon became almost a *widow city*.<sup>38</sup>

The court established by the viceroy in Lisbon was a princely one but it was *domestic* in character because the most important noblemen went with the king to Madrid and the others went to their countryside domains, where they promoted minor *villager courts*, as the work of Francisco Rodrigues Lobo (1580–1622) entitled *Courts in the Village* suggests. In accordance with Portuguese royal ceremonial, it was also in this great chamber that the king's receptions and private and public banquets were held, as happened later during the visit of D. Philip II in 1619. Although committed to respecting the Portuguese court rites, the monarch would change them, introducing a new set of ritualized but rigid gestures to symbolically reinforce the king's image and person.

In 1593, after the absence of the viceroy, D. Philip I issued the *Kingdom Governors Regimentation*. In this royal ordinance the King established a new court protocol, which stipulated rigid rules of procedure and planned the demand for a hieratical distribution of the royal power spaces, reducing the use of the palatine areas, but emphasizing the representation of the governor in public.<sup>39</sup> After all, the governors were the monarch's agents, but were not the king himself.

Francisco Porrás de la Cámara, who participated in the *Journey of Lisbon*, a Sevillian embassy prepared by Juan Núñez de Illescas at the beginning of the 1590s, gives us particular descriptions of Lisbon palace interiors, which he describes as being "great and worthy of the greatness and majesty." It was probably in the main reception apartment that the chronicler watched a theatrical comedy, in

the presence of an eccentric court. In accordance with the ceremonial, the archduke was at one end of the room seated on the throne under the canopy, surrounded by wealthy aristocrats, illustrious ambassadors and exotic jesters.<sup>40</sup>

Regarding the organization of space, we are acquainted with the existence of two major intercommunicating courtyards. One of them led to the royal audience and chancellery chambers, and the other one to the governmental departments and also to the royal chapel.<sup>41</sup> Near the most private areas were located the gardens – the *alegreses* –<sup>42</sup> which were described by the king himself in 1581 as a “very pleasant garden, embellished with colorful little tiles and perfumed by many different trees and flowers.”<sup>43</sup> In the north and east extremes of the palatine complex, facing the great New Street (*Rua Nova*) and the major square (*Terreiro do Paço*), were the housing areas for the Royal Family and the courtiers. This was where the empress Mary of Austria (1528–1603), mother of the archduke Albert of Austria, stayed as her son’s guest when she visited Lisbon in 1582.<sup>44</sup>

Unfortunately, iconographic sources illustrating only the external facade of the palace are rare, though when considering the interiors Porras de la Cámara noted the magnificent marble and jasper architectural structures.<sup>45</sup> The global vastness of the Habsburg Empire facilitated the acquisition of the most refined materials, which were transformed by the most reputed artists: the marble being from the Portuguese mines of Estremoz, the jasper from the Spanish mines of Osma or Espeja, the exotic woods from the Indian or Brazilian forests, the works in gold or lapis lazuli from Milan, and the extravagant damask tissues from Granada.<sup>46</sup>

Nevertheless, there still exists a rare documentary description of the iconographic program of the ornamentation in the throne chamber. Its composition illustrated several qualities and virtues of the Habsburg monarch: not only greatness and magnificence, but also devoutness and prudence, which were also considered necessary to a ruler of such a great empire.<sup>47</sup>

The decoration program displayed an ingenious mythical and historical succession of themes, which were depicted in thirty-seven paintings as a testimony to the vastness and diversity of the king domains. On the top of the roof were the Royal Arms of the Habsburg monarch and above it a globe with the city of Lisbon integrated within a map of Hispania flanked by several allegorical signs of the zodiac and enriched with distinguished Latin mottos. Despite his profound piety, the monarch was represented as the Greek hero Hercules (or might it be Ulysses, the mythic founder of Lisbon city *Ulissipone*?) in the presence of the major Olympic gods, especially those who were associated with the ocean, in a theme also explored on the triumphal arches erected in Lisbon in 1581.<sup>48</sup>

The paintings attributed to the Italian Tiburcio Spannocchi (1541–c.1606), who is generally considered a better painter than he was an engineer,<sup>49</sup> were directed by Gonçalo Pirez in Lisbon in the year 1590. Started during the government of the viceroy, these decorative works remained there until 1593. In fact, when Albert of Austria was already in Madrid, he received other architectural plans of the royal palace in Lisbon that prove that the artistic campaign was being continued.<sup>50</sup>

Despite some improvement works during the next decades, we believe that the palatine structure, which acted as the symbolic presence of the House of Habsburg in Portugal, did not



change in its essence until the major renovation during the reign of the Portuguese sun king D. João V in the 18th-century.

Although we do not know in detail the progress of the residential works, we do know that the chapel was finished in the middle of October 1581. Located near the king's private apartments – the house of the king being next to the house of God<sup>51</sup> – the chapel was renovated during this period but with some ancient structures being preserved, such as the private galleries in which the monarch could attend Mass and which were enshrined in their full intimacy.<sup>52</sup>

Renewing the building and adorning it with devotional images and precious relics was one of the king's major religious passions. Now it was necessary to update the royal church institution. In the absence of a proper, well-organized ceremonial and musicians of quality, the king decided to intensify the religious observances. Preserving initially the Bourgogne traditional rites,<sup>53</sup> the king first hired a body of musicians including such figures as the Spanish court organist Hernando de Cabezón (1541–1602)<sup>54</sup>, son of the famous Antonio de Cabezón (1510–1566), and then ordered the preparation of the first ritual statutes for the chapel royal.

Printed in January 1592 under the supervision of the major chaplain, Bishop Jorge de Ataíde (1535–1611), the new ceremonial was twenty chapters long and established a corps of ninety-two officials, both religious and non-religious. In addition to a battalion of chaplains and acolytes (thirty and twenty respectively), there were around thirty musicians: twenty-four singers, two organists, two bassoonists and one cornet-player.<sup>55</sup> We should not forget that the Golden Age of Spanish music occurred during the reign of D. Philip I, when the court music reached its highest splendor in Europe,<sup>56</sup> a Catholic Europe defended and represented by his royal person.

Described as a little cathedral, the royal chapel was a privileged institution inside of the royal institution; and as such it was a highly hierarchical space in the framework of the king's public appearance and ritualization.<sup>57</sup> Among those who preached here in 1582 was one of the most eloquent preachers of the time, the Spanish Dominican Luis of Granada (1504–1588), the same friar who had originally considered D. Philip I's acclamation to the Portuguese throne illegitimate!<sup>58</sup>

But all this begs one question in particular: What was the reason for the reorganization of the chapel ritual procedures? One clue may be found in a letter sent to the count of Olivares Enrique de Guzmán y Ribera (1540–1607), in which Juan de Silva (1528–1601), the Spanish ambassador who became the 4th count of Portalegre by marriage, criticizes, after the detachment from the king's Court, the royal chapel for its peculiarly *vain* ceremonials. Could it be that the king had wanted to piously subvert the Divine Cult to his royal condition in Court at that time?<sup>59</sup>

Before the threat from the English navy, especially from 1585, the military architects Giacomo Palearo (c.1520–1586) and Leonardo Torriani (c.1560–1628) were given the mission of renovating the entire Portuguese network of coastline fortresses. The ecclesiastical historian Baltasar Porreño (1569–1639), nephew of the architect Francisco de Mora, testifies that the king was also responsible for the renovation of the ancient Lisbon alcazar and all the Tagus river fortresses, providing them with new military architectural structures and artillery mechanisms.<sup>60</sup>

As in Spain, the royal countryside residences were located near the capital in fertile plains with pleasant forests amply stocked with game and were plentifully fitted with gardens and fountains. These provided the king with the main reasons for his regular visits: he came in search of amusement and pleasure in hunting and equestrian sports. Curiously, these leisure activities were a little bit different from the city ones, such as the violent bullfighting or the frightening inquisitorial *autos da Fé*.

We have found no documentation of work being done on the palatine residences of Santarém during Philip's reign, despite the bad material condition of both buildings. According to some documents, in January 1531 the marquis of Tarifa revealed in one of his letters that both palaces were ruined, scattered on the ground. Another source dating from February 1622 tells us that those buildings still remained in the same material condition,<sup>61</sup> even though Isidro Velazquez (16th century) reports having stayed at his palace!<sup>62</sup> But why is that D. Philip II of Portugal/III of Spain was accommodated in the house of the count of Tarouca when he visited Santarém few years before in October 1619?<sup>63</sup>

When one considers the events of 1580, when the village of Santarém gave political and military support for D. Antonio's acclamation as king of Portugal, one can understand the king not promoting any palace restoration. On 19 June 1580 D. Antonio (1531–1595), prior of Crato and the illegitimate son of the prince D. Louis (1506–1555), one of the most young descendants of D. Emmanuel I, was popularly acclaimed in Santarém, that is to say, in the same village where he established the resistance base until the defeat of his troops in the Battle of Alcântara, near the Portuguese capital.<sup>64</sup> It is also notable that when the prior of Crato received the king's ambassador Gutiérrez de Valencia in March 1580, he was lodged at the palace of D. Antonio de Castro, after a first stop at the local Dominican monastery. According to the diplomatic account, D. Antonio was in a residence surrounded by his noble supporters, in a *palatine* environment that was reminiscent of a king's court.<sup>65</sup> And then, when D. Philip I, during his expedition from Tomar to Lisbon, stopped for a few days in Santarém between 2 and 6 June 1581, he was poorly received by the people.<sup>66</sup> The king could certainly not have had good memories of this village, as a result of which, instead of trying to eradicate the symbolic presence of D. Antonio, he preferred to despise it.<sup>67</sup>

Considered one of the most favorite winter residences of 16th-century Portuguese rulers, the countryside Palace of Almeirim, near Santarém, was the scene, on 12 May 1543, of the marriage by proxy between D. Philip I – represented by his ambassador in Lisbon, Luiz Sarmiento de Mendoza (1492–1556) – and the Portuguese princess D. Maria Manuela (1527–1545), daughter of the king D. John III (1502|1521–1557) and the Austrian D. Catarina of Habsburg (1507–1578), the prince's aunt.<sup>68</sup> And it was also where the cardinal-king D. Henrique gathered the Courts to choose D. Philip I as the legal successor to the throne on 11 January 1580, and also where he was buried.<sup>69</sup> In fact, the palace should have been very special to the king, because it had been the scene of several important moments in his life.

The first time that he visited the residence was 6 June 1581, with the purpose of becoming acquainted with the good quality of the building and the nearby game reserves.<sup>70</sup> One year later, the king returned there with his sister, the empress Mary of Austria and his son, the prince Albert.<sup>71</sup>

Once more, we know neither when the works, which were supervised by the architect Álvaro Pires and the gardener Rodrigo Álvares, started, nor the dimensions of the construction work.<sup>72</sup> Commissioned by the prince D. Louis, father of the rebel *Prior* of Crato, the Palace of Salvaterra de Magos (Fig. 3) was also part of the countryside residences network where the royal family dedicated itself to the hunt and pleasures of the garden. Leaving from Almeirim, the king arrived at Salvaterra de Magos on Thursday 8 April 1581.<sup>73</sup>

In 1589, D. Philip I disposed of an annual budget of 80,000 for architectural building and gardening maintenance, which was later confirmed in 1595. In 1581 the choice fell on the palace gardener Rodrigo Álvares, the Portuguese disciple of the royal gardener the Italian Jerónimo de Algara, who worked at the palatine gardens of Aranjuez.<sup>74</sup> However, the character of the monarch's intervention is not known because the building was later rebuilt after the earthquake of 1755. Now all that remains of the original building is the royal chapel, where we can be sure that the king prayed.



Fig. 3 The Palace of Salvaterra de Magos in the 1740s (detail from an ex voto painting)

In 1581, D. Philip I ordered Giovanni Battista Antonelli to complete the Tagus river navigational course, already started in the Spanish river Manzanares by Juan Bautista de Toledo (c.1515–1567), with the purpose of connecting the two Iberian capitals: Lisbon and Madrid.<sup>75</sup> However, the order proved impossible to fulfill and the project linked only population centers where

royal residences were located, such as Toledo and Aranjuez on Spanish territory, or Almeirim and Salvaterra de Magos on the Portuguese side.<sup>76</sup> He also made some wonderful observations about the gardens and fountains of the countryside Palace of Sintra and visited the Palace of Xabregas when he arrived in Lisbon.<sup>77</sup> But neither in the case of the country palace of Sintra nor in that of Xabregas are we at present aware that he made any material intervention.

With a privileged view over the Mondego river, the ancient Alcazar of Coimbra was the oldest seats and had been one of the main royal residences of the Portuguese kings for more than four centuries, from the 12th to the 15th century. Since then it had fulfilled the role of a secondary royal residence that was substantially restored to make it more comfortable; finally, it was made the home of the University of Coimbra after its final accommodation in the city, in 1537.

Going on with his policy of creating a vigorous network of royal residences for itinerancy use by the royal family throughout the Portuguese kingdom, on September 30, 1583, D. Philip I, already in Spain, sent Manuel de Quadros (?–1593), the future Bishop of Guarda, to demand the handing over of the palatine alcazar to the university institution and the construction of new buildings for academic purposes.<sup>78</sup>

The official academic visitor called for the temporary handing over of the building, reclaimed it, and suggested the construction of a new one nearby.<sup>79</sup> Beyond this measure, there is also the question of the king's punishment of the scholars who gave ideological support to D. Catherine of Braganza (1540–1614) and then military support to D. António as legitimate heirs to Portuguese throne three years earlier.

Faced by the substantial costs and inconvenience of such an enterprise, the University wrote to the king pleading for the royal building to be put at its disposition. The monarch replied to this petition on 30 September 1583, stressing the necessity of restoring the palatine residence for the reason that he wished to have there a decent dwelling for himself, as he planned to visit it soon, as well as a place to stay for his successors. In reality, the king also had a special connection with this fortified palace, because it was where first wife D. Maria Manuela had been born.

That this process lasted almost the entire reign of D. Philip I is clear from the fact that on 17 May 1597, through a royal decree, he eventually sold the building to the University for 30,000 *cruzados* of silver.<sup>80</sup> Known from 16 October of that year as the School's Palace (*Paço das Escolas*), as it is still known today, the academic institution kept some of the royal building prerogatives, such as: the chapel's honorable royal title with all ceremonial rites and immunity from episcopal jurisdiction; the alcazar prison, reserved only for scholars; and the royal guard of halberdiers with their traditional garments and weapons.<sup>81</sup>

But even though D. Philip I and his successors did not bear a grudge against the University of Coimbra, the academic institution, by contrast, was after 1640 to exclude the three Habsburg sovereigns from the school gallery of royal portraits ...



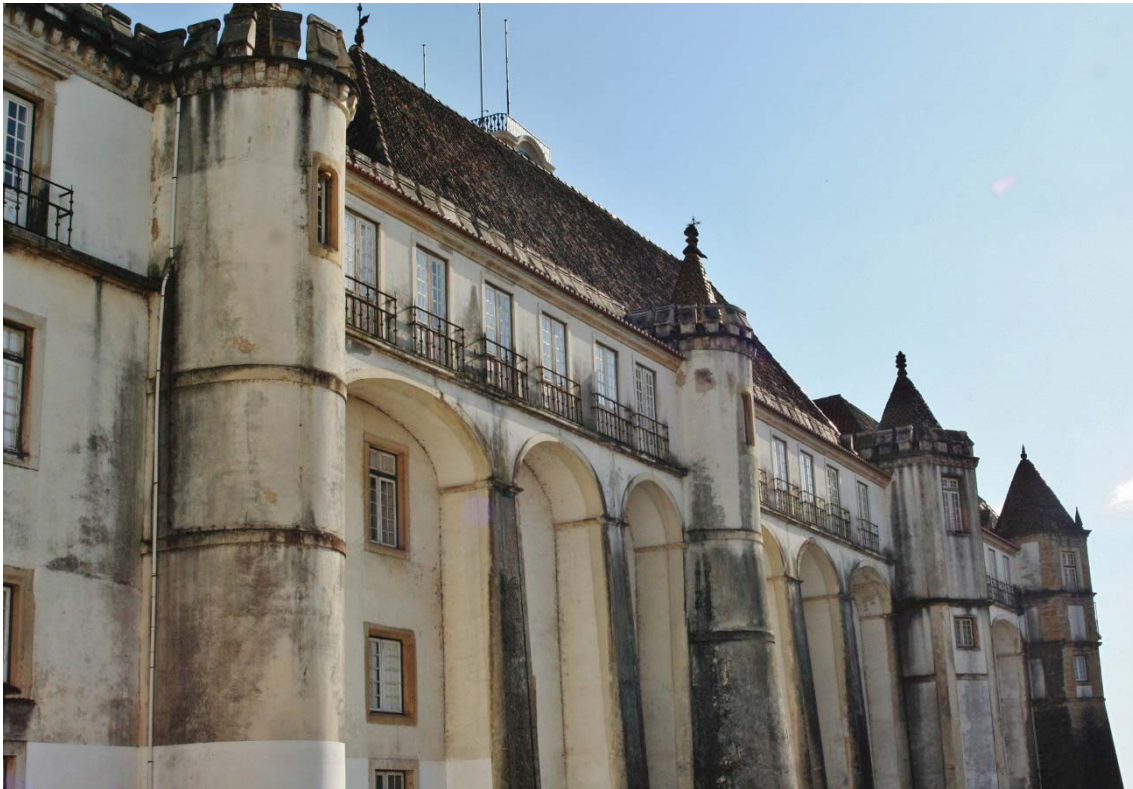


Fig. 4 The Alcazar of Coimbra in the 16th century (detail of the north façade)

\* \* \*

In this summarized essay we have made assertions about the investment made on the main palace in Lisbon, which was D. Philip I's major patronage campaign in the capital if we exclude the majestic construction of the Monastery of Saint Vincent also in Lisbon, about the renovation of the other countryside residences in Almeirim and Salvaterra de Magos, and about the requisitioning of the Coimbra alcazar.

Unfortunately we don't know the accurate dimension or the direct results of the artistic campaigns prepared in those monuments with the purpose of making them more comfortable and more acceptable to the taste and to the political image of a devout, determined and exquisite sovereign. In fact, not only were new works carried out at the River Palace at the end of the reign of his successor, in order for him to be received in Lisbon in 1619, but the works carried out in the following decades in the reign of D. John V were dramatically erased by the earthquake of 1755.

Under the supervision of Italian architects based in Portugal, the ambitious refurbishment program was all part of the king's strategy of legitimizing his rights to the throne and enhancing his powerful image in accordance with the Portuguese palaces, which were places of identity and political unity of real ostentation and royal celebration. These majestic p(a)laces were in any case political instruments, intended to reflect the extension of the power of the king.

Curiously, the main events of the Restoration of Independence, which put an end to the Habsburg Dynasty in Portugal's domains, took place in the Lisbon River Palace. This royal residence on the edge of the Atlantic was where the duchess of Mantua, Margarida of Savoy (1589–1655), Portuguese vicereine between 1634 and 1640, was detained; where her faithful secretary Miguel de Vasconcelos (1590–1640) was thrown from a palace window; and where finally the duke of Braganza was acclaimed king of Portugal as D. John IV (1604 | 1640–1656).

Finally, everything ended where it had begun ... in the palace!

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## Illustrations

Fig. 1 Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1598.

Fig. 2 João Baptista Lavanha, *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del Rey D. Filipe II N.S. ao Reyno de Portugal E rellação do solene recebimento que nelle se lhe fez S. Magestade a mandou escrever por João Baptista Lavanha sev cronista mayor*, 1622.

Fig. 3 Joaquim Manuel da Silva Correia, *O Paço Real de Salvaterra de Magos*, 1989.

Fig. 4 Photo author, 2011.



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- <sup>1</sup> The Humanities Research Networking Programmes from the European Science Foundation, by conceding a short visit grant, allowed us to make a public presentation of this essay at the international meeting *The Habsburg and their Courts in Europe (1400–1700). Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism*, organized at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, from 7 to 10 December 2011. We would like to express our gratitude for all the ESF financial aid and the logistical support provided by the PALATIUM Research Networking Programme steering committee Professors Herbert Karner, Ingrid Ciulisová, Krista De Jonge, Bernardo García García, Pieter Martens and Nuno Senos.
- <sup>2</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 275.
- <sup>3</sup> Velazquez 1583, f. 19 v.
- <sup>4</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 19. D. Filipe I 1999, p. 22.
- <sup>5</sup> Bouza Álvarez 1994, pp. 75, 80, 82.
- <sup>6</sup> Like the Convent of São Vicente de Fora, in Lisbon, or the Convent of Christ, in Tomar, to name but two.
- <sup>7</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 247.
- <sup>8</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 74, note 40.
- <sup>9</sup> Pimentel 1991, p. 238.
- <sup>10</sup> Filipe I 1999, p. 63, note 13. Senos 2002, pp. 8, 70.
- <sup>11</sup> Moura 1840, pp. 129-130.
- <sup>12</sup> Correia 1989, p. 25.
- <sup>13</sup> Senos 2002, p. 69. Kubler 1988, p. 120. Velasquez 1583, f. 65.
- <sup>14</sup> Bouza Álvarez 1994, p. 85.
- <sup>15</sup> But we cannot forget that the 1569 plague was responsible for the Court retreat, for example. Velazquez 1583, f. 5v.
- <sup>16</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 22. Kubler 1988, p. 101.
- <sup>17</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 63, note 13. Viterbo 1988, 3, pp. 93-96. Pimentel 2006, p. 10.
- <sup>18</sup> Chueca Goitia advocated that Juan Herrera should be the major architect and Terzi the project promoter. Bouza Álvarez 2000, p. 83, note 105. Ribot 1998, p. 278.
- <sup>19</sup> Kubler 1988, p. 101.
- <sup>20</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 120, note 120.
- <sup>21</sup> Viterbo 1988, 3, p. 93; Kubler 1988, p. 101.
- <sup>22</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 28.
- <sup>23</sup> When the king showed the intimate apartments to his sister the empress, he confessed that he wished he possessed such stunning views in other palaces. Bouza 2005, p. 265. D. Filipe I 1999, pp. 15, 150.
- <sup>24</sup> Pimentel 2002, p. 114.
- <sup>25</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 75, note 43.
- <sup>26</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 265.
- <sup>27</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, p. 63.
- <sup>28</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 74, note 41, 75, 103. Torre do Tombo, liv. 26. fol. 47 da Chancelaria del-Rei D. Sebastião, e liv. 45. fol. 371 quoted by Sousa 1947, pp. 345-353. Joaquim Correia, *Paço de Salvaterra*, p. 25. Velazquez 1583, f. 118.
- <sup>29</sup> But is it true that the old fortress would regain its military function, integrating the Tagus estuary defense network? Oliveira 1991, pp. 144, 145. Moreira 1983, pp. 43-45.
- <sup>30</sup> Moreira 1983, p. 43.
- <sup>31</sup> Senos 2002, pp. 39, 70, 75. Bouza Álvarez 2000, p. 83, note 108. Kubler 1988, p. 104.
- <sup>32</sup> Menses 1679, pp. 99, 368, 904. Lobo 1703, pp. 158, 164, 167, 310.
- <sup>33</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, p. 83.
- <sup>34</sup> For a better understanding of the interior spaces see Senos 2002 and Martinho 2009. D. Filipe I 1999, p. 182.
- <sup>35</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 196.
- <sup>36</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 61.
- <sup>37</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, p. 68.
- <sup>38</sup> Bouza Álvarez 1994, pp. 74-76.
- <sup>39</sup> Martinho 2011, pp. 120, 125.
- <sup>40</sup> Bouza 2005, pp. 197, 198.
- <sup>41</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 197.
- <sup>42</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 67, note 124.

- <sup>43</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 75, note 42.
- <sup>44</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 161.
- <sup>45</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 197.
- <sup>46</sup> Porreño 1723, pp. 117-118v.
- <sup>47</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, pp. 83, 89. Kubler 1988, 103.
- <sup>48</sup> Actually the king had already used the themes of mythological heroes to represent himself in the collection ordered from Titian thirty years before. Bouza 2005, p. 265. Bouza Álvarez 2000, pp. 83-89, 101-104. Guerreiro 1581, cap. V, p. 4; cap. XI, pp. 1-5. Velazquez 1583, f. 121-141v.
- <sup>49</sup> Cámara Muñoz 1998, p. 130.
- <sup>50</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, pp. 83-85. Moreira 1983, p. 45.
- <sup>51</sup> Pimentel 2002, p. 205.
- <sup>52</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, pp. 83-85. Curto 1991, p. 228.
- <sup>53</sup> With the agreement proposed by the Cardinal-King D. Henrique, in November 10, 1579, the future king was obliged to respect several official regulations, namely that the maintaining and administration of the royal chapel should be done locally, as the 23<sup>o</sup> chapter provided. Polónia 2009, pp. 277, 278.
- <sup>54</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 84, note 67.
- <sup>55</sup> Curto 1993, p. 149. Nogueira 1942, pp. 226, 227. *Patente das merces, graças, e privilegios, de que elrei D Philippe nosso senhor*, 1583, cap. XXI. *Gabinete histórico*, 1745-50, p. 132
- <sup>56</sup> Contreras Domingo 1998, p. 179, 185, 186
- <sup>57</sup> Curto 1993, p. 154.
- <sup>58</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, pp. 115, 131, note 140.
- <sup>59</sup> Curto 1993, pp. 151.
- <sup>60</sup> Porreño 1723, pp. 92, 93, 109.
- <sup>61</sup> Beirante, 1980, p. 61. Beirante, 1981, pp. 44, 67.
- <sup>62</sup> Velazquez 1583, f. 108v.
- <sup>63</sup> Rodrigues 2001, I, p. 93.
- <sup>64</sup> Rodrigues 2001, I, pp. 59, 69.
- <sup>65</sup> But it is nevertheless possible that the meeting occurred at one local religious house, since the chroniclers are not very clear in this matter. Bouza 2005, p. 206. Velazquez 1583, fs. 27, 36 v, 37.
- <sup>66</sup> Guerreiro 1581, cap. I, pp. 2, 3.
- <sup>67</sup> Braz 2000, p. 71; D. Filipe I 1999, p. 71, note 33.
- <sup>68</sup> The ceremony was celebrated by the future Portuguese Cardinal-King, D. Henrique, who was largely responsible for the promotion of the Iberian Union under the Spanish Habsburg Crown. Polónia 2009, p. 28.
- <sup>69</sup> The cardinal-king was buried at the main chapel of the royal palace of Almeirim and later transferred by D. Filipe to the Monastery of Belém, the royal mausoleum of the Portuguese kings since D. Emmanuel I. Velazquez 1583, f. 110v.
- <sup>70</sup> Guerreiro 1581, cap. II, pp. 1, 2. Velazquez 1583, f. 110v.
- <sup>71</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 143; Rodrigues 1997, I, pp. 55, 93.
- <sup>72</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 75, note 43.
- <sup>73</sup> Velazquez 1583, f. 111v.
- <sup>74</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 143. Guerreiro 1581, cap. II, pp. 2-5. Correia 1989, p. 25.
- <sup>75</sup> Isidro Velazquez described the pier next to the palace and the golden brigantine used to transport the royal family. Velazquez 1583, f. 112.
- <sup>76</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 230. Porreño 1723, p. 93.
- <sup>77</sup> Bouza 2005, pp. 207, 230. D. Filipe I 1999, pp. 88, 100. Velazquez 1583, f. 117v.
- <sup>78</sup> Following the royal Portuguese tradition the king D. Filipe I was designated protector of the University March 9, 1583.
- <sup>79</sup> Vasconcelos 1990, pp. 19-20.
- <sup>80</sup> Pimentel 1991, p. 249.
- <sup>81</sup> Vasconcelos 1990, pp. 20-23.

## II

# Imperial, Royal or Princely Identity and Regional Patriotism

# Habsburg Mythology and the Waldstein Palace in Prague

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In the 1620s Albrecht of Waldstein wholly identified himself with the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, allusions to his personage have allegedly been found and are still predominantly being sought in the decoration of his palace in Prague (1621–30), Czech Republic.<sup>2</sup> The most famous example is the Mars of Baccio Bianco in the Great Hall, which is traditionally interpreted as a crypto-portrait of Albrecht von Waldstein in spite of the fact that archival documents do not corroborate this identification. In his autobiographical letter of 1654, Baccio Bianco wrote: ‘The Great Hall was already finished [...].His Excellence ordered me to paint something on the ceiling. The hall was already decorated with arms and trophies in stucco. Pieroni proposed that I paint the chariot of Mars. I have made a drawing and its form was well received.’<sup>3</sup> The formulation of Baccio Bianco’s report implies that a martial theme was allocated to the Great Hall from the beginning and that the iconography of the ceiling painting was proposed by architect Giovanni Battista Pieroni. Waldstein is not mentioned anywhere.

In all the scholarly books and guides the ceiling painting in the Great Hall of Waldstein’s Palace in Prague is interpreted as a crypto-portrait of Waldstein (fig. 1). Why? Baccio Bianco’s Mars has a full beard, while Waldstein was always portrayed with a carefully trimmed goatee. Mars’ face has the same physiognomic features as all the other men Baccio Bianco painted on the walls of Waldstein Palace and there is nothing in this representation which enables us to connect it with Albrecht von Waldstein. The attributes of Mars, the star above his head and the sign of the planet on the shield, point exclusively to the planetary divinity. Moreover, he is represented exactly like the Mars in the Sala Terrena of Waldstein Palace, who could not possibly be Waldstein. So, why Waldstein?



Fig. 1 Mars in the Great Hall



The answer must be sought in Albrecht von Waldstein's status in Central European historical consciousness. After the duke had been assassinated on 25 February 1634, as early as March of that year a very influential book appeared in Prague which summed up the main arguments of imperial propaganda, which still influence our perception of this man. The Latin title of this unsigned pamphlet, written by a certain Albert von Kurtz, may be translated as follows: 'Havoc of Disloyalty of Albrecht of Friedland or the Hell of an Ungrateful Soul.'<sup>4</sup> According to this pamphlet, the Duke of Friedland wanted to become king of Bohemia and organized an uprising with the aim of seizing the Czech lands, which were the hereditary property of the Habsburgs. In the subsequent centuries, a positive evaluation of Waldstein prevailed because of his 'anti-imperial attitude'. Especially in Germany and Bohemia, this was taken for granted and he was sometimes even portrayed as a pioneer of the resistance to Rome and the Habsburgs.

Although the Czech language and nationhood were revived in the nineteenth century, the Czechs could not separate themselves politically from the Habsburg empire. At least, however, they could systematically cut the Habsburgs out of the cultural history of their land. Special care was taken to weaken the Habsburg presence in Prague's historical monuments. While nobody at that time was interested in the imperial themes in the decoration of the Waldstein Palace, any link with its creator would, on the contrary, be most welcome. An 1848 edition of a guide to Prague contains the following passage about Waldstein's palace:

After great and famous victories by which he conquered for the Emperor the whole of northern Germany he fell into imperial disgrace and built it as his residence. Here he set up a court so magnificent that it equalled even that of the Emperor [...]. [In the Great Hall] he had himself portrayed on a ceiling as a victor on a two-wheel chariot drawn by four horses, with a star above his head, which is decorated with a laurel.<sup>5</sup>

Needless to say, there is no laurel painted on Mars' head.

In the twentieth century, when art historians started to analyse the depiction of Mars on the ceiling of the Great Hall, its identification with Waldstein was so firmly established that it occurred to no one to search for its roots. The most striking feature of Waldstein's Prague palace is not what it reveals, but what it hides. What we miss on the façade and in the palace interior is any direct reference to its builder. Neither on the palace façade nor in its interior is there anything which could be connected directly with Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius of Waldstein, Duke of Friedland and Mecklenburg, Generalissimo of the Imperial Army, Admiral of the North and Baltic Seas, and Supreme Commander of Prague. The Waldstein Palace in Prague is one of the biggest aristocratic residences, but its builder is absent from its decoration. Whom and what does it then celebrate?

## Ferdinand II

In the seventeenth century the first room that visitors reached was the Great Hall, where they waited before they were received. The hall was colossal, not so much to accommodate waiting visitors, but above all to show off Waldstein's large bodyguard lined up along the walls. We begin the inspection

of the Great Hall at the original entrance, which is opposite the present one. On the northern side of the hall there are two doors, but the one near the windows facing the street is a sham (fig. 2).



Fig. 2 The northern wall of the Great Hall, with the original entrance on the right

Waldstein's guests entered through the eastern door. They were welcomed in the Great Hall not only by the duke's guard lining the walls and Mars on the ceiling but also by stucco genii with outstretched wings looking down on them from under the ceiling, executed by Santino Galli in 1623. These snow-white guards were the opposite in every respect to the duke's guardsmen in full armour. The genii are naked and hold the gilded symbols of a peaceful reign in their hands—palm branches, laurel wreaths and crowns (fig. 3).



Fig. 3 Genii with a wreath, a palm leaf, a crown, and a crown with inserted palm leaves

To the left of the original entrance a genius stands to introduce this heavenly guard to Waldstein's visitors (fig. 3, far right). Over the heads of all who enter the Great Hall he raises a symbol consisting of a crown in which two palm leaves are inserted. In Waldstein's time everybody knew this symbol because it was the personal emblem of the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand II, who used this emblem together with the motto *LEGITIME CERTANTIBVS* ('To those who who fight with honour'), which reveals the meaning of the combination of crown and palm leaves, symbols of victory (fig. 4).<sup>6</sup> Amongst the items on which Ferdinand II represented himself with this emblem is a medal minted to commemorate the Battle of the White Mountain of 20 November 1620, in which the army of the Czech Estates was defeated.



Fig. 4 Emblem of Ferdinand II in Jacob Typotius, *Symbola divina et humana* (Prague, 1601), fig. 106

In the Great Hall the heavenly guard has its leader is represented in the important place in the middle of the south wall. In his right hand he holds the laurel wreath and with his left hand he ceremoniously raises the marshal's baton to stress that peace is victorious. On either side he has adjutants with palm branches: the genius on his left points to his heart, while the genius on his right points upwards to the ceiling fresco of Baccio Bianco, which is the culmination of the hall's rich decoration (fig. 5). In a reading that is both unsubstantiated and improbable, the Czech patriotic myth sees Waldstein in the figure of Mars on this ceiling fresco. A far more serious candidate is the genius holding a marshal's baton, who might really be Albrecht von Waldstein's *alter ego*. This genius leads the heavenly mission, which is explicitly defined as the mission of Emperor Ferdinand II. The horror of war, which the ceiling with Mars has evoked, is thus averted and the walls of the Great Hall of Waldstein's palace acquire a symbolic dimension. It has become an impenetrable barrier to war, a guarantee of eternal peace.



Fig. 5 Genii on the south wall, the middle one holding aloft the marshal's baton

## War Defeated

The ceiling fresco of the Great Hall represents Mars in armour on a war chariot, heading into battle together with his companions (fig. 1). This subject was inspired by the function of this hall, in which Waldstein paraded his guard. In Germany this type of hall was known as a *'Trabantensaal'* ('hall of companions'). The most famous analogy for Waldstein's Great Hall is the Hall of Mars in the Palace of Versailles, named after the ceiling painting of 1672 by Claude II Audran. The Hall of Mars was originally reserved for the guard, which was announced by the ceiling painting representing Mars riding in the sky in a chariot drawn by wolves.

In the Waldstein Palace, Mars is clearly identified by the star over his head and the sign of the planet on his shield. Raised in his hand is a lethal weapon, the spiked mace. It is Mars, but he is not represented here as the Olympian deity. While in ancient mythology Mars always fights alone or with other Olympians, Baccio Bianco represented Mars at the head of an army dressed and armed like soldiers of Waldstein's time. This Mars is clearly a personification of War. The true nature of Mars' army on the ceiling of the Great Hall of the Waldstein Palace is revealed in a similar representation painted by Antonio Bellucci for the Liechtenstein Palace in Vienna between 1697 and 1704.<sup>7</sup> In this ceiling painting we also see Mars in his chariot as he rides through the clouds into battle. The god is as dignified as his Prague counterpart, perhaps even more so, because he is represented *all'antica*. But Mars' companions in Vienna are ugly, naked savages who aggressively urge their lord to demonstrate his full destructive powers. This painting also features the spiked mace but we do not see it in Mars' hand: instead, a naked Turk-like barbarian raises it in his right hand, while pushing Mars forward with his left hand.





Fig. 6 Antonio Bellucci, Mars, 1697–1704, Liechtenstein Palace in Vienna

Mars in the Great Hall of Waldstein's palace personifies War, which dominates the ceiling decoration. The central panel with the chariot of the god of War is flanked by panels with painted trophies, which reappear in the stucco reliefs on the perimeter of the ceiling. The Great Hall is not, however, a temple of Mars: its walls are not in the Doric order, as it would befit the god of War, but are Ionic in style. Genii with symbols of peace and just rule are standing on fragments of Ionic entablature supported by Ionic pilasters. If we completed the entablature in our imagination, we could be standing inside an Ionic temple, a temple of peace and prosperity, in which the demon of war is forever imprisoned.

### The Imperial Dynasty

According to the inventory of the palace furnishings drawn up straight after Waldstein's death (1634) there were no portraits of him or of members of his family.<sup>8</sup> Instead, the palace was full of portraits of members of the Habsburg imperial dynasty. The most important portraits were in the south wing, which contained an enfilade of three rooms. Through the Great Hall the visitors entered the Knights' Hall, where Waldstein received collective audiences. This was separated by the Antechamber from the Audience Hall, where the duke received only the most important visitors.<sup>9</sup> In the Knights' Hall there were portraits of Emperor Ferdinand II and his wife, and in the Antechamber portraits of Ferdinand III and his wife. These were full-length, life-size representations, which was the most official type of portraiture. The Habsburg portraits were complemented by a series of twelve portraits of ancient Roman emperors.<sup>10</sup> The gallery of portraits which originally decorated the Knights' Hall and Antechamber was meant to emphasize the continuity between the ancient Roman Empire and its successor, the Holy Roman Empire, which was at that time firmly in Habsburg hands.

Consequently this double portrait gallery clearly highlighted the dynastic idea. Just as in ancient Rome rule passed from one Emperor to the next, in the Habsburg family it passed from father to son.

The decorative schemes of the individual rooms in Waldstein's palace were interlinked. While in the Great Hall Waldstein's visitors were confronted with the personification of War, in the following two rooms they were assured that the imperial dynasty would not allow the fury of war to reign forever. The opposite number of the Triumph of War on the ceiling of the Great Hall is the Golden Age, a key element in the Habsburg imperial propaganda, which was explicitly celebrated in the Audience Hall.

### The Golden Age

The Audience Hall was richly decorated with a wall painting which Baccio Bianco created between 1623 and 1624. Depicted on the ceiling is the visit of Venus to the workshop of her husband Vulcan, who is preparing new armour for her son Aeneas (fig. 7). The Audience Hall was the heart of Waldstein's palace and its ceiling fresco was the key representation and emblem of the whole residence. Thanks to Vulcan's armour, Aeneas became lord of Italy and founded the Iulian dynasty, from which not only the ancient Roman emperors but also their Habsburg successors derived their origins. Vergil's *Aeneid* contains two prophecies on which Habsburg imperial mythology was founded. When Venus confides in Jupiter about her fears for Aeneas, the supreme god calms her by predicting not only her son's victory but the glorious future of his kin as well: 'Then shall Caesar be born, the Trojan from the noble family, whose empire shall reach to the sea and reputation to the stars.'<sup>11</sup> In the prophecy predicting the coming of the Golden Age under imperial rule, Anchises speaks as follows to his son visiting him in the underworld: 'There he is, there the promised man, as you often heard, Augustus Caesar himself, the Divine son who shall usher in the Golden Age for us in Latium once again.'<sup>12</sup>



Fig. 7 Vulcan in his workshop with Venus and Amor

In the Audience Hall the coming of the Golden Age is celebrated by two sets of four paintings. Depicted on the vault is the succession of the ages, culminating in the Golden Age, while the paintings on the wall celebrated the ruler's virtues that are its precondition. The 'historical' series decorates the vault, counter-clockwise. Beginning on the right of the entrance door, we see the Gigantomachy (the battle of the Olympian gods with the Giants), the Iron Age, the Silver Age, and the Golden Age (fig. 7). This reversal of the ages was prophesied in Vergil's famous Fourth Eclogue: 'The great line of the centuries begins anew [...] a new generation descends from heaven on high [...] The iron brood shall at last cease and a golden race spring up throughout the world!'<sup>13</sup> The succession of the ages was known above all from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The illustrations of 1610 for this work by Antonio Tempesta provided the models for the paintings.<sup>14</sup> The starting point of the Audience Hall decoration is the Gigantomachy, which is depicted to the left of the entrance door on the north wall. It is placed directly above the fireplace, the flames of which thus completed the depiction of the Giants attacking Olympus.



Fig. 8 Gigantomachy, Iron Age, Silver Age, and Golden Age

In the painting the Giants are characterized by their huge size, nakedness and long hair. While in the foreground they are lifting rocks, in the background they are attacking heaven with branches. The Olympian gods are defending themselves from behind the clouds; Jupiter, in the middle, has a bolt of lightning, as Ovid describes him in *Metamorphoses*: 'Rendering the heights of heaven no safer than the earth, they say the giants attempted to take the Celestial kingdom, piling mountains up to the distant stars. Then the all-powerful father of the gods hurled his bolt of lightning.'<sup>15</sup> The basic difference between Gigantomachy and Titanomachy was that in the latter case Jupiter opened up his route to power by overcoming the Titans, while in the former case it was the Giants who rose up against Jupiter. Consequently, the defeat of the Giants could be presented as a preview of later victories over other insurgents.

In Habsburg iconography the Gigantomachy was a standard allusion to the dynasty's opponents. The greatest internal enemies of Ferdinand II were the rebellious Bohemian Estates. After the Austrian and Hungarian Estates had joined their revolt, the Czech uprising practically brought the Habsburg empire to the point of dissolution. The defeat of the Czech Estates was therefore the greatest victory of Ferdinand II, and was appropriately immortalized in art. In 1622 Ferdinand II celebrated the victory over the Bohemian Estates and their Winter King Frederick with a

medal containing his portrait and the Gigantomachy on the reverse.<sup>16</sup> On top there is Justice and Jupiter, the *alter ego* of Ferdinand II, who is casting down the Giants with his bolt of lightning. In the prominent position of bottom centre we see a crushed Giant with Frederick's attributes. He is lying on his back, with his hands helplessly outstretched. Holding a sceptre in his left hand, with his right hand he tries in vain to prevent the crown from falling off his head. The depiction is accompanied by Ferdinand's motto: 'LEGITIME CERTANTIBUS'.

Since the Bohemian rebellion took place only a few years before the Waldstein Palace was erected, it would be surprising not to find an echo of the rebellion's suppression in its decoration. When we enter the Audience Hall we have the representation of the Gigantomachy on our left and our right that of the Iron Age, about which Ovid writes in the *Metamorphoses*: 'And now harmful iron appeared, and gold more harmful than iron. War came, whose struggles employ both, waving clashing arms with bloodstained hands. They lived on plunder.'<sup>17</sup> In the foreground of the painting an armoured rider attacks a soldier who is lying down and trying in vain to defend himself with a shield. In the background, soldiers capture a walled city to plunder it.

The prophecy of the coming of the Golden Age was the theme of the two paintings on the opposite side of the vault. When we proceed in a counter-clockwise direction, universal peace does not come until the Silver Age. While it is the age of universal peace, alluded to by a woman who sits with a child on her lap, it is also the age of hard work, symbolized by men with shovels and bags over their shoulders, a man ploughing the field with a pair of oxen, and men digging a patch of ground. Finally, the Silver Age will be followed by the coveted Golden Age, when human beings will have no enemies, as is suggested by a wild animal peacefully walking past the men. It will be a blessed age in which everybody will have everything without working; all they will have to do is to pick the fruit from the trees. This terrestrial paradise is illustrated by naked people relaxing and happy children immersed in play. The painting is located right next to the garden window. In the same way as the flames of the fireplace enhanced the horror of the Gigantomachy, the rustle of leaves, the gurgling of fountains and bird song enliven the representation of the eternal peace and universal bliss of the Golden Age.

In the lunettes of the Audience Hall we find four personifications. In the west, placed in an important position above the entrance doors, is Glory (fig. 9, left), represented by a bare-breasted woman with a cornucopia, the symbol of fertility and plenty, in her left hand. She looks upwards and has a burst of rays around her head; in her raised right hand she holds a golden figure, a symbol of victory. On the north wall, next to the Golden Age, Victory is bringing peace (fig. 9, right). This is a young woman flying through the air; in her right hand she holds a laurel wreath and in her left hand a palm leaf. With her right foot she treads on a heap of arms and armour. Below her there is another symbol of war, a burned-out city. The painter represented Victory in a yellow blouse and white dress, a symbol of victory untainted by any guilt.





Fig. 9 Glory and Victory

To the right of the entrance doors on the south-west wall, Fame, with huge coloured wings, is holding a trumpet in her raised right hand. She is dressed in a light robe hitched up to mid-calf so that she is able to run quickly (fig. 10, left). When we proceed in a counter-clockwise direction, we find Eternity, a woman sitting on a dark cloud, with her left hand resting on a crescent moon and her right hand pointing to the sun (fig. 10, right).



Fig. 10 Fame and Eternity

Two panels with putti connect the wall paintings with the ceiling fresco representing Vulcan making armour for Aeneas at Venus' request. Between the allegory of Eternity and Fame, there is a putto with a bolt of lightning and Amor's bow, symbols of Jupiter's and Venus' patronage of Aeneas (fig. 11, left). The putto on the opposite wall, with a quiver on his back and holding the helmet of Aeneas, has a similar meaning (fig. 11, right). These personifications did not have a general meaning: they specifically celebrated the fame of victory and the eternal glory of the Holy Roman Emperors as the descendants of Aeneas.



Fig. 11 Putto with bolt of lightning and bow and putto with Aeneas' helmet

### Ancestors of the Habsburg Dynasty

The Audience Hall is connected with Waldstein's private apartment by means of a gallery featuring a ceiling decorated with a cycle of sixteen wall paintings illustrating Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Baccio Bianco painted them between 1623 and 1624, using as models Antonio Tempesta's illustrations of the *Metamorphoses* published in 1610.<sup>18</sup> As his models for some scenes he also used older illustrations of *Virgil Solis* of 1563.<sup>19</sup> The succession of scenes closely follows the literary work. The beginning of the world, with which Ovid started his poem, is represented at the door to the Audience Hall. Through scenes arranged in analogous or contrasting pairs, the wall paintings in the Lower Gallery sum up the history of the universe. In the seventh field there are two tragic descents, Pluto carrying Proserpina to Hades and, on the opposite side, Icarus falling from heaven. This pair makes a dramatic contrast with the pair in the last field, which flank the doors to Waldstein's study. In the last field, we find the apotheoses of Aeneas and Romulus (fig. 12).



Fig. 12 The deifications of Aeneas and Romulus

Although the Lower Gallery is known in the modern literature as the Mythological Gallery, the main function of the strange tales from the mythical past which decorate its ceiling was to prepare the ground for the key scenes flanking the doors of the Duke's study. The apotheosis of Aeneas, who is assisted by his mother Venus (fig. 12, left), and the apotheosis of Romulus, whom his father Mars drives to heaven (fig. 12, right), represented not only a mythical past but above all the promise of a splendid future. Aeneas and Romulus were not only mythical heroes, but also ancestors of the ruling dynasty, which was what was being celebrated.

The decoration of the Upper Gallery corroborates our reading of the Lower Gallery. The east wing of the palace of Albrecht von Waldstein contains two galleries, the one above the other. The Upper Gallery connected the bedrooms of Waldstein's wife and the room which was probably destined at the outset to be the children's bedroom. The ceiling paintings by Baccio Bianco from 1623–24 that decorate the gallery do not have the intimate character we might expect. On the contrary, they are dominated by the celebration of the imperial house, as if it was a public space.

The Habsburg world rule is alluded to with a series of representations of the four continents on the east wall, variations on models in the *Iconology* of Cesare Ripa, the illustrated edition of which was first published in 1603.<sup>20</sup> The painting on the ceiling glorifies the cosmic dimension of the Holy Roman Empire with personifications of the seven planets, which are accompanied on both sides by the relevant signs of the Zodiac. On the northern side, the series begins with the Moon, followed by Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. The planets are arranged in the traditional manner, in the order in which they supposedly orbited the earth.

The modern name for the Upper Gallery, 'Astrological Gallery', is misleading. There is no depiction of a specific constellation of planets in it, nor is there even the slightest hint at astrology, only the traditional Christian reading of the stars, that is, as a link between Earth and the upper Heaven, the abode of God. After Saturn, the eighth and highest sphere, follows the wall behind which the bedroom of Waldstein's daughter was situated. The wall is decorated with two superimposed personifications flanked by symbols, exactly as on the northern side. But whereas on the northern side plenty and public well-being are celebrated in general terms, the southern wall bears an allusion to the ruling dynasty (fig. 13).

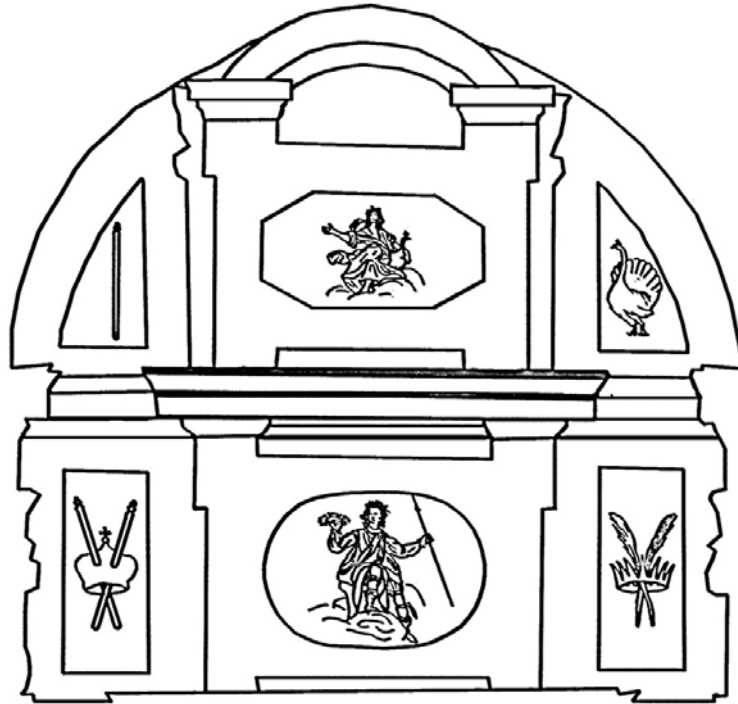


Fig. 13 Allegory of the wise rule of Ferdinand II on the southern wall of Upper Gallery

On the southern wall we find a crowned woman with a peacock, the attribute of the goddess Juno, while on the left there is a sceptre and on the right a peacock. The Junoesque figure is a personification of Virtue: as a peacock shines with its own feathers, so Virtue shines with its own light. Below the woman with a peacock there is a young man with a wreath and spear in his hand, symbols of victory and of rule. On the left are two sceptres inserted into an imperial crown, on the right two palm leaves inserted into a crown with spikes. This was the personal emblem of Emperor Ferdinand II, which we have already encountered in the Great Hall. The young man with a wreath thus celebrates victorious rule, which is explicitly specified as the rule of Ferdinand II.

### Aeneas' Victory

The construction of the Waldstein Palace is a chronicle of its builder's career in the Holy Roman Empire. The Duke started to create it in 1621 when he was appointed as the Supreme Commander of Prague, and the main building of the palace was constructed and decorated before 1625, when he was appointed Generalissimo of the Imperial Army. After having become a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in 1624, Waldstein was made Duke of Friedland in 1627 and a year later Duke of Mecklenburg, which were all very prestigious titles indeed. This triumphant entry into the elite of European aristocracy brought with it considerably higher requirements, which Waldstein rose to meet with his Prague residence. This upgrade is evident above all in the conception of the garden, in the truly imperial Sala Terrena, and in the monumental fountain decorated with bronze sculptures. With these features Waldstein surpassed everything he had so far created in his Prague residence.



The most ambitious part of the architecture of the Waldstein Palace is no doubt the impressive Sala Terrena, which is the rightly famous masterpiece of Giovanni Battista Pieroni. It is no ordinary garden building but, rather, an architectonic and conceptual dominant of the whole palace complex, as is emphasized by its gigantic size, sumptuous decoration, and the way it detaches itself from the garden. The imperial nature of the Sala Terrena is reflected in its rich decoration. Although the niches in the walls are now empty, the painted decoration has survived. The Sala is decorated with twenty four paintings and ten small panels from 1628–29 in which a painter from the workshop of Baccio Bianco celebrated the Trojan hero Aeneas. The sequence of paintings begins with the Sacrifice of Polyxena on the northern wall, behind which was situated the Audience Hall.<sup>21</sup> As a model, the painter used the Antonio Tempesta illustration for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>22</sup>

On the southern side of the Sala Terrena there is a scene with Neptune raising his trident to calm a sea storm. This composition is known as '*Quos ego*', after the verse from the *Aeneid* in which Neptune rebukes the disobedient elements.<sup>23</sup> This oft-imitated type of Neptune was created by Raphael and owes its enormous popularity to Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving of 1515–16.<sup>24</sup> In the Sala Terrena the painting celebrated the end of Aeneas' wanderings, while the painting on the opposite side evoked its beginning. With the death of Polyxena the Trojan War was definitively ended and Aeneas began the distressful wanderings that only ended thanks to Neptune's intervention, making possible the successful landing of Aeneas' army in Italy.

In the interpretation of the paintings in the Sala Terrena, visitors are guided by the plaster genii incorporated into the architectural decoration of the walls. While the genii at the sides of Polyxena are turning away from the tragic scene, on the opposite wall the genii are rejoicing in Neptune's timely intervention. The genius on the right is triumphantly pointing to the stormy heavens which the god of the oceans has tamed. The genius sitting beneath the image of *pious Aeneas* on the western wall is the only one in the Sala Terrena who is also looking at a painting as well as pointing to it. By doing this he is advising visitors to start their inspection of the paintings at that very point. In three lunettes on the western wall of the Sala Terrena there are paintings featuring Aeneas as the main hero. On the left, in the southern lunette, we find the well-known pictorial type of *pious Aeneas*, in which the hero, accompanied by Iulus, is seen carrying his father Anchises from burning Troy.<sup>25</sup> The painter followed Antonio Tempesta's illustration for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>26</sup>



Fig. 14 *Pious Aeneas*



Fig. 15 Genius sitting beneath the painting of *pious Aeneas*

The series continues on the opposite, northern side of the western wall with the Trojan attack on Laurentum, the capital city of the Latins defended by Camilla, whom we see on horseback in the left corner, the rider in front of her being Aeneas (fig. 16). When the capital of the Latins was besieged, Aeneas set off on a dangerous journey through a mountain pass in order to attack Laurentum from its undefended side. Turnus discovered his plan and lay in ambush there to kill him. However, when Turnus learned that Camilla had fallen, he had to return to the defence of Laurentum and Aeneas was able to reach the Laurentum battlefield safely and win the war. The painter's inspiration was an illustration of Aeneas' epic published for the first time in 1559, in which the main events of the eleventh book were summed up. In the accompanying text we read: 'Aeneas arrives at the enemy city. Everybody starts to fight, the Trojans start to prevail, and Camilla was also killed.'<sup>27</sup>



Fig. 16 Camilla (left) and Aeneas (centre)

The illustration of the *Aeneid* culminates in the middle lunette depicting the closing scene of the whole epic, Aeneas' hesitation before his deadly blow (fig. 17). When Turnus was defeated, he

begged Aeneas to spare his life, and the hero hesitated. Fierce in his arms, Aeneas stood with rolling eyes, and stayed his hand; and now more and more, as he paused, these words began to sway him.<sup>28</sup> The duel of Aeneas and Turnus, together with the depiction of *pious Aeneas*, was the most oft-illustrated scene of the whole *Aeneid*.<sup>29</sup>



Fig. 17 The duel of Aeneas and Turnus

On the vault of the Sala Terrena, between the lunettes and arches of the arcades, are eight figures from ancient myths accompanied by inscriptions. The choice and placement of these heroes and heroines is coherent. They are divided into three groups: the Greeks besieging Troy, the Trojans defending their city, and the Trojans and their enemies in Italy. The duel between Aeneas and Turnus in the central lunette is flanked by the related figures of Aeneas and Pallas, an obvious choice because Pallas was killed by Turnus and his death was avenged by Aeneas. Depicted on the opposite side of the Sala Terrena are Turnus and Camilla, the main opponents of the Trojans in Italy. As is to be expected, Turnus is facing his adversary Aeneas. The quartet of protagonists from Vergil's *Aeneid* represented in the middle of the Sala Terrena is flanked by the heroes of the Trojan War represented in all four corners. On the northern side are depicted two defenders of Troy, Hector and Penthesilea, Hector thus being placed next to his sister Polyxena, whose sacrifice is represented on the northern wall. On the southern side are two protagonists of the Greek invasion army, Achilles and Odysseus with the statuette of Minerva that he stole from Troy.

The Sala Terrena decoration culminates in its ceiling, where there are three panels with Olympian gods the arrangement of which is closely linked to the depictions on the vault and in the lunettes. The middle panel shows Jupiter, who is flanked by Juno, Aeneas' main divine opponent, and Venus, his main protector (fig. 18). On the southern ceiling panel, above two Greek protagonists of the Trojan War, Odysseus and Achilles, we see an assembly of gods who sided with the Greeks: Minerva, Juno, Neptune, Vulcan and Mercury. On the left there is a small panel with the emblem of the main supporters of the Greeks, Juno's peacock; on the right is Jupiter's eagle. On the northern side of the ceiling, above the main defenders of Troy, Hector and Penthesilea, who are shown in the northern corners, we see an assembly of gods who sided with the Trojans: Venus, Apollo, Mars, Diana, and the river god Xanthos/Skamandros. At its sides there are two small panels with the birds associated with Venus, the swan and the dove.



Fig. 18 Venus and Amor, Jupiter, and Juno

The painter who decorated the Sala Terrena also painted a cycle of paintings with Argonauts on the ceiling of the Banquet Room, which is behind the doors on the Sala's southern wall. The depiction of the quest for the Golden Fleece was a response to a very important event in Waldstein's life that considerably heightened his identification with the Holy Roman Empire. In 1628 he received the highest Habsburg honour, the Order of the Golden Fleece, which was an updating of the myths of Jason and the Argonauts. Ancient myth was interpreted along Christian lines and the Golden Fleece was identified with the mystical Divine Lamb, which thus found its greatest protector in the Grand Master of the Order, the ruling Habsburg Emperor.<sup>30</sup> Although the decoration of the Dining Hall and Sala Terrena was inspired by ancient myths, its message was the celebration of the Habsburg dynasty and the Holy Roman Empire together with its historical mission. Jason's eastern expedition in search of the Golden Fleece was a prefiguration of Alexander the Great's conquests and his empire in the East. However, much more important for the future of mankind was the duel between Aeneas and Turnus, which was represented in the most important place in the Sala Terrena, in the central lunette of its back wall. This victory enabled the descendants of the great Trojan to become lords not only of Italy but also of the whole world.

### Rebels' Debacle

The story told by the wall paintings in the Sala Terrena is continued seamlessly in the garden. The counterpart of Aeneas' victory in the Sala Terrena is the celebration of the Czech rebels' debacle in the garden statuary. Although the present-day placement of the garden statues unfortunately does not correspond to their original arrangement, this can be corrected in our imagination. While today the fountain with a bronze statue of Venus with Amor is situated in front of the Sala Terrena,<sup>31</sup> in Waldstein's time this site was occupied by an elaborate fountain with bronze sculptures which summed up the whole message of the duke's Prague residence. The fountain was crowned by Neptune and supplementarily decorated with four dogs, four horse heads, two lion heads and two gryphon heads. It was complemented by four bronze sculptural groups on marble bases standing between the fountain and the Sala Terrena: Laocoon and his son, the Wrestlers, Venus with Adonis,



and Bacchus with the little Satyr.<sup>32</sup> These statues were created between 1623 and 1627 in the Prague studio of the celebrated Adrien de Vries, former court sculptor to Emperor Rudolf II.<sup>33</sup>

In 1625, Adrien de Vries created a statue of Laocoon (fig. 19), which was intended to crown the fountain in front of the Sala Terrena but, at Waldstein's request, was replaced by Neptune. This change was evidently very important for Waldstein, because this order of his seriously endangered the completion of the garden sculptures. Adrien de Vries was in his seventies at the time and died soon afterwards. The Neptune statue, the last work of the master, was completed in his studio after his death, in 1627. Before we ask why Waldstein preferred Neptune, we must ask ourselves what made Adrien de Vries choose the Laocoon myth.

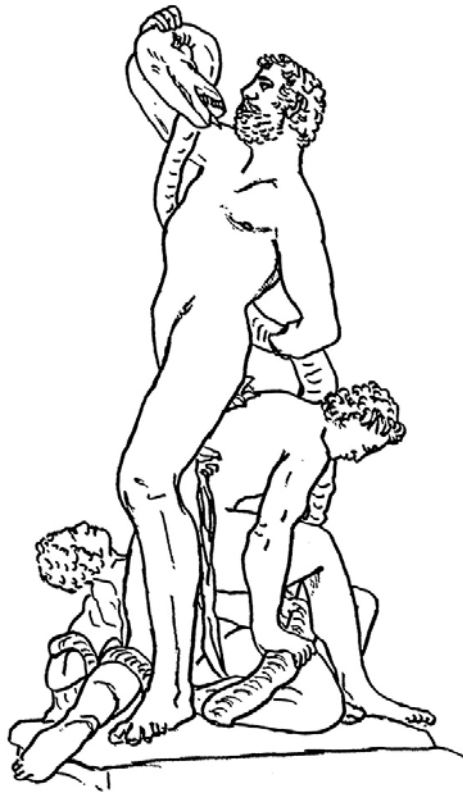


Fig. 19 Laocöon

All the sculptures which de Vries created for Waldstein represented classical themes and could have had the same function as those created by this sculptor for the imperial residence of Rudolf II at Prague Castle, namely, to turn Prague into a second Rome. This seems logical because an ancient Roman group statue depicting the death of Laocöon and his sons was a famous icon of Rome, as it was a highlight of the Papal collection at the Vatican. But the Prague Laocöon is not a copy of an ancient original: in fact, it is the very first variation on this ancient theme in European monumental sculpture. Although the Vatican statue was often copied, in spite of (or precisely because of) its enormous popularity no sculptor before de Vries had depicted the story of Laocöon in a way which differed from the Vatican original. Nor was the second variation on the Laocöon theme created until a full two centuries later, which makes Adrien de Vries's Laocöon absolutely exceptional. For de Vries the subject itself was evidently more important than a reference to the ancient marble statue in Rome, with which his Laocöon has only the underlying mythical story in common.

What could make Laocoon topical in Central Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century? Laocoon was the Trojan priest who revolted against the gods' decision that his city must be captured by the Greeks, for which he was immediately cruelly punished. When he was preparing to sacrifice to Neptune, two snakes emerged from the sea and strangled him together with both his sons. Laocoon had to die because Troy had to be burned to allow Aeneas to arrive in Italy in a sequence of events that would lead to the birth of Rome and its world empire. As a token of God's plan, Laocoon thus legitimized imperial rule on earth. Adrien de Vries's Laocoon can also be taken as alluding to the defeat of the Bohemian Estates in the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. When the theme of Laocoon appeared in art of that time, it was always in a negative context, as an example of justly punished transgression. In the Waldstein garden an impious Laocoon would become a negative counterpart to *pious Aeneas*, who was the ancestor and *alter ego* of the Emperor.

Given that Waldstein decided that Neptune would fit better into the programme of the decoration of his palace, we must ask what his motivation could have been. Adrien de Vries's Neptune calming the sea alludes to the relevant passage in the *Aeneid*, which is also illustrated in the Sala Terrena.<sup>34</sup> Raphael's '*Quos ego*' type represents the angry god, who holds reins in his left hand and in his right a clearly menacing trident. But Adrien de Vries's Neptune does not raise his weapon to strike: he holds it as an attribute in his left hand, and is even hiding it behind his back. Furthermore, he is holding the terrible trident upside down, with the spikes pointing downwards—in a detail that must have been de Vries's invention because we do not find it on any other Neptune statue of this type. The contrast to Raphael's aggressive Neptune could not be greater. The Neptune of Adrien de Vries has his right hand raised in a way which compares the ancient god to a mortal orator calming a disorderly crowd. It was clearly an allusion to the subsequent verses in the *Aeneid* in which Vergil compares Neptune calming the sea to a man who resolutely stands up in the middle of a civil riot and calms the mutineers with his wise words.<sup>35</sup> Vergil's verses were a transparent allusion to the role of Emperor Augustus' in the civil war. It was thanks to this that the iconographic type entered the propagandistic art of Waldstein's time.



Fig. 20 Neptune calming the sea

While the Prague Neptune corresponds to the way the god was represented in the art of that time, Adrien de Vries intensified the image of the peacemaker with a number of small details. Nevertheless, his Neptune is as powerful and authoritative as that of Raphael. In Prague Neptune's enemies are represented by a dog, another addition of Adrien de Vries that is absolutely unique in the iconography of this god. Neptune was often represented with horses or dolphins, but never with a dog. The dog would suit Pluto, but there is no doubt that the statue represents Neptune, which de Vries stressed by adding small dolphins to the trident. The dog represents the rebels to which Vergil's description of Neptune calming the sea alludes. It could also allude to the defeated Bohemian Estates. It is a conspicuously small dog when compared with Neptune. This dog is no monster, merely a dog that has got into a fury and has been quickly pacified by his master. He stands with head threateningly lowered, trying to be frightening, but only at a distance, because Neptune's authority does not allow him to leave the place between his feet.

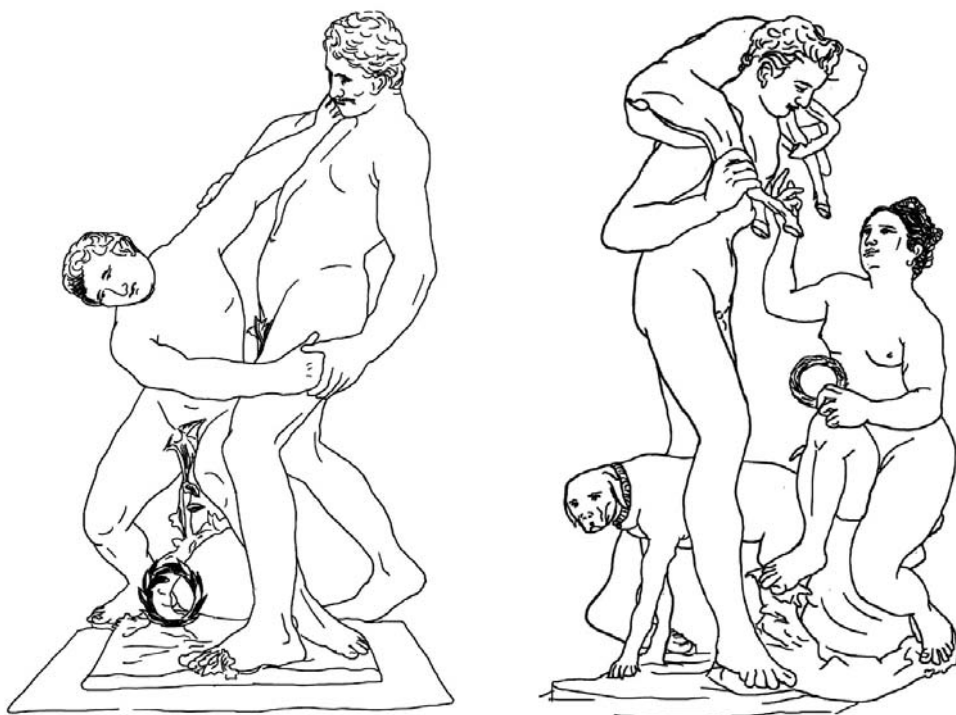


Fig. 21 Wrestlers and Venus with Adonis

Neptune's fountain in the Waldstein garden was originally complemented by four statues, which are all mentioned in the correspondence between Waldstein and Adrien de Vries. The Wrestlers, which according to the inscription on its base was created in 1625, might be a distant echo of an ancient Roman statue, but was most probably also an allusion to the defeat of the Bohemian rebels (fig. 21, left). Adrien de Vries characterized his statue as a 'group of those who wrestle with each other', but their actions do not correspond to this description, because the outcome of the fight has already been decided. The left-hand wrestler is represented in a deep forward bend, evidently trying to pull the right wrestler down to the ground with both his hands. With his left hand he has grasped his opponent's shoulder and with the other hand his thigh. He is the aggressor: he started the fight, while the right wrestler is only resolutely reacting to his action and successfully defending himself. The victor is represented standing firmly upright with legs apart, but he is not attacking: he holds the aggressor's hands with both his hands so that he can force them away from his body. The

right-hand wrestler is evidently the winner, because in the following moment the aggressor will be lying on the ground. The allegorical content of the wrestlers is made clear by the laurel wreath which is depicted on the ground, a prize awaiting the victor, who fought with honour.

The wreath also appears in the 1624 group with Venus and Adonis, although it is never included in depictions of this mythical couple! During the hundred years spanning 1600 Venus and Adonis was a very fashionable theme in painting and we often find it in the art of the Prague court of Rudolf II. The two scenes most often depicted were Venus trying to stop Adonis from departing on the fateful boar hunt and Venus lamenting his death. The representation of Adonis' departure was noticeably stereotyped: we repeatedly see a seated Venus trying to embrace Adonis, who is walking away. The Prague statue seemingly conforms to this type, because Venus is also represented on the ground and she is raising her hands towards the walking Adonis (fig. 21, right). But the hunter is not departing: he is returning from a successful hunt with the game over his shoulder! Adonis' triumphant return is highlighted by the wreath in Venus' raised hand, which occupies a central position in the group.

In Waldstein's time the standard allegorical reading of the Adonis myth was centred on the hero's refusal of divine counsel, his departure from Venus, and its tragic consequence. This would make Adonis a perfect counterpart to Laocoon, who likewise disobeyed and had to pay for it. But Prague's Adonis is safely returning from a hunt with a deer on his shoulders and Venus is greeting him with a wreath because he has done exactly what she had advised him: 'Be bold when they run, but bravery is unsafe when faced with the brave. Do not be foolish, beware of endangering me, and do not provoke the creature's nature which has armed, lest your glory be to my great cost. Neither youth nor beauty, nor the charms that affect Venus, affect lions or bristling boars or the eyes and minds of other wild creatures.'<sup>36</sup> In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we do not find any other examples of Venus with a wreath or the motif of Adonis' return from the hunt with a small animal on his shoulders. Adrien de Vries reversed the traditional iconographical type, but retained its political message. The tamed Adonis obeys his divine master and is justly rewarded; or, when we translate the motif into contemporary political terminology, Adonis may be seen as an obstinate rebel who is transformed into a dutiful subject.

Next to the fountain in the Waldstein garden it is possible to imagine the statues of Laocoon and the Wrestlers standing side by side, the former symbolizing punished impiety and the latter defeated revolt. Next to the group with Laocoon, in which resistance was condemned, the group with Venus and Adonis could have stood, celebrating the advantages of foresightful submission. The group with Bacchus and the little Satyr (fig. 22), which celebrated the blessings of peace, could have stood on the other end of the row, next to the Wrestlers. In this arrangement, the peace-bringing Venus would be a counterpart to the peaceful Bacchus, who would be the opposite of the Wrestlers. While in the fight between the Wrestlers life is at stake, Bacchus with a wine beaker behind his back is only teasing the little Satyr.



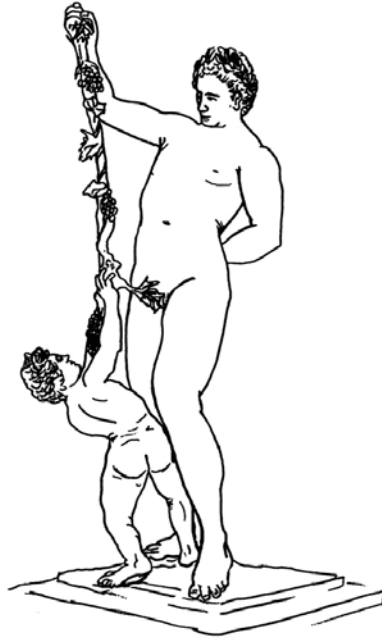


Fig. 22 Bacchus and Satyr

All the mythological statues Adrien de Vries created for Waldstein were site-specific comments on political developments in Prague and the kingdom of Bohemia. The snarling dog tamed by a god stressed that the fountain of Neptune was not only an illustration of an ancient myth. This impressive detail, which has no substantiation in ancient mythology, indicates that this Neptune actually is Ferdinand II, and that Waldstein most probably wished his garden to be dominated by this very god. The Emperor was being celebrated because he had calmed the political storm which had threatened the very existence of the Holy Roman Empire.

### Waldstein's Absence

Although Waldstein spent considerable time on the battlefields and had a thousand predilections, he never displayed his personal experiences, feelings or attitudes unless he could turn them to his personal advantage. In the last years of his life, his physical condition quickly deteriorated, which may have influenced his psychological state and his political attitudes. But in the 1620s, at the peak of his career, Albrecht von Waldstein wholly identified himself with the Holy Roman Empire. This was also expressed in the decoration of his palace in Prague, which he constructed at that time. In this sense, we may say that in the palace of the most energetic man of his time, impersonality reigned. Nor do we anywhere in the palace find the crowned eagle, the princely and later ducal emblem that he started to use in 1622 (fig. 23).



Fig. 23 The 1622 coat of arms of Waldstein as a count

In the Waldstein Palace we find depictions of lions, which are interpreted as an allusion to Waldstein's ancestral family.<sup>37</sup> But why do we not find the main motif of the Waldstein family emblem—a standing lion with a double tail depicted from the side? Why do we find here exclusively the lion's head depicted *en face*, which is not part of the Waldstein emblem? These lions' heads evidently do not allude to Waldstein but to the vanquished enemies of the Holy Roman Empire. The lion's head often has a ring in its mouth, symbolizing a dangerous beast which has been overpowered and tamed.



Fig. 24 Lion's heads on porch of the main façade of Waldstein palace

In 1626, when Waldstein started to mint coins, he hesitated between two mottos: ‘God is my protector’ and ‘In defiance of envy’. As the former evidently seemed to him too general and the latter too personal, he finally adopted the motto: ‘SACRI ROMANI IMPERII PRINCEPS’ (fig. 25).



Fig. 25 Waldstein’s coin of 1626 with the eagle and inscription ‘Prince of the Holy Roman Empire’

Although we know Albrecht of Waldstein was interested in astrology, nowhere in his palace have we found constellations of stars at the moment of Waldstein’s birth or anything else which would allude to him. In the paintings, stucco decorations and sculptures which decorated the palace, there were no portraits of its builder, not even his coat of arms or personal emblem. When we look for celebrations of Waldstein’s person or his family, we find nothing. But as soon as we forget his personage and start to look for allusions to his office, the Prince of the Holy Roman Empire is suddenly vividly present. The hero of the Waldstein palace in Prague was not its builder, but the Holy Roman Empire and its Emperor.

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## Illustrations

All drawings (except Fig. 4) are by Nina Bažantová

Fig. 4: archive of the author

<sup>1</sup> This work was supported by grant nr. IAA800090902 (Antická inspirace v českém barokním umění / Classical inspiration in Czech Baroque art) of the Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.

<sup>2</sup> *Umělecké památky Prahy, Malá Strana* 1999, pp. 147–159; Muchka and Křížová 1996; *The Wallenstein Palace in Prague* 2002; Konečný 2005; *Albrecht von Wallenstein. Inter arma silent musae* 2007; Bažant and Bažantová 2011; Bažant 2011; Uličný 2011; Klipcová, Uličný 2013.

<sup>3</sup> ‘*Era già finita la sala principale ... Mi commessa sua Eccellenza, che dovessi a pesare a qual cosa. Già il salone era adorno di arme e trofei di guerra finti di stucco. Il Pieroni propose, che si facesse dentro il carro di Marte. Ne feci il disegno, e piacque in buona forma*’, in Baldinucci 1812, vol. XII, p. 402.

<sup>4</sup> *Alberti Fridlandi Perduellionis Chaos Sive Ingrati Animi Abyssus* 1634. On the title page we read, ‘*Cum Licentia Superiorum*’, but no author, publisher or place of publication is given.

<sup>5</sup> Zap 1848, p. 209. The first identifications of Mars in Waldstein Palace as Albrecht von Waldstein: Lange 1841, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Typotius 1601, fig. 106.

<sup>7</sup> Reuss 1998, pp. 276–278.

<sup>8</sup> Inventory of Waldstein palace of 1634: Praha, State regional archive (Státní oblastní archiv), Family archive (Rodinný archiv), ‘Valdštejnové’ (Waldsteins), cart. 6, sign. A29; Schebek 1881, pp. 587–608.

<sup>9</sup> Today the Knights’ Hall is dominated by a monumental painting of Waldstein on horseback which dates from 1631, but the painting was brought to the palace long after the Duke’s death (presumably from Valdice monastery). The painting was hung in 1877 in its present place above the fireplace, the idea coming from Countess Maria of Waldstein, who at that time supervised extensive reconstruction works in the palace of her husband, Count Ernst von Waldstein. Albrecht von Waldstein’s portrait met the anticipations of Czech patriots, who expected to find allusions to the great Czech in the palace. However, the portrait’s dominant position in the Knights’ Hall contradicts everything we know about the palace’s original decoration.

<sup>10</sup> From the sixteenth century onwards, such a portrait series was standard decoration in the public rooms of important residences. Its predecessor in Prague was in the palace of Emperor Rudolf II. The idea is rooted in ancient Rome, where Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus wrote his famous *De vita caesarum*, the biographies of the twelve founders of the ancient Roman Empire, from Caesar to Domitianus.

<sup>11</sup> Vergil, *Aeneis*, I, 286–287 (translation by H. R. Fairclough).

<sup>12</sup> Vergil, *Aeneis*, VI, 791–795 (translation by H. R. Fairclough).

<sup>13</sup> Vergil, *Eclogues*, IV, 5–9. (translation by H. R. Fairclough).

<sup>14</sup> Tempesta 1610, figs. 3, 4, 5 and 6.

<sup>15</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 151–155 (translation by A. S. Kline).

<sup>16</sup> National Museum, Prague, inv. Nr. H5-58.539; *Albrecht von Wallenstein. Inter arma silent musae* 2007, nr. 14, 48. Kleisner 2008, fig. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 141–144 (translation by A. S. Kline).

<sup>18</sup> Tempesta 1610, figs. 1, 8, 10, 12, 22, 24, 25, 28, 32, 41, 47, 75, 141 and 172.

<sup>19</sup> Spreng 1563, figs. 27, 40 and 172.

<sup>20</sup> Ripa 1603.

<sup>21</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII, 475–480.

<sup>22</sup> Tempesta 1610, fig. 122.

<sup>23</sup> Vergil, *Aeneis*, I, 148-156.

<sup>24</sup> Bartsch, vol. XIV, 204, 352.

<sup>25</sup> Vergil, *Aeneis*, II, 707-720.

<sup>26</sup> Tempesta 1610, fig. 126.

<sup>27</sup> *Vergilii Maronis dreyzehnen Bücher von dem tewren Helden Enea...* (Frankfurt am Main, 1559), book 11.

<sup>28</sup> Vergil, *Aeneis*, XII, 939-941.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. *Dell'Eneide di Virgilio del commendatore Annibal Caro* (Roma, 1622), book 12.

<sup>30</sup> Tanner 1993, 146-161.

<sup>31</sup> It is the work in 1599 of Benedikt Wurzelbauer and the Rudolphine sculptor, Nikolaus Pfaff (the original is in the Gallery of Prague Castle). Waldstein bought the statue from the Lobkovic family in 1630, but he did not place it in front of the Sala Terrena.

<sup>32</sup> In 1648 the statues were stolen by the Swedish army and moved to Drottningholm, where they became the pride of the residence of the Swedish kings. In 1910, copies of all the sculptures which had decorated the Neptune fountain were made. Today they are installed in the Waldstein garden, but not in their original site. They are arranged along the axis of the Sala Terrena, together with the statue of Apollo. This statue is not dated and probably it was never exhibited in the garden because, after Waldstein's death, a white box was found in his palace which contained 'a metal statue of Apollo.'

<sup>33</sup> Larsson 1998; Scholten 1999; Larsson 2000; S. Michalski, 2004.

<sup>34</sup> See notes 21 and 22.

<sup>35</sup> Vergil, *Aeneis*, I, 148–156.

<sup>36</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 543-552 (translated by B. More).

<sup>37</sup> In the Waldstein Palace we find the coat of arms of Waldstein family with lions in the garden. It decorates the stone socle which is today part of the fountain with Venus and the copies of bronze vases.

# Official Portraits and Regional Identities

The case of Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519)

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**Dagmar Eichberger** (University of Trier)<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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 1481<sup>10</sup> and is also described in the Vienna statute book of the Order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

### **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,<sup>13</sup> and for the woodcut that was published in several editions soon after Maximilian's death in January 1519.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

### **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.<sup>17</sup> The portrait exists in several replicas and copies that vary in size and shows numerous variations regarding the choice of attributes.<sup>18</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup>



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.<sup>20</sup> The Swabian artist Strigel was closely attached to Maximilian's court.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>



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),<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

### 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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].<sup>32</sup>

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).<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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].<sup>35</sup>

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;<sup>36</sup> another version in Berlin measures 37 x 25.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> Maximilian’s attire corresponds to the image of the White King in Maximilian’s autobiography *Weisskunig*.<sup>39</sup> 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].<sup>40</sup>

There are two paintings that match this description very closely, one in Brussels (fig. 4) and one in Berlin (fig. 1).<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup>



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).<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup>

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'.<sup>45</sup> 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.]<sup>46</sup>

John Hand lists three versions of this alternative portrait type from the Joos van Cleve workshop.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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*.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup>

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.<sup>54</sup> 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).<sup>55</sup> 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).<sup>56</sup> *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 '*Hochzeitguldiner*' by Ulrich Ursentaler reproduces Maximilian's portrait as a young prince on one side and that of his young bride on the reverse.<sup>57</sup> 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

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.

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.

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

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

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<sup>2</sup> Silver 2008.

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

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> Hand 2004, pp. 112–14.

<sup>6</sup> 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](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giovanni_Ambrogio_de_Predis) (accessed on 22 February 2013).

<sup>7</sup> 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](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Maximilian_I_1505_av.jpg) and

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Maximilian\\_I\\_1505\\_rv.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Maximilian_I_1505_rv.jpg) (accessed on 11 February 2013).

<sup>8</sup> 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](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ambrogio_de_Predis_001.jpg) (accessed on 12 February 2013)

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

<sup>10</sup> *Exzellente Chronik van Flandern*, Brügge, 1481, in Brüssel, KBR, Ms.13073–4, f. 335v.; see Fillitz 1988, pp. 70–71, ill. 4.

<sup>11</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> lxxvij en la ville de bruges*', quoted from Frimmel and Klemme 1887, p. 296.

<sup>12</sup> 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://bpgkate.picturemaxx.com/webgate/cms/> (accessed on 5 December, 2012).

<sup>13</sup> 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.

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

<sup>15</sup> Mende 2000, cat. no. 14, pp. 316–17.

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

<sup>17</sup> Scailliérez 2011, pp. 86–111.

<sup>18</sup> Hand 2004, cat. nos. 2.1–2.10, pp. 112–14.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> 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.

<sup>22</sup> 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>.

<sup>23</sup> Schütz 2002, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup> 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.

<sup>25</sup> 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](http://www.dhm.de/datenbank/dhm.php?seite=5&fld_0=K1000080) (accessed on 15 February 2013).

<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>27</sup> 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](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Hans_Burgkmair_d._%C3%84._005.jpg) (accessed on 15 February 2013).

<sup>28</sup> 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](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Hans_Burgkmair_d._%C3%84._006.jpg) (accessed on 15 February 2013).

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> Eichberger 2005, pp. 48–55.

<sup>31</sup> Eichberger 2002, pp. 58–115.

<sup>32</sup> 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.

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

<sup>34</sup> Eichberger 2009, pp. 241–64.

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

<sup>36</sup> 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).

<sup>37</sup> 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].

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

<sup>39</sup> 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.

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

<sup>41</sup> 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.

<sup>42</sup> 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).

<sup>43</sup> *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).

<sup>44</sup> Eichberger and Beaven 1995, pp. 233–35.



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

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

<sup>47</sup> 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).

<sup>48</sup> 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).

<sup>49</sup> 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.*’

<sup>50</sup> Hand 2004, p. 20.

<sup>51</sup> *Itinerarium Maximilian I* 1899, pp. 48–56.

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

<sup>53</sup> 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.

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

<sup>55</sup> 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](http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw03078/King-Henry-VII?LinkID=mp02144&role=sit&rNo=1) (accessed on 21 February 2013).

<sup>56</sup> 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>.

<sup>57</sup> 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](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).

# Dynastische Identität und europäische Politik der spanischen Habsburger in den 1650er Jahren

## Diego Velázquez' Bildnisse als Teil einer höfisch-politischen Porträtkultur

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Als Don Juan José, der natürliche Sohn des spanischen Königs Philipp IV., im März 1659 von der französischen Königin Anne d'Autriche in ihrem Palais bei Val de Grâce in Paris empfangen wurde, zeigte ihm diese die Bildnisse der spanischen Habsburger, die sich in ihrem Kabinett befanden. Darüber informiert ein zeitgenössischer Bericht, der die Szene in der Galerie zu einem Ereignis von staatspolitischer Bedeutung verdichtet:<sup>1</sup> Eines der Porträts nämlich zeigte die spanische Infantin Maria Teresa, die Tochter Philipps IV. An der gegenüberliegenden Wand hingen die Porträts der französischen Familie. Neben Ludwig XIV., damals bereits einundzwanzigjährig, war noch ein Platz frei für seine zukünftige Gemahlin. Der Spanier Don Juan merkte an, dass diese Lücke in der Bildnisreihe leicht zu füllen sei. Man müsse nur das gegenüberliegende Porträt der spanischen Infantin abnehmen und neben Ludwig aufhängen.

Dieser überlieferte Bericht vollführt unter Verweis auf den Gebrauch von Porträts eine Vorausschau, die kaum ein Jahr später erfüllt werden sollte: Die Verknüpfung der beiden Dynastien durch die Hochzeit Ludwigs XIV. mit der spanischen Infantin Maria Teresa. Ihr im Bericht erwähntes Bildnis ist vermutlich das von Diego Velázquez 1653 vollendete Werk, jedoch ist die in Paris gelandete Version eine Werkstattarbeit. Das von Velázquez angefertigte Original war nahezu zeitgleich nach Wien gelangt. Es hat sogar eine dritte Version gegeben, die nach Brüssel gesendet wurde.<sup>2</sup>

Die Ausführung des originalen Porträts und seiner beiden Kopien fällt in das letzte Schaffensjahrzehnt des spanischen Hofmalers Diego Velázquez, der 1660 starb. In diesem Jahrzehnt sind auch zwei seiner heute berühmtesten Werke entstanden: *Las Meninas* (1656) und *Las Hilanderas* (vermutlich um 1658) führen den intellektuellen Rang des Malers deutlich vor.<sup>3</sup> Diese Jahre waren aber vor allem dadurch geprägt, dass Velázquez das höchste für ihn erreichbare Amt bei Hofe erlangen konnte, nämlich das des Schlossmarschalls.<sup>4</sup> Dieses Amt verpflichtete ihn zu ständiger Anwesenheit am Hof, denn er leitete nicht nur einige Bauprojekte, sondern entwickelte Einsatzpläne für die Kammerdiener, überwachte die Etikette bei den Mahlzeiten des Königs, sorgte für die Quartiere bei königlichen Reisen, für die Möblierung und Ausstattung der Residenzen und organisierte Dekorationen für Feste.<sup>5</sup> Eine seiner letzten Amtstätigkeiten, bevor er im August 1660

starb, galt der organisatorischen und gestalterischen Besorgung der zeremoniellen Zusammenkunft zwischen dem spanischen und französischen Hof mit den beiden Königen Philipp IV. und Ludwig XIV. im Oktober 1659 auf der Pfaueninsel.<sup>6</sup>

Schon die Zeitgenossen bemerkten, die höfischen Ämter hätten den Maler von seiner künstlerischen Tätigkeit abgehalten. Diese Einschätzung reicht bis in die jüngste Forschung hinein. Laut Martin Warnke habe Philipp IV. auf Velázquez' Indienstnahme als Hofmaler verzichtet, was dieser wiederum dazu genutzt habe, seinen Malerberuf aufzugeben, um „aus freien Stücken zu malen“.<sup>7</sup> Mit den beiden Gemälden *Las Hilanderas* und *Las Meninas* habe Velázquez vor allem seine künstlerische Nobilitierung im Auge gehabt.

Jedoch malte Velázquez im selben Jahrzehnt, also ab 1651, eine ganze Reihe von Portrait — und dasjenige der eingangs genannten Maria Teresa war eines davon —, die eben nicht in den mutmaßlichen Bereich eines vom Hofamt losgelösten und somit womöglich entfesselten Künstlertums fallen, sondern genau dem Pflichtenspektrum des Hofkünstlers entsprachen. Es waren die Porträts der Familienmitglieder der spanischen Habsburger. Das klingt zunächst nach bruchloser Fortsetzung, war Velázquez doch als Porträtist bereits überaus erfahren. Indessen leistete er hier in seinen letzten Lebensjahren etwas Neues in seinem ohnehin reichen Porträtschaffen. Um dies zu verstehen, ist ein kurzer Blick auf die politische Situation der spanischen Habsburger notwendig, befand sich doch die spanische Linie der Casa Austria in diesen Jahren in einer ernsthaften Krise. Ausgelöst wurde diese 1646 durch den unvermittelten Tod von Philipps einzigem Sohn Baltasar Carlos und damit des rechtmäßigen Thronfolgers, nur wenige Wochen nachdem mit Kaiser Ferdinand III. in Wien vereinbart worden war, dass dessen Tochter Maria Anna, damals zwölf Jahre alt, Baltasar Carlos zur Frau gegeben werden sollte.<sup>8</sup> Zwei Jahre zuvor, 1644, war bereits Philipps Gemahlin Isabella von Bourbon verstorben. Der König war nunmehr ohne einen männlichen Erben; der einzig verbliebene Nachkomme dieser Verbindung war die Infantin Maria Teresa.

Die durch den Tod des Prinzen hervorgerufene Situation war jedoch nicht nur für die spanischen Habsburger, sondern insgesamt für das Gleichgewicht der europäischen Mächte zum Ausgang des Dreißigjährigen Krieges ausgesprochen heikel. Gerade die dynastischen Schwächen der Habsburger und ihre Erbfolgekrisen brachten das europäische Staatensystem im siebzehnten und frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert immer wieder ins Wanken, weil die Monarchien am veralteten Charakter der Patrimonialstaaten festhalten wollten und damit an einer Erbfolge, von der die Frauen ausgeschlossen waren.<sup>9</sup> So blieb das dynastische Europa eine Quelle unzähliger Konflikte infolge des Aussterbens herrschender Häuser und der durch die Nebenlinien aufgrund von Erbrechten erhobenen Ansprüche. Das Problem der biologischen Schwäche der spanischen Linie des Hauses Habsburg wurde schon während der Friedensverhandlungen in Münster 1648 von den spanischen und französischen Delegationen diskutiert.<sup>10</sup>



Abb. 1 Diego Velázquez, Isabella von Bourbon, 1631-32, New York, Privatsammlung.



Abb. 2 Diego Velázquez, Baltasar Carlos, ca. 1640, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Um die Hegemonie der Habsburger in Europa dennoch zu sichern, beschloss der damals 42-jährige Philipp IV. kurzerhand selbst die Braut seines verstorbenen Sohnes zu heiraten, obwohl diese, Maria Anna, seine leibliche Nichte war und zum Zeitpunkt des Heiratskontrakts 1647 gerade erst dreizehn Jahre zählte. Maria Anna, im folgenden Mariana genannt, traf im Herbst 1649 in Madrid ein. Velázquez befand sich zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Italien und kehrte erst im Sommer 1651 an den Hof in Madrid zurück, wo er die neue politische Situation vorfand, die sowohl ihn —den frisch ernannten Schlossmarschall—, als auch die spanische Linie der Casa Austria vor neue Aufgaben stellte. Der Blick auf die seit 1651 geschaffenen Porträts zeigt unverkennbar eine deutliche Dominanz der weiblichen Familienmitglieder.<sup>11</sup> Diese waren bisher, mit Ausnahme von einem Porträt der ersten Gemahlin Philipps IV. (Abb. 1),<sup>12</sup> nicht im Fokus des ersten Hofmalers Velázquez gewesen, der —freilich in Anlehnung an einen antiken Topos— als einziger berechtigt war, den König zu malen. Zudem oblag ihm bisher die Aufgabe, Baltasar Carlos, den Sohn des Königs im Porträt festzuhalten (Abb. 2),<sup>13</sup> gleichsam als Beleg der als gesichert geglaubten Fortsetzung der Dynastie.

Von dessen neun Jahre jüngeren Schwester, Maria Teresa, gibt es keine von Velázquez, dem ersten Hofmaler, ausgeführten Kinderbildnisse. Dafür waren offenbar andere zuständig, wie etwa Velázquez' Schwiegersohn Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, der die Prinzessin als etwa Vierjährige malte (Abb. 3).<sup>14</sup> Martínez del Mazo erweist sich als eng vertraut mit der künstlerischen Handschrift seines Schwiegervaters Velázquez: in der leicht gedrehten Haltung des Kindes, das sich an einem



Stuhl abstützt, hinterfangen von einem figürlichen Bildteppich, folgt das Bildnis dem von Velázquez geprägten Typus des Kinderporträts, wie demjenigen des zweijährigen Baltasar Carlos von 1631 (Abb. 4).<sup>15</sup> Ein entscheidender Unterschied liegt beim Bildnis der Maria Teresa jedoch im Fehlen von Insignien der Macht, wie sie selbst dem zweijährigen Baltasar Carlos in der Kleidung, im Schwert und Kommandostab und in den vom Zwerg gehaltenen Rassel und Apfel, die auf Szepter und Reichsapfel anspielen könnten, beigegeben sind.



Abb. 3 Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, Maria Teresa, um 1642, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Abb. 4 Diego Velázquez, Baltasar Carlos mit einem Zwerg, 1631, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Dem Rang des jeweiligen Hofmalers entsprach somit die Rangstellung der zu porträtierenden Familienmitglieder, etwa des Thronerben gegenüber den anderen, vor allem weiblichen Nachkommen. Die Töchter spielten zwar in der Erbfolge keine Rolle, waren aber ein wichtiges Symbol für die florierenden Familienverbindungen, gerade nachdem die Casa Austria in eine österreichische und eine spanische Linie gespalten war.

Unter dem Aspekt der klaren Rollenverteilung unter den Hofmalern ist es daher erstaunlich, dass Velázquez als erster unter ihnen nun auch die weiblichen Nachkommen zu porträtieren hatte, trotz seiner hohen Belastung auf dem wichtigen Hofamt als Schlossmarschall. Das lässt darauf schließen, dass man die Bedeutung der weiblichen Familienmitglieder in den 1650er Jahren höher schätzte als bislang und ihrer Rolle ein größeres Gewicht beimaß, zumal die neue Verbindung von Philipp IV. mit Mariana jahrelang ohne männlichen Spross blieb.

Noch ein weiterer Aspekt ist wichtig: Der Großteil dieser Porträts gelangte in einen interhöfischen Bilderkreislauf zwischen dem spanischen Königshof in Madrid, Paris als Sitz des

französischen Königs, Wien als Sitz des Kaisers und Brüssel als Sitz des Statthalters der spanischen Niederlande. Es war ein den Akteuren vertrautes und ritualisiertes Spiel mit Kopien, Repliken und Originalen, mit Großformaten und Kleinformaten, mit Brustbildern und ganzfigurigen Porträts.<sup>16</sup> Eine effiziente und gut organisierte Werkstatt war dabei Voraussetzung für das Gelingen des diplomatischen Austauschs von Porträts, was manchen Hofmaler sicher auch überfordern konnte.

Jeder beteiligte Maler konnte seine Porträts und die seiner in der Ferne arbeitenden Kollegen als Medien eines kalkulierbaren Kulturtransfers betrachten, wenngleich die künstlerische Aufgabe keine leichte war. Denn nicht selten kollidierte das Informationsbedürfnis der Empfänger mit den Idealisierungsbestrebungen der Absender, was den Künstler dazu zwang, den Zielkonflikt zwischen dem Verismus in der Darstellung und ihrer symbolischen Übersteigerung weitgehend aufzulösen. Immerhin mussten die Künstler nicht selbst reisen — wie noch Velázquez nach Italien —, um Spuren ihrer Porträtkunst an den fernegelegenen Höfen zu hinterlassen.

Die Übermittler von Bildnis und Botschaft waren vor allem die Gesandten und Diplomaten, die die Interessen des eigenen Hofes an den jeweils anderen Höfen vertraten. Sie gehörten zu den zentralen Akteuren in diesem hochgradig ritualisierten Austausch von Porträts entlang der politischen Achsen, quer durch das dynastische Europa. Daher wirft die Porträtpraxis, in die auch Velázquez' Bildnisse eingebunden waren, einiges Licht auf die Beziehungen zwischen den spanischen und den österreichischen Habsburgern bzw. den französischen Bourbonen: Wie es um die jeweiligen Verhältnisse bestellt war, kann man an den Bildern selbst, an ihrem Gebrauch und schließlich — sofern hier Quellen vorliegen — an ihrer Fremdwahrnehmung ablesen.

Velázquez' späte Bildnisse der vor allem weiblichen Mitglieder der Königsfamilie können somit als Teil einer höfischen Porträtkultur betrachtet werden, die einerseits aus der Bildverwendung innerhalb des dynastisch-diplomatischen Austauschs und andererseits der Rezeption durch Kommentare der Zeitgenossen definiert wird. Jedoch ist zu bedenken, dass sehr viel weniger Quellen über Fragen der Rezeption Auskunft geben als zu der Tauschpraxis selbst, die ihrerseits in der künstlerischen Disposition des jeweiligen Gemäldes ihren eigenen, eben bildhaften Quellenbefund findet. Denn im Rahmen der höfischen Porträtkultur erfüllen die Bildnisse unterschiedliche Zwecke, die man — so die These — an ihren stilistischen, kompositionellen und ikonographischen Besonderheiten ablesen kann. Über ihre pragmatische Funktion steuern Porträts die Wahrnehmungen der politischen Akteure, erinnern an getroffene interhöfische Verabredungen oder nähren politische Hoffnungen. Bisweilen sind es die kleinen Unterschiede im Arrangement eines Porträts, die darüber entscheiden, ob es der Brautwerbung, einem Erbschaftsversprechen, der Betonung eines Machtanspruchs oder dem Erweis dynastischer Prosperität dienen soll.

An einer kleinen Auswahl seien im Folgenden solche Unterschiede in Velázquez' Porträts, die im interhöfischen Bilderverkehr kursierten, beispielhaft dargelegt, um Rolle und Bedeutung des höfischen Bildnisses als Teil einer regelrechten Porträtkultur sichtbar zu machen. Ich möchte beginnen mit dem großformatigen Porträt der neuen Königin Mariana (Abb. 5).<sup>17</sup> Im Jahre 1649, als die neue Königin in Madrid eingetroffen war, befand sich Velázquez noch in Italien und konnte erst nach seiner Rückkehr aus Rom 1651 mit dem Porträt der jungen Regentin beginnen. Obwohl der Kaiser bereits im Juli 1650 um ein Porträt seiner Tochter nach ihrer Hochzeit gebeten hatte, wartete man offenbar auf die Rückkehr des ersten königlichen Hofmalers, was die Bedeutung dieser Aufgabe unterstrich.<sup>18</sup> Das Bild war spätestens im Dezember 1652 beendet, denn mit der diplomatischen

Mission des Marquis von Caracena<sup>19</sup> wurde zu diesem Zeitpunkt ein Porträt der Königin an den Kaiserhof nach Wien gesendet — es war jedoch nur eine Werkstattreplik, die Wien erreichte (Abb. 6).<sup>20</sup> Das Original verblieb in Madrid (Abb. 5).<sup>21</sup>



Abb. 5 Diego Velázquez, Königin Mariana, um 1652, Madrid, Museo del Prado.



Abb. 6 Diego Velázquez (Werkstatt), Königin Mariana, um 1652, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Der Vergleich mit dem Porträt der früheren Königin (Abb. 1) liegt nahe: Velázquez schuf des Bildnis der Isabella von Bourbon etwa zwanzig Jahre vorher.<sup>22</sup> Die Ähnlichkeit in der Disposition der beiden Bildnisse ist deutlich: Der die Szene hinterfangende rote Vorhang, das Aufstützen auf den mit Samt bezogenen Stuhl, die steife Körperhaltung, die die förmliche Etikette im offiziellen Hofporträt demonstriert und den Eindruck königlicher Majestät hervorruft. Alle diese gemeinsamen Elemente belegen die Vertrautheit Velázquez' mit der schon durch Rubens am spanischen Hof etablierten Porträtform. Dennoch gibt es im Bildnis der Mariana neuartige Aspekte, die nicht allein auf stilistische Variationen zurückzuführen sind, sondern mit der bildgewordenen Funktion der Königin als Repräsentantin der Dynastie zu tun haben. So etwa trägt Mariana, deren Hals im Gegensatz zu Isabella nicht bedeckt ist, eine aufwändig und kunstvoll frisierte Perücke, die das Gesicht wie ein Fächer hinterfängt; seitlich wird das Haupt von einer buschigen Straußenfeder bekrönt.<sup>23</sup>

Die auffälligste Änderung in der Mode ist jedoch der sogenannte „*Guardainfante*“, der weitausladende Reifrock. Durch das enge Korsett wird die Taille und damit der ausgestellte Rock



noch betont. Die Entscheidung, den *Guardainfante* für die Königin zu wählen, war gewiss nicht allein dem reinen Diktat der Mode geschuldet, denn diese Gewandform hatte eine durchaus heikle Bedeutung. Die weit verbreitete Befürchtung war, dass sich unter dem *Guardainfante*, also „Kinderwächter“ genannten Rock, so manche Schwangerschaft verbergen ließ, die, so eine zeitgenössische Quelle, nicht die Frucht einer legitimen Liebesbeziehung sei.<sup>24</sup> 1639 war der Rock daher per königlichem Dekret als „hurenmäßig“ verboten worden (Abb. 7).<sup>25</sup> Der Rock erfreute sich dennoch ungeahnter Beliebtheit, und viele Frauen setzten sich über das Verbot hinweg. Das Gesetz wurde verschiedentlich erneuert, doch ohne die Verbreitung dieser modischen Attraktion wirklich eindämmen zu können. Velázquez porträtierte die Königin in diesem strittigen Auftritt sogar zur selben Zeit, als der spanische Hofdramatiker Calderón den *Guardainfante* satirisch in seinen am Hof aufgeführten Theaterstücken verarbeitete.<sup>26</sup>



Abb. 7 Königliches Dekret zum Verbot des *Guardainfante*, 1639.

Die Frage stellt sich, warum Velázquez diese so auffällige Gewandung in einem höfischen Staatsporträt einsetzte, das als solches ausgewiesen ist etwa durch den Stuhl und die Tischuhr als Symbole königlichen Ranges. Ist es ein Zeichen für Fruchtbarkeit —und damit das zentrale Symbol für die Kontinuität der Habsburger Herrschaft?<sup>27</sup> Oder könnte dieses modisch-prächtige, mit silbernen Litzen bestickte und mit roten Bändern verzierte Kleid, kombiniert mit wertvollem Schmuck, darunter Goldketten, Armbänder und eine große goldene Brosche am Mieder, genau das repräsentieren, was es ostentativ zeigt: nämlich Mode und Pracht, eine betont spanische Aktualität und Reichtum,<sup>28</sup> somit einen prosperierenden spanischen Hof, biologisch wie finanziell. Beides entsprach zu dieser Zeit freilich kaum der Realität. Die finanziellen Ressourcen waren überaus kritisch und ein Thronfolger noch lange nicht geboren. Die weibliche Repräsentantin der Dynastie liefert in diesem



Bildnis das nach dem frühen Tod des Thronfolgers lange überfällige Versprechen, dass man in Europa weiterhin mit den spanischen Habsburgern zu rechnen hat.

Schließlich sei auf eine dritte Neuerung in diesem Königinporträt gegenüber dem früheren der Isabella von Bourbon (Abb. 1) hingewiesen, die ebenfalls der aktualisierten symbolischen Übersteigerung dient: der Kontrast zwischen der körperlichen Starre der Figur und der technischen Virtuosität des Pinselstrichs, eine Spontaneität und Leichtigkeit, die der Maler vor allem im Bereich der Gewandung vorführt. Hier verwandelt sich die arretierte Gewandhülle in ein bewegtes Glitzern und Flirren, das die ganze Person zum Erstrahlen bringt. Mit Marianas Porträt wurde in diesen Aspekten ein neuer Typus des Bildnisses am Hof der spanischen Habsburger etabliert und zwar — zum Zeitpunkt einer ernsthaften Erbfolgekrise — der des selbstständigen *weiblichen* Hofporträts.

Die Typenhaftigkeit zeigt sich in dem nur wenig später entstandenen Porträt der Maria Teresa (Abb. 8),<sup>29</sup> welches schon zu Beginn kurz erwähnt wurde. Maria Teresa war es, auf die sich die Aufmerksamkeit der anderen europäischen Mächte noch weitaus stärker richtete als auf die junge Königin: die Tochter Philipps IV. aus dessen erster Ehe mit Isabella von Bourbon war gerade einmal vier Jahre jünger als ihre Stiefmutter Mariana, und vor allem war sie der einzig noch verbliebene, wenn auch weibliche Spross des spanischen Königshauses. Bereits 1646, kurz nach dem Tod des Königsohns Baltasar Carlos', schlug Frankreichs regierender Minister Mazarin diese Verbindung vor. Der Bruch der Verhandlungen zwischen beiden Herrscherhäusern auf dem Friedenskongress in Münster und somit der fortdauernde Krieg vereitelten zunächst den Heiratsplan. Erst nach vielen Jahren, 1659, sollte der Pyrenäenfrieden den vorgezeichneten Weg für die neue Verbindung freimachen.



Abb. 8 Diego Velázquez (Werkstatt), Maria Teresa, um 1653, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Maria Teresas Rolle erlangte somit nach dem Tode von Balthasar Carlos eine neue politische Bedeutung, die über die gängige Heiratspraxis am spanischen Hof weit hinausging. Dies lässt sich allein an der *Versendungsbreite* ihres Porträts ablesen, denn es wurde an noch mehr Höfe und in

noch dichterere Frequenz verteilt als dasjenige der Königin. Davon zeugen die Berichte der Gesandten und Diplomaten zu dieser Zeit, die für die Transfers der Porträts der Infantin zuständig waren. Die Versendung eines Bildnisses der spanischen Infantin kam am Zielort dem Versprechen gleich, dass hier wie dort einer Heirat zugestimmt werden könnte.<sup>30</sup> Ein solches Versprechen konnte bereits zur Zeit der Anfertigung des jeweiligen Bildnisses und der Planung seiner Versendungsziele wahrgenommen werden, was den beteiligten Akteuren mitunter einen diplomatisch nutzbaren Zeitvorteil verschaffen konnte.

Feinnervig registrierten auswärtige Gesandte am betreffenden Hof, ob Porträts auf die Reise an bestimmte Ziele gehen sollten, was als ein Zeichen für Verhandlungen entlang einer wichtigen politischen Achse gedeutet wurde: So berichtet der in Madrid ansässige Gesandte vom Hof zu Modena, Francesco Ottonelli, am 22. Februar 1653, der Marchese Mattei, der vor einigen Monaten nach Madrid geschickt worden sei, reise morgen wieder nach Flandern ab; man habe ihm mitgegeben „*il ritratto della serenissima infanta e con esso quello del re e della regina*“.<sup>31</sup> Es seien also Porträts der Infantin — die an erster Stelle genannt wird —, des Königs und der Königin für den Statthalter Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm, den Bruder des Kaisers, nach Brüssel gesendet worden, natürlich um dessen Hoffnung auf seine Vermählung mit der Infantin zu nähren, „*la speranza del matrimonio con la detta serenissima infanta*“.<sup>32</sup>



Abb. 9 Diego Velázquez, Maria Teresa, um 1653, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Porträts konnten somit zu politisch aktivierbaren Medien werden, ja zum diplomatischen Surrogat von neuen Bündnisformierungen; sie dienten sogar als Vertrauensspende zur Vorbereitung von Friedensverhandlungen. Der gemalten spanischen Prinzessin kam dabei eine multiple Funktion

zu, denn bei der Versendung des Porträts nach Brüssel (Abb. 8)<sup>33</sup> blieb es nicht; eine weitere Version ging, so ein Bericht des venezianischen Gesandten Giacomo Querini vom 17. Dezember 1653, fast zeitgleich an den Wiener Kaiserhof (Abb. 9):<sup>34</sup> Maria Teresa war 1653 für den ältesten Sohn des Kaisers bestimmt, der jedoch bereits ein Jahr später verstarb. Im selben Schreiben fügte der Gesandte hinzu, er selbst werde ein drittes Bildnis der Infantin wiederum nach Frankreich schicken.<sup>35</sup> Dieser Vorgang erstaunt am meisten, denn die Franzosen befanden sich zu dieser Zeit noch im Krieg mit Spanien: Die Übersendung eines Porträts an ein feindliches Land war eine große Neuerung für die spanischen Habsburger. Bisher hatte sich der Spanische Hof allgemein mit Bildnisgeschenken über die Grenzen der Dynastie hinaus sehr zurückgehalten;<sup>36</sup> Porträts zirkulierten fast ausschließlich innerhalb der Habsburger Familie, also zwischen Wien und Madrid. Nun aber musste man sich den Mächten — ob Kriegsgegner oder Bündnispartner — gleichermaßen politisch anbieten, und innerhalb der zugehörigen Geschäftsgänge der Gesandten war das Bildnis der Prinzessin klarerweise ein geeignetes Medium zur Bekräftigung seiner Interessen.<sup>37</sup>



Abb. 10 Diego Velázquez (Werkstatt), Maria Teresa, um 1653, Paris, Louvre.

Das Porträt der Infantin wurde also innerhalb kurzer Zeit an drei verschiedene Höfe geschickt: Das Original ging nach Wien, eine Kopie nach Brüssel an den Hof des Statthalters der spanischen Niederlande und eine weitere Kopie schließlich nach Paris, die erheblich beschnitten worden ist und nur noch als Brustbild existiert (Abb. 10).<sup>38</sup> Auch die beiden großformatigen Versionen (sie waren ursprünglich über 2 Meter hoch) sind beschnitten worden — in der Höhe um ca. 70 cm, in der Breite knapp 30 cm.<sup>39</sup> Man muss sich Maria Teresa also ursprünglich als Ganzfigur, wie auf dem Porträt Marianas (Abb. 5), vorstellen. Auch im Typus ist das Porträt der Infantin, wie angedeutet, dem der Königin verblüffend ähnlich, was die Haltung der diszipliniert stehenden Figur mit der auffällig modischen Frisur, dem Schmuck und dem *Guardainfante* verdeutlicht. Selbst die physiognomische Ähnlichkeit ist über das verwandtschaftlich enge Verhältnis hinaus gesucht, um die

Habsburger Familienzugehörigkeit über die Trennung der Casa Austria in eine spanische und eine österreichische Linie hinaus zu propagieren.

Jedoch sind bei der vor einem tiefdunklen schwarz-grünen Vorhang stehenden Infantin, abgesehen von der über den Rock entlang geführten Uhr und möglicherweise einem Bildnismedaillon,<sup>40</sup> keinerlei Attribute zu finden. Der dunkelgrüne schwere Teppich scheint sogar den Tisch links regelrecht verdecken zu wollen, um keinerlei Deutungsmöglichkeiten zu bieten. Diese Ausblendung politischer Ikonographien ist keine Willkür, denn spätere Bildnisse Velázquez' bedienen durchaus den attributiven Apparat der Herrschaftsdarstellung. Vielmehr hält sich dieses Porträt der Infantin offenbar absichtlich bedeckt. Es ist ein Staatsporträt ohne Attribute; damit aber auch ohne den im Staatsporträt gewohnten Ausdruck von sozialer Egalität und höfischer Vernetzung.<sup>41</sup> Der Hofmaler Velázquez wird gewusst haben, dass das Porträt an mehrere Höfe geschickt werden sollte, darunter sogar der französische Hof der Bourbonen. Er bemüht sich also um eine ikonographisch multiple Passform für eine bildpragmatische Bewahrung des Porträts an drei verschiedenen Orten zugleich.

Es gibt einen weiteren wichtigen Aspekt, der die Attributlosigkeit erklärt: es durfte kein Hinweis auf einen Erbanspruch erkennbar sein. Das Porträt der Maria Theresa durfte nicht — wie die Bildnisse ihres Bruders, des Prinzen Baltasar Carlos — ein Symbol für die Kontinuität spanischer Herrschaft sein. Denn die Verheiratung Maria Teresas bot für die europäischen Mächte eine Gefahr, so lange kein männlicher Thronfolger geboren war. Das jahrelange Buhlen der Franzosen um die spanische Infantin als Braut für Ludwig XIV. wurde in Europa mit größter Sorge registriert, da man zu Recht den französischen Anspruch auf das spanische Erbe befürchtete.<sup>42</sup> Das Einlenken Philipps IV. in den Hochzeitsverhandlungen erfolgte erst in den späten 1650er Jahren, denn erst 1657 war mit Felipe Próspero der langersehnte männliche Thronfolger geboren.

In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich abschließend zwei Porträts kurz in den Blick nehmen, die 1659, also wenige Monate vor der spanisch-französischen Hochzeit, als Geschenke Philipps IV. an den Kaiser nach Wien gesendet wurden: Die beiden Bildnisse zeigen die zwei Nachkommen aus der Ehe mit Mariana von Österreich, Margarita Teresa (Abb. 11) und ihren jüngeren Bruder, den eben erwähnten Felipe Próspero (Abb. 12).<sup>43</sup>





Abb. 11 Diego Velázquez, Margarita Teresa, 1659, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Diese beiden von Velázquez für den Kaiser angefertigten Bildnisse hatten in dem hier dargelegten, mit hoher politischer Symbolik behafteten interhökischen Porträttransfer der 1650er Jahre wiederum wichtige Rollen auszufüllen. Margarita Teresa war dem seit wenigen Monaten als Kaiser, nach hart umkämpfter Wahl, regierenden Habsburgers Leopold I. als zukünftige Braut versprochen. Diese eindeutige Bestimmung der Infantin spiegelt sich in dem reichen attributiven Apparat ihres Porträts (Abb. 11), zu dessen Dechiffrierung aufgrund des ruinösen Zustandes des Hintergrundes nur zeitgenössische Quellen helfen.<sup>44</sup> Laut diesen steht auf dem Beistelltisch links eine Standuhr aus Ebenholz ruhend auf vergoldeten Bronzefiguren, ganz offensichtlich Löwen. In der Mitte der Uhr ist ein Kreis mit dem Sonnenwagen gemalt. Der Sonnenwagen gilt als wohlbekanntes Symbol für ein neues Zeitalter, die Sonne allgemein als Sinnbild für den Herrscher. Und auch der neu gewählte Kaiser Leopold war schon kurz nach seiner Krönung 1658 als „neue Sonne“ in Flugschriften apostrophiert worden.<sup>45</sup> Der Beginn des neuen Zeitalters starker Beziehungen innerhalb der Casa Austria kommt in Margarita Teresas Porträt zum Ausdruck als deutliches prohabsburgisches Zeichen, während die spanisch-bourbonische Hochzeit zwischen ihrer Halbschwester und Ludwig XIV. besiegelt war.



Abb. 12 Diego Velázquez, Felipe Próspero, 1659, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Garant für dieses neu anbrechende Habsburger Zeitalter war indessen vor allem der Thronfolger Felipe Próspero, dessen Porträt zeitgleich mit demjenigen Margaritas nach Wien gesendet wurde (Abb. 12). Man hat diesem Bildnis immer wieder einen melancholischen Zug unterstellt und die Dunkelheit, die sich hinter dem von Abwehramuletten gegen den bösen Blick behangenen Prinzen ausbreitet, als finstere Zukunft der Dynastie lesen wollen, so als habe Velázquez den frühen Tod Felipe Prósperos — 1661 starb er vierjährig — geahnt und ins Bild gebannt.<sup>46</sup> Eine solche Darstellung konnte natürlich in keinster Weise den Absichten des Hofes entsprochen haben, mögen auch die zeitgenössischen Berichte das Bild von einem schwächlichen Kind zeichnen. Der Maler Velázquez stieß im Porträt Felipe Prósperos sicherlich an die Grenzen des Konflikts zwischen mimetischer Darstellung und der zu propagierenden Rolle des Dargestellten, dessen reine Präsenz im Bildnis die Befürchtungen des Kaisers um ein gefährdetes spanisches Erbe zerstreuen sollten. Der Hofmann Velázquez wusste sehr wohl um die mit Hilfe von Porträts geführten Schachzüge im Mächtehaushalt der Höfe und die Regeln dieses kulturellen Spiels um den dynastischen Machterhalt.<sup>47</sup>

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## Abbildungen

Abb. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12: López-Rey, José, *Velázquez. Maler der Maler*, 2 Bde. (Köln, 1996).

Abb. 3: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (metmuseum.org).

Abb. 7: <http://historiaturaniana.blogspot.de/2012/03/pregon-real-sobre-guedejas-y-copetes.html>

Abb. 10: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

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<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires de François de Paule de Clermont, marquis de Monglat, [...] contenant l'histoire de la guerre entre la France et la maison d'Autriche [...] sous le règne de Louis XIII et de Louis XIV*, Amsterdam 1727, Bd. IV, S. 206 f. Zu dieser Quelle vgl. bes. Zimmermann 1905, pp. 189 (dort auch der Wortlaut der Quelle). Siehe ebenso Winkler 1993, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Zu diesen Versionen siehe im Verlauf des Beitrags.

<sup>3</sup> Siehe etwa den Sammelband zu *Las Meninas*: Greub 2001.

<sup>4</sup> Zu den Ämtern und Aufgaben des Malers am spanischen Hof siehe Warnke 2005, pp. 139–143.

<sup>5</sup> Siehe auch Brown 1988, S. 215.

<sup>6</sup> Brown 1988, pp. 248 f. Zur großen politischen Rolle von Velázquez vgl. auch: Gasta 2006.



<sup>7</sup> Warnke 2005, S. 139. Die Phase bis zu Velázquez' Tod 1660 charakterisiert Warnke folgendermaßen: „Jedem Biographen des Velázquez ist aufgefallen, dass der Maler im letzten Jahrzehnt seines Lebens eigentlich nicht mehr seinen Malberuf ausgeübt hat, obwohl wenigstens zwei Werke aus diesem Jahrzehnt Hauptwerke der Malereigeschichte darstellen.“

<sup>8</sup> Zur Geschichte Spaniens im siebzehnten Jahrhundert siehe: Defourneaux 1986; Kennedy 1989, pp. 69–189.

<sup>9</sup> Bérenger 1996, p. 63–88.

<sup>10</sup> Ebd., p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. den Werkkatalog bei López-Rey 1996.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. z.B. das 1631–32 entstandene Porträt der Isabella von Bourbon, New York, Privatsammlung, 207 x 119 cm; López-Rey 1996, Bd. II, pp. 53–55.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. etwa das Porträt von ca. 1640, Baltasar Carlos, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 128 x 99 cm; López-Rey 1996, Bd. II, S. 222.

<sup>14</sup> Das Werk befindet sich in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, um 1642; zum Künstler vgl. Brown 1998, pp. 188–190.

<sup>15</sup> Baltasar Carlos mit einem Zwerg, 1631, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Siehe López-Rey 1996, Bd. II, p. 51.

<sup>16</sup> Mit vielen Quellenverweisen: Winkler 1993. Zu den Konflikten beim interhökischen Bildnistausch siehe besonders Warnke 1985, pp. 270–284 und passim. Siehe auch Warnke 2005, p. 38–48. Zum Porträtgebrauch und zur Porträtpraxis vgl. Krems/Ruby 2014 (in Vorbereitung).

<sup>17</sup> Es geht um folgende Version: Maria Anna von Österreich, um 1652–53, Öl auf Leinwand, 234 x 132 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado; vgl. *Velázquez* 1990, Kat. 71, p. 409; López-Rey 1996, Bd. II, pp. 298 ff.; Justi 1933, pp. 663–671 und Zimmermann 1905, p. 185 haben Grundlegendes zur Erforschung der Versionen in verschiedenen europäischen und außereuropäischen Sammlungen geleistet.

<sup>18</sup> Velázquez war gegen Ende 1648 nach Italien aufgebrochen und kehrte erst im Juni 1651 nach Madrid zurück. Justi 1933, p. 667, verweist darauf, dass zwar zunächst Juan Bautista del Mazo ein Bildnis anfertigte, welches aber offenbar nicht für andere Höfe bestimmt gewesen war.

<sup>19</sup> Luis Francisco de Benavides Carrillo de Toledo, Marquis von Caracena (1608–1668), war von 1648–1656 Statthalter von Mailand.

<sup>20</sup> Leinwandgröße 204 x 126,5 cm; Rahmenmaße 226 x 148,5 x 10 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Gemäldegalerie, Zimmermann 1905, S. 172; López-Rey 1996, Bd. II, p. 121–124.

<sup>21</sup> Es wurde um 1800 um rund 20 cm nach oben verlängert. Zur Forschung siehe auch den Ausstellungskatalog *Velázquez* 1990, p. 408–417.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. oben Anm. 12.

<sup>23</sup> Zu den Unterschieden zwischen den Porträts der alten und neuen Königin siehe auch Saxl 1957, Bd. I, p. 320. Saxl bezeichnet das Porträt Marianas als „unreal“.

<sup>24</sup> Zum *Guardainfante* vgl. Defourneaux 1989, pp. 185–187; Bernis 1991, pp. 49–60. Zum Mariana-Porträt: Llorente 2006, pp. 211–238.

<sup>25</sup> Fernando de Vallejo, *Pregon en que su magestad manda, que ninguna muger de qualquier estado y calidad que sea pueda traer, ni traiga guardainfante, ò otro instrumento, ò trage semehante, excepto las mugeres que con licencia de las justicias publicamente son malas de sus personas*, Madrid, En la imprenta de Francisco Martinez, 1639.

<sup>26</sup> Zanger 1997, p. 156, verweist zudem darauf, dass der weitausladende Reifrock von den Franzosen im Zusammenhang mit der Hochzeit zwischen Ludwig XIV. und Maria Teresa (1660) als altmodisch bezeichnet wurde. Zu dieser Zeit trug man in Frankreich engere Röcke. Laut Zanger wurde die Infantin überredet, enger anliegende Röcke zu tragen, um die Verhandlungen nicht zu gefährden. Zu Recht weist Zanger darauf hin, dass Kleidung eine politische und ideologische Qualität haben kann. Zur Bedeutung der Accessoires im Porträt siehe auch Pointon 2014 (in Vorbereitung).

<sup>27</sup> Barta 2001, p. 62: Bei der Auswahl der Ehefrauen spielten nicht nur politische Überlegungen eine Rolle, sondern auch die wahrscheinliche Fruchtbarkeit der Braut. Dabei informierte man sich genau über ihre Körperbeschaffenheit und das Funktionieren der Gebärgane.

<sup>28</sup> Schon auf der Hochzeit war Philipp IV., wie zeitgenössische Berichte belegen, in höchst prächtiger Kleidung erschienen. Vgl. Stradling 1988, p. 339.

<sup>29</sup> Auch hier gibt es mehrere Versionen. Die wichtigsten zwei befinden sich in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, und Wien, 128 x 106 cm; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie; 127 x 98,5 cm; *Velázquez* 2006, S. 231, Kat.-Nr. 43, Abb. 109. Zu den beiden Versionen vgl. auch López-Rey 1996, Bd. II, pp. 292–295. Ausführlich bei Justi 1933, S. 671–676; Zimmermann 1905, pp. 185–187.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. z. B. die Reaktion Mazarins, als er davon erfuhr, dass ein Bildnis der spanischen Infantin Maria Theresia nach Wien gesendet wurde; Baticle 1960, p. 197.

<sup>31</sup> Justi 1933, p. 667. Ausführlicher wird die Quelle bei Zimmermann 1905, p. 185, zitiert.

<sup>32</sup> Ebd. Im Inventar der Galerie Leopold Wilhelms 1659 wird das Gemälde beschrieben wie folgt: „Ein Contrafait [...] der Infantin von Spanien, lebensgroß, an ihre Seithen hangen zwey kleine Uhrl, unnd auff einer Seithen ein Taffel mit einem grünen Töpich. [...] Original von Ihr Majestät des Königs in Hispania Mahler.“

<sup>33</sup> Heute in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

<sup>34</sup> Der Zeitpunkt ist nicht ganz geklärt; entweder nahezu zeitgleich oder erst im Dezember 1653; vgl. *Künstler der Kaiser* 2009, p. 176. Siehe zu der Quelle bes. auch Zimmermann 1905, p. 186. Zu dem Komplex der Porträts und der Quellen siehe auch Brown 1988, pp. 217–221.

<sup>35</sup> Zimmermann 1905, S. 186. Im Januar 1654 bestätigt der Gesandte, dass er dieses Werk nun nach Paris gesendet habe bzw. dem flandrischen Gesandten mitgegeben habe. Freilich ist nicht gesichert, welches Werk das 1654 nach Paris gesandte Bildnis war, da sich im Laufe der Jahre noch weitere in Paris einfanden. Zu den Werken für Paris siehe auch Baticle 1960, pp. 197–198.

<sup>36</sup> Siehe dazu auch Baticle 1960, p. 198.

<sup>37</sup> Nach 1654 verlangte und erhielt die französische Königin Anne d’Autriche fünfzehn und dann noch weitere vier Bildnisse des Hauses Österreich, wofür sie sich mit zehn Bildnissen des französischen Königshauses erkenntlich erwies. Dazu Zimmermann 1905, p. 188.

<sup>38</sup> Es ist ungeklärt, um welches Bild es sich genau handelt. Das hier gezeigte Brustbild aus dem Louvre misst 71 x 60 cm (Louvre, M.I. 898). Über seine Provenienz ist nichts bekannt. López-Rey 1996, Bd. II, Abb. 332.

<sup>39</sup> Bereits bei Zimmermann 1905, p. 186.

<sup>40</sup> Obwohl das Brüsseler Inventar von 1659 von zwei Uhren spricht (siehe oben Anm. 32), ist dies eher unwahrscheinlich.

<sup>41</sup> Ein vermutlich kurze Zeit später in Brüssel nach dem Bild entstandener Stich (vgl. Zimmermann 1905, p. 187) wird genau beschriftet mit dem Titel der Infantin als Tochter des spanischen Königs, vermutlich um die Identifikation zu erleichtern.

<sup>42</sup> Nach der Hochzeit 1660 wusste dennoch jeder Staatsmann in Paris, Wien oder Madrid, dass der formelle Verzicht der jungen französischen Königin auf das spanische Erbe nicht ernst genommen werden sollte und Frankreich in Zukunft Anspruch darauf erheben würde.

<sup>43</sup> Infantin Margarita Teresa in Blau, 1659, Öl auf Leinwand, 127 x 107 cm; Felipe Próspero, 1659, 128,5 x 99,5 cm, beide Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum; López-Rey 1996, Bd. II, p. 318, 320; *Velázquez* 2006, pp. 236–242. Nur zögerlich wird in der Forschung bis in die jüngste Zeit die quellenüberlieferte Nachricht aufgenommen, diese beiden Bilder seien zur gleichen Zeit gemalt und sie seien zur gleichen Zeit nach Wien geschickt worden. Palomino erwähnt sie als gleichzeitig gemalt, um sie nach Wien zu Kaiser Leopold I. zu senden — doch es wird zumeist bezweifelt, dass die beiden Bilder als Pendants geplant waren; ebd. Bd. II, p. 318.

<sup>44</sup> Palomino beschreibt 1724 das Bild ausführlich: Antonio Palomino, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, übers. N. A. Mallory, Cambridge 1987, p. 173.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. bes. Schumann 2003.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. zuletzt z. B. *Velázquez* 2006, p. 46; Justi 1933, pp. 682 f. Zu den Amuletten etc. vgl. Horcajo-Palomero 1999, pp. 521–530.

<sup>47</sup> Siehe allgemein zu Kunst und Diplomatie: *Arte y diplomacia* 2003.

# Presentation, Representation and Invisibility

## Emperor Ferdinand I and his Son Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria in Prague (1547–1567)

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The theme of this volume is, among others, how a (Habsburg) sovereign had himself represented within the framework of his court culture. Doesn't every royal or princely commission contribute to the image and the stamp the sovereign wants to put on his residence? This certainly applied to the King of Bohemia at Prague Castle in the mid-sixteenth century. It will nevertheless become apparent that the sovereign did not or could not give his commission for the building of the Prague Court a high priority and while the work developed slowly the King above all seemed to want to be *invisible* while in residence in Prague. At the same time the Habsburg residence in Prague was also in use as residence of the representative of the King. It can therefore be argued that *Repraesentatio Maiestatis*, picturing the sovereign in his high and mighty tasks, was not always the primary aim of every commission at the Royal Court. Especially not when the vice-regent, the official representative of the King, was a wilful man who would leave his own mark, a mark with imaginative qualities of its own, on the Prague Court. However, I wonder if our reconstructive descriptions of these manifestations do not presuppose too complicated and too highly intellectual a substance. While the sovereign King Ferdinand I (1503–1564) was of course represented in all his dignity and virtue and this was emphasized in a scholarly manner in contemporary publications,<sup>1</sup> there were of course different levels of representation. The spectators at Royal events were fascinated or bewildered, but things were not always as serious and on as high an intellectual level as they have subsequently been interpreted. While virtue was being portrayed, there must have been a lot of laughter. People must also have laughed loud and frequently at so much (more or less) hidden depravity.

### Prague 1526

King Ferdinand I was the sovereign in Prague for thirty-eight years. In 1526 he became King of Bohemia and in 1556 was elected Roman Emperor. At a young age a marriage agreement had been made for this very successful descendant of the Habsburg dynasty with Princess Anna Jagiello (1503–1547), the daughter of the Bohemian/Hungarian King. Anna and her husband contributed fifteen children to the dynasty. Ferdinand I claimed and was granted the Bohemian crown after the death of his brother-in-law Ludwig Jagiello (1505–1526). This claim, however, was not an obvious one for the Bohemian parties and was not awarded without discussion. After difficult negotiations Ferdinand I and Anna were crowned King and Queen of Bohemia in the church of Saint Vitus in 1526.<sup>2</sup> This would seem to have been the obvious moment for the Habsburg dynasty to start building their own specific court culture and design a special image for King and Queen (also) in Prague.<sup>3</sup> The King started this by

ordering the extension of the Castle with a garden complex and a summer palace in 1534. And in 1556 his son took care of the Ceremonial Entry of Ferdinand I as Roman Emperor. The Castle thus became a centre of *Repraesentatio Majestatis*, in the sense of its representing the self-evident glory and virtue of the sovereign. But this is a rather superficial and artificial image. On closer inspection both members of the Habsburg house named Ferdinand left on Prague a fairly modest, but at the same time ambiguous stamp.

### Prague Castle

The history of the Castle shows that the garden complex was the only large project King Ferdinand had commissioned.<sup>4</sup> For this extension outside the fortress walls Italian migrant workers were brought to Prague, who stayed for just a few months and in summer returned to their villages in the Italian Alps. This is one of the explanations why progress was slow. The records show that the King was definitely interested in the project. He insisted for example that the bridge to the gardens should be finished as a matter of urgency, and wished to check the progress of the work himself.<sup>5</sup> This bridge over the so-called ‘Stag’ ditch between the northern wall of the Castle and the garden area was not only meant for the transport of goods but also contained a remarkable construction on the eastern side, a covered corridor called the ‘*Gallerie*’.<sup>6</sup> The King himself described its function: the corridor enabled him to enter the gardens unseen. It belonged to a whole complex of passages from the King’s palace in the western part of the Castle via the so-called Western Palace, the fortress walls, the stables and the bridge into the gardens, just at the point where the Summer Palace was built.<sup>7</sup> The wooden structures that were given so much priority played a dramatic role during the destructive fire which burned large parts of Prague Castle in 1541.<sup>8</sup> The fire spread via the wooden galleries up to the building site of the Summer Palace and destroyed all the plants. Prague Castle would show the scars of this disaster for years. Not until 1555, for example, were the apartments of the King and Queen in the so-called Old Palace renovated, with the ceilings being raised and decorated, although they were not fundamentally altered.<sup>9</sup> In the same year Archduke Ferdinand II ordered, as a precaution, the wooden galleries within the Castle walls to be rebuilt in stone.<sup>10</sup> Those in the garden complex were left in wood. As Emperor Maximilian II had these hard-to-maintain wooden structures restored and partly altered, it seems that a concealed walk into the garden was important for him too.<sup>11</sup>

There are no detailed images of Prague Castle, either drawings or prints, to give us information about the situation around 1555, apart from some townscapes. This lack of visual records could be related to the low priority the King gave these commissions for his residence in Bohemia. But it is more likely that many records, such as floor plans, models and prints, are lost. It is very difficult to imagine what the interior of Prague Castle looked like. It seems that King Ferdinand I made the old constructions within the fortress walls accessible through wooden (later stone) galleries, staircases and gallery bridges.





Fig. 1 Johann Minsinger, 'Tafelet' owned by King Ferdinand I, dat. 1529.

One of those structures can, in my opinion, be seen in a Royal notebook (fig. 1), which becomes an interesting source if we regard it as an opportunity to look within the castle walls. It is a luxuriously decorated, but everyday object which was owned by King Ferdinand I himself.<sup>12</sup> This notebook, in a textile cover, has two slates with both sides written on and little boxes for slate-pencils and a sponge. The covers of these boxes are decorated with the picture of an impressive square tower with a staircase to the left and a view of a gate, a tower(?) and to the right the side facade of a building.<sup>13</sup> High between the walls, silhouetted against the blue sky, there is a wooden bridge covered with red roof tiles. The building to the right must, in my opinion, be the so-called Western Palace. In 1555, Archduke Ferdinand II commissioned the decoration of three clock faces for the white tower to the left, which were described in a document as follows: *'drei wollgezierti khompasurn auf die drei ort mit lustiger zier volendt werden'*.<sup>14</sup> If this is a look within the walls of Prague Castle, it shows that the Habsburg sovereigns until Emperor Rudolf II did not alter the construction of the existing buildings, which were connected through external facilities and, as will be demonstrated later on, only decorated with painted clock faces, niches and pilasters. Ferdinand I never achieved a larger project within the walls of Prague Castle, nor did he ever intend any such project during his long reign as King of Bohemian between 1526 and 1564.

## The King's representative

Archduke Ferdinand II supervised the restorations and building activities in the gardens by order of the King, but he also had the opportunity to establish his own profile. In 1555 the Archduke had a hunting lodge built, the so-called '*Lustschloss*' of Stern [Star, Hvězda].<sup>15</sup> This remarkable building, which is preserved practically undamaged, is introduced here to show that the Archduke did have the opportunity to add a representative building to the court culture of his father and thus to leave his mark on Prague. And the architecture of Stern reveals something of the archduke's personality.

Ferdinand is numbered II because he was the second Ferdinand in his line. He was also the second son of the royal couple. Born in 1529, he spent his youth mostly in Innsbruck and moved to Prague in 1543. In 1547 he became his father's representative, or '*Statthalter*'. In 1555, when Stern was built, the Archduke was already in a relationship with Philippine Welser, the daughter of a merchant from Augsburg. Contrary to one of the romanticized stories made up in the nineteenth century, he did not build Stern for her. Ferdinand II married Philippine in secret in 1557, the year of the birth of their first son. His loyalty to this morganatic marriage made a future European royal career impossible.<sup>16</sup> But this does not mean that the Prague court had a lesser status among the nobility. Nor was Prague a regional or provincial court in either a political or in a cultural sense.

## Stern

By building 'Stern' in a game reserve on the White Mountain some six kilometres from Prague Castle, the Archduke started, and with great diligence also finished, an undertaking representative for the Habsburgs. The game reserve was (and still is) enclosed by high walls and gates. Stern could in the middle of the sixteenth century be reached by way of a road fringed with trees. The building itself lies at the end of an avenue, just at the slope of the mountain. Therefore and because of the enclosing walls around it, Stern does not seem to be exactly monumental. But a visit will have impressed the visitor in the sixteenth century, as it still does today (fig. 2).



Fig. 2 The hunting lodge of Stern.

A guest of the Archduke's might have been a member of the hunting party or might have been invited to visit the gardens on the terraces and the fishponds behind Stern. He might even have participated in a game of tennis in the small gallery on the first terrace just below Stern. But this visitor would certainly not have been a member of a large group. The rooms at 'Stern' are simply too small for a large number of guests.

As mentioned before, Stern in the '*Neue Tiergarten*' was the Archduke's most important commission in Prague. He followed the building progress carefully, even when he was in an army camp in the south of Hungary waiting for battle with the Turks. Ferdinand II might even have been involved in designing the building. In sources connected to ceremonies around the laying of the first stone, the Archduke is mentioned as the architect of Stern.<sup>17</sup> This was of course done to honour him, but since the Archduke was very anxious to build and to complete the project, I presume that he could well have been involved in the design, probably in close collaboration with a builder of fortifications. The characteristic six-pointed star, the basic plan of Stern, is derived from the geometrical forms of fortresses.

The building had four floors. The cellars must have been designated for storage. On the entrance floor there are a remarkable number of niches, possibly used for a (temporary) exhibition. The Archduke began collecting in Prague and, as will be described later, he exhibited weaponry in Prague Castle at the time of the Ceremonial Entry of Emperor Ferdinand I in 1558. It is therefore possible that he already started to make the presentation of his weaponry in Prague, on which he would later elaborate at the castle of Ambras near Innsbruck.<sup>18</sup>

More important than the possible objects in the niches is my argument about how a visit to Stern could have been arranged. As mentioned before, Stern can be compared to a tower in which one can lose one's way.<sup>19</sup> If the Archduke wanted to use Stern as an environment in which he could show and spell out the virtues of his dynasty, he had many choices. Not only by presenting specific objects in niches, but also by referring to the scenes on the stucco ceilings of the main hall on the entrance floor.<sup>20</sup> For the informed visitor the historical scenes in stucco were easy to recognize and to associate with the virtues of the Habsburgs themselves. In the sixteenth century as well, the central image of Aeneas escaping from burning Troy with his father Anchises on his back was a reference to the foundation of Rome, an event the Habsburgs would have been pleased to be associated with. Manlius Curtius Rufus' heroism, as in Livy, or that of Marcus Attilius Regulus as in Valerius Maximus, can easily be linked to the heroic deeds of the Habsburg hero whose suite of armor is placed in a niche in one of the rooms. But the recognition of an object or an iconographical association with the virtues of the House of Habsburg was not the only means by which the Archduke would have impressed his (imaginary) visitor in 1560. Anyone doing the rounds with the Archduke will very quickly have lost his or her way, especially if the two upper floors were visited as well. If this guest climbed the staircase in the sixth point of the star of Stern, the Archduke could even disappear and reach one of the other floors before his guest, via the small spiral staircase in the middle. And he could wait for his guest in the cellar amongst his wine, by the fireplace on the first floor, or with the musicians in the great (dancing) hall underneath the roof.

Just as in the projects in the Castle and in the gardens, the *representation* of the sovereign therefore was at the same time his *unseen* passing. But was the system of corridors just intended for

the privacy of the Royal family and, for practical purposes, to keep one's feet dry in times of rain?<sup>21</sup> In Stern the secret connection also might have enabled the Archduke to amaze and confuse his public.<sup>22</sup>

### In search of a director of manifestations

In the records, all manifestations of Royal Representation are assigned to the sovereign himself, although it is clear that in practice this was not altogether the case. The role of designer or advisor could have been in the hands of a scientist, a humanist or an architect at court. King Ferdinand I too had many advisors for the design of his courts at Innsbruck, Vienna and Prague and for the development of the numerous projects in his empire.

Benedict Ried, the architect for the Royal Castle in Prague, was until his death in 1534 His Majesty's advisor in Bohemia. Ried did not have a successor as such. After 1534, Italian- and German-speaking craftsmen worked in competition. Although at the time the King suggested giving Bonifatius Wolmut the position of Royal master builder, this never happened. The court of the Archduke did not have just the one master builder either. The Italian Paolo della Stella and the German-speaking Wolmut and Hans von Tirol were responsible for separate building activities. Not until 1557 do the records indicate that Wolmut had acquired a leading position and was in a position to evaluate the work of the other master builders.<sup>23</sup> But none of them is truly in charge, as the producer of all forms of representation in Prague during the time Archduke Ferdinand II stayed there.

No leading architect is mentioned for the court in Vienna either. The painter and master builder Pietro Ferrabosco worked with his employees in and around the Hofburg at the time. He was sent to Prague regularly to assess progress, but again not much is known about the status of Ferrabosco at King Ferdinand's court. He certainly had the ability to design Stern in detail, with the Archduke looking over his shoulder and getting the credit. Ferrabosco was born in 1512 or 1513 in Laino near Como and served the Habsburgs from 1544 onwards. He began his career as a so-called 'war painter' and acted as a fortress-builder later on.<sup>24</sup> This is why he could have been the architect of Stern, since he was able to apply the geometrical forms used in fortresses. This interesting but little-known court artist worked in all sorts of important places in the empire of Ferdinand I. He was certainly versatile, since he worked not only for military operations, but also at the Hofburg in Vienna and at the Neugebäude. For his services Ferrabosco was knighted by Ferdinand I, an honour which most fortress-builders in Royal service were awarded.<sup>25</sup> Despite his knighthood, however, Ferrabosco was not the archducal advisor I am looking for, the man responsible for the representation of the sovereign and the Habsburg dynasty in Prague. Ferrabosco was involved in the Habsburg court, but he was never long enough in Prague and little is known about his theoretical knowledge.

Was this role in the hands of one of the humanists at the archducal court? Was it the Italian court physician and botanist Pier Andrea Mattioli (1501–1579)? Mattioli did live at the Prague court for a long time and did have the theoretical knowledge. In Prague Mattioli continued the botanical studies he had started in Italy, publishing the Latin edition of a large botanical survey based on the work of the classical Greek Dioskurides and having the edition translated into other languages.<sup>26</sup> Earlier Mattioli had been the court physician of the Cardinal of Trento, where he published a eulogy for his employer.<sup>27</sup> So could he have had a similar role in Prague too?



Although Mattioli was involved in some representational tasks, there are still few indications that he played a dominant role in the creation of the Habsburg image in Prague in the 1550s. The commission to write a report on the festivities during the Entry of Ferdinand I in 1558 was given to him only afterwards.<sup>28</sup> The text describes the movements of the sovereign and his retinue on 8 and 9 November 1558. It also reveals something of the archducal court. Ferdinand II himself, who, as much of the text indicates, must have made a fair contribution to the contents of the scenario, directed all the movements and rode in front of the parade.

### The Entry

Mattioli refers to the salutations outside the city gates when under the command of the Archduke the Bohemian nobles joined the Imperial retinue. First they met a group of about a thousand men all dressed in black, their heads covered by caps, dancing and shouting; with their so-called '*anticamente*', an old-fashioned sort of flail with metal pins, they were beating straw. This detail is often mentioned in the Czech historical literature as significant. But is this intermezzo at the start of the Ceremonial Entry merely a superficial reference to the Hussite revolt and defeat of many years before or, rather, an emphatic reminder? Whatever the case, the Emperor and his entourage, notes Mattioli, simply had to laugh at those primitive farmers.<sup>29</sup>

The ride through the three cities of Prague is characterized by Mattioli as a long series of meetings with members of the city councils, the clergy of different denominations, and speakers from the Charles University and the Jesuit Grammar School. The honour the Prague population accorded to their Emperor was carefully directed. Tribute was paid by boys, girls, women and men, all divided into age groups. Widows, for example, had gathered in the square of the 'Small Side', the third Prague city, below Prague Castle. Grey-haired men were allowed to greet the Emperor at the end of his tour at the Strahov gate on the way to the Castle. They had to wait for a very long time, but fortunately they were standing next to a fountain spouting red and white wine. Mattioli's report is partly based on a written scenario and partly on his own observations. He stresses that all participants were dressed for the occasion and that thousands of horses must have squeezed through the small streets of the Old City. In the middle of the crowd Mattioli recognized a remarkable number of his compatriots: over two thousand Italians were standing along the route to the Castle, which was the quarter where they lived. Mattioli describes the triumphal arches alongside the route, mainly in relation to those who had commissioned them. The Jesuits, for example, of whom a fairly complicated iconography might have been expected, had raised an arch at the Klementinum, but Mattioli mentions only rather simple themes, such as Justice and Peace with the god Mars above. He gives the quite obvious interpretation of the image: the arch refers to 'His Majesty's peaceful reign'.

From Mattioli's descriptions of the decorations in and around the Castle it can be deduced that he had taken the time to consider them carefully or that he might even have played some role in the choices of the iconography or classical quotations. Mattioli is more precise about the decorations made for the Castle than he is about those along the tour. He even refers to the makers, who were artists from the circles around the Archduke, although he mentions no names.



Fig. 3 Francesco Terzio (attr.), Portrait of Archduke Ferdinand II.

The designer and painter of the largest triumphal arch before the Castle wall is ‘a talented Italian painter’.<sup>30</sup> This must have been (Giovanni) Francesco Terzio from Bergamo (ca. 1523–1591), who in 1558 had already been working for Ferdinand II for some years (fig. 3). However, it is not clear who Mattioli refers to as: ‘*unico maestro di stucchi et di basi relievi*’.<sup>31</sup> In 1558 a whole group of stucco workers were working for the Archduke Ferdinand II, constructing the stucco ceilings at Stern, but none is known by name.<sup>32</sup> Mattioli describes the well-proportioned parts of Terzio’s big arch, such as the eight Corinthian columns on a marble base with reliefs. In two colossal statues he recognizes biblical heroes: to the left Samson, with a lion’s skin in one hand and in the other an ass’s jaw, and to the right Gideon with a big Persian sword in his left hand and in his right hand an enormous shield. On the edges of the arch Mattioli mentions bronze-like reliefs. The images of the virtues Justice and Temperance were bronze-coloured too. To explain the significance of these images the phrase ‘*Justitia arma regat, sancta haec moderatio servet*’ was put on the arch, as was noted by Mattioli, who may possibly have been responsible for this choice of motto. On top of the

arch the author identified Imperial regalia such as the crowned eagle, the chain with the Golden Fleece, and four historical personalities of the Habsburg dynasty: Charles V, Maximilian I, Rudolf I, and Frederick III. According to Mattioli this triumphal arch did not contain any complicated messages either. He had studied the arch carefully, but his description is not precise enough to suggest that he was the inventor of its iconographical programme. It seems that the arch at Prague Castle fits Jacquot's inventory of the iconography of arches raised for sovereigns in the sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

The court physician's description of the decorations within the walls of Prague Castle shows that restoration projects had been carried out and that the decorations were partly the work of the Archduke himself. The house of the Archduke's Lord Chamberlain, for instance, was freshly painted and decorated with columns, mouldings and marbled niches. The entrance of the house of the Archduke was furnished with a representation of the allegory 'Peace in lively colours', surrounded by attributes and a quotation from Vergil. Very interesting is Mattioli's description of a construction round a large door. This must have been some sort of exhibition of '*bella & rara Armaria*', according to Mattioli a selection from the archducal collection of weapons including pieces of armour and other 'valuable objects' such as a horse's cuirass, Turkish bows and Persian swords. Sadly, the author is not more precise, probably not having an eye for this type of object. But he was impressed by the colourful silk hangings around this exhibition, especially by the flapping banners that created the theatrical setting.<sup>34</sup>

### The next evening

Theatricals and spectacles were also at the heart of the festivities on the evening of 11 November, the day after the Entry of the Emperor.<sup>35</sup> Mattioli attended this part of the programme together with the most important guests. He describes the entourage in the gardens, where the Summer Palace formed the backdrop for the spectacles. The site in front of the Palace had been levelled and fenced off, Mattioli writes, and was illuminated and equipped with two low tower-like constructions for the musicians of the Archduke. On one side there were pieces of scenery: a beautiful wild and barren mountain and next to it the throne of Jupiter. According to Mattioli the play was about a battle between the Gods and the Giants, with a lot of fireworks and extravaganza; however, the physician's text does not contain a proper explanation of the play's meaning. Together with a select part of the international and the Bohemian guests, he was witness to the spectacular end of the festivities when the scenery burned down completely. But again, Mattioli does not appear to have been involved in the contents of the play, nor does he seem have had any responsibility for the intellectual creation of the Entry as a whole. His reports are clearly the contribution of a spectator. He was not the director of the manifestations that I am looking for.

### The archducal court

The active role Ferdinand II played in the creation of his court can be demonstrated in several ways. In comparison with the Summer Palace, Stern was built and finished remarkably quickly. The building process had his close attention, certainly because of his personal involvement in the design of the



star-shaped hunting lodge. The Archduke himself directed the Entry of his father Ferdinand I described briefly above. As the festivities during the tour around the Prague cities took much longer than expected, the Archduke postponed the official finale to the next day. Not only in the decorations of the Castle but also through a small but significant detail of the play it is possible to show the archducal concern with studio props, with collections, and with the play itself. The monkeys that popped out of ‘Evil’ (the heads of the Giants) probably came from the Archduke’s own menagerie.<sup>36</sup>

There are no images of these literally explosive expressions of imperial representation held on 9 November 1558. But there are, thanks to the Archduke himself, images of meetings of lesser status. Reports on tournaments are illustrated in a ‘*Turnierbuch*’.<sup>37</sup> And there are images in a wonderful record by one of the spectators of the festivities at the so-called ‘*Kolowrat Hochzeit*’.<sup>38</sup> Although Ferdinand II himself was never the central figure – the bridegroom – in an official Habsburg wedding in Prague, he certainly was the director of several others.<sup>39</sup> The Archduke seems to have been actively involved in and present at all parts of the programme. His role at a wedding party in 1555 can be reconstructed on the basis of a fairly detailed report.



Fig. 4 Sigmund Elsässer, ‘Spring’.

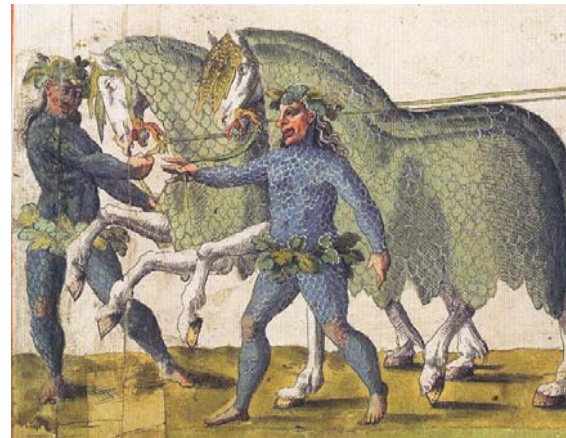


Fig. 5 Watermen, in close fitting suits.

During the ‘masquerade’, for example, four goddesses entered the hall wearing white taffeta dresses with golden sleeves of leather, masks, and long blonde wigs with crowns of box leaves (fig. 4). They brought the bride a so-called ‘*Munsanc*’ (wedding gift) and danced with four ‘watermen’ who were dressed in close-fitting suits (fig. 5). The highlight of the evening was the moment the ‘watermen’ left the room and the final scene was the most surprising: the goddesses proved to be men in drag, led by ‘*Sn. Gn. der Erzfürers*’, i.e. the Archduke himself, as Johann von Schwamberg wrote in 1555.<sup>40</sup> Ferdinand II not only played the leading part that evening but was also the owner of the costumes and probably also of many of the other party props.

In his collections, still to be seen at Schloss Ambras near Innsbruck and in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, are masks, exotic weaponry and (replicas of) textiles, helmet decorations and horse-blankets that were used as requisites at parades and parties. Ferdinand II not only collected this material but also had at least part of it depicted. The requisites were used over and over again. The dresses of the goddesses were, it seems, used again at another wedding in the



Kolowrat family twenty-five years later and the watermen were back on the scene at the Archduke's wedding party in 1582.<sup>41</sup>

### Serious representation with much laughter

These few examples of courtly representation during the time Ferdinand I was King of Bohemia and his son Archduke Ferdinand II vice-regent show that the Habsburgs certainly did put their stamp upon Prague, although during their long period of governance a lot more might have been achieved. It seems that their main focus was not on Princely, Royal or Imperial representation but on the private sphere, at least at the beginning. King Ferdinand I added gardens to the castle complex where he could wander around in peace. His son was personally responsible for the building of Stern, a very special star-shaped building that must have astonished all his visitors and probably also the Bohemian nobility. In addition to these remains in stone, meetings with the sovereign and his deputy illuminate our knowledge of his appearance and his representations in Prague. The Ceremonial Entry of the Emperor under the command of the Archduke transformed the streets of Prague into a red-and-white-coloured sea of spectators. All the decorations were a demonstration of devotion to the sovereign. Here and there within the iconography of decorations and play there was room for a warning finger, but there was also probably much more room for laughter. The celebrations and tournaments for the Bohemian nobles in and around the court of the Archduke were also characterized by amusement and amazement, although not in the first place in an intellectual sense. The dance of the wigged goddesses was not meant to identify them and to remind the audience of their virtue but, on the contrary, to make the people laugh out loud at the revelation of their travesty (fig. 6).



Fig. 6 'Goddess' with mask and blonde wig (detail from fig. 4).

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## Illustrations

Fig. 1 Johann Minsinger, 'tafelet' or notebook owned by King Ferdinand I, signed and dated 1529, KHM, Vienna, Kk inv. nr. 5378.

Fig. 2 Letohrádek Hvězda, Bíla Hora (White Mountain), Prague, photo author.

Fig. 3 Francesco Terzio (attr.), Portrait of Archduke Ferdinand II, ca. 1557-58, oil on parchment, KHM, Vienna, W KK 4974. The arch is not an exact illustration of Mattioli's text, but the forms and the materials are similar.

Fig. 4 Sigmund Elsässer, *Kolowrat Hochzeit*, 'Spring', KHM, Vienna, inv. no. 5269.

Fig. 5 Sigmund Elsässer, *Hochzeitscodex*, page with watermen and a sea god, coloured prints, New York Public Library Ger. 1582.

Fig. 6 Detail from fig. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Bažant 2006, for instance, analyses thoroughly the iconography of the Summer Palace in the Royal gardens from this intellectual point of view.

<sup>2</sup> The church of St Vitus within the Castle walls was not a cathedral in 1526 since there was no archbishop consecrated.

<sup>3</sup> Irblich 2003, p. 461. As sovereigns of Austria, Anna and Ferdinand I had residences in Innsbruck and Vienna and several hunting lodges and castles. The places of birth of the children indicate that the Queen travelled a lot. Not until 1543 did she settle in Prague, where she died in 1547 giving birth to her fourth son, Johannes.

<sup>4</sup> Lietzmann 2007, pp. 67-108, reconstructed the garden complex. The commission was issued in 1534, eight years after Anna and Ferdinand I were crowned. The construction of the Summer Palace did not start before 1538.

<sup>5</sup> Köpl, X 1889, p. LXXII, regest 5971, 1 April 1535.

<sup>6</sup> Köpl, X 1889, p. LXXI, regest 5962, 30 November 1534. In a text concerning the building activities within the Castle walls, the between the buildings are typified as: '*die Gallerie unter den Zimmern der Koningins die Stallungen entlang bis zur Brücke [...]*'.

<sup>7</sup> Lietzmann 2007, p. 68. He refers to correspondence between Florian Griesbeck and King Ferdinand I, 1 July 1535, AKD. DK 20.

<sup>8</sup> Bretholz 1920, pp. 135-37. *Václav na Hradčanech*, a contemporary report on the fire for the King.

<sup>9</sup> Kreyzci 1887, pp. LXVIII-IX. Reg. 4240, 20 July 1555 in Augsburg. 'Memorial' for Hans von Tirol with the list of alterations to be done at Royal buildings: '*[...] Zum anderen seiner kgl. Maj leibzimer soll oben mit gethrem und mit gesparten resten erhebt werden*'.

<sup>10</sup> Schönherr, XI 1890, reg. 7463, p. CXCIV.

<sup>11</sup> Lietzmann 2007, pp. 86-88. The most recent and extensive study on these sources is provided by Dobalová 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Lhotsky 1972, pp. 170-72. The handwriting on the two two-sided pieces of slate has been identified as that of King Ferdinand I.

<sup>13</sup> According to Lhotsky 1972, p. 172. It is this *round* bastion tower that makes these images difficult to identify. For me it is not obvious that here a part of the fortress walls has been pictured. To the right between the so-called White Tower and the Western Palace a part of the so-called Old Palace of King Wladislav is displayed.

<sup>14</sup> Kreyzci, V 1887, reg. 4240, p. LXIX.

<sup>15</sup> No functional name can be given to Stern. In some sources it has been called *Lustschloss* and is the location called *Neue Tiergarten*, a hunting park. Stern could therefore best be called a hunting lodge. Noble hunters could rest here, since it has five large fireplaces and a cellar to keep wine. Nearby there was a building containing a kitchen, so all facilities for a good hunting party and dinner were available.



<sup>16</sup> Simons 2009, p. 186. The role of Philippine Welser in Prague gets little attention in the literature. She is said to have lived far from Prague Castle in a hunting castle named Křivoklát [Bürglitz]. The general opinion still is that Philippine would not have played an official role. I doubt this is correct. Philippine Welser appears to be the most important woman at at least one tournament of the Bohemian nobility.

<sup>17</sup> Kreyzci 1887, reg. 4283, p. LXXXIII.

<sup>18</sup> Veronica Sandbichler (Schloss Ambras) proposed, in her amendment at the conference in December 2011, that Stern and its numerous niches were meant to be empty. These contradictory ideas call for further examination, for instance in comparison with the use of space in Italian villas.

<sup>19</sup> Simons 1998, pp. 270–78.

<sup>20</sup> Jan Bažant published in 2012 a detailed description of this decoration. Dorothea Diemer attributes the stucchi in Hvězda since 2000 to Antonio Brocco, who was responsible for the so-called *singing fountain* in the gardens of Prague Castle. Similar stucco works are found at various other courts in Bohemia, Germany and Poland and in Ingolstadt. It appears that a group of stucco-workers travelled around, possibly in the company of other builders. For some of the stucchi they used the same model books, even the same moulds. It will be interesting to get a better understanding of where they worked and their specific commissions.

<sup>21</sup> Lietzman 2007, p. 86, note 80. Emperor Maximilian II even mentions the function as secret corridor: *'heimliche Eingang'*.

<sup>22</sup> During the visit to the Neugebäude (during the conference in December 2011), Dr. Andreas Kusternig pointed out the hidden corridors and steps in the double walls of this fascinating building. This also indicates that facilitating secretly moving around by courtiers and (probably) by the sovereign was an intentional part of the Habsburg building programme.

<sup>23</sup> Simons 2005, p. 146.

<sup>24</sup> Sauer 2003, 38, pp. 294–95.

<sup>25</sup> Simons 2005, p. 146.

<sup>26</sup> Pier Andrea Mattioli di Siena 1554. A translation into German by Georg Hantsch, another physician at the Prague court also a humanist, scientist and writer, was published in 1563 in Prague.

<sup>27</sup> Pietro Andrea Mattioli 1559.

<sup>28</sup> Pietro Andrea Mattioli 1559. The year before, a report on the festivities was published by the humanist and professor at Charles University Mattheus Collinus. In a translation by Ignaz Cornova of 1802, his introduction states (without source) that Mattioli got the instruction to write his report from Archduke Ferdinand II himself since Collinus' description was not good enough.

<sup>29</sup> I mention this detail because in the historical literature it has received a rather heavy political interpretation. Bažant 2006 (pp. 224–25) sees not only a reference to the Hussite past, but also to contra-reformist tensions caused by the Habsburgs in Prague. The Bohemian nobility would surely have recognized the costumes, but Mattioli didn't take the incident very seriously. His characterization of the farmers who *'non sapendo come farle reverenza'* is a beautiful example of sixteenth-century court culture as *'sprezzatura'* and of how all who did not or could not behave like the court were laughable.

<sup>30</sup> Mattioli 1559, fol. 25 (own paging): *'Per opere & inventione'*.

<sup>31</sup> Ilg 1889, p. 238.

<sup>32</sup> The stucco-decorated ceilings in Stern have (until now) been attributed to the stone workers Johann Campion and Andrea Aostallis de Pambio, (a.o.) Suchomel 1973. Their names are mentioned in a document in relation to the decoration of the so-called *'Landrechtstube'*, a conference room for Affairs of State in the Castle. In the design it was meant to be made of stone. It is not clear if the Italian sculptures working at the Summer Palace were capable of working in stone and in stucco at the same time, although Mattioli's words can be interpreted as confirmation. There are also some stylistic and compositional similarities in the stucco and the reliefs. The Italians could have been working in stone and stucco.

<sup>33</sup> Jacquot 1960, II, p. 478, concludes that the iconography of the arches raised within the iconography of Royal (or Imperial) Entries were not complicated.

<sup>34</sup> This presentation resembles the way Laurin Luchner in 1957 made his reconstruction of the *'Rüstkammern'*, the rooms where the armoury collection of Archduke Ferdinand II was kept at Schloss Ambras.

<sup>35</sup> Cornova 1802, Introduction. It is remarkable that Collinus, who was assigned to write a report on the festivities in 1558, was not allowed to see the programme in the gardens himself. Collinus was therefore rather short on the show.

<sup>36</sup> Simons 2009, pp. 145–54. Archduke Ferdinand had guenons, one of which answered to the name *Schelm* (Rascal), according to the notes of physician Georg Hantsch in his so-called *Tierbücher*.

<sup>37</sup> Sandbichler 2005, pp. 67–70. The Archduke organized at least thirty-three tournaments between 1547 and 1560. The dates, the locations and the participants are recorded in text and sometimes in images in the so-called *Turnierbüch*.

<sup>38</sup> Sandbichler 2005, p. 57. Sigismund Elsässer, *Kolowrat Hochzeit*, KHM, Vienna, Kk. Inv. nr. 5269 (unpaged). The same kind of costumes were pictured in the pageantry on floats with goddesses representing the four seasons.

<sup>39</sup> In February 1555 a '*Maskenfest*' (masked ball) was held at the wedding of Jaroslaw von Kolowrat and Lusanka Ungnad in Pilsen. Unpublished typescript Charlotte Gambler.

<sup>40</sup> Johann der Ältere von Schwamberg to Wilhelm von Rosenberg, who didn't attend the wedding. The letter also gives accounts of the different tournaments held. Johann was not a participant and appears to be a critical observer who is rather astonished by the physical confrontations. Several of the participants were injured. See note 38.

<sup>41</sup> Sandbichler 2005, pp. 56-57, pp. 130-31.

# The Courts of the Habsburgs as Related by Jakub Sobieski

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## Introduction

Descriptions of European courts hold a key position in the accounts of early modern travellers. After all, in countries ruled by monarchs, particularly absolute monarchs, the court was the political centre of the state. Here all the most important decisions were made, not only regarding internal and foreign policy but also concerning the ruler's subjects and the fate of the old continent and the New World. Vienna, Paris, Rome, Madrid, Warsaw and London set the course of events in seventeenth-century Europe. Courts were also the focal point of the worlds of culture, art and science. Emperors, popes, kings, dukes, their families, court officials, ministers, advisers and diplomats were objects of interest to most travellers of those times. They appear on the pages of their accounts, memoirs, and diaries, just as they do on the canvases of the great baroque masters, not least the celebrated Velázquez.

The organisation and manner of functioning of European courts in the light of various historical sources is a subject which continues to interest scholars of various disciplines, especially in the humanities. As a result, the bibliography of this subject is extensive and rich. However, there remain certain issues that still require further historical study, analysis, and presentation to those who are interested.

In the present paper we would like to consider the image of Habsburg courts in the first half of the seventeenth century as recounted in the writings of Jakub Sobieski. We will look at how a subject of elected kings, a citizen of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and a magnate enjoying the extensive privileges and freedoms to which all Polish nobles were entitled perceived the absolutist courts of the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs. And finally we will try to assess whether Jakub Sobieski's observations tell us anything new about this subject. But let us begin by taking a closer look at Jakub Sobieski, a historical figure who is not very well known among European scholars.

## I. Jakub Sobieski (1590-1646) and his European travel accounts

### Traveller, politician, writer and father of the victor of the battle of Vienna

For a long time the Sobieski family belonged to the moderately affluent class of nobility. Its ascension to greatness began at the turn of the seventeenth century, in the lifetime of the father of our traveller, Marek Sobieski. It was Marek Sobieski who put his family among the social, economic and political elite of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was the first in his family to hold a seat in the Senate. According to Władysław Syrokomla,<sup>1</sup> he was greatly valued by the kings Stefan Batory and Sigismund III Vasa, first as castellan and next as voivode of Lublin. Other reasons for the Sobieskis' status were their family connections (e. g. with the mighty Zamoyski family)<sup>2</sup> and their social contacts. His first wife was Jadwiga of Snopkowski family and the last child she bore him, in May 1590, was Jakub. Jakub died in Żółkiew in 1646.

### Intellectual development and studies abroad

Placing great emphasis on education, Jakub's parents sent him, their youngest son, to study first at the Zamoyski Academy and then in Krakow. Next he spent almost six years, from April 1607 to March 1613, abroad. The young magnate not only studied but also learned the realities of contemporary Europe through travel. In that time he covered a distance of over 8,500 kilometres. He acquired his most essential education in Paris, learning the classical languages (Greek and Latin) as well as French and Spanish. He also took lessons in horse riding, fencing, music and dance. Józef Długosz, the publisher of Jakub's travel accounts, writes that unlike other magnate heirs, the young Sobieski was more interested in study and learning as much as he could from the places he visited. When he was not studying, he toured countries in western and southern Europe. He visited England, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Habsburg crown lands. Belonging to a magnate family and having excellent references provided him the opportunity to get to know the major political and cultural centres of Europe as well as the most eminent members of royal families and the aristocracy, and also prominent state and church officials. His interlocutors included Pope Paul V, Holy Roman Emperor Matthias, Henry IV of France, James I of England, Philip III of Spain, Maurice of Nassau, politicians, ministers, military commanders as well as important figures in science and culture (e. g. Julius Scaligier, Daniel Heinius, Juan de Mariana and Francisco Suárez).

### Jakub Sobieski's career and distinctions

Sobieski's public service began soon after he returned from abroad. In 1613 he became a royal courtier and was for the first time elected deputy to the Sejm for the Lublin voivodeship, thus beginning a parliamentary career that was to span a quarter of a century. In that time he distinguished himself as a mover and shaker in politics, a speaker in the chamber of deputies, a member of parliamentary commissions, and an astute observer and brilliant orator, called in his day



‘the Polish Demosthenes’. Despite his considerable contributions and talent, his critical appraisal of court politics meant that he was never a royal favourite. For this reason too he did not acquire senatorial status until 1638, after being appointed voivode of Bełz. And only a few months before his death his career reached its pinnacle when he was made castellan of Krakow.

Another area of Jakub Sobieski’s public activity was his military service. He was in prince Władysław’s expedition to Moscow (1617-1618), holding the post of war commissioner, commanding a volunteer detachment, and participating in the unsuccessful storming of the Kremlin. Then in 1621 he fought the Turks at Chocim.

Furthermore, Jakub Sobieski distinguished himself as a diplomat. As royal commissioner, in 1619 he signed the Truce of Deulino. After the first battle of Chocim, he conducted peace talks with the Turks, meeting Sultan Othman II (1621). He represented Poland in the difficult peace negotiations with the Swedes at Altmark (1629) and later again at the Treaty of Stuhmsdorf (1635). In 1636 he was delegated to the international peace conference in Münster, which was supposed to end the war in Europe (later called the Thirty Years War). A year later, together with Władysław IV of Poland he greeted Archduchess Cecilia Renata of Habsburg in Warsaw, while in 1641 he spoke on behalf of the Polish Sejm to the papal nuncio Filonardi. Furthermore, he participated in negotiations with the Russian delegate Alexei Mikhailovich Lvov (1644).

Jakub Sobieski started a family when he was already an established and mature thirty-year-old. His first wife (married in 1620) was Marianna Wiśniowiecka, the daughter of the wealthy and influential voivode of Ruthenia Konstanty Wiśniowiecki. Sadly, his wife died after four years of marriage and their two daughters perished in early childhood. In 1627 Sobieski married his second wife, Zofia Theophila Danilewicz, daughter of the Ruthenian voivode Jan Danilewicz and heiress to vast landed estates. She bore Jakub seven children, three of whom survived to adulthood. The most important among them was Jan, born on 17 August 1629, the future King Jan III Sobieski, the vanquisher of the Turks at Vienna in 1683.

Jakub Sobieski willingly put pen to paper and thus let himself be known as a chronicler of a time when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was at her greatest, and also as an educator of the younger generation. Being associated with the main areas of his activities, his writings varied considerably in terms of content and form. They included letters, memoirs, parliamentary speeches, and accounts of war (against the Turks and Russia)<sup>3</sup> and peace negotiations (with the Swedes in 1629), and also extended to parliamentary diaries and accounts of his travels across Europe. The most important of his writings were published in Gdansk in 1646, including: his account of the Chocim War entitled *Comentariorum chotinensis belli libri tres*,<sup>4</sup> the *Diary of the Coronation Sejm in Krakow in 1633*,<sup>5</sup> as well as accounts of his travels, which I shall describe later.

Like many other young magnates in the early modern era, Jakub Sobieski liked travelling. Journeys provided him with the opportunity to meet new people and to experience new places and other cultural, religious and national realities. They enriched his knowledge, broadened his imagination and developed his aesthetic appreciation. As stated earlier, the years of his travels in western and southern Europe, 1607-1613, were the most important period in the development of his mentality and character. Thirty years later (in 1638), now an established politician and head of the Sobieski family, he accompanied King Władysław IV Vasa to a health spa in Baden (near Vienna),

during which time he visited imperial estates in Silesia, Bohemia and Austria. Let us also not forget that, albeit for a very different purpose, he also visited the Muscovite State.

Jakub Sobieski left behind accounts of his European travels. For many years they remained in manuscript form. They were first published by Edward Raczyński in 1833.<sup>6</sup> Next, fragments of his account concerning Germany and France were published in French in 1846 by Leonard Chodzko.<sup>7</sup> In 1879 part of Sobieski's accounts were published in Spanish by Fr. Feliks Różański,<sup>8</sup> the head of the San Lorenzo del Escorial Library near Madrid. However, the best full publication of his accounts, edited by Józef Długosz, was published in 1991 by the Wydawnictwo Ossolineum.<sup>9</sup>

Sobieski's accounts have not only been referred to by many Polish historians, but also by foreign ones such as Georges Cirot and Marcelin Défourneaux, the latter in his now classic *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*. It is moreover worth noting that his travel accounts became the basis of a historical tale by Mieczysław Lepecki,<sup>10</sup> entitled *Pan Jakobus Sobieski*.<sup>11</sup> The present investigation is based on the 1991 publication of this historical source.

## II. The Habsburg courts

### The term 'court' as understood by Jakub Sobieski

The key word in Jakub Sobieski's accounts is 'court'. The word appears in his texts very often, at various occasions and in various contexts. The most frequent cases are as follows:

1) *Court as the centre and capital of the state*. Setting out for Madrid in 1611, Sobieski writes: 'There is the capital and the place of residence of the Spanish kings.'<sup>12</sup> He has a similar reflection at the gates of Vienna: 'This is the finest city, a real *metropolis Austriae*. Residing there at the time was Matthias with his wife Anna.'<sup>13</sup> For Sobieski, therefore, the state capital was the permanent place of residence of the monarch and his court. However, in his opinion the concepts 'royal court' and 'royal palace' were not synonymous. The royal court was Madrid, whereas El Pardo and Escorial were palaces. At El Pardo, Sobieski writes, 'there is a small royal palace of pleasure,'<sup>14</sup> in other words a place of recreation; and the Escorial Palace is 'a secluded place for the royal court'.<sup>15</sup> Sobieski similarly makes a distinction between the 'royal court' and the 'royal family'. Members of the monarch's (emperor's or king's) family were clearly distinguished from the larger community of the royal court: '[...] the emperor left Vienna together with his court and his wife, the empress'.<sup>16</sup>

2) *Court as a place*. Sobieski also uses the word 'court' in a different sense, as somewhere to be, a place for people to gather and meet, and as a journey's destination. One was in the court, at the court or with the court: 'Living in the court at the time was Prince Filiberto of Savoy [...]'<sup>17</sup>; 'The Spanish gentlemen were then residing with the court [...]'<sup>18</sup>; 'In that time he also lived at the imperial court [...]. Ordinary deputies also lived at the imperial court [...]'<sup>19</sup>. One moreover arrived at the court: 'in that time he arrived at the Spanish court [...]'<sup>20</sup>.

3) *Court as the ruler's circle and collective*. The court is made up of people forming a collective of very distinctive characteristics. It comprises the ruler's closest circle as well as his family.

With regard to the Spanish and imperial courts, Sobieski emphasised their size: ‘When I was in Madrid, the court was very large [...]’;<sup>21</sup> ‘the imperial court [...] fairly populous’;<sup>22</sup> ‘[...] Spaniards were added to his court [...]’;<sup>23</sup> ‘the emperor left Vienna together with his court.’<sup>24</sup>

4) *Court as an institution.* Sobieski also perceived the court in the institutional sense, as a place where the ruler and officials formed the central administration of the state: ‘[...] at his court and throughout the kingdom he had his loyal clerks’;<sup>25</sup> ‘I encountered deputies at the Spanish court [...]’;<sup>26</sup> ‘they have their agents at the royal court [...]’;<sup>27</sup> ‘There are four seniors above the court as sort of marshals’.<sup>28</sup>

For our Polish traveller the word ‘court’ was therefore a universal concept that he applied with respect to all the European monarchies. Naturally, depending on which state he was in he qualified it as the ‘French court’, ‘Spanish court’, ‘English Court’, ‘imperial court’ or ‘papal court’. Occasionally, as a synonym, he speaks of ‘the place of residence of kings’<sup>29</sup> or ‘the royal household’.<sup>30</sup>

### Distinctive features of the Habsburg court

What were the distinctive features of the Habsburg courts? What distinguished them from other European courts?

Firstly, these courts were characterised by their exceptionally close dynastic ties. In his accounts Jakub Sobieski frequently stresses the family ties between the Spanish rulers and the emperors. Already in the second sentence of his description of Madrid he states that at the royal court he saw Philip III and his wife Margaret, the daughter of Archduke Charles.<sup>31</sup> Sobieski returned to the same theme in his description of how in 1638 King Władysław IV was greeted by the Empress Maria: ‘His Royal Highness spoke in Italian, and she received him quite pleasantly, speaking briefly in Spanish.’<sup>32</sup>

On this occasion the Polish magnate allowed himself to make a few biting remarks about the proud and conceited Spanish royal, who during the ceremony of kissing her hand coolly received her Polish guests with *Hispanico fastu*, i.e. Spanish haughtiness.<sup>33</sup> These close ties between the two dynastic lines were apparent, as Sobieski notes, in the presence of Germans at the Madrid court and Spaniards at the Vienna court. As an example, the Polish traveller mentions Empress Maria’s housemistress, Madame ‘Girona’ [Girón].<sup>34</sup> This court official must have annoyed Sobieski, as in his accounts he writes she was ‘fiercely proud’ and never willing to allow Polish ladies to sit on the right-hand side of the Empress.<sup>35</sup> In his accounts Sobieski never uses the name ‘Habsburg’, referring instead to the ‘Rakuski House’ (from the Czech word *rakouski*, meaning Austrian).

Another characteristic element of Habsburg courts was their expanded ceremonial procedures and etiquette, which dictated relations between rulers, including their families, their subjects, and foreign guests.

A third important distinguishing feature of these courts was their close association with the Roman Catholic faith and religious practice. Sobieski emphasises the piety of Philip III and his wife Margaret.<sup>36</sup> In contrast to Henry IV of France,<sup>37</sup> the Polish traveller notes that the Spanish king ‘spent

his time on religious devotion' and willingly took part in religious processions. For example, he records that in the liturgical period from the feast of Corpus Christi to the Assumption 'every day the king publicly participated in church processions [...]'.<sup>38</sup> For this reason Sobieski was not surprised that Dominican and Franciscan confessors played such an important role at the courts of the Catholic monarchs.

## The role of the ruler

What kind of rulers were the monarchs of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire? What roles did they perform at court?

It should be noted from the outset that Sobieski's comments on this subject reflected views he had acquired from the quite different political system of what was then the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where the king was elected by the nobles. Moreover, in Poland the monarchy was not hereditary; even if a son happened to succeed his father,<sup>39</sup> it still required the approval of the noble estate or its parliamentary representation. The power of Polish kings was limited by a system of noble privileges (e.g., the so-called Henrician Articles and the *pacta conventa*) and freedoms guaranteed, since the Middle Ages, by the constitution of the Polish Sejm. Affiliated as he was with the powerful magnate dynasty of the Zamoyskis, Sobieski frequently disagreed with and openly criticised the policies of the Polish royal court, and even criticised the king. On account of these constitutional constraints, Polish monarchs were keenly interested in personally exercising what authority they had and, wherever possible, extending their range of responsibilities.

Meanwhile Sobieski notes the fact that neither Philip III nor Matthias I showed much interest in personal rule. Of the emperor he writes: 'A kindly man, but not very adept *ad res agendas* [in governing]'.<sup>40</sup> Whereas about the king of Spain he comments: 'More expert *ad vitam privatam* than *ad res gerendas* [in running affairs]'.<sup>41</sup>

Sobieski does not analyse the political systems of Spain or the Holy Roman Empire. However, perhaps having in mind the limited authority of Polish monarchs, he does remark that absolute monarchs also share their *potestas* with officials and ministers. Nevertheless, he also notes that while in the Commonwealth the participation of the nobility was laid down in the constitution, in the Habsburg monarchies it resulted from the personal decisions or the character traits of the ruler. Those ruling on their behalf thus included not only nominated officials, but also favourites and grey eminences. Imperial and royal favourites do feature in Sobieski's travel accounts. At the Spanish court he describes the Duke of Lerma as follows:

The king took him to heart and into his confidence so much so that during my stay in Spain he *rerum patiebatur* [held sway], after him the entire government, the *consilia* [or *Consejos*] and then the pretenders. Whomsoever he favoured, so did the king, whomsoever he disliked, the king disliked too. The whole of Spain adored him; the king showered him and his family and friends with gifts.<sup>42</sup>

Matthias I Habsburg also had his favourites, whom Sobieski unequivocally calls his 'lovers'. In



this group he includes the bishop of Vienna and later cardinal Melchior Klesl, the Italian adviser Ottavio Cavriani as well as two military commanders, Siegfried Kollonich and Henri Duval Dampierre.<sup>43</sup>

All these observations regarding the Habsburg courts and the roles played by the Habsburg monarchs inclined the Polish traveller to make some rather astonishing conclusions reflecting his surprise at encountering a situation quite different to what he had expected. He writes: 'It is strange that although there they have *absolutum dominium*, these monarchs do nothing without a council, they will not sign any public letter, or *sine consilio* they won't even touch upon *publicis negotiis*.'<sup>44</sup>

Was Sobieski here expressing a conviction that Habsburg absolutism in Spain and the Holy Roman Empire, so much reviled by the anti-royal opposition in Poland, was a stereotype form of propaganda and manipulation? This would be going too far, but there can be no doubt that what he saw of the courts of absolute monarchs, particularly those of the Habsburgs, allowed Sobieski to conclude that even white had its shades.

### Everyday life in seventeenth-century Habsburg courts

Spending some time in Madrid and subsequently in Vienna provided Sobieski with an excellent opportunity to observe everyday life in Habsburg courts. Naturally, these observations were rather general, as they were made from the outside. The young magnate paid particular attention to the official aspect of the life of the king and his entourage, that is to say, the court ceremonies (e.g. awarding the Order of the Golden Fleece) and audiences with ministers, foreign diplomats and high-born guests. For example, Sobieski witnessed Ambrosio Spinola being awarded the title of Grandee of Spain. Spinola would later become famous for his capture of Breda (1625), a scene which was immortalised by the brilliant Velázquez in his painting *Las lanzas*.

The Polish traveller devotes a lot of time to describing the way the monarch and his entourage spent their free time, and their forms of recreation. He noticed that this primarily depended on the monarch, whose preferences and tastes constituted guidelines for those responsible for organising royal or imperial entertainment. Sobieski recalls that the favourite pastimes of Philip III were hunting and riding. There was also much merriment at the Vienna court. To celebrate the arrival of Archduke Ferdinand and his family,<sup>45</sup> Emperor Matthias 'had various feasts and games organised for their delight'.<sup>46</sup> Later we learn that these included races, masks, ballet, theatre plays and hunting. Sobieski, however, records a negative aspect of recreation at the imperial court of Matthias I, namely, excessive drinking. Decades later, by contrast, on another visit to the imperial capital he was to comment: '[...] for they did not drink like the Germans did when I was in Vienna in Emperor Matthias' time.'<sup>47</sup>

In describing the Habsburg courts, Sobieski concentrates more on their structure than on how they functioned. He is interested in their hierarchy of values, in relations between the ruler, his family, and the court, in the roles of particular individuals, in the network of family ties and in political, social, formal and informal relationships. Although he concentrates on the main players, he does also make an effort to understand the mechanisms behind the exercise of power. For example,

Sobieski notes that the most powerful aristocrats are given the highest offices of state and remain in the court. He explains this policy as follows: ‘He deliberately wants to have them together [...], so that they will not think of rebellion or factions, as they might if they were separated.’<sup>48</sup>

### The form and language of describing the court

There can be no doubt that in describing European courts Sobieski realised that they were the centres of political power in particular states: places where monarchs, their families, officials, ministers and diplomats convened, as well as others who were distinguished and important. In his descriptions he therefore takes care to write with appropriate precision, seriousness and respect.

On the other hand, he does occasionally cite opinions and rumours concerning particular court circles. During his stay in Madrid, he mentions the complicated situation of Philibert being the son of the duke of Savoy and at the same time the nephew of Philip III. Sobieski cites two explanations for Philibert’s presence in Madrid. Some reckoned this was due to his uncle’s concern for him and the intention to make Philibert viceroy of Portugal, while others believed he was being held as a sort of hostage, to keep his brother-in-law the Duke of Savoy in check. Sobieski adds that the young duke was discreetly watched over by Spanish guards as a kind of prisoner.<sup>49</sup> Let us also not forget that he did not refrain from writing about drunkenness at the court of Matthias I or from laughing at the gratuitous etiquette.

The language in his descriptions of the court is fundamentally different from that in the rest of his travel accounts. It includes far more examples of elevated and sophisticated phrases, court terminology, concepts associated with etiquette and ceremony, and Latin expressions.

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<sup>1</sup> Syrokomla 1854.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Marek Sobieski was made one of the legal guardians of the under-age Tomasz, son of Jan Zamoyski. See Witusik 2000, p. 729.

<sup>3</sup> Jakub Sobieski is the author of the first Polish-language description of Moscow. See Malewska 1977, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Syrokomla 1854.

<sup>5</sup> *Diariusz sejmu koronacyjnego w Krakowie w 1633 roku*, 2008.

<sup>6</sup> *Dwie podróże J. Sobieskiego, ojca króla Jana III...*, 1833.

<sup>7</sup> Sobieski 1846.

<sup>8</sup> Father Feliks Różański, see Makowiecki 1984.

<sup>9</sup> Sobieski 1991.

<sup>10</sup> Mieczysław Bogdan Lepecki (1897-1969), Polish Army officer, writer, journalist, traveller, in the years 1931-1935 adjutant of Marshal Józef Piłsudski.

<sup>11</sup> Lepecki 1970.

<sup>12</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 142.

<sup>13</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 216.

<sup>14</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 148.

<sup>15</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 149.

<sup>16</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 217.

<sup>17</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 142.

<sup>18</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 144.

<sup>19</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 216.

<sup>20</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 145.

<sup>21</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 146.

<sup>22</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 216.

<sup>23</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 142.

<sup>24</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 217.

<sup>25</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 143.

<sup>26</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 143.

<sup>27</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 144.

<sup>28</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 145.

<sup>29</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 142.

<sup>30</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 143.

<sup>31</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 142.

<sup>32</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 234.

<sup>33</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 234-35.

<sup>34</sup> Inés Reynoso de Salamanca, the wife of Sancho Girón de Salcedo, Marquis de Sofraga, see: [http://www.geneall.net/H/per\\_page.php?id=1599773](http://www.geneall.net/H/per_page.php?id=1599773). In the years 1630-1637 Sancho was 'presidente del Reino de Nueva Granada' (i.e. president of the *Real Audicencia* of Nueva Granada), see: <http://www.heraldaria.com/phorum5/read.php?3,4571>. Here his wife appears as Inés Rodríguez de Salamanca.

<sup>35</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 244.

<sup>36</sup> Sobieski 1991, pp. 121 and 142.

<sup>37</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 47.

<sup>38</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 146.

<sup>39</sup> Such was the case with the Vasa dynasty. After the death of Zygmunt III, his son Władysław IV was made king, and he in turn was succeeded by his brother Jan II Kazimierz.

<sup>40</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 216.

<sup>41</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 121.

<sup>42</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 121.

<sup>43</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 216.

<sup>44</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 145.

<sup>45</sup> Later Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II.

<sup>46</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 217.

<sup>47</sup> Sobieski 1991 (*Droga do Baden*), p. 235.

<sup>48</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 145.

<sup>49</sup> Sobieski 1991, p. 142.



### III

## Religious Practices and the Court

# The *Pietas Austriaca*. A political myth?

On the Instrumentalisation of Piety towards the Cross at the Viennese Court in the Seventeenth Century

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It is well known that the Habsburg practice of piety was based on the fundamental pillars of the veneration of the Virgin Mary, the cult of the saints, Eucharistic piety, and the veneration of the Holy Cross. In her fundamental work *Pietas Austriaca* (1959) Anna Coreth provides an exemplary introduction to the effectiveness of this practice of piety over the centuries and showed how the Habsburgs regarded religiously defined *pietas* (meaning both piety and the fear of God) as the most important virtue of rulers.<sup>1</sup> It was on the basis of this particular practice of piety that the Habsburg rulers from Ferdinand II onwards set themselves apart from other royal dynasties who were more concerned with earthly glory, and from the French Bourbons in particular. Unlike other monarchs who tended to emphasise their personal accomplishments, the Habsburgs<sup>2</sup> were convinced that their royal line was divinely ordained; that they had been especially chosen and entrusted with a mission; and that they had a special relationship to God in the sense that they enjoyed the divine right of kings.

The present paper intends to investigate the way in which the ritual practice of devotion to the cross has to be distinguished from the politically instrumentalised propaganda of the veneration of the cross. In this context the question arises whether *Pietas Austriaca* was not perhaps instrumentalised over the course of centuries as a welcome myth of Habsburg ‘chosenness’, one which was intensively propagated through appropriate media so as to conduct political propaganda more effectively, i.e., in the sense of a vehement and dynastically political profanation of different forms of piety. In his *Dissertatio polemica de prima origine Augustissimae Domus Habsburgo-Austriacae* (1680), Johann Ludwig Schönleben had good reason to refer to *Pietas Austriaca* as ‘*Haereditaria Pietas*’,<sup>3</sup> or a hereditarily bound form of piety.

The specific intention here is therefore not so much to address the theological content of *Pietas Austriaca*—which has already been the subject of extensive treatment by other researchers—as to investigate the many ways in which it could be exploited for political purposes. In this regard Stefan Samerski, for example, has already demonstrated that Leopold and Joseph, the main patrons, stood completely in the service of a dynastic-political *raison d'État* under the reign of Leopold I. These two patrons were closely linked to the person of the Emperor and his need for representation

with respect to genealogy, function and ritual.<sup>4</sup> Just as it was popular to equate Habsburg rulers with mythological persons, *Pietas Austriaca* formed an essential part of the Habsburgs' dynastic propaganda. In this sense it was particularly subject, in my view, to subtly differentiated mechanisms of representation which correspondingly transformed the particular manifestations of piety in the process of their mediation.

The veneration of the Holy Cross was propagated in different ways and in different media following the Council of Trent. Efforts in this regard were directed, as it were, at an archaeologically precise and comprehensive study of the circumstances surrounding the crucifixion, the Holy Cross and the form or symbol of the cross. This is amply demonstrated by such works as the multiple editions of Justus Lipsius' *De cruce libri tres ad sacram profanamque historiam utiles* (1593); Jacobus Bosio's *Crux triumphans et gloriosa* (1617), with its many sources and the special emphasis it placed on Late Antiquity and the early period of Christianity; and the three volumes by the Jesuit Jacobus Gretser entitled *De cruce Christi* (1605–1608).<sup>5</sup>

They were also accompanied by specialised studies such as Honoratus Nicquetus SJ's history of the title of the Holy Cross, *Titulus Sanctae Crucis seu Historia et mysterium tituli Sanctae Crucis Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (1670), or Thomas Bartholinus' investigations of the *Arma Christi*, which appeared under the title *De cruce Christi Hypomnemata IV* (1670). Both adopted a critical-historical approach to their subject and fall into the category of demystifications of the circumstances surrounding Christ's crucifixion. On the other hand, compendia also appeared which demonstrated the possibilities each specific religious order had to approach the history of the veneration of the cross. One such example is Magnoaldus Ziegelbaur OSB's treatise *Historia didactica de Sanctae Crucis cultu et veneratione in ordine divi Benedicti* (1746), which deals in particular with the veneration of the cross in the Benedictine Order.

Such studies, which adopted a critical-historical approach, should be distinguished from publications that dealt specifically with historical or legendary events that related to the Habsburg practice of piety and in so doing reflected a framework of discourse in which the veneration of the cross was contextualised under primarily dynastic auspices. In order to underpin the dynastic claim to the cult of the cross, Nicolaus Vernulaeus, for example, stated in his work *Virtutes Augustae Gentis Austriacae libri tres* (1640)<sup>6</sup> that God had pointed the Habsburg dynasty—like Constantine the Great years before—to the cross as a sign and pledge of victory.<sup>7</sup> In this reference to the time when the veneration of the cross started to be used for political purposes, the cult of the Holy Cross under King Rudolf I of Habsburg in particular is of central importance—such as on the occasion when (according to legend) the founding father of the dynasty held a wooden cross in the absence of a sceptre while tribute was paid to him as the newly elected king and used it to have the princes pledge their oath of allegiance to him;<sup>8</sup> in his treatise *Austriaci Caesares* (1649), the Jesuit Horstensio Pallavicini commented that Rudolf ('the Great') was simply following on from the example set by Constantine the Great on a parallel occasion: '*vincet cum magno Constantino Rudolphus Magnus*'.<sup>9</sup> On this basis the cross was also assigned the legitimising function of pointing to the expansion of Habsburg territory as a symbol of the Holy Cross—such as when Pallavicini, in one of his remarks, interpreted the expansion of the Habsburg Empire towards all four points of the compass as logical: after all, it was consistent with the shape of the cross (!).<sup>10</sup>

These diverse ways of taking Habsburg traditions of piety and turning them into myths need to be taken into consideration when we come to discuss a pivotal event in the history of the Habsburgs' imperial residence in Vienna. When the *Kammerkapelle* (the imperial family's private chapel) in the 'Leopoldine Wing' of the Vienna Hofburg was destroyed by a catastrophic fire in February 1668, it provided a new thrust to the dynasty's veneration of the cross.<sup>11</sup> Although the available sources give a precise account of the fire, which appears to have occurred on 6 February 1668,<sup>12</sup> there is no sign of a report concerning the relic of the cross which was kept there, but which somehow escaped destruction:

*'ein feyerbrunst in den neu erpauten stockh gegen der pasteyen, gleich vnder den Züchern Ihrer Mt: der Verwittibten Kayserin [scil. Eleonore Gonzaga] außkhomen, dessen Vrsprung man nüehelich wissen khänen, vnd derselbe ganze stokh vngeacht aller beschehenen rettung, abgebrunnen, vnd dadurch grosser schaden an mobilien beschehen [...].'*<sup>13</sup>

A relatively close description of the place where this catastrophe took place is given in the diary of Johann Sigray, an intimate of the Pálffy family, in 1668: *'Mani viennae circa horam tertiam Matutinam actum fuit incendium in Aula viduae Imperatricis et Combusta est tota residentia ipsius Seu nomen [...].'*<sup>14</sup> According to a report by the papal nuncio Pignatelli,<sup>15</sup> chests full of precious objects as well as a solid gold crucifix and two silver candelabras were consumed by the fire in the cabinet of the Emperor's widow, Eleonore Gonzaga. After the disastrous fire, the melted case of the reliquary was later found in the ashes but the particles of the cross which had been revered by the Habsburgs centuries—in particular by Emperor Maximilian I—are supposed to have remained unharmed.<sup>16</sup> Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705) had given this holy relic to his stepmother, Empress Eleonore Magdalena Gonzaga of Mantua-Nevers (1630–1686), the third consort of Emperor Ferdinand III (1608–1657),<sup>17</sup> for safekeeping during her lifetime. This precious relic is kept today in the 'monstrance of the Order of the Starry Cross' in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum (with the foot and shaft made by Hans Jakob Mair in Augsburg around 1668) (fig. 1).<sup>18</sup>

The miraculous rescue of the holy relic, which was found intact five days after the fire in the ruins of Eleonore Gonzaga's chambers, was celebrated by the foundation of the 'Order of the Starry Cross' for the high nobility on 18 September 1668.<sup>19</sup> In particular, its members were to devote themselves to the worship of the Holy Cross, as the texts of the relevant *officium* make abundantly clear. The order was re-constituted by Empress Eleonora Magdalena Theresia von der Pfalz (1655–1720), the third wife of Emperor Leopold I, and elevated to become the dynasty's highest aristocratic all-female order in 1688.<sup>20</sup> The Empress invested members<sup>21</sup> with the Order of the Starry Cross, which featured golden crosses with four diamonds (hence the name 'Order of the Starry Cross')—heraldically designed as a combination of the Mantuan Cross with the sloping single-headed black Mantuan eagle<sup>22</sup>—as well as the motto *Salus et Gloria*, on two occasions: on 3 May (The Finding of the Holy Cross) and on 14 September (The Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross), *'bei den obern Jesuiten'* (meaning the Jesuits at the Kirche Am Hof in Vienna).<sup>23</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the foundation of the Order of the Starry Cross were propagated above all in a booklet entitled *Hoch-Adeliche und Gottseelige Versamblung von Stern-Creutz genandt. So von Ihr Kayserlichen Mayestät Eleonora, Verwittibten Römischen Kayserin auffgerichtet [...]* (1671),<sup>24</sup> which was written by the Jesuit Johannes Baptista Manni (fig. 2).



Fig. 1 'Monstrance of the Order of the Starry Cross', Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (foot and shaft made by Hans Jakob Mair in Augsburg ca. 1668).

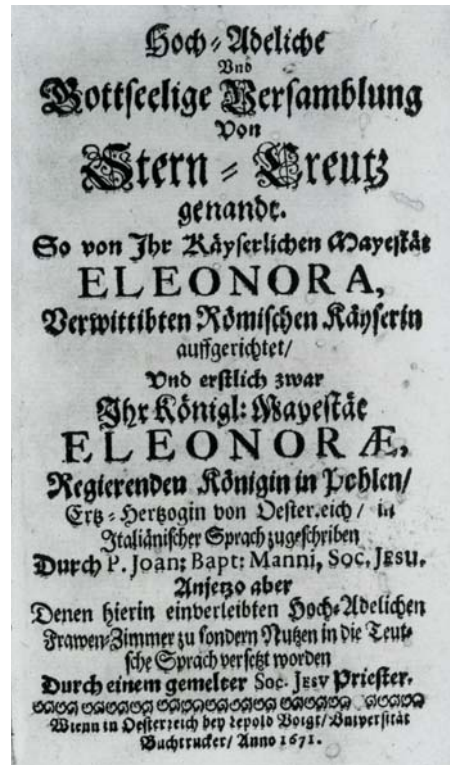


Fig. 2 Johannes Baptista Manni SJ, *Hoch-Adeliche und Gottseelige Versammlung von Stern-Creutz genandt. So von Ihr Kayserlichen Mayestät Eleonora, Verwittibten Römischen Kayserin auffgerichtet* (Vienna, 1671), title page.

This interesting publication provides the essential basics for gaining a better understanding of how the Habsburg dynasty actually performed the veneration of the cross as well as the specific circumstances surrounding the foundation of the Order of the Starry Cross. In Manni's publication on the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the Order of the Starry Cross, references to Habsburg piety are subsequently linked to the situation at the time with a report about the fire in the Hofburg in 1668,<sup>25</sup> with Emperor Leopold I's veneration of the cross, with his confirmation of the Order of the Starry Cross,<sup>26</sup> and with the manuscript of the order's deed of foundation by Eleonore.<sup>27</sup> This historical account is followed by an extensive section dealing with the ways in which piety was specifically practised by the members of the Order of the Starry Cross (*Enchiridion oder Hand-Buechlein unterschiedlicher Gebett [...] zu Ehr deß H. Creutzes [...] von Hoch-Adelichen Frawen Zimmer under den Titul deß Stern-Creutztes zu gebrauchen*);<sup>28</sup> requisite text formulas are presented for the passion prayers and for the rosary of devotion to the Five Wounds—here the character of a specifically Jesuit spirituality is particularly evident in the emphasis placed on the 'earthly' trinity of Jesus, Mary and Joseph.<sup>29</sup> This is also expressed in a curious entanglement of Christological and Marian formulas for piety which are clearly discernible in the texts.<sup>30</sup> In this particular case the fixed text for the *Ave Maria* is transposed to the Veneration of the Holy Cross: '*Gegrüsset seyst du heiliges Creutz / voll Bluts / der Herr ist mit dir / du bist gebenedeyet under den Bäumen / und gebenedeyet*



*ist die Frucht / so an dir gehangen mein Herr Jesus Christus. / Heiliges Creutz sey mein [sic!] Zuflucht jetzt und in der Stund meines Absterbens / Amen.*<sup>31</sup>

A central point for gaining an understanding of the aristocratic practice of piety in the seventeenth century is the fact that self-reflection and propaganda of Habsburg *pietas* were not only closely linked to the veneration of the saints and the early cult of the Holy Cross, but were also conceived as growing genealogically, as it were, from these two threads. This interesting idea of utilising members of one's own dynasty for a calendar of the saints (!) is expressed with the greatest clarity in Johann Ludwig Schönleben's publication *Annus Sanctus Habspurgo-Austriacus; sive Quingenti Sancti, Beati, & Venerabiles, utriusque sexus, Augustissimae Domui Habspurgo-Austriacae Sanguinis et cognationis nexu illigati* (Salzburg 1696)<sup>32</sup> and in church decors which are essentially based on a programme of saints that propagated Habsburg piety, such as Carpoforo Tencalla's painting for the Chapel of St. Petrus Canisius in the Kirche Am Hof in Vienna (around or after 1668).<sup>33</sup>

In addition to its triumphal aspects, the Habsburg veneration of the cross under Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637) had increasingly been assigned a further dimension of meaning which was above all expressed in the willingness to accept any suffering that came from God.<sup>34</sup> When on 5 June 1619 protestant nobles from Lower Austria were pressuring Emperor Ferdinand II in the Vienna Hofburg to grant them the freedom to practise their religion (an event which became known as the '*Sturm petition*'), Christ apparently whispered to the regent praying before the cross: 'Ferdinand, I won't abandon you!'. Shortly afterwards a regiment appeared in the Burghof courtyard and saved the hard-pressed ruler.<sup>35</sup> The presence of a deputation of the Austrian protestant nobles led by Paul Jakob Graf Starhemberg and Andreas Freiherr von Thonrädcl before an Emperor Ferdinand II gazing at the cross in the Vienna Hofburg in June 1619 became a defining theme in the printed graphic art of the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup> Usually Ferdinand II stands in the centre of such depictions, looking with great pathos up to the cross with a banner proclaiming the words of Christ ('*Ferdinande, non te deseram!*') (fig. 3).<sup>37</sup>

In early modern visual propaganda the reproduction of this moment was regarded as the most important event in the rule of Ferdinand II, as becomes clear in the frescos of his burial chapel in the Graz Mausoleum (1691–93), which were based on a design by Fischer von Erlach (1688),<sup>38</sup> and in the corresponding fresco in the *Kaisersaal*, which was painted by Melchior Steidl in 1709, and which forms part of the Bamberg Residenz.<sup>39</sup>

In the twelfth and final part of his *Annales Ferdinandeï* [...] (1726), Franz Christoph Khevenhüller published a German version of Ferdinand II's virtues and showed the dialogue between Christ crucified and Emperor Ferdinand in a large copper engraving depicting the extraordinarily Jesuit-friendly emperor as a pilgrim (!) and hence as a direct successor to St. Ignatius—a unique example in iconography (fig. 4).<sup>40</sup> Even in the mortuary roll written by the Prague Jesuit Petrus Wadding for Emperor Ferdinand II, which associated the late ruler with the various virtues of Constantine, Theodosius and Charlemagne, Ferdinand's *pietas* is emphasised in the invocation of his successor (?) with the aid of a direct reference to the cross, evidently in an interpolation of the *Te igitur* from the *officium* of the mass: '*Tu igitur Cruce insignis, Provinciarum quas Ferdinandus caelo fideles reddidit, agmina post te trahes* [...]'.<sup>41</sup>



Fig. 3 Ferdinand II looking up to the cross, engraving, Prague, after 1730.



Fig. 4 Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, *Annales Ferdinandeï...* (Leipzig, 1726), 12<sup>th</sup> part, engraving, dialogue between Christ and Emperor Ferdinand II.

Not without reason, Maria Theresa also invoked this now famous legend of her predecessor when she took the cross with her to the *Reichstag* in Preßburg (Bratislava) in September 1741. Today the cross is kept in the Ecclesiastical Treasury.<sup>42</sup> After returning to the Vienna Hofburg, she had it displayed for public veneration in the *Kammerkapelle* for two weeks starting on 22 December of that year and on 5 January 1742 decreed that the cross should in general be displayed in the *Hofkapelle* every Friday because of the throngs of people who had come to see it.<sup>43</sup> Later on, in 1748, Maria Theresa ordered Ferdinand's cross to be placed in the tabernacle of the renovated imperial court chapel,<sup>44</sup> which led to the custom of presenting it to be kissed on Sundays and feast days.<sup>45</sup> Right up to the end of the Monarchy, this event under the rule of Emperor Ferdinand II formed an essential point of reference for the Habsburg ideology of piety.<sup>46</sup>

The peculiar thing about this episode in 1619 is the fact that we note an extraordinary confluence between the efforts of the Jesuit Order and the piety of the Habsburgs—as we have already clearly seen with the foundation of the Order of the Starry Cross. The pivotal words, '*Ferdinande, non te deseram!*', with which Christ is supposed to have assured Emperor Ferdinand of his support, also supply the corresponding explanation. Not only are they a quotation from the Bible (Letter to the Hebrews 13:5, 'I will not abandon you, and I will not neglect you.').<sup>47</sup> but the passage also constitutes an explicit reference to the Society of Jesus since the verse from Hebrews also provides a direct reference to the following event in the life of St. Ignatius of Loyola. On his

journey from Rome to Venice the saint was repeatedly turned away from lodgings because of a virulent plague and ended up having to sleep in the open, but received comfort and support when Christ appeared and promised not to abandon him, using the words quoted in the above passage from the Bible.<sup>48</sup> Consequently, in terms of their subject matter, the verse from Hebrews, the episode in the life of Ignatius, and the legend of Ferdinand II and the cross in 1619 all refer—with one and the same text quotation—to the assurance of Christ’s support. In the twelfth part of Franz Christoph Khevenhüller’s *Annales Ferdinandeae* the confluence he asserts between the saint and the pious emperor is even made explicitly clear in the cited pilgrim-like description of the regent.



Fig. 5 Unsigned broadsheet (1636) which displays a maypole (a ‘fresh and green maypole’ according to the legend below).

The multiplicity of meanings which the symbolism of the cross had in Emperor Ferdinand II’s propaganda is particularly evident in an unsigned broadsheet (1636) (fig. 5) which displays a maypole or tree of life (a ‘fresh and green maypole’ according to the legend) the leaves of which are turning green and present certain virtues that supposedly embody Ferdinand II.<sup>49</sup> The thread of salvation that runs through this document becomes clear in the case of the tree, which alludes to the tree of the Cross, and in the Eucharist above it—which is explained by the banner located above the insignia. It references the passage ‘God himself will provide the lamb for the burnt offering’ (Genesis 22:8),



which was Abraham's reply to Isaac's fearful question about the animal which was to be sacrificed to God. Here, the dynastic veneration of the cross is generalised and closely linked to the *Providentia* motif which was fundamental for the Habsburg dynasty in general and Ferdinand II in particular,<sup>50</sup> since the passage taken from the book of Genesis '*Gott Wirdt fürsehen*' ('God will provide') is quoted in the representational copper engraving. Hence the motto *Deus providebit*,<sup>51</sup> which was also the motto of Emperor Maximilian II (1527–1576), appears to have applied directly to the emperor and to the *Domus Austriaca* he represented. According to this perspective, Emperor Ferdinand II—or the virtues he embodied—found himself in the broad tradition of Habsburg piety towards the Cross and the Eucharist. A detail in the upper part of this engraving shows the wood of the tree now transformed into a small crucifix, which Rudolf von Habsburg, the father of the dynasty, is handing over to Ferdinand II in an ahistorical montage. This event is based on the famous legend cited at the beginning of this paper, according to which Rudolf von Habsburg is supposed to have held and kissed a wooden crucifix in the absence of a sceptre while tribute was paid to him as the newly elected king and used it to have the princes pledge their oath of allegiance to him when he was elected king in 1273. According to the legend, the words we see on the banner here, '*mit disem scepter wollen wir regieren*', are a literal quotation of what Rudolf actually said on this occasion.<sup>52</sup>

This little and somewhat unprepossessing scene assumes greater significance to the extent that Rudolf I's handing of a cross to Emperor Ferdinand III also plays an important role in an emblem with the lemma 'AB HOC SIGNO', meaning the cross, in the unpaginated book of emblems entitled *Annus primus imperii Austriaci, duodecim caesareo-mensium* (Graz 1638), which was dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand III.<sup>53</sup> Hence the wood of the cross at the very top of the maypole has been transformed in a qualitative sense through the addition of the central legend of Habsburg history. It now assumes the character of a religious object which transfers the vegetable symbolism of the tree into an obvious reminder of the presence of the Habsburg *Pietas Austriaca*. Furthermore, the hagiographic aspect of the dynasty's practice of piety is also underlined by the addition of the apostles Philip and James the Less, both of whose feast days fall on 1 May (!)—the very day to which the erection of the maypole refers. James the Younger hands over his own (!) attribute, as it were, in the sword which he gives to Ferdinand III (crowned King of Hungary in 1626 and Holy Roman Emperor in 1636), who is kneeling next to Ferdinand II. Just as the cross is the actual 'fruit' of the maypole, the crowns in the branches of the tree should be understood not only as individual achievements of the ruler (or virtues) but also as 'fruits' of the House of Habsburg—in the form of insignia.

The different forms of the Habsburg veneration of the cross which have been presented here lead to the fundamental problem area of the auspices under which the vital lines of tradition since the glorification of King Rudolf I were received in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and how they were propagated in texts and images.<sup>54</sup> Here it is apparent that the Habsburg *Fiducia in Crucem Christi* was primarily linked to the other important elements of *Pietas Austriaca* and to the political leitmotif of *Providentia*, the importance of which was to protect the Habsburg dynasty through the centuries.<sup>55</sup> Right up to the nineteenth century this 'providence' was actually the central motif in the self-projection of the House of Habsburg, in bitter opposition to a tendency, manifest since the beginnings of early modern philosophy, to view God's work on earth, and hence the relevance of *Providentia* in the history of salvation, from an increasingly critical perspective.<sup>56</sup>

In addition to its vital religious implications, the *Pietas Austriaca* which was practised under the protection of *Providentia* was a particular guarantee of the assurance of continuity. This was further underpinned by the approach taken in a compendium of Habsburg values and princes, *Princeps in Compendio*,<sup>57</sup> which was written under the influence of the Jesuits in the closest circles of the court of Emperor Ferdinand II. It might be described as a manual for the Habsburg conception of imperial office. The compendium of princes first appeared during the rule of Ferdinand II (1632). Moreover, even in the very first chapter (*‘Quomodo cum Deo se Princeps gerere debeat.’*), it formulates—in the form of a catechism, as it were—the relevance of unequivocal trust and confidence that was to be placed in God and the saints, and which supposedly distinguished the steadfast behaviour of Emperor Ferdinand II when he came under pressure from the protestant nobles in 1619, as described above.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, the emphasis placed on the finality of events in the history of salvation characterises each of the two examples of the Habsburg veneration of the cross at the Viennese Court in the early Modern Age<sup>59</sup> which we have briefly presented here. The first case deals with the foundation of the ‘Order of the Starry Cross’ (1668) and how Emperor Leopold I had entrusted the relic of the cross to the safekeeping of his stepmother, Empress Eleonore Gonzaga, Emperor Ferdinand III’s widow, for the duration of her lifetime—a wise and farsighted measure which could not even be undone by major historic disasters such as the fire in the ‘Leopoldine Wing’ of the Vienna Hofburg in 1668. On this occasion the veneration of the cross stood under the same supremely ‘providential’ auspices as the demonstration of unshakable *pietas* by Emperor Ferdinand II when he prayed to the cross in June 1619. Once again in this case it is God’s guiding care and ‘providence’ which represents the pivotal moment in the sequence of events. In this sense these two examples of the Habsburg’s veneration of the cross provided highly welcome foundations for transforming events which were taken from the history of the Habsburg dynasty into a history with a dimension of destiny and truly divine providence, and for legitimising the dynasty’s political mandates by claiming that they were founded on God’s far-sighted rule—which therefore proved their righteousness. The treatment of these events in the sense of the functionalisation of piety under a central guiding motif (*Providentia*) ultimately led to a situation in which the righteousness and the piety of the House of Habsburg had to be regarded as practically invincible. But not only that: The significance of catholicism in the sense of it being a dynastic constant resided less in the acts of demonstrating such piety and far more in a cleverly presented amalgamation of political and religious pretensions. When we look more closely at the inserted inscriptions, even Elias Nesselthaler’s famous copper engraving on the cover of Johannes Ludovicus Schönleben’s *Annus Sanctus Habsburgo-Austriacus* (1696)<sup>60</sup> not only tries to embed the depiction of Emperor Leopold at prayer into an ambitious programme of virtues, but also attempts to identify the ‘House of Austria’ with the biblical *Domus* and to confer God’s promise to Abraham in the book of Genesis (15:5) on the rich descendants of the Habsburgs, on saints and secular nobles, and on church dignitaries<sup>61</sup>—all of whom are seen crowding around the Holy Trinity in the upper third of the engraving (fig. 6).





Fig. 6 Elias Nesselthaler, copper engraving on the cover of Johannes Ludovicus Schönleben's *Annus Sanctus Habspurgo-Austriacus* (Ljubljana, 1696).

Hence the wider world of historical meaning was primarily defined by *Providentia Dei*; and the history of the Habsburg dynasty, marked by the symbol of the cross, became a history of salvation to a certain extent, with the Habsburgs cast in the role of God's chosen few. Ultimately, all this was justified by the leading role which God had supposedly assigned to the Habsburgs in the *Sacrum Imperium* ever since Rudolf I. Not without reason does a Viennese document of theses published in 1649 with the title *Campus Lillorum* invoke the function of Rudolf I as '*Caesar (sic!) Eucharistico-Marianus, Austriacus.*'

Seen from this point of view, the lettering ('AUSTRIA ELECTA') on the edge of a medal struck in 1690 by Philipp Heinrich Müller to mark Joseph's coronation as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire certainly does not refer solely to the specific (historical) act of the election itself: it also stakes out a claim to the political primacy of the Habsburgs. A publication entitled *Typus Glorae Austriacae*,

which appeared in 1658, shortly after Leopold I took office in the Holy Roman Empire, investigated the continuity of the founding father Rudolf, 'PRIMVS EX AVGVSTA AVSTRIACORVM STIRPE ROMANORVM IMPERATOR'<sup>62</sup>, up to that particular time in the symbolic form of *Pietas Augusta* (!) and, in the introductory emblem<sup>63</sup> with the Habsburg eagle sitting on a globe and gazing up at the sun, related the globe to the round form of the Eucharist gleaming in the sun. The enclosed motto 'HIC ORBIS IN ILLVM EXTVLIT' illustrates how the globe lifts up the eagle to the all-redeeming sun and how world domination and world redemption, as it were, are brought together in the symbol of circularity. It was not unusual for dynastic and Christian types to occur side by side as in this case so that they were viewed as one and the same thing. The copper engraving of Johann Baptist Jezl the Older on the frontispiece of the first volume of the famous publication *Pietas Austriaca*, written by Diego Tafuri (Innsbruck, 1655),<sup>64</sup> offers a good example of this: Hercules' hydra is killed by the 'Three Faces of Austria', which are described as an image of piety in the legend. Hence *Austria* is not only assigned an apocalyptic motif (Revelation 1:16: 'And in his right hand, he held the seven stars; and from his mouth went out a sharp two-edged sword; and his face was like the sun, shining with all its might'): the shield of the dynasty with the Habsburg lion also functions as a protective shield for a personification, triumphant along the lines of St. Michael, whose striking *Tricephalus* obviously mirrors the type of the Holy Trinity, but which had actually been forbidden in this form by the Holy See since 1628 (fig. 7).



Fig. 7 Engraving of Johann Baptist Jezl the Older on the frontispiece of the first volume of the publication *Pietas Austriaca*, written by Diego Tafuri (Innsbruck, 1655).



If in conclusion we now ask how *Pietas Austriaca* was actually defined in the early Modern Age, we find ourselves back once more in the same broad complex of themes surrounding finality and chosenness in the history of salvation which is regarded as a causal relationship in *pietas*. Here, too, it is not so much a problem of defining or categorising certain forms of religiousness that might justify the criterion of Habsburg chosenness. More importantly, we need to investigate the history of salvation for its political functionality: ‘*AUSTRIACAM GENTEM Primo Ecclesiae Catholicae Apostolicae Romanae suae per dilectae sponsae, ac deinde Imperio Occidentis magna jugique PIETATE profuturam, vidit Deus, & gavisus est.*’, is Tafuri’s definition in the above-mentioned publication:<sup>65</sup> God saw that the House of Austria would first benefit the catholic, apostolic Roman Church, its beloved bride, and then the western empire, i.e. the Holy Roman Empire founded by Charlemagne, through great and constant piety; God saw this and was glad. The author underlines this aspect in his brief side comment: ‘Before the world was created (!), God saw *Austria* and was glad.’ The quotation that has been woven into this remark is taken from the Gospel according to St. John (8:56), which demonstrates God’s joy at his decision. It not only points to the account of the Creation in the first chapter of Genesis (1:31) and the repeatedly expressed satisfaction of the Creator in this regard (‘And God saw it was good’), but also to the Gospel of St. John (8:58) with Christ’s self-definition in relation to the Old Testament: ‘[...] before Abraham was made, I am.’ The use of this classic passage about the Christian perception of time and the quotation from Genesis<sup>66</sup> illustrate Tafuri’s lively interest in an instrumentalisation of *Pietas Austriaca* through a sophisticated and politically oriented theology of history which functionalises the notion of *pietas* in relation to the role of Austria in the sense that *regnum* and *sacerdotium* were able to evolve in the Western world solely through the circumstance of Austria being singled out as the empire or realm of preference. Hence the elements of Habsburg piety and recourse to the tradition of the Graeco-Roman *Providentia Augusti* were not so much regarded in terms of the specifically theological or religious aspects of their subject matter but rather as a multifunctional set and instrument of concrete political strategies.<sup>67</sup> From the Habsburg point of view, *pietas*—an essential part of ‘an ideological identity [...] for sacralizing and sanctifying the legitimacy of the dynasty’<sup>68</sup>—became an irrefutable historical and theological argument in the struggle for world supremacy.

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## Illustrations

Fig. 1 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Fig. 2–5 Vienna, Austrian National Library.

Fig. 6–7 Photo author.

<sup>1</sup> Coreth 1982, see also the book reviews by Marc R. Forster (in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 90, 4 [2004], pp. 798–800) and Andrew L. Thomas (in *H-German, H-Net Reviews*, January, 2005); a detailed analysis of the objectives of Coreth's book is given by William D. Bowman in his introduction to the English edition (2004), pp. XI–XVIII, here p. XII: 'Pietas Austriaca as [...] the guiding principle of the Habsburgs', and p. XVII: '[...] dominant ruling ideology of the Habsburg family.' For a summarizing commentary on *Pietas Austriaca* see Bérenger 1993; Vocelka 2001, pp. 208–221; Winkelbauer 2003, pp. 185–239.

<sup>2</sup> All efforts to sharpen the view of times when, and regions where, *Pietas Austriaca* manifested itself in varying forms automatically require that more attention must be attached to the personal aims of prominent representatives of this special kind of piety, see for example Duerloo 1997, pp. 1–18; Duerloo 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Schönleben 1680, p. 136 (c. *VIII, octava praerogativa*). The following section deals with the *Pietas* of the members of the House of Habsburg individually and at great length (pp. 136–213).

<sup>4</sup> Samerski 2006, pp. 251–278.

<sup>5</sup> Hecht 1997, pp. 382–384.

<sup>6</sup> Vernulaeus 1640, p. 32; see Coreth 1982, p. 38; Oberparleiter 2007, pp. 246–252.

<sup>7</sup> Kap. IV. (*monitum*), 33; see Coreth 1982, p. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Coreth 1982, p. 39; Tanner 1993, pp. 188–190.

<sup>9</sup> Pallavicini 1649, p. 46. Even later, Aldus Rein, Bishop of Laibach, in his funeral speech on Emperor Ferdinand II (Rein 1637) (without pagination), referred to Rudolf's legendary investiture with the cross, portraying Ferdinand II as '*alter quidam Constantinus Magnus [...]*'. The chapter *Cultus SS. Eucharistiae* of the treatise *Divi Ferdinandi II. [...]* (1737), pp. 14–15, relates Emperor Ferdinand II to Rudolf of Habsburg and so does, in depicted form, the title page of Wurffbain 1636.

<sup>10</sup> Pallavicini 1649, pp. 45–46, see Coreth 1982, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> After the fire, the Emperor had the chapel restored first of all other rooms. Dedicated to Saint Joseph, foster-father of Jesus, in 1670, the *Kammerkapelle*, from 1672 onwards, served as the place where pregnant empresses were blessed in an official ceremony, see Samerski 2006, p. 268; for references from the architectural historian's point of view see Rizzi 1997, p. 622; Mader-Kratky 2011, pp. 437–451.

<sup>12</sup> *Hochadelige und gottselige Versammlung vom Sternkreuze* 1960, pp. 3, 20. This publication has been reprinted several times. The last edition dates from 2008.

<sup>13</sup> Vienna, Austrian State Archives, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (in the following: HHStA), ceremonial protocols (*Zeremonialprotokolle*) vol. 2 (1668), 1405–1406. The same description of the place appears in the publication *Hochadelige und gottselige Versammlung vom Sternkreuze* 1839, p. 3. The founding of the Order of the Starry Cross, on the other hand, is not mentioned in any of the ceremonial protocols.

<sup>14</sup> HHStA, collection Kos, box 1, fol. 22v.

<sup>15</sup> Rome, Bibliotheca Casanatense, Cod. 2044; see Starzer 1891, pp. 153–154.

<sup>16</sup> Coreth 1982, pp. 42–43; Bandion 1989, pp. 83–84; cast into legendary form, the event is reported in *Versammlung vom Sternkreuze* 1839, pp. 3–7, and also in Kastner-Michalitschke 1909, pp. 18–22.

<sup>17</sup> Works of medal art commissioned by Ferdinand III—and inspired by his motto *Pietate et Iustitia*—are characterised by distinct references to the cross, too, see Wurzbach-Tannenberg I 1943, p. 323, nos. 2008, 2009; for details concerning Ferdinand III's special devotion to Maria, the Mother of God, see Weaver 2006; Weaver 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, The Ecclesiastical Treasury,—inv. no. D 25, see Leithe-Jasper & Distelberger 1998, p. 86 (fig.); Seipel 2007, pp. 108–109, no. 42. A detailed description of the history of the monstrance and its creation from various parts that had been at hand will be given in volume 1 of the new collection catalogue of Vienna's Ecclesiastical Treasury, which is presently being prepared (the author is

grateful to Dr. Franz Kirchweger from the Kunstkammer of Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, for this information).

<sup>19</sup> The order was confirmed by the pope on the 28 July 1668.

<sup>20</sup> Coreth 1982, p. 43. An elaborate account of Eleonora Magdalena's virtues gives Brean 1720.

<sup>21</sup> Keeper of the oldest member register is the privately run archive of the Starry Cross Order in Vienna: The *Album Nobilium Cruciferarum Deren Hochadelichen Creutz Frauen, so in den Creutz Orden angenommen und eingeschrieben seindt* lists 1035 entries for the time from 1686 to 1739. A complete directory listing the files in the archive (1668–1936) is kept in HHStA, registry AB 303a.

<sup>22</sup> In the course of time the heraldic design of the insignia (arrangement and number of eagles) would change. The insignia of Empress Eleonore Gonzaga, first Grand Mistress of the Order, was the only one that showed four eagles. The 'IHS' sign at the point where the beams of the cross intersect (with the nails of the cross) does not appear until the third Grand Mistress, Empress Amalie Wilhelmine (1673–1742), see *Hochadelige und gottselige Versammlung vom Sternkreuz genannt* 1805, copperplate engraving after p. 160.

<sup>23</sup> Lünig II/2 1720, p. 1161.

<sup>24</sup> Manni 1671.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1–18.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37–45.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46–53.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 159–386.

<sup>29</sup> See *Versammlung vom Sternkreuze* 1839, p. 23.

<sup>30</sup> Coreth 1982, p. 43, n. 101. The statutes are listed in *Versammlung vom Sternkreuze* 1839, pp. 22–34. One section of this publication (pp. 35–115) names the *drei vorzüglichsten Festtage der hochadeligen Versammlung*: Constantine's victory and Helena's finding of the True Cross (on 3 May), the Elevation of the Holy Cross (on 14 September), and the day when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for veneration in the court chapel (on the last Thursday that precedes Palm Sunday).

<sup>31</sup> Manni 1671, p. 76. The prayer is also an integral part of the ceremonial formula spoken by the candidate when accepting the Order, see Lünig II/2 1720, p. 1161; *Versammlung vom Sternkreuze* 1839, p. 23; Coreth 1982, p. 43, n. 101.

<sup>32</sup> For instance, pp. 168–169 (holy Kunigunde) and pp. 666–667 (holy Hedwig von Andechs), see here also similar Habsburg traditions of the sixteenth century: Irblich 1996, pp. 142–148, nos. 29, 30 (chronicles, Jakob Mennel, 1518); Silver 2008, pp. 37, 59f. Besides, Schönleben points out to relations between the Habsburgs and Roman Emperor Constantine, see also Coreth 1982, p. 39, and, for basic information, Quednau 2007; Hoppe 2012, p. 177 (lit.).

<sup>33</sup> Kitlitschka 1970, p. 216, fig. 181, 182; Fassbinder 1979, catalogue, pp. 23–24, no. I/15; Graff 2000, pp. 91–95; recently: Schicht & Telesko 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Coreth 1982, pp. 40–41; see Sturmberger 1957, pp. 39–44.

<sup>35</sup> Wolfsgruber 1903, pp. 13–14; Gugitz 1952, pp. 100–101, no. 83; Kretschmer 1978, pp. 6–7 (lit.); Coreth 1982, pp. 40–41; Bösel 2006, pp. 226–227.

<sup>36</sup> Bösel 2006, pp. 226–227, fig. 3; see Vienna, Austrian National Library, Image collection, LW 73943-C, LW 74299-C; Nuremberg, German National Museum, graphics collection, inv. no. HB 19.207, see also 'The banishment of the Protestants', a fresco (1619) in the Villa Poggio Imperiale at Florence: Hoppe 2012, p. 174, fig. 96; concerning the cult of the Holy Cross during the reign of Ferdinand II: Vácha 2009, pp. 68–89.

<sup>37</sup> Already Lamormaini 1638, pp. 11–14 (German edition, chapter II), reported that the crucified Christ had spoken to the monarch on various occasions, however Lamormaini keeps the validity of this famous legend open: 'Mir ist nicht unbewusst [*sic!*], das [*sic!*] dazumalen haimblich und öffentlich von vielen gesagt worden, Christus habe auß einem Crucifix mit Ferdinando geredet, und gesaget er solle guet Hertz unnd Hoffnung haben. Ich kan [*sic!*] aber hiervon weder ja noch nain sagen. [...]', see also Coreth 1982, p. 41; for detailed information on the various *Virtutes* editions see Brockmann 2011, p. 19, n. 20. In Bratislava a now destroyed cycle of paintings in the palace (where decoration work started 1638) included Paul Juvenel's (1579–1643) depiction of Emperor Ferdinand II's encounter with King David singing the psalms, see Polleross 1995, p. 234, fig. 2. There are good reasons why this subject matter used to be of almost undiminished relevance in the Habsburg areas until far into the nineteenth century; see Telesko 2006, pp. 180, 338, fig. 10; 377.

<sup>38</sup> Lauro 2007, pp. 184–185 (fig.).

<sup>39</sup> See Erichsen, Heinemann & Janis 2007, pp. 228–229 (fig.).

<sup>40</sup> Khevenhüller 1726, pp. 2385–2389 (text), pp. 2388–2389 (copperplate engraving). Compared to the picture, the text (column 2387) reports on the circumstances of the monarch's dialogue with Christ with much more reservation; for basic information see Hargittay 2001, p. 285.

<sup>41</sup> Wadding 1638 (without pagination). In the nonpaginated text of the sermon which the Jesuit Ferdinandus Montegnana wrote on the occasion of the death of Ferdinand II (Montegnana 1637), the deceased is referred to as *fortis Athleta Ferdinandus*: in doing so, the author alludes to Paulinian terminology (1 Kor., 9:25–26; 2 Kor., 10:3–5), on the one hand, and to the honorary title which popes had granted, since the fifteenth century, for outstanding merits in defence of the Christian faith, on the other hand.

<sup>42</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, The Ecclesiastical Treasury, inv. no. E 36, see Bösel 2006, p. 225, n. 1 (lit.). In 1740 Jakob van Schuppen, then head of Vienna's Academy of Fine Arts, commissioned a replica of the crucifix, see Kretschmer 1978, p. 29.

<sup>43</sup> '*Nachdeme Ihro Königl:e Mayl: das Wunderthätige Crucifix des Heyl:n Caroli Borromoi, Welches zu Weyl: Kayser Ferdinands 2.do die Worte Non Te deseram gesprochen, und bishero in der geistlichen Schaz-Cammer aufgehoben gewesen, Ihro Königl:e Mayl: aber aus besonderen Andachts Eyffer nach Presburg, und von dannen wiederum nacher Wienn in dero Cammer überbringen lassen, zur Veneration in dero Königl:e Cammer-Capellen bereits vor 14. Tügen auff den daselbst befindl:n Leopoldi Altar (fol. 422v) offentl: aussetzen lassen.*' in HHStA, ceremonial protocols [Zeremonialprotokolle] vol. 18 [1741–1742], fol. 422r-v, 5 January 1742; see Wolfsgruber 1903, p. 15; Coreth 1982, p. 41. Even the unpaginated leaflet of Dornn (about 1745) is commenting the important role of the crucifix of emperor Ferdinand. After the year 1755 a donation of a particle of the Holy Cross is recorded, see Zimerman 1895, III, nr. 12617.

<sup>44</sup> Wolfsgruber 1903, p. 16; Wolfsgruber 1905, p. 252; Schmal 2001, p. 207.

<sup>45</sup> Coreth 1982, p. 41; Schmal 2001, pp. 207–208, 218; for visual depictions of the subject see various examples in the image collection of the National Library of Austria in Vienna: LW 74078-C and LW 74298-C.

<sup>46</sup> Coreth 1982, p. 41.

<sup>47</sup> Of essential importance in this context is the change in Leopold's iconography from an emperor to a 'new' Joshua, see Schumann 2003, p. 328, fig. 33 (medal, Hans Jacob Wolrab, 1686); Ziegler 2008; Ziegler 2010, pp. 64–73, fig. 48a/b.

<sup>48</sup> Ribadeneira 1590, p. 39 (book I, chapter 10) [*Non te deseram, neque derelinquam*]; see König-Nordhoff 1982 (*ad indicem*). In the divergent opinion of Bösel 2006, pp. 227–228, this event is connected with St. Ignatius' *La Storta vision* of 1537; the evidence is insufficient in so far as it lacks a direct reference to the passage in the *Letter to the Hebrews*.

<sup>49</sup> Vienna, Image collection of the National Library of Austria, NB 740.032-C, 740.087-B, and 740.088-B; Nuremberg, German National Museum, graphics collection, inv. no. HB 18.663; for an elaborate discussion of the pamphlet see Telesko 2011.

<sup>50</sup> For basic information see Bireley 1981, p. 15.

<sup>51</sup> This motto was revived in the interior decoration of Pressburg castle, made under the reign of emperor Ferdinand III (before 1647, destroyed 1747), published in Herrgott & Heer 1760, pl. CIV.

<sup>52</sup> See Treichler 1971, p. 49, no. 9 (with a good record of used sources). The third room in the treasury of the Benedictine monastery of Lambach in Upper Austria has a fresco which one of the painter brothers Grabenberger is likely to have created around 1700 and which combines the scene of Ferdinand saying his prayer in front of the crucifix with that of Rudolf von Habsburg gripping the cross instead of the sceptre, see Hainisch 1959, pp. 141–142, fig. 123. Vernulaeus 1637, pp. 29, 32–33, emphasizes the relevance of the *Divina Providentia* and describes Ferdinand II as an imitator of the imperial motto of emperor Maximilian II, *Dominus providebit*. See here also the Jesuit *Panegyricus ob victoriam Bohemicam Augustissimo Imperatori Ferdinando II. dictus* 1621, p. 29.

<sup>53</sup> Telesko 2011, pp. 341–342, fig. 4.

<sup>54</sup> How much emphasis was put particularly on the issue of continuity in traditional forms of piety for the purpose of 'historic argumentation' becomes evident, in the same context, from Eucharius Gottlieb Rinck's famous narrative description of the life of Emperor Leopold I and the former's reference to the legendary moment when Rudolf I, newly elected king, gripped not the sceptre but the cross, see Rinck I<sup>2</sup>1709, p. 98, see Coreth 1982, p. 44.

<sup>55</sup> The issue of 'Providentia' is shown to be of central importance particularly in connection with Ferdinand II in Montegnana 1637—be it to make God's rule appear superior to personal ambition ('*non voluntate sua [scil. regarding the emperor Ferdinand, W.T.], sed divinae Providentiae consilio*'), or be it to recommend the deceased to future generations as an admirable example of godly providence ('*quem demum immortalis Deus*

*in singulare Providentiae suae exemplum mundo exhibuit, tot tantisque rebus, ad omnium aetatum, omnisque posteritatis admirationem, illustrem*'). Later on, the Viennese author of the treatise *Phosphori Austriaci sive compendiosae Historiae de Augustissimae Domus Austriacae Origine, Magnitudine et Potentia libri duo* 1699, p. 245, voices praise of Ferdinand's merits by referring to him as a god-like (!) prince: '*Ferdinandus II. Imp. hic est ille Diis similior Princeps, quam hominibus.*'; the issue of 'Providentia' is discussed in detail in Kusternig 2007, pp. 553–556; Strohmeyer 2009, p. 81.

<sup>56</sup> Köhler 2001, p. 1214. Undiminished belief in 'Providentia' and its influence was expressed still later by Maria Theresia, see Schmal 2001, p. 212; in a letter by Maria Theresia to her daughter Marie Christine, written before August 1765: '*es geschieht ohnehin nur das, was die Vorsehung über uns verhängt*'.

<sup>57</sup> *Princeps in Compendio. Hoc est, Puncta aliquot compendiosa, quae circa gubernationem Reipub. observanda videntur* 1668; reprinted in Redlich 1906, pp. 8–20; see also Sturmberger 1965, pp. 98–99; Bosbach & Repgen 1991, pp. 79–114; Augustin, Hengerer, Mayr, Schnadenberger & Voegelé 2008.

<sup>58</sup> *Princeps in Compendio*, 1–6 (*punctum I*), pp. 5–6: '*Denique in negotiis gravioribus & magis arduis non intermittet specialiter ad Deum recurrere, atque eadem viris piis & religiosis in preces & sacrificia commendare.*', see in this context also the treatise *Orientis occidentisque imperium Ferdinandi II. Imperatoris auspiciis conjungendum [...] (1627)*, in which the author Otto Fridericus Comes a Buchaim, an official at the imperial court, addresses the monarch in three odes named *Religio*, *Bellona* and *Fortuna*.

<sup>59</sup> The rule of Emperor Franz I. Stephan (from 1745 to 1765) apparently coincided with a renunciation of the principles of *Pietas Austriaca* and thus of the veneration of the cross, due to changes in the religious orientation, see Wandruszka 1959, p. 170; Zedinger 2008, pp. 266–268.

<sup>60</sup> Lorenz 1999, p. 20, fig. 9; Polleross 2010, p. 154.

<sup>61</sup> It was because of the attached connotation of numerous future progeny why the authors of Habsburg panegyrics repeatedly used this passage in their texts, see for example Avancini 1673 (without pagination). See here also the frequent use of biblical quotations with reference to 1 Tim 4:8: Lebzelter 1701.

<sup>62</sup> p. [2].

<sup>63</sup> p. [1].

<sup>64</sup> See Lorenz 1999, pp. 633–634, no. 334 (fig.).

<sup>65</sup> Vol. 1, pp. 65–66.

<sup>66</sup> See here also: Appuhn-Radtke 2005, p. 110 (with reference to *Sol Austriacus*, 1698, Vienna, National Library, of Austria, Cod. 8617, fol. 3r, and the quotation of *Gen.* 1:16).

<sup>67</sup> Multifunctionality in this context also means that the ways in which *Pietas Austriaca* was manifested could serve as a platform of argumentation in the sense of delivering competing narratives on national and regional levels, see for this purpose Ducreux 1999, and also under the heading *Decentralizing Pietas Austriaca*: Ducreux 2011.

<sup>68</sup> Ducreux 2011, pp. 278–279.



# Engendering *Pietas Austriaca*

## The Villa Poggio Imperiale in Florence under Maria Maddalena of Austria\*

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The magnificent decoration of the Villa Poggio Imperiale in Florence long made it one of the city's most important attractions. When it ceased to serve as an aristocratic residence in the nineteenth century, the villa and its history gradually began to sink into oblivion. This is equally true of Archduchess Maria Maddalena of Austria, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, the originator of the commission to redesign the villa at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Researchers have long neglected this historical figure because her pious religiosity did not appear to fit in with the image of the Medici as seemingly enlightened Renaissance rulers. Gaetano Pieraccini, one of the most influential biographers of the family, described her as a religious zealot, egoistical, and lacking in intellect and culture, and this led her to be ignored both as a patron and politician.<sup>1</sup> The shift in the historical assessment of the Catholic Reform and research into women's participation in it, have led to an entirely new perspective upon the biography of Maria Maddalena.<sup>2</sup> It was precisely her religiousness that proved to be the key to understanding the function and decoration of Poggio Imperiale as an impressive setting for court activity, where, in keeping with a modern understanding, secular and sacred as well as private and public spheres constantly informed one another.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1621 and 1624 Archduchess Maria Maddalena of Austria commissioned the edifice formerly known as Villa Baroncelli to be largely rebuilt for the first time.<sup>4</sup> Work began following the death of her husband Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici in 1621, when she became regent in the name of her under-age son, Ferdinando II de' Medici—together with her mother-in-law, Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine, and a four-member Florentine council. Although the young grand duke was immediately formally enthroned, these two women actively managed the affairs of State until he turned eighteen in 1628.<sup>5</sup> Within this constellation, Grand Duchess Christine remained very influential, even after the death of her son;<sup>6</sup> however, her daughter-in-law managed to commandingly stage the regency in the interest of herself and Ferdinando II by means of the arts and an ingenious ceremonial.

### Location and architecture of Poggio Imperiale

The location of Poggio Imperiale already suggests that the villa was not only a place for relaxation, but also a setting for the regent's political activities. Through the purchase of further estates, the

property came to reach all the way to the Boboli Gardens and thus to the primary residence of the Medici, the Palazzo Pitti (fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> The acquired properties also permitted the court architect, Giulio Parigi, to install a monumental, steeply inclined avenue, which is still preserved today, and is situated at right angles to the grand *viale* of the Boboli Gardens. A symbolic relationship between the residences was thus established by means of these axes, which both open onto the Piazza di Porta Romana. There must also have been other routes connecting the two estates, because the court chronicle of Cesare Tinghi relates that a guest of the regent made his way incognito from Poggio Imperiale via the Boboli Gardens and the Corridoio Vasariano to his guest quarters in the Palazzo Vecchio, the former seat of the Medici on the other side of the Arno.<sup>8</sup> This reveals that the seat of the Medici and the regent's power stretched across the city. Although Poggio Imperiale suggests a reclusive *villa suburbana* on the hill of Arcetri, it was nonetheless linked to the official government buildings of the Medici in various ways.



Fig. 1 Location of the Villa Poggio Imperiale in Florence.

The building itself has undergone several campaigns of remodelling that have altered its appearance completely. With the aid of historical *vedute* and previously neglected source material, the reconstruction of the villa under the patronage of the regent has become possible. The imperial double-headed eagle and the combined coat of arms of the Medici-Habsburg alliance, found in a sculptural ensemble at the foot of the hill, already set the stage for entrance into the realm of Maria Maddalena (fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> The sometimes more and sometimes less subtle play with references to both dynasties is set forth in the design of the facade and in the name of the villa. Alfonso Parigi, the son of the court architect Giulio, created an illustration for the libretto of the 1625 performance of *La liberazione di Ruggiero dall'isola di Alcina* in honour of Wladyslaw of Poland, son of King Sigismund III and nephew of the regent: this image provides the essential source for reconstructing the state of the façade at that point in time (fig. 3).<sup>10</sup> The more or less nondescript fifteenth-century villa had

been transformed into a modern, early Baroque estate with *cour d'honneur* and belvedere. The understated articulation of the façade, with bands along the boundaries and openings of the walls, is consistent with the architectural tradition of Medicean villas and signals their ownership even at a considerable distance. Nonetheless, the monumental coat of arms and inscription over the portal clearly identify the owner of the residence. This is made apparent through the use of the double coat of arms and the inscription, which is still known today and which links the villa topos with a dedication: 'Let the imperial villa, which was given its name by the exalted Austrians, eternally serve the otium and pleasure of the future Grand Duchesses of Etruria.'<sup>11</sup> After construction was completed in 1624, the regent rechristened the former Villa Baroncelli as Poggio Imperiale (imperial seat) by means of an irreversible edict—and thus provided a further reference to her lineage.<sup>12</sup> While it is true that Maria Maddalena came from a cadet branch of the Habsburgs which was resident in Graz, it was this line that provided the emperor after 1619, when her brother Ferdinand II was elected. The result was a direct link to the royal house of the emperor: alongside religious motifs, imperial iconography was one of the key elements in the archduchess's self-presentation at Poggio Imperiale.

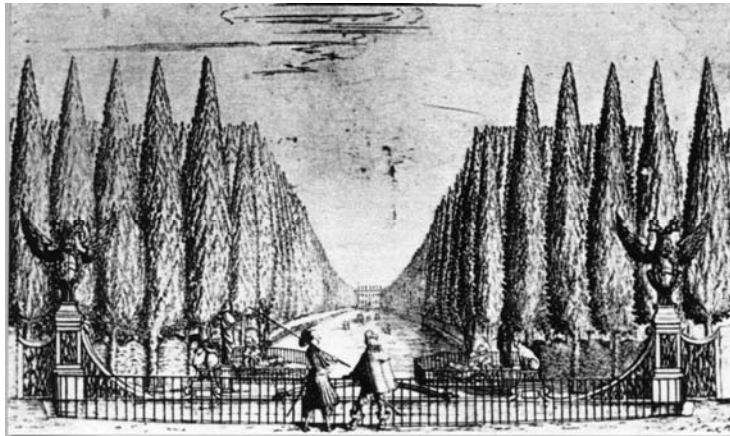


Fig. 2 Marco Credo and Francesco de' Cocchi, Former entrance to Villa Poggio Imperiale, Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, 1652.

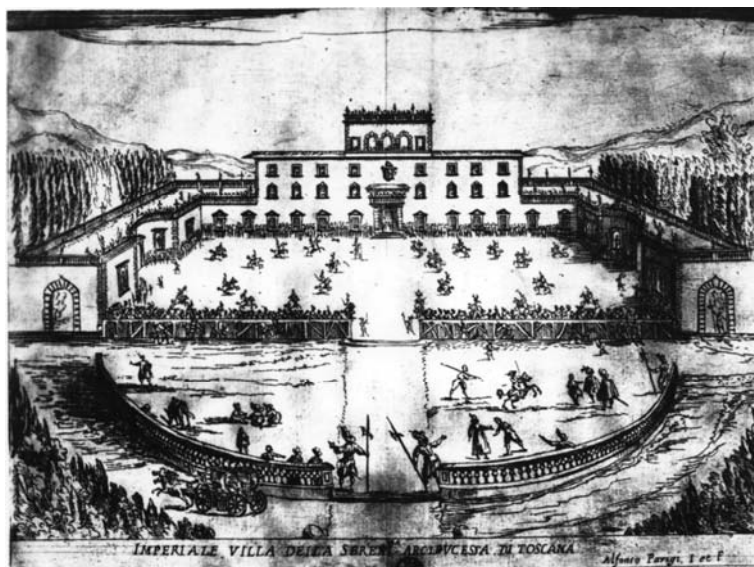
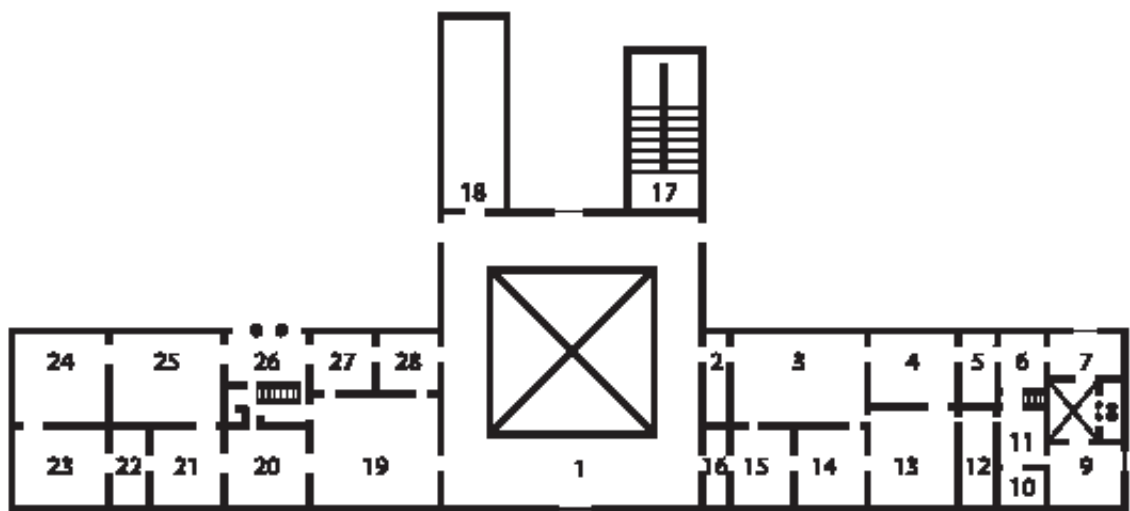


Fig. 3 Alfonso Parigi, Villa Poggio Imperiale, Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e stampe, Uffizi, 1625 (Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali e architettonici, Gabinetto fotografico, Palazzo Pitti).

## The rooms and their decoration

My analysis of Cesare Tinghi's court chronicle and the 1625 inventory of the villa made it possible to reconstruct the rooms and their decoration and to re-establish the nature of their original functions.<sup>13</sup> The inventory lists a large number of paintings on the walls of the interior courtyard surrounded by loggias (fig. 4, no. 1): these consist primarily of still lifes and animal paintings, in keeping with the ideal of the *vita rustica*. There were also sculptures and ancient busts of Roman emperors and empresses, which were set on pedestals bearing the Habsburg coat of arms.<sup>14</sup> Several of these busts have been preserved *in situ*; however, their bases are from a later phase in the palace's decoration (fig. 5). The series originally continued on both into the hall of the ground floor (fig. 4, no. 3) and into the gallery that surrounded the courtyard at the level of the upper storey.<sup>15</sup>



- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1 Inner courtyard                 | 15 Antechamber of Ferdinando II            |
| 2 Vestibule                       | 16 Vestibule                               |
| 3 Hall                            | 17 Main staircase                          |
| 4 Bedchamber of the archduchess   | 18 Sports hall                             |
| 5 Cabinet                         | 19 Hall of the guest apartment             |
| 6 Cabinet / Oratory after 1631    | 20 First chamber of the guest apartment    |
| 7 Volticina                       | 21 Second chamber of the guest apartment   |
| 8 Inner courtyard with grotto     | 22 Third chamber of the guest apartment    |
| 9 Chapel                          | 23 Forth chamber of the guest apartment    |
| 10 Bath and stufa                 | 24 First chamber towards the new garden    |
| 11 Stanzino dipinto               | 25 Second chamber towards the new garden   |
| 12 Camerino                       | 26 Loggia                                  |
| 13 Antechamber of the archduchess | 27 First chamber of Don Lorenzo de'Medici  |
| 14 Bedchamber of Ferdinando II    | 28 Second chamber of Don Lorenzo de'Medici |

Fig. 4 Villa Poggio Imperiale, Florence, Ground-floor plan, reconstruction of 1625.





Fig. 5 Villa Poggio Imperiale, Florence. Photograph of the present state of the Inner courtyard (Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali e architettonici, Gabinetto fotografico, Palazzo Pitti).

### The rooms of Ferdinando II de' Medici

The apartments of Maria Maddalena and her son Ferdinando extended to the right of the courtyard, with the apartment of the latter consisting only of an antechamber and bedchamber (fig. 4, nos. 14 and 15). His rooms were provided with an official character primarily through the frescoes of the lunettes and the ceiling, which were executed by various Florentine painters.<sup>16</sup> They depict the heroic deeds of Habsburg emperors—the male ancestors of his mother. As in all of the other rooms, every scene is linked to a personified virtue and to an inscription, which historically and allegorically convey the significance of the depicted narrative. Chronologically, the genealogical sequence begins in the former bedchamber (fig. 4, no. 14) with the fresco by Matteo Rosselli representing the founding myth of the Habsburg dynasty: the *Legend of Rudolph I and the Priest* (fig. 15). The other images depict the *Barons' Oath of Allegiance to Rudolph I*, who is addressed here as emperor, and the deeds of Emperor Maximilian I (*The Sentencing of Hans Pienzenauer in 1504* and *Maximilian I at Battle*). In the former antechamber of the young grand duke (fig. 4, no. 15), two lunettes are devoted to the victories of Charles V over the Turks (*Siege of Vienna in 1529* and *Conquest of Tunis*) and two further images depict the famous deeds of Emperor Ferdinand II, brother of the regent and namesake of her son Ferdinando II. Each of these frescoes takes a current political event as its theme: the Battle of the White Mountain, fought near Prague in 1620, and the expulsion of the Protestants from Inner Austria during the forcible re-Catholicizing of this territory through Archduke Ferdinand, beginning in 1596 (fig. 6). Featuring themes that are unique in the history of Italian art, the sequence of Habsburg emperors presents the young grand duke and heir to the throne with a

dynastic-genealogical mirror for princes; however, it is unconventionally based not on his agnatic lineage, but on the house of his mother, which was far superior to that of the Medici in terms of dynastic rank. The scenes illustrate essential virtues of male rulers—such as military success—in combination with *Pietas Austriaca*, the typically Habsburg piety that is explicitly thematized here through the *Pietas Eucharistica* of Rudolph I and through the *Fiducem in crucem Christi* of Emperor Ferdinand II.<sup>17</sup>



Fig. 6 Matteo Rosselli and Michelangelo Cinganelli, Archduke Ferdinand banishes the Protestants, Florence, Villa Poggio Imperiale, former antechamber of Ferdinand, 1623-24.

### The chambers of Maria Maddalena of Austria

All of the other rooms in this wing were for the use of the regent Maria Maddalena. With their fresco programme of ‘famous women’, the hall, antechamber, and bedchamber (fig. 4, nos. 3, 4 and 13) form a pendant to the decoration of her son’s rooms.<sup>18</sup> The long and exemplary tradition of female Christian rulers of the empire is displayed in the hall (fig. 4, no. 3): alongside *Matilda of Tuscany*, conceptual predecessor of Maria Maddalena as regent of Tuscany, we find the first two female regents of the Eastern and Western Roman empires, *Galla Placidia* and *Pulcheria* (fig. 7). With the exception of St Catherine of Alexandria, who serves as a female exemplum for the teachings of the Church (*dottrina*) and apostolic activity, every other heroine depicted in the hall can be traced back to either the real or the fictive genealogy of the Habsburgs. This may easily be recognized in the case of Isabella the Catholic, who presents Christopher Columbus with his commander’s baton, or Isabella of Portugal, whose canonization had received the personal support of the regent and her sister Margaret of Austria, Queen of Spain.<sup>19</sup> Constance of Aragon and the Holy Roman Empress St Cunigunde were two equally renowned female ancestors; they are each flanked by *putti* with armour, which make reference to the legend of the origins of the Habsburg coat of arms during the third crusade and emphasize the dynastic context (fig. 8).<sup>20</sup> My research has also revealed that the



collective vita *De Claris mulieribus domus Habsburgicae*, written by Jakob Mennel during the reign of Emperor Maximilian I, begins with Clotilde ‘as a grandmother of the Habsburg rulers’<sup>21</sup>—thus providing an explanation for the presence of the first Christian queen of France in the Poggio Imperiale gallery of heroines. This is also true of St Ursula, another aristocratic saint appropriated by the Habsburgs.<sup>22</sup> The genealogical construct was surely the main reason why a theatrical presentation of the life of the saint was performed in the Uffizi during the 1624 visit of Archduke Karl, Maria Maddalena’s brother, and the 1625 visit of Wladyslaw, her Polish nephew.<sup>23</sup> On the stage, as in the fresco, the regent’s female forebear was presented as a model of piety and self-sacrifice, who triumphed over the enemies of Christianity through the power of her faith.



Fig. 7 Matteo Rosselli, Matilda of Tuscany and Galla Placidia, Florence, Hall of Villa Poggio Imperiale, 1624.



Fig. 8 Filippo Tarchiani, Constance of Aragon, Florence, Hall of Villa Poggio Imperiale, 1624.

On the whole, the exemplary figures of the hall indicate both the legitimate succession of female sovereigns in the Holy Roman Empire and the positive effects of their rule upon the well-being of their subjects—through both their legacies and their piety. They are a part of the Habsburg construct of a *stirps regia et beata*: presented as predestined to rule on the basis of divine right.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, the selection of heroines succeeds in adeptly shifting between a dynastic genealogy and one based on salvation history, between militant and pious heroines that illustrate a great

number of rulers' virtues in combination with desirable feminine attributes, such as modesty and beauty.



Fig. 9 Matteo Rosselli, *Semiramis*, Florence, Villa della Petraia, 1623 (Soprintendenza polo museale fiorentino).

This balance between behaviour conforming to and transgressing gender discourse equally applies to the four large-format paintings featuring antique heroines, which were also included in the decoration of the hall. *Semiramis* (fig. 9), *Lucretia*, *Artemisia* and *Sophonisba* form an independent group within the programme of 'famous women', which is otherwise organized according to epochs of salvation history.<sup>25</sup> On the one hand, they represent the virtues of marital fidelity and of self-sacrifice for the sake of the interests of the state; on the other, they are exemplary regents who—as in the case of *Semiramis*—could also exhibit militant qualities. Through the alternation in composition and narrative, the images deal with gender discourse and the question of power. The paintings display positive examples of female rulers; however, it is always only in situations of crisis that they intervene for the well-being of their subjects, and they do not fundamentally call the gender order into question.

A depiction of the emperor's and grand duke's crowns are also included in the decoration of the hall, as well as an allegory of government on the central ceiling panel, which, according to my interpretation, represents the virtue of *fortitudo*, accompanied by the attributes of imperial and papal power (fig. 10).<sup>26</sup> These images depict an association of secular and sacred power united in the ideals of rule by divine right and universal monarchy, and this proves defining for the entire programme: at Poggio Imperiale, the subject of 'famous women and men' is linked both to the *translatio imperii*, claimed by the Habsburgs, and to the *Pietas Austriaca*, the topical sacralization of the dynasty.





Fig. 10 Filippo Tarchiani, Ceiling fresco with Fortitudo, Florence, Hall of Villa Poggio Imperiale, 1623-24.

The programme is continued in the former antechamber of the regent's apartments (fig. 4, no. 13) with Old Testament heroines who intervened as champions of God on behalf of their people, such as Judith, Jael and Esther, or who ensured a legitimate succession with the help of divine providence, such as Rebecca or the daughter of Pharaoh.<sup>27</sup> Advancing to the next level of typological status, the former bedchamber of Maria Maddalena (fig. 4, no. 4) depicts early Christian virgin martyrs.<sup>28</sup> The only exception is provided by the image of the finding of the True Cross by St Helena, another canonized female ruler to be appropriated for the House of Habsburg (fig. 11).<sup>29</sup> The virgin martyrs provided the widow regent with a desexualized life model for her bedchamber—one that permitted her to compensate for the absence of masculine reproduction and control. The narratives could also provide a stimulus to religious meditation, as suggested by the martyrology that Niccolò Lorini dedicated to Maria Maddalena, which includes detailed discussions of all the saints in the frescoes.<sup>30</sup> They also function as typological figurations of Christ: the depicted martyrdoms make them a part of salvation history and thus point to the salvation through the passion of Christ. The St Helena fresco thus establishes a dynastic and theological link that communicates the special significance of the True Cross for the Habsburgs.<sup>31</sup> Maria Maddalena also linked this significance very concretely to her own person: in 1616, she discovered an ostensible relic of the True Cross in Impruneta and donated a precious reliquary to house it.<sup>32</sup> Beyond the elevation of her own status, her identification with this historical figure also involved the rule of St Helena's son: Constantine, the first Christian emperor, also provided an allusion related to the young Ferdinando II de' Medici.

Finally, as a Christian empress and saint, Helena provided the thematic link to the female rulers of the hall, permitting the entire programme to function as a timeless cycle of salvation history.



Fig. 11 Domenico Pugliani, *The Finding of the True Cross by St Helena*, Florence, Villa Poggio Imperiale, former bedchamber of Maria Maddalena of Austria, 1623-24.

Until now, the decoration of the rooms of mother and son have always been considered separately, without taking into account the rooms' functional roles or the relevance of Poggio Imperiale as the residence of the head of state during the regency. It is only by viewing them in combination and by tracing the female figures' association with the genealogy of the female head of the household that we can recognize the link to the male genealogy—which, for its part, also emphatically presents the high birth of Maria Maddalena and claims it for her son. Although the technique of fresco painting and the illustration of heroic deeds in narrative scenes are deeply rooted in Florentine artistic tradition, the cycle's content differs profoundly from the dynastic cycles of the Medici, for example, in the Palazzo Vecchio or the Casino Mediceo, where only the male members of the relatively young dynasty are represented.<sup>33</sup> The programme in Poggio Imperiale emphasizes the ancientness of the lineage, its sacralization through the saints it includes, and its constant dedication to the support of the Catholic faith and a united empire. The Medici's efforts focused more on compensating for their lowly dynastic rank by means of motifs related to their achievement of nobility through virtue and to *arma et litterae*: a programme of this type was also realized in the villa.

### The 'Volticina' and other rooms

In memory of her deceased husband, Maria Maddalena commissioned the decoration of a gallery with access to the garden: its vaulted ceiling, the source of the name 'Volticina', depicts the diplomatic and military successes of Grand Duke Cosimo II (fig. 4, no. 7).<sup>34</sup> As in an ancient pantheon of great men, the room's decoration included eight statues placed in niches and an abundance of art objects. This classicizing character continues in the adjacent, small interior court, which includes a grotto (fig. 4, no. 8) where additional antique pieces were displayed. A chapel with a secret exit (fig. 4, no. 9) also belonged to the ground-floor apartments of the regent and her son. The presence of



Jacopo Ligozzi's panel painting of the *St Francis receiving the divine enfant from the Madonna* (Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina) in the chapel is documented. The smaller rooms located behind the chapel were reserved for more intimate purposes. The stairs led to the mezzanine and to a so called 'secret room' of the regent, mentioned as such in the inventory and which featured a collection of miniature sculpture, objects of precious materials, sea shells and corals etc.<sup>35</sup> The presence of a Bible in an elaborate shelf within this tiny art chamber and cabinet of wonder is again a clear sign of the great piety of the regent.



Fig. 12 Ottavio Vannini and others, Volticina, Ceiling fresco with the deeds of Cosimo II de' Medici, Florence, Villa Poggio Imperiale, 1623/24.

The opposite wing (fig. 4, nos. 19–28) was reserved for guests; its hall was decorated with portraits of the family of Maria Maddalena and with history paintings.<sup>36</sup> The disposition of the rooms of the first storey corresponded to that of the level below. An additional gallery, with busts of emperors and portraits of rulers from the houses of Medici and Habsburg, surrounded the interior courtyard. As on the ground floor, this led to a suite for mother and son and an additional chapel; the opposite side housed an apartment for the co-regent, the Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine.<sup>37</sup> Here again, the inventory documents an abundance of paintings. It remains unclear whether or not there were frescoes here, because the first storey was heavily altered at a later point in time. The second storey contained the rooms of the heir to the throne's siblings and of other members of the entourage.<sup>38</sup>



Fig. 13 Justus Sustermans, Maria Maddalena of Austria as St Mary Magdalene, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, before 1625.

### The collection

Particularly on the ground floor, but elsewhere as well, the rooms of Poggio Imperiale were decorated with a luxurious and diverse array of artworks.<sup>39</sup> To this purpose, the regent had whole series of paintings from the collections of the Medici transferred to Poggio Imperiale, purchased a great number of works through agents, and also commissioned new works herself.<sup>40</sup> Images of her name saint, Mary Magdalene, were clearly emphasized in the collection and were spread throughout the entire house, marking the sovereign territory of the archduchess like a system of signs. She even had herself painted by Justus Sustermans in the garments of the penitent hermit (fig. 13).<sup>41</sup> The paraphernalia of asceticism and meditation are depicted plainly. The archduchess publicly presented her inner piety in this religious ideal portrait which identified her with her name saint, merging the images of ruler and saint. The description in the inventory makes it possible to situate this painting in the midst of the dynastic portrait gallery of the first storey.<sup>42</sup> Placement and theme make Maria



Maddalena's self-concept as *holy ruler* clear: this is bluntly displayed and thus becomes capable of fulfilling a political purpose as well.<sup>43</sup> Through the sacralization of her body, here given direct visual expression, the regent legitimates her rule—which was far from uncontroversial—by pointing to her piety and divine calling.<sup>44</sup> The cycle of frescoes has already proved to be a gendered formulation of the *Pietas Austriaca* and its most important characteristics: the *Pietas Eucharistica*, the *Fiducem in crucem Christi*, and the veneration of the saints—particularly those of the fictive genealogy of the Habsburgs. Only the *Pietas Mariana* is absent. Instead, the regent instigated a '*Pietas Maria Magdalena*' and embodied saint and ruler in personal union. This personalized cult was, furthermore, easily associated with the local veneration of Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, a Florentine mystic whose canonization was strongly supported by the Medici and the archduchess herself.<sup>45</sup>

### Poggio Imperiale as residence of the regent

The regent thus spared neither expense nor effort in decorating her *villa suburbana* until it could stand comparison with contemporary Medici building complexes. It was certainly true that Poggio Imperiale also served her, her entourage, and her guests for the enjoyment of rustic pleasures, just as promised by the dedication: local peasant girls were invited to dance, and hunts and outings on horseback were organized.<sup>46</sup> In addition, smaller parties were entertained by means of chamber music or performances by Maria Maddalena's children. Several accounts of guests being given tours through the house have also been preserved. The opera performance mentioned above was among the larger events, during which the entire luxuriously decorated villa was opened to a courtly public. Religious festivals, for example, the Feast of Corpus Christi in 1625, were also to be counted among such events.<sup>47</sup> For this occasion, the palace façade was adorned with tapestries, paintings, and festoons. At the entrance to the space before the palace there were two fountains with ice-chilled red wine flowing out of them. An altar with a baldachin—and adorned with golden vessels, candelabra, and flowers—had been set up in the interior courtyard. To conclude the festivities, a solemn procession carried the baldachin to a nearby church, where a mass was attended.

These examples demonstrate that numerous important social events took place at Poggio Imperiale during the years of the regency. While it is true that the Palazzo Pitti officially remained the main residence of Grand Duke Ferdinando II, who had already been formally enthroned, the regent adeptly used diverse activities to attract the attention of the court and its guests to her *villa suburbana*, which thus took on the role of a residence. All persons of rank who visited Florence at that time were received by Maria Maddalena there. Repeated descriptions in the court chronicle make it clear that the reception ceremonies conducted by their highnesses always began in the hall of the ground floor, in the apartment of the regent (fig. 4, no. 3); hosts and guests then withdrew to the adjacent antechamber in order to speak privately (fig. 4, no. 13). In the case of particularly high-ranking guests, the young Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici first waited upon them in the hall, while the women waited in the antechamber. It is also documented that the regent repeatedly received guests in her bedchamber when she was unwell (fig. 4, no. 4).<sup>48</sup> This means that the ceremonial unfolded primarily in the three impressive, official rooms of the regent on the ground floor, with their frescoes of 'famous women'. The circular route which was followed correlated with the rooms' cycle on salvation history, thus investing it with particular relevance.

### *Pietas Austriaca* and the golden age of female rule

Programmes with groups of figures related to salvation history always culminate in a view of a golden age: at Poggio Imperiale, this role is realized both through the men and women of the House of Habsburg and through a recourse to the fourth eclogue of Vergil, which prophesied the foundation of a *gens aurea* through a boy: in this case, Ferdinando II de' Medici.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the space of physical activity and the pictorial space complemented, instead of contradicting, one another. The actions of some of the female exemplary figures selected—like those of the militant Semiramis—transgress their gender role; however, the interpretation according to Vergil opens a prospect onto a positive resolution to a situation of crisis, one in which female rule does not call the social order into question.

Nonetheless, the rooms of the heir to the throne were integrated into a woman's apartment, in contradiction to the conventional gendered topography of the courts; they were also thematically linked to the rooms of his mother through the gallery of Habsburg emperors.<sup>50</sup> Ferdinando's suite clearly seems to have had a more symbolic function: it played no major role in the ceremonial. In spite of this, previous scholars have focused their attention primarily on the male genealogy and its link to *Pietas Austriaca*. It is in fact possible to point out fundamental motifs, such as the *Pietas Eucharistica* in the image of *Rudolph and the Priest* (fig. 15), which underwent a performative intensification through the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi at Poggio Imperiale—something that also occurred at the courts of Prague and Madrid.<sup>51</sup> The deeds of Emperor Charles V celebrate his victories against the Ottomans and those of Ferdinand II his victories against the Protestants. The two rulers are presented as *Defensor Ecclesiae* and *Defensor fidei*, and Ferdinand's personal veneration of the True Cross is depicted (fig. 6).<sup>52</sup> In my opinion, however, this approach is also valid for the programme of 'famous women', which was realized (among other places) in the hall, that is, in a space typically reserved for male heroes.<sup>53</sup> By tracing most of the empresses and queens pictured there back to the Habsburg genealogy, they come to correspond to the—only later codified—concept of *Pietas Austriaca* through their exemplary and often also miraculous rule.

The ambiguity of previous contextualizations of the Poggio Imperiale fresco programme derives, on the one hand, from the lack of attention paid to Maria Maddalena as a patron and, on the other hand, from the programme's unique interweaving of local art and Habsburg iconography. The depiction of *uomini famosi* and *donne famose* had a long local tradition in Florence, shaped by its republican tradition: here, it is filled out with figures from the House of Habsburg.<sup>54</sup> The Habsburgs already had their own tradition of ancestral portrait galleries consisting of saints and emperors of both sexes drawn from their own lineage. The combination of imperial genealogy with *Pietas* motifs gradually replaced the Habsburg's purely dynastic-genealogical veneration of their ancestors.<sup>55</sup> The spread of this new constellation is typically dated to the reign of Emperor Ferdinand II, who was heavily influenced by the Jesuits. However, the earliest known visual manifestations of such programmes date from the reign of his son Emperor Ferdinand III.<sup>56</sup> The cycle at Poggio Imperiale is therefore of special significance: while the iconography of 'famous women and men' continues to point back to an older tradition that was increasingly being supplanted by mythological cycles, the combination with *Pietas Austriaca* motifs is the first of its kind.

This suggests to me that a similarly intensive reception of the Catholic Reform's spirituality and concept of government took place in the case of Maria Maddalena as is documented for her siblings Emperor Ferdinand II and Margaret of Austria, Queen of Spain.<sup>57</sup> It was their mother, Maria of Bavaria, Archduchess of Inner Austria, who was primarily responsible for their upbringing and for their strongly Catholic formation, because their father, Karl II, died at a relatively young age.<sup>58</sup> Bavarian influence was of the utmost importance, because Maria's father, Duke Albert V of Bavaria, and her brother, the future Wilhelm V, both exercised a decisive influence over politics in Graz. Bavaria served as a model of success for the Catholic Reform: here, religious unity was initially successfully implemented.<sup>59</sup> The House of Wittelsbach developed a *Pietas Bavariae* of their own, including a marked veneration of the True Cross and the saints.<sup>60</sup> To date, however, there is little research into the role of the duchesses at the Bavarian court. Both the mother of Maria Maddalena of Austria—Maria of Bavaria, who was a daughter of Anna, a daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I and thus a Habsburg herself—and Maria Maddalena's grandmother Maria Jakobaea of Baden-Sponheim were known as prominent patrons and stout defenders of the Catholic faith. It is, for example, commonly accepted that the latter embodies St Helena in the depiction of the *Finding of the True Cross* by Barthel Beham of circa 1530 (fig. 14).<sup>61</sup> This painting is always thought of as being a part of the cycle with ancient histories commissioned by Duke Wilhelm IV. As it is the only Christian theme known for the programme, it seems to me that it illustrates one of the earliest examples of Catholic Reform art and may have served as paradigm for the generations that followed. More research into the field of this matrilineal tradition would certainly deepen our understanding of the spread of devotional practices and of iconographical *Pietas* motifs throughout Europe.



Fig. 14 Barthel Beham, *The Finding of the True Cross by St Helena*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, ca. 1530, Maria Jakobaea of Baden-Sponheim is depicted kneeling on the left side of the cross

It is also remarkable that Rubens and Wildens' painting of *Rudolph and the Priest* was created at roughly the same time as the image at Poggio Imperiale (figs. 15 and 16). Similarities to Roselli's fresco become apparent, particularly in the twisted figure of Rudolph. According to Elizabeth

McGrath's research, the painting was to be found in the bedchamber (as was the case at Poggio Imperiale) of King Philip IV in the Alcazar of Madrid. It was very probably hung together with a dynastic portrait gallery, Titian's *Religion saved by Spain*, and Rubens' *Garden of Love*.<sup>62</sup> Earlier versions of the motif have been preserved in books and as a background scene in paintings, but not as primary subject matter.<sup>63</sup> The decoration of the bedchamber probably coincided with Philip's accession to power in 1621, and both images fulfilled a programmatic function at a location that was central to dynastic progeny. There was a very intensive exchange between the Madrid and Florence courts during the life of Margaret of Austria, Queen of Spain, who was Philip's mother and Maria Maddalena's sister.<sup>64</sup> The almost simultaneous placement of this subject matter in the chambers of the two rulers could point to a communication between the courts. At any rate, it demonstrates the clear iconographic choice for the *Pietas Austriaca* through the Habsburg monarchy at that moment in time.

The unusual situation of the regency in Tuscany led to the realization of a monumental and gendered articulation of the concept of *Pietas Austriaca*. In her profound study of Maria Maddalena's musical patronage, Kelley Harness was able to demonstrate how intensively the regent participated in the production of the performances that she financed. It is therefore plausible to consider the regent herself to be the primary creator of the programme: only she and her closest advisors could have had such an intimate knowledge of the Habsburg genealogy and the practices associated with it.<sup>65</sup> It is even possible that the decoration of Poggio Imperiale provided a model for the plans surrounding the apartment of Maria Maddalena's niece Anna of Austria, Queen of France, for her residence in the Parisian abbey Val-de-Grâce, which she had founded and which was meant to feature an equally extensive programme involving sainted female rulers.<sup>66</sup>

While the concept of *Pietas Austriaca* has begun to be criticized for being too static to describe the highly diverse phenomena of the Habsburg courts,<sup>67</sup> it was extremely productive in the present context, because it helped to clarify the distinction with respect to Medici cycles and their concept of government. However, Maria Maddalena formulated her own engendered version of the *Pietas*. She made use of the prized artistic resources of Florence in order to provide her vulnerable position as regent of Tuscany with an impressive outer form. This unusual situation found expression both in the atypical disposition of the rooms and in the extremely rare pictorial inventions. Still, the full significance of the programme of Poggio Imperiale unfolds only when it is seen within the context of the House of Habsburg as a transnationally organized network of rulers. Further research could clarify how this model of *Pietas Austriaca* was communicated between the different courts—and also in which ways the performative and visual realizations of the theme affected the subsequent theoretical considerations and written formulation of the concept.





Fig. 15 Matteo Rosselli, Rudolph I of Habsburg and the priest, Florence, Villa Poggio Imperiale, former bedchamber of Ferdinando II de' Medici, 1623-24.



Fig. 16 Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Wildens, Rudolph I of Habsburg and the priest, Madrid, Museo del Prado, ca. 1625.

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## Illustrations

Fig. 1, 4 Maps author and Henning Grope.

Fig. 2 Fanelli, Giovanni, *Firenze – Architettura e città* (Florence, 1973), fig. 730.

Fig. 3, 5 Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali e architettonici, Gabinetto fotografico, Palazzo Pitti.

Fig. 6 Spinelli 2008, p. 653, fig. 4.

Fig. 7, 8, 10, 12, 15 Acanfora 2005, p. 144, fig. 83; plates LXXXVIII, LXXXV, CII, XCIV.

Fig. 9 Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Soprintendenza speciale per il Polo museale fiorentino.

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Fig. 13 *Stanze segrete raccolte per caso. I medici Santi – Gli arredi celati*, ed. Cristina Giannini (Città di Castello, 2004), p. 37, fig. 23.

Fig. 14 Greiselmayer 1996, plate X.

Fig. 16 *El Siglo de Rubens en El Museo del Pardo, Catálogo razonado de Pintura Flamenca del Siglo XVII*, ed. Matías Díaz Pardon, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1997), vol. II, cat. no. 1645.

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\*I would like to thank the gender equality programme of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, which facilitated the translation of Michael Wetzel, to whom I am grateful for his accurate work.

<sup>1</sup> For the biography of Mary Magdalene, see Pieraccini 1924-25, vol. II, pp. 345–64; Galasso Calderara 1986; Wandruzska 1988; Arrighi 2008; Betz 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Seminal are the studies *Donne e fede* 1994; Reinhard 1995; *'In Christo'* 1999; Schilling 1999, pp. 51–55.

<sup>3</sup> For this aspect, see Hoppe forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> Hoppe 2004 b; Hoppe 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Galluzzi 1781, vol. III, p. 394; Diaz 1976, p. 366; Pieraccini 1925, vol. II, p. 345; Galasso Calderara 1985, p. 93; Cusick 2009, p. 193, n. 9; Hoppe 2012, pp. 27–34.

<sup>6</sup> For Christine of Lorraine, see now Strunck 2011.

<sup>7</sup> For the history and the architecture of the villa, see Panichi 1989; Bohr 1994, pp. 344–46; Hoppe 2012, pp. 35–55.

<sup>8</sup> Hoppe 2012, p. 283.

<sup>9</sup> For the discussion of the complete ensemble of sculptures and fountains see Hoppe 2012, pp. 42–43, 55.



- <sup>10</sup> The author of the libretto is Ferdinando Saracinelli, the music was composed by Francesca Caccini. See Solerti 1905, pp. 179–83; Harness 2004, vol. II, pp. 264–80; Cusick 2009, pp. 191–246. For the series of illustrations, see Negro Spina 1983, p. 118; Blumenthal 1984, pp. 201–07.
- <sup>11</sup> ‘VILLA IMPERIALIS AB AUSTRIACIS / AUGUSTIS NOMEN CONSECUITA / FUTURAE MAGNAE DUCES ETRURIAE / VESTRO OCIO DELICISQUE / AETERNUM INSERVIAT’, quoted after Prato 1895, p. 41. The blazon is now lost.
- <sup>12</sup> Hoppe 2012, p. 281.
- <sup>13</sup> The inventory is published fully in Hoppe 2012, pp. 290–330; the chronicle partially.
- <sup>14</sup> Hoppe 2012, p. 57.
- <sup>15</sup> Hoppe 2012, pp. 58–59.
- <sup>16</sup> Wandruszka 1962; Klieman 1993, p. 181; Preiss 1997, pp. 382–83; Acanfora 2005, pp. 149–50; Spinelli 2008, pp. 650–56; Hoppe 2012, pp. 65, 169–89.
- <sup>17</sup> For the concept of the *Pietas Austriaca*, see Coreth 1982; Kovács 1990; Kovács 1992; Bérenger 1993; Winkelbauer 2003; Baumgarten 2004, pp. 164–172; Ducreux 2011.
- <sup>18</sup> Visconti 1960 (October), pp. 2–36; Couëtoux 1998, pp. 731–39; Rossi 1999, pp. 169–74; Acanfora 2005, vol. I, pp. 143–57; Spinelli 2008, pp. 645–79; Hoppe 2012, pp. 95–168.
- <sup>19</sup> Spinelli 2008, p. 670; Hoppe 2012, pp. 108–09.
- <sup>20</sup> Preiss 1997, p. 387.
- <sup>21</sup> Mennel 1518, fol. 1v, 4r–4v.
- <sup>22</sup> Kovács 1992, p. 94; Reinhardt 2002, pp. 74, 77, 133–34, 166–67; Hoppe 2012, p. 116.
- <sup>23</sup> *Argomento della regina sant’Orsola: Rappresentazione di Andrea Salvadori* (Florence, 1624), see Solerti 1905, pp. 159, 174–78. *Per un regale evento*, cat. no. 109, 110; see Harness 2006, pp. 79–110.
- <sup>24</sup> Kovács 1992, pp. 94–96.
- <sup>25</sup> Meloni Trkulja 1973; Fumagalli 1990, pp. 71–73; Hoppe 2012, pp. 95–102.
- <sup>26</sup> Hoppe 2012, pp. 118–24. Cf. Pizzorusso 1986; Acanfora 2005, p. 146; Spinelli 2008, p. 667.
- <sup>27</sup> Painted are Jael, Judith, Miriam, Esther, the Mother of the Maccabees, Rebecca, The Finding of Moses, Susanna, and Zipporah.
- <sup>28</sup> Painted are the martyrdoms of Lucia, Dorothea, Christina, Agnes, Caecilia, Agatha, Barbara, Margareta, and Apollonia.
- <sup>29</sup> Mennel 1518, fol. 108v–110r; Reinhardt 2003, pp. 158, 229; Hoppe 2012, pp. 146–48.
- <sup>30</sup> Lorini, Niccolò, *Elogii delle piv principali S. donne del sacro calendario, e martirologio romano, vergini, martiri, et altre. Messi insieme con molte vigilie. Dal M.R.P.M. e Predicatore Generale F. Niccolò Lorini del Monte*, ed. Zanobi Pignoni (Florence, 1617).
- <sup>31</sup> Coreth 1982, pp. 38–44; Matsche 1981, pp. 123–42.
- <sup>32</sup> Tarchi 1989; Hoppe 2011, pp. 227–32, 244.
- <sup>33</sup> For a more detailed comparison, see Hoppe 2012, pp. 198–201.
- <sup>34</sup> Visconti 1960 (May); Faini Guazzelli 1968; Cantelli 1983, p. 131; Spinelli 2001, pp. 24–25, 40–46; Acanfora 2005, p. 149; Sodini 2011, pp. 290–92; Hoppe 2012, pp. 189–205.
- <sup>35</sup> Hoppe 2012, p. 65.
- <sup>36</sup> Spinelli 1997, pp. 5–17; Hoppe 2012, p. 70.
- <sup>37</sup> Hoppe 2012, pp. 68–69.
- <sup>38</sup> Hoppe 2012, pp. 69–70.
- <sup>39</sup> For a summary, see Hoppe 2012, pp. 70–76.
- <sup>40</sup> Fumagalli 1990; Fumagalli 1997 b; Fumagalli 2001.
- <sup>41</sup> *Sustermans* 1983, cat. no. 14. *La maddalena* 1986, cat. no. 99; see Polleroß 1988, vol. I, pp. 13–16, 48–50, cat. no. 434.
- <sup>42</sup> Hoppe 2012, pp. 66–67.
- <sup>43</sup> For the model of the ‘holy princess’ in terms of the Catholic Reform, see Tippelskirch 2001. For a survey of the male concept of the ‘Christian prince’ after Adriano Prospero, see Fantoni 1998.
- <sup>44</sup> There were rumours that the regency had to be assigned first to Cardinal Carlo de’ Medici, brother of the deceased Grand Duke Cosimo II. See Fumagalli 1997 a, p. 315, n. 14. In the encomium by Cristofano Bronzini, dedicated to Maria Maddalena, the praise of female rulership and the predominance of the female sex was criticized by the Vatican and therefore censored. See Tippelskirch 2004. For female regencies and their problematic legal basis, see the seminal study by Guerra Medici 2005.

<sup>45</sup> *La maddalena* 1986, pp. 166–67; Hoppe 2012, pp. 25–26, 74–76. See also the records in Archivio di Stato Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 6081: 16077; 6077: 15741, 15744, 15745, 15746, 15748; 6101: 15547; 6100: 15502 at the Medici Archive Project, [www.medici.org](http://www.medici.org) (accessed on 19 November 2012).

<sup>46</sup> For the function of Poggio Imperiale in these years and the inner disposition of rooms, see Hoppe 2012, pp. 77–93.

<sup>47</sup> Hoppe 2012, p. 84.

<sup>48</sup> Hoppe 2012, pp. 87–88.

<sup>49</sup> *‘Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas; / magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo. / iam redit et virgo, redeunt saturnia regna; / iam nupva progenies caelo dimittitur alto. / to modo nascent puero, quo ferrea primum / desinet ac toto surget genas aurea mundo, / caste fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo’*, Vergil, *IV. Eclogue*.

<sup>50</sup> For the gendered spheres at Italian courts, see Hoppe 2004 a, pp. 104–106; Hoppe 2012, pp. 11–13, 88–93, 227–229. Broader surveys on gender and space in the early modern period are *Das Frauenzimmer* 2000; and *Architecture* 2003.

<sup>51</sup> For the *Pietas Eucharistica* and the *Imitatio Rudolphi*, see Matsche 1981, pp. 80–83, 112, 116–17; Coreth 1982, pp. 20–25; Preiss 1997, pp. 377–78; Bruckmüller 1998, p. 273; Valenta 2006, p. 180.

<sup>52</sup> For the devotion of Ferdinand II to the Holy Cross, see Vácha 2009, pp. 68–89.

<sup>53</sup> Explicitly mentioned in Armenini 1587, vol. III, VIII, p. 262. The famous women iconography was recommended for the bedchambers of wives and daughters.

<sup>54</sup> For a summary on the different traditions of famous men and women iconography, see Hoppe 2012, pp. 205–25.

<sup>55</sup> Herbst 1970, pp. 290, 326; Matsche 1997, pp. 330–31; Polleroß 1985, p. 24.

<sup>56</sup> Matsche 1981, p. 74; Vácha 2009, pp. 10, 68–89.

<sup>57</sup> For Ferdinand II, see Bireley 1981. For Margaret, see Sánchez 1998.

<sup>58</sup> See now the seminal study of Keller 2012. For the education of her children, see Betz 2008, pp. 50–61; Keller 2012, pp. 50–56. For the decisive influence of Maria of Bavaria in terms of cultural exchange, see Koldau 2005, pp. 69–79.

<sup>59</sup> Herzig 2000, p. 17 and *passim*.

<sup>60</sup> Herzig 2000, p. 13; Richter 2009, pp. 225–304.

<sup>61</sup> Greiselmayer 1996, pp. 131–56.

<sup>62</sup> McGrath 1997, cat. no 56.

<sup>63</sup> Hoppe 2012, p. 184.

<sup>64</sup> Queen Margaret of Spain ordered an extensive painting cycle in Florence in 1610 and she was herself remembered in Florence with a vast funeral cycle in grisaille after her death in 1611, afterwards shown in the Corridoio Vasariano. See Goldenberg Stoppato 1999; Bietti 2004; Strunck 2011, p. 86.

<sup>65</sup> For a broader discussion of the authorship see Hoppe 2012, p. 219.

<sup>66</sup> The *conchetto* was described as: *‘toutes les impératrices et les reines qui ont été en reputation de sainteté.’* See Dorival 1976, vol. I, p. 49, vol. II, cat. no. 424; Wenzel 2005, pp. 78–79.

<sup>67</sup> See, e.g., Ducreux 2011.

# *Pietas Austriaca* at the Lisbon Court

## The Monumental Chapel and Funerary Tombs built by Catherine of Austria in the San Jerónimos Monastic Complex in Belém

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### Prologue

In 1570, at a crucial stage in her life and reign, Catherine of Austria (1507-1578), Queen of Portugal, decided to retire from politics and government.<sup>1</sup> She sought official permission from court and church officials to leave Portugal and return to her native country of Spain, where she hoped to reside in a convent, living out the remaining years of her life in prayer and meditation. Although Catherine was inspired by earlier precedence discussed below, she was also troubled by intrigues at the Lisbon court. By 1570, after having been predeceased by her beloved husband John III and her nine children, the queen was ready to live out the rest of her life in solitude.

In 1498 the Dowager Queen Leonor of Portugal (1458-1525) had founded a new confraternity in Portugal dedicated to the Virgin of Mercy (*Virgem da Misericórdia*), the primary purpose of which was to assist the indigent, ill and vagabond, ransom captives of the Moors, shelter orphans, run hospitals and hospices, promote works of charity, and build convents and churches.<sup>2</sup> Leonor, who earned a reputation in Portugal, as the ‘Perfect Queen’ (*Rainha Perfeita*), was celebrated by her subjects for her Christian virtues, charity and cultural patronage. The Madre de Deus convent of Franciscan nuns with its church in Xabregas on the city outskirts of Lisbon was founded and built by Leonor in 1519 to house the relics of Saint Auta and the 11,000 Virgin Martyrs that she had received from her cousin Emperor Maximilian I in 1517.<sup>3</sup> Leonor became an exemplary model for subsequent Portuguese queens and princesses, and was a great source of inspiration for Catherine of Austria. Following the Dowager Queen’s example, Catherine retired to the summer palace of Xabregas several years after she gave up the regency in 1562, having ruled for her grandson for five years. Catherine’s residence at Xabregas was situated near a princely retreat that her husband John III had built there between 1556 and 1557, based on designs by Francisco de Holanda.<sup>4</sup> Catherine’s ‘palace’ was situated in quarters near the premises of Leonor’s convent,<sup>5</sup> to which she had direct access via an interior door that linked her apartments with the Madre de Deus church and the chapel of the Passion of Christ, also known as the *Capela do Espírito Santo*.<sup>6</sup> In the latter, Catherine built a tribune to accommodate her and her female retinue when attending attend mass. A contemporary account describes Catherine leaving her apartments daily by means of a corridor to reach the small church where she heard mass with her ladies and the resident Spanish Ambassador, Juan de Borja (1533-1606), when he was present.<sup>7</sup> Catherine’s determination to lead a *vita contemplativa* completely removed from court politics and intrigues is reminiscent of other close

Habsburg family members who sought seclusion and refuge within the precincts of a religious foundation.

The dramatic decision of Catherine to choose to abandon the country she had ruled over as queen for close to fifty years was certainly inspired by the example of her elder brother Emperor Charles V (1500-1558), who abdicated and moved to a monastery at Yuste in the Extremadura (in Spain) in 1556. Catherine turned to her Habsburg nephew Philip II of Spain for guidance, support and advice regarding her retirement,<sup>8</sup> and this dramatic moment in Catherine's life is documented by a number of unpublished letters in the Archivo General de Simancas (Valladolid) exchanged between them, as well as with the above-mentioned Spanish Ambassador in Portugal, Juan de Borja.<sup>9</sup> This was the first time in her reign that Catherine had felt incapable of confronting the challenges which faced her, in particular, her intractable grandson King Sebastian of Portugal (1554-1578). Sebastian had since early childhood adamantly refused to follow her sound advice and heeded her counsel even less after he assumed the Portuguese crown in 1568. Catherine's insistence that he marry and produce an heir for the throne brought their already fragile relationship to a grinding halt. Catherine had tried in vain to secure a marriage worthy of Sebastian's rank, seeking alliances with the Valois court in France, the Habsburg courts in Spain and Austria, and the ducal court in Bavaria. Catherine had banked on bringing a marriageable princess to Lisbon whom she could educate to be the future queen of Portugal and its vast overseas empire. However, her various matrimonial plans to marry Sebastian to Margaret of Valois, Isabella Clara Eugenia (daughter of Philip II), Isabel of Austria (daughter of Emperor Maximilian II), and Maximiliana (daughter of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria) all met with failure.

By 1570 the elderly queen felt emotionally and physically overwhelmed, unable to further confront Sebastian's non-compliance and insubordination and the multiple court factions allied with him and his uncle the Infante Cardinal Henry (Henrique) (1512-1580), who, like Catherine, had served as regent for the young prince from 1562 to 1568. The queen decided it would be best for court and country for her to leave, and she initiated complex negotiations with the Spanish Habsburg court to verify her rents, properties and wealth both in Portugal and in Spain, so that she could finance her existence in her future convent.<sup>10</sup> However, her plans to depart to Spain were thwarted by her subjects, who refused to allow their beloved queen to go. Her departure officially impeded, the reluctant queen was compelled by duty and by her personal devotion to stay in Portugal and supervise an architectural project which would highlight the end of her life and reign: the rebuilding of the main chapel (the *capela mor*) of the Jerónimos monastery located in Bélem (Lisbon). The transformation of the former ornate Manueline chapel into a severe classicistic structure underscores Catherine's desire to build a chapel in an architectural vernacular and style never before deployed in Portugal, a desire coupled with an aspiration to leave a remarkable personal imprint upon the fabric of this monumental monastery (figs. 1-2). Catherine's piety, religiosity and devotion motivated her to rebuild the *capela mor* first built by her late father-in-law, King Manuel I (r. 1498-1521), shortly after Vasco da Gama discovered the sea-route to India in 1498.<sup>11</sup> Her sense of duty and dedication to the Avis and Habsburg royal houses also prompted her to build a pantheon worthy of her illustrious families.



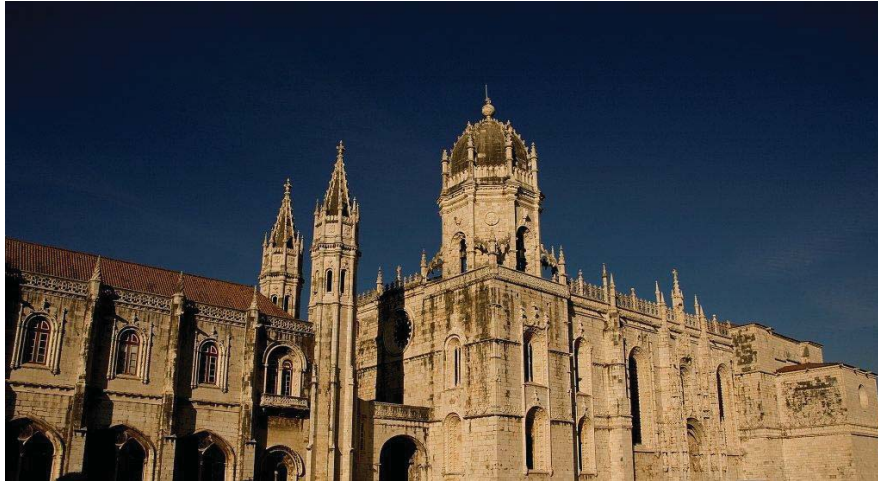


Fig. 1 Exterior view of the Jerónimos Monastery in Belém (Lisbon). The square box-like structure at the far right demarcates the *capela mor* built by Catherine of Austria. Photo: José António Silva.

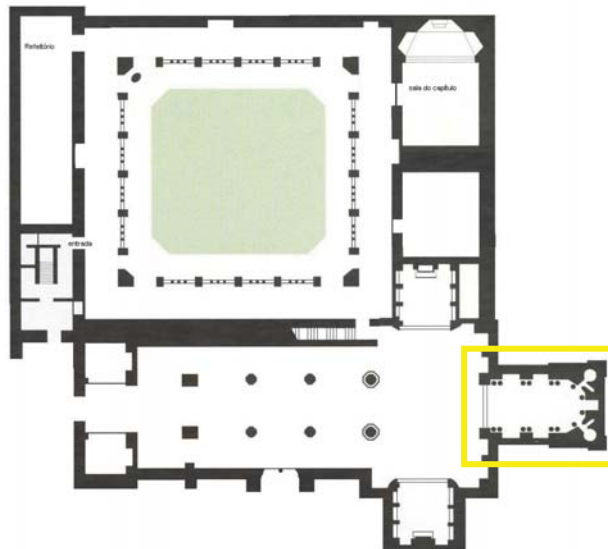


Fig. 2 Floor plan of the Jerónimos church with the *capela mor* marked in the yellow box. Photo: public domain.

## Catherine of Austria's Royal Pantheon for the Avis Dynasty

### Models and Precedences: The Ideal Habsburg Widow

In 1530, shortly before her death, Catherine of Austria's aunt Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), regent of the Netherlands, made a pivotal decision to build a funerary monument in the Flamboyant Gothic style at Brou near Bourg-en-Bresse (France), in memory of her third husband, Philibert II the Fair, Duke of Savoy, who had died prematurely at the age of twenty-four. Margaret undertook this architectural project in fulfilment of a vow she had made just before her beloved husband died. The monumental chapel and tombs, which the regent intended as architectural

expressions of her piety, were attached to a sumptuous monastery with three cloisters erected there between 1506 and 1532. This funerary complex was to commemorate, in accordance with the teachings of the Spanish humanist and philosopher Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), the glory of Margaret's dead husband and his family. During her regency Margaret took to fashioning herself as the ideal widow, as Vives advised in his writings. His influential book, *De institutione feminae Christianae*, published in Antwerp in 1524, defined marriage as the legitimate union of one man and one woman bound together for life. He strongly counseled widows to devote themselves to the memory of their dead husbands rather than to marry again. Vives advocated absolute faithfulness and chaste abstinence for widows: advice that Margaret took to heart. The Brou church was conceived of as a votive chapel, a temple of remembrance and a sumptuous setting for three princely tombs: one for her husband Philibert the Fair, one for herself, and one for her mother-in-law, Margaret of Bourbon.

During the lifetime of her beloved father Emperor Maximilian I and during her marriages, Margaret had been proud of her roles as exemplary daughter and wife. She was educated to be a paragon of virtuous womanhood: a good wife, loyal, true and submissive to father and husband. She assumed her wifely attributes with dedication, going so far as to mend and sew clothes for the men of her immediate family. In one letter dated 17 May 1511, Maximilian expressed his delight upon receiving shirts made by his daughter, 'grateful for the special care and attention she gives his body, especially since this year he must wear heavy, hard armor in the face of war and battle.'<sup>12</sup> Margaret was not, however, the only woman in Catherine of Austria's family to promote herself as the ideal spouse. Queen Isabel of Castile (1451-1504), Catherine's grandmother, the woman she was later often compared with, and who had also been Margaret of Austria's mother-in-law, set an even earlier precedence. Margaret's second marriage to the heir of the Catholic Kings of Spain, Prince Juan, in 1497, exposed her to the exotic splendor of Isabel's court, where the artistic and cultural influence of Islam coloured daily life. Isabel was a highly educated, scholarly woman who loved music and Latin; skilled in the domestic arts of sewing and needlework, she was praised by contemporaries for mending her husband's shirts with her own delicate hands.<sup>13</sup> She was well read in religious and secular works and especially fond of chivalric romances, and her library numbered nearly four hundred volumes. She guided intellectual life in Spain and solidified economic, cultural, artistic and dynastic ties with Burgundy and the Habsburg territories, which culminated in the marriage of her son Juan with Margaret. Isabel would have considerable repercussions upon Margaret and later generations of women in her family.

Margaret of Austria's third marriage in 1501 to Philibert II, Duke of Savoy, united her to a ducal house with close ties to the French court. This alliance consolidated Habsburg power south of the Alps and furthered her father's prestige as well as his dynastic and political aims abroad. Their short marriage was marked by a magnificent itinerant court life marked by royal entries, jousts, dances, masques, theatrical productions and *fêtes*. They held court throughout the duchy, which extended from Lake Geneva to the Piedmont, at their palaces in Bourg-en-Bresse, Chambéry and Turin. Philibert's untimely death in 1504 forced widowhood upon Margaret, who definitively returned to Flanders and refused all the marital alliances that Maximilian hoped she would contract again for the Habsburg dynasty. Not long after, Margaret took to fashioning herself in the visual arts, in particular, in her official court portraits, as a widow in perpetual state of mourning, adopting the

motto: *Fortune, Infortune, Fort, Une* (Luck, Misfortune Makes One Strong), to promote her image as the ideal Christian widow devoted to her family and the Habsburg dynasty.<sup>14</sup>

Patronage provided Habsburg women, especially prominent widows like Margaret who were liberated from marital duties and childbearing responsibilities, with creative and social outlets. Margaret and such of her female relations who were in control of their own financial resources undertook projects and artistic commissions which not only promoted the interests of their natal and conjugal dynasties but also gave expression to their own personal piety within the context of the Church, in the form of family tombs, and the commissions of chapels with their decoration. This channel offered Habsburg female patrons the opportunity to exercise patronage outside of the private domain in the form of public piety.<sup>15</sup> But these Habsburg women were not the only prominent patrons and collectors of their day to follow such a path: Isabella d'Este (1474-1539), Marquise of Mantua, similarly acknowledged the necessity for widows to succumb to political exigencies and carefully stage acts of public piety by way of religious commissions. The Habsburg women who designed their own tombs cultivated and nurtured a personal agenda preoccupied with and focused upon self-promotion, self-imaging, and the legitimacy of status.

In addition, Margaret was motivated by her princely mausoleum to consciously celebrate her own family at Brou, with the intent of glorifying the Burgundian and Habsburg dynasties in this most public of settings by prominently positioning in the chancel's five stained-glass windows the coats of arms of these two royal houses. The church serves as a monumental platform which equally memorializes Margaret herself, with her princely background and rank being displayed throughout the church with personal heraldic emblems and devices. Her physical *memoria* is likewise remembered here by her sculptural portrayal, with the regent being realistically depicted recumbent on her tomb. Brou and its construction essentially offered Margaret of Austria the opportunity to identify herself as a contemporary Artemisia of Caria, who had built the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the fourth century BC. In the words of Margaret's French contemporary Pierre de Bourdeilles, *Seigneur* of Brantôme, Brou was a 'beautiful and sumptuous memorial' that far surpassed the one erected by her ancient female counterpart Artemisia.<sup>16</sup> The Brou complex constituted an astute act of political self-fashioning on the part of Margaret, where her identity as a pious widow was firmly consolidated.

As sovereign and regent, Margaret wielded more power than her dead husband, Philibert II of Savoy, and her ultimate objective with Brou may have been to rival the imperial, monumental tomb her father, Maximilian I, projected at Innsbruck. Besides Vives, Margaret was much encouraged by Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's book *On the Nobility and Excellence of Women*, which he dedicated to the regent in 1529, a year before her death, and in which he unconventionally promotes the full equality of the sexes: 'Women and men were equally endowed with the gifts of spirit, reason and the use of words; they were created for the same end and the sexual difference between them will not confer a different destiny.'<sup>17</sup>

A dynastic message was therefore projected by Margaret for Brou, and one that was no less potent than the political messages which underscored the numerous artistic commissions her father undertook. As a self-fashioned, modern Artemisia, Margaret asserted herself both at the Flemish court and in the masculine, public realm of politics and war, without sacrificing her equality, power or influence within the Habsburg family network. Nor did Margaret compromise her role as a ruler,

learned scholar and collector, becoming a model and example for other female relatives, especially her niece, Catherine of Austria. As a funerary complex, Brou established a prototype for a succession of Habsburg women and widows who followed Margaret's example with their own conceptions of personal and family tombs, and in particular dynastic pantheons, such as the *capela mor* of the Jerónimos monastery in Belém dedicated to the memory of the Aviz royal house.

Margaret certainly influenced Catherine of Austria's rebuilding of the Manueline chapel in this monastery, erected by Manuel I in 1498 to honor the maritime explorations of the Portuguese. This royal pantheon was one of the few building projects Catherine would assume as a personal initiative. In doing she also broke new ground architecturally, replacing a late-Gothic nave with a classical structure never before seen in Renaissance Portugal. Until this juncture in her life and reign, Catherine's architectural patronage had been moderate and constrained. She had often shouldered the costs of unfinished building projects initiated by other royals which she felt compelled by duty to complete, as she did with the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Assunção in Faro (Algarve) founded by her aunt, the Dowager Queen Leonor of Portugal (1458-1525). Immediately after her entry in 1525, Catherine ordered the court architect, Afonso Pires, to supervise and complete its construction in Faro, and by 1541 the first nuns of the First Order of Saint Clare entered this convent.<sup>18</sup> Until the Jerónimos project, Catherine's religious patronage can be best defined as gifting convents and religious institutions with endowments and donations, even with offerings of female black slaves,<sup>19</sup> preferring to leave architectural concerns in the hands of her husband, John III. As king, he used architecture to advance personal ideologies, and his building commissions reflect visions of global rule in which he promoted himself, as did his father Manuel I, as *dominus mundi* of a new Roman empire.<sup>20</sup> Catherine's interests in secular or profane building projects were not as ambitious, until she began remodeling and transforming the Jerónimos chapel into a family pantheon.

In the *capela mor* at Belém, on both sides of the main altar, set within individual arches, are four royal tombs in the form of sarcophagi, ornamented with gilt-bronze crowns resting upon caryatids in the form of an elephant, an exotic animal closely associated with the Lisbon court as a symbol of the Portuguese conquests (figs. 3-4).<sup>21</sup> Catherine's intent was to superimpose a severe, monumental program on the ornate, flamboyant decor of the Jerónimos complex, while the tombs reflect a hybrid intermingling of East and West. This was a conception where the exotic and the antique were perfectly amalgamated. The altarpiece commissioned by the queen depicting *Scenes of the Life of Christ* mirrors notions of imperialism and a universal Christian monarchy cultivated at the Lisbon court.<sup>22</sup> This pantheon reflects Catherine's concern with her own self-imaging for posterity. Not unlike what was the case with Margaret's funerary complex at Brou, she sought to promote two dynasties, first and foremost focusing on the Aviz dynasty while at the same time legitimizing her own association and status within the House of Habsburg. In essence, Catherine dedicated the Jerónimos chapel to the memory of the Aviz dynasty, who divided the world with Habsburg Spain in the Renaissance.





Fig. 3 Interior view of the Jerónimos church. View of the *capela mor* through the ornate Manueline nave. Photo: public domain.



Fig. 4 The tombs of John III (far left) and Catherine of Austria on the right side of the *capela mor* facing the altar. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

### Sobriety and Opulence: The History of Construction of the *Capela Mor* (1563-72)

The *capela mor* underwent a complicated construction history before reaching its present form, starting with several building phases initiated by Manuel I before those undertaken by John III and finally Catherine of Austria.<sup>23</sup> In 1563, shortly after Catherine's abdication as regent, Sebastian of Portugal, under the influence of his grandmother, began remodeling the main chapel first constructed by Manuel I, which had been designated in his 1521 testament as his mausoleum. By the end of Catherine's regency in 1562, the Manueline chapel was considered by the court 'too small and too low in height,' despite transformations made by John III around 1551. Descriptions from this period, which could shed more light on the chapel's older appearance, have not survived. By 1569, all works in Belém were suspended upon Sebastian's orders: fortifications on the African coast necessitated financing from the crown and funds were re-directed for these military renovations. It

was at this juncture that Catherine assumed responsibility as she had done for previous building projects, undertaking responsibility for the completion of the chapel's remodeling and defraying all costs from her personal income.

Sousa Viterbo was the first to publish, in his monumental dictionary of Portuguese architects and engineers, the series of documents in the Torre do Tombo archive which outline this later construction phase supervised by the queen.<sup>24</sup> The architect appointed master of the royal works in 1571, Jerónimo de Ruão (Jérôme de Rouen, ca. 1531-1601), son of the sculptor João de Ruão (Jean de Rouen), was contracted by Catherine.<sup>25</sup> The plan conceived was a tunnel-like barrel vault attached to the nave of the monastery (see fig. 3), replacing the older structure which was formerly square in plan. This chapel was the first of its kind seen in Renaissance Portugal and was to exert great influence upon later religious buildings.<sup>26</sup> In particular, as the architectural historian George Kubler found, the distinctive contrast between the Manueline nave and the chapel sanctuary created a forbidding antithesis between sacred and everyday space. Measuring thirteen meters in length and slightly over eight meters in width, the chapel interior is severe and restrained, in a formal classicism that contrasts greatly with the surrounding ornate style (fig. 5).



Fig. 5 The *capela mor* built by Jerónimo de Ruão. Photo: public domain.



Fig. 6 Panel with grotesque in the arch next to Catherine of Austria's tomb after a Flemish model. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Sixteen white marble Ionic columns superimposed by a slender Corinthian order (disproportionate in scale)—intersected by six windows above and two below—surround the walls until the arch, supporting cornices that circumvent the vault. The opulent, luxurious play of colored marble revetment (blue, white and red), brought from Vila Viçosa (Estremoz), is finely carved. The checkered floor laid out in geometric patterns reflects this same coloration. A total of 224,960 *reais* was spent on the cutting, polishing and transportation of the marble, all elements and details being highly carved and finely executed.<sup>27</sup> The vault imitates in stone a wooden coffered ceiling, in a simulation of wood paneling that is carried further in the window frames below, which are carved like wooden screens, projecting an illusionistic perspective meant to make the chapel appear larger than in reality. In each of the niches where the tombs are housed, carved in the upper registers of the

arches, are very plastic, illusionistic grotesques copied after Flemish engravings designed by Cornelis Bos and Hans Vredeman de Vries (fig. 6).

The documents published by Sousa Viterbo indicate that the window grates were embellished with brass plates costing 20,000 *reais*, which were later gilded, the gilding being commissioned from the metal-founder Simão da Rosa. Aleixo Pires, locksmith and metal worker, was paid 40,000 *reais* for iron grates made for these same windows, while the tin-smiths, Diogo Fernandez and Simão Feio, were paid 50,000 *reais* for balusters described in Frei (or Fray in Spanish) Manuel Baptista de Castro's seventeenth-century chronicle of the Hieronymite order, *Chronica do maximo Doutor e Príncipe dos Patriarchas S. Jeronymo, Particular do Reyno de Portugal*.<sup>28</sup> These were made of bronze and placed above the steps leading up to the chapel, which clearly segregated this space from the nave. Now removed, they measured six *palmos* in height (132 cm). Baptista de Castro relates that another set of gilt bronze grates (in the form of spears) once divided the chapel from the presbytery. According to a contemporary 1572 account written by an anonymous courtier, the fenestration commissioned by Catherine of Austria came from Venice.<sup>29</sup> The project was finally completed by October of 1572.



Fig. 7 View of Catherine of Austria's Tomb.  
Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.



Fig. 8 Detail with one elephant caryatid holding Catherine of Austria's sarcophagus with tusks of real ivory. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Throughout, Jeronimo de Ruão displays a preference for contrasting surface pattern and sober linearity. On both sides of the chapel, set into individual arcades, are four pyramidal tombs in the form of classical sarcophagi made of colored marble (pink and gray), resting on dark grayish-green marble elephant caryatids with real ivory tusks (figs. 7-8). Each elephant wears a different trapping or caparison; all eight were carved between 1571 and 1572 (fig. 9).<sup>30</sup> Set on top of the sepulchers are gilt bronze royal crowns resting on realistically carved marble pillows with four tassels (fig. 10). Catherine's decision to display Portuguese regalia resting on richly appointed pillows adorned with *trompe-l'oeil* textiles was borrowed from Habsburg ephemeral catafalques displayed at





Fig. 9 View of the pair of elephant caryatids of Catherine of Austria's tomb. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.



Fig. 10 View of Catherine of Austria's bronze royal crown resting above her sarcophagus. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

royal exequies and funerals, prefiguring the adornment of theatrical Baroque funerary monuments with regal attributes.

Each tomb bears cenotaphs with panegyric inscriptions in Latin composed by the court humanist André de Resende (1498-1573) (fig. 11). Facing the altar to the left (the Gospel side) are the remains of Manuel I and his second spouse, Maria of Castile (1482-1517), while to the right (the Epistle side) are those of his son John III and Catherine of Austria (see fig. 4). The queen had first planned to be buried with her husband on the Gospel side, which is considered more noble. However, her intentions were challenged by Cardinal Infante Henry, who claimed this privilege belonged exclusively to his father Manuel I as founder of the Jerónimos monastery. A marble altar below the painted retable is encased with the same geometric patterns of circles, squares and lozenges, and the muted color schemes of pinks, grays and white used throughout the chapel. Its table was described, in this same 1572 anonymous account, as a large block of porphyry, a particularly hard, expensive stone used since Antiquity for sepulchers and *mausolea*. However, this stone is not native to Portugal and the author must have confused it with dark red marble, purple being a color long associated with royalty.

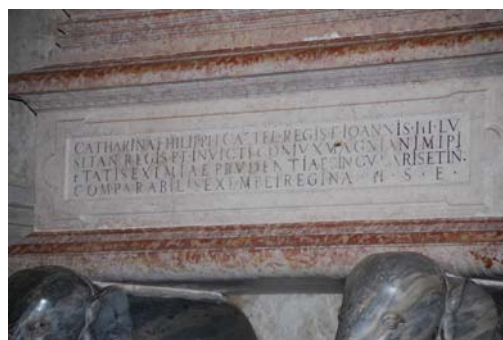


Fig. 11 Catherine of Austria's epitaph, composed by André de Resende. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.



The lateral chapels in the transept flanking the *capela mor* emulate the severe style used by Ruão for the main chapel. They post-date the commission issued by Catherine, who may not have even envisaged their conception, and became a repository for princes of the Aviz royal family after 1580. Ten tombs are set within niches, made with the same contrasting play of colored marble. Among those buried here are: Sebastian, Catherine's grandson, John III's brothers, Cardinal Infante Henry, former Regent and King of Portugal, Infantes Luis, Ferdinand and Afonso, and two of Catherine's children who died in early infancy. There is some confusion as to the dates of execution of these lateral chapels and whether Ruão himself undertook this later project. They were built sometime between 1587 and 1591. These later sarcophagi with Latin inscriptions also rest upon identical marble elephants, as in the *capela mor*.

The exterior of the *capela mor* is encased with a turreted square box with small round towers punctuated by small windows and a heavy bracketed cornice (figs. 12-13). Whether Ruão executed his own design or completed one drawn up earlier by Diogo de Torralva (active 1545-1566) has remained a point of contention. The outside echoes the interior sobriety and is architecturally reminiscent of military structures, in particular towers. George Kubler dubbed this style the *estilo chão*, or plain style. Ruão's intention, and to a degree Catherine of Austria's as patron, was to impose dignity and majesty on the Jerónimos complex. By the mid-sixteenth century the Lisbon court evidently found the ornate Manueline style too outdated to convey the royal decorum and stateliness the queen required. Both the interior and exterior of Catherine's *capela mor* demonstrate a complete break with older traditions, and the integration of novel architectural ideals borrowed from Italy was deemed appropriate by Catherine.<sup>31</sup>



Fig. 12 Exterior view of the *capela mor*. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.



Fig. 13 The rear of the *capela mor* with its fortified, tower-like exterior in a style George Kubler dubbed the *estilo chão*. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Catherine renounced her regency in 1562. In 1563 Pius IV bestowed upon her the Papal rose, the highest recognition granted by the Church to a Renaissance queen. The rose, made of gold branches often embellished with jewels, symbolized Christ's love and passion, and was given on rare occasions to royal monarchs and queens for services to the Church, as a token of reverence and affection. Despite her capacity for government, especially during her regency (1557-1562), and the recognition granted her by the Papacy, in the late 1560s Catherine was determined to retire to a convent in Spain. In later letters to Pope Pius V of 1572 seeking his advice and support, Catherine confided in him, mentioning her discontent about residing in Portugal and her persistent wish to leave: '*tambem das razões que eu tenho para viver descontento e intentar, e ainda efectuar qualquer mudança.*'<sup>32</sup> Her earnest intent to relocate two years earlier had been fully supported by her nephew in Spain, Philip II, with whom she cultivated close personal ties. The Spanish king had even proposed various locations for his aunt, first among them Carmona and Baeza.<sup>33</sup> Then Talavera and Ocaña were considered optimal cities for the queen's new residence, and when Catherine finally settled for the latter location, much to Philip's satisfaction, she decided to travel there via the pilgrimage church of Guadalupe (Extremadura).<sup>34</sup> These plans soon disintegrated when news of her imminent departure reached government, court and church officials in Portugal.<sup>35</sup> At their insistence, Catherine resigned herself to remaining in Portugal, removing herself to the Madre de Deus convent in Xabregas, determined to complete the Jerónimos chapel according to her grandiose vision and intending this structure to be her last official undertaking as patron and queen. Despite her satisfaction with the building, the queen's desire to leave the kingdom of Portugal persisted long after she had completed her pantheon.

A combination of motives lay behind Catherine's rebuilding of the *capela mor*. Taking her aunt Margaret of Austria and Brou as one *exemplum*, Catherine sought to create her own monument honoring her late husband John III, his father Manuel I, and the Avis dynasty. With her tomb located in this sumptuous funerary chapel, Catherine also wished to glorify her Habsburg family. A third motive was to demonstrate her piety and her devotion to the religious order of the Hieronymites. The queen's attachment to religious orders in Portugal throughout her reign,<sup>36</sup> and in the closing years of her life to the Jerónimos monastery, did not differ from the devotion displayed by her Habsburg relatives at the Flemish and Spanish courts. Her brother Charles V retired to a Hieronymite monastery at Yuste, which was reconstructed to fit his specific need for a dignified retreat and a final resting place. Her nephew Philip II built a superlative Habsburg pantheon at the Escorial monastery, while her niece, Juana of Austria, conceived the idea of a personal tomb and memorial encapsulated within the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, which she founded in 1555 and whose institutional purpose was to be the leading spiritual center in Spain. In these monastic complexes Catherine and her immediate family made public their common concern for salvation, *memoria*, and remembrance.

Above all, Catherine's commission reaffirmed the original intentions of Manuel I, who transferred control of the monastery in 1496 from the Order of Christ to the Hieronymites, building the church in 1498. From the outset he visualized the complex as a royal pantheon in combination with a symbolic, iconographical program that was implemented throughout.<sup>37</sup> In the medieval interpretation of kingship Manuel imaged himself as an Old Testament king, and more specifically as *David Lusitanus*. This ideology was applied in the decoration and sculptural program of the Jerónimos cloister where the Portuguese were depicted as the newly elected people of God, who because of

their maritime achievements and conquests in Africa and Portuguese Asia were able to spread Christianity to the ends of the globe. The cloister sculptures show Manuel as the triumphant messiah surrounded by Virtues and being promoted as the victorious leader of the quasi-mythological and historical exploits of the Portuguese discoverers. His early pantheon was intended as a dignified final resting place for himself and his illustrious royal dynasty. André de Resende's Latin epitaph on Manuel I's tomb reconfirms this ideology: 'To whom—from the western sands to where the sun rises—extended the cult and knowledge of God. To whom so many subjugated kings relinquished their crowns. Here, in this tomb, rests Manuel the Great.'

In order to ensure eternal salvation, Manuel stipulated that a hundred monks be dedicated to the eternal service of the deceased royal souls. In her 1577 testament Catherine provided for *merceiros* who would pray for her after her death.<sup>38</sup> Twenty people were appointed to the Jerónimos monastery for this purpose: courtiers with limited financial means were paid an annual rent of 20,000 *reis* to pray for the souls of the royal family, with precise instructions stipulated by the queen for the number of liturgical services and prayers to be said. The queen purchased land near the Jerónimos monastery for her *merceiros*, in order to house them in the vicinity and facilitate the carrying out of the functions of their offices: '*tambem se lhes daram pera sua habitação e morada casas convenientes no sitio que pera ellas tenho mandado comprar perto do mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Belem onde estão as sepulturas del rey meu senhor que Deus tem e minha.*' A plaque was hung in the sacristy listing all the perpetual masses and devotions to be said for the queen and John III. Thus, the relationship of the main altar to the royal tombs was intended to fulfill two functions: the service of God and the service of the dead. According to Counter-Reformation ideology Catherine of Austria was complying with objectives laid down by the Council of Trent: the intercession on behalf of the dead and the perpetual adoration of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. The cult of the host gained momentum in Portugal precisely in this period. It was probably at this time that Jerónimo Osório (1506-1580), Bishop of Algarve and the queen's confessor, dedicated to Catherine a treatise on the sacrifice of the mass, which the court humanist considered one of the most profound mysteries of the Christian religion, entitled *Breve sumario do que a Religião christiana insina a çerca do sacrificio da missa*.<sup>39</sup> Catherine's devotion to the Eucharist was well known amongst convents and churches in Lisbon,<sup>40</sup> especially the Madre de Deus, for which church the queen made gray curtains embroidered with gold for the tabernacle where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved.<sup>41</sup>

The memorialization of deceased royals, with statues in perpetual prayer, within the context of a high altar sanctuary was certainly not novel, especially in funerary art in France, Italy, Austria and Spain. Contemporary examples can be found on tombs with *gisants* of the Burgundian court (Dijon), on the tomb of the recumbent Mary of Burgundy in Bruges, on the monument to Maximilian I at Innsbruck with its life-size bronze portrayals of his Habsburg ancestors, on the royal French tombs at St. Denis, at the Cartuxa de Miraflores in Burgos, and in the Capilla Real in Granada. Ruão's pyramidal tombs show a conscious break with older traditions, rejecting representational jacent or orant effigies (with portraits) for severe, classical sarcophagi in keeping with the new, innovative type of sepulchers introduced by Catherine. The elephant caryatids in Belém recall those of the Sigismondo chapel in the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, which were designed by Alberti and executed by Agostino di Duccio between 1446 and 1447 (see fig. 9). The Malatesta family adopted the elephant as an emblem and *devisa* that appeared everywhere on family escutcheons, medals, and sarcophagi. Although this Italian precedence may have influenced the Lisbon tombs, whether Francisco de

Holanda (1517-1584), who was familiar with Italian monuments, had any influence as an artistic advisor to the queen is difficult to confirm. Holanda has often been proposed as designer of the *capela mor*, because of his first-hand experience with contemporary Italian architecture and his position as courtier-artist to Catherine of Austria. There is, however, no documentary evidence for his participation in this building project. During the period of the chapel's construction, Holanda's career at the Lisbon court was waning, and in 1572 he sought a post from Philip II of Spain, offering his services to the Spanish monarch through a letter of petition.<sup>42</sup> Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria*, translated in 1551 by André de Resende upon the orders of John III, could equally well have transmitted ideas about the iconography and symbolism of the Malatestiano temple to the Lisbon court.<sup>43</sup>

In the Renaissance the representation of the elephant as a beast of burden (with a castle on its back) was assimilated by the Western imagination as the beast of regal triumphs, a symbol of vanquished might.<sup>44</sup> In Antiquity, Roman imperial triumphs invariably included elephants, and in the sixteenth century ancient entries coupled with imperial imagery were enthusiastically revived. Manuel I paraded daily around Lisbon—in triumph—with his five Asian elephants and their Indian mahouts.<sup>45</sup> Renaissance artists incorporated the time-honored motif of the elephant as a worthy visual element for pageants and festivities. A series of Tournai tapestries depicting the Portuguese conquests in India commissioned by Manuel I in 1510, which included depictions of elephants, were used as portable forms of visual propaganda for the nation's achievements in his royal residences.<sup>46</sup> The *Conquest of India* tapestry cycle was the single most important commission of his reign, which celebrated the Portuguese discovery of India in the manner of ancient Roman *trionfi*.<sup>47</sup>

Elephants had played a fundamental role at the Portuguese court since the early sixteenth century, both for the image and the prestige of Lusitanian monarchs.<sup>48</sup> Damião de Góis, the court humanist and chronicler of Manuel I's life and reign, was truly impressed with the elephants that Indian kings and Ceylonese emperors sent to Manuel as tokens of respect and as tribute.<sup>49</sup> In his writings he referred to these Lisbon elephants and especially to the spectacle they caused when paraded through the city streets. It is clear that Manuel's pachyderms were a source of pride for Góis, who viewed them as physical manifestations of the foreign lands discovered by the Portuguese. Catherine cultivated a special affinity for elephant imagery, often purchasing costly objects in the form of elephants for her *Kunstkammer* collection.<sup>50</sup> Her fascination with elephants is further evidenced by the quantity of ivory objects from Ceylon and India once in her collection; furthermore, as a token of her affection she presented live Asian elephants as gifts to her Habsburg relatives for their menageries in Spain and Austria. For the Portuguese court, the elephant represented the triumphant conquest of overseas territories. Not surprisingly, in Hindu culture the elephant was considered strictly the property of the king, a practice later adopted by the Portuguese monarchs, who regarded themselves as rulers of empire.

Elephant iconography permeated Portugal's artistic circles. In 1571, in an effort to boost his career at court, Francisco de Holanda sent Sebastian a manuscript entitled *Da fabrica que falece a cidade de Lisbon*.<sup>51</sup> In this treatise, the artist pleads with the young king to undertake certain architectural projects abandoned after John III's death in 1557, which would transform Lisbon into the jewel of all cities. Holanda's conception for a fountain placed near the royal palace, the *Paço da Ribeira*, built by Manuel I, was of an elephant with a castle on its back (fig. 14).





Fig. 14 Francisco de Holanda, Drawing for a fountain projected for the ship dockyards of Lisbon (*Ribeira dos naos*) from *Da Fabrica que falece Lisboa*, 1571, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Ms.51-III-9, f. 18r.

During the Middle Ages the elephant also became the *topos* for the symbolic battle between good and evil; the death of the elephant was considered a prefiguration of Christ's death on the cross. Combats between wild beasts were staged in Lisbon. The natural antipathy of wild animals provoked debate at Manuel I's court. Curiosity and an interest in the writings of ancient authors such as Pliny combined with the desire to imitate animal combats of ancient Rome inspired the staging of a battle in June of 1515 between an elephant and a rhinoceros from Cambay (the first seen in Europe since Antiquity), which had been sent to Lisbon by the sultan of Gujarat. In a courtyard between the Lisbon royal palace and the *Casa da India*, the India customs house, this confrontation ended unexpectedly with the elephant fleeing in fright to his stables at Rossio square. The rhinoceros was declared victorious by default. The Lisbon court fully appreciated the medieval moralization of the elephant's virtues: power, might, diligence, sagacity, humility, and industry. This melding of pagan and Christian symbolism in the use of elephant caryatids for the *capela mor* was intentional on Catherine's part and in keeping with Manuel I's ideology and her own love for the Asian pachyderms she collected.

### **The *Retablo Mor* (1571-1572): Lourenço de Salzedo**

Catherine of Austria's close supervision of the painting of the altarpiece she commissioned for the *capela mor* is demonstrated by a letter written by Catherine to her ambassador in Rome, João Telles de Meneses.<sup>52</sup> In this missive dated 7 July 1571 the queen thanked the diplomat for assiduously expediting the delivery of the colors she had requested. This was not the first time in the course of this commission that the queen would go to such lengths to obtain quality pigments from Italy. In reality the altarpiece took months to realize and Catherine's concept underwent several stages and transformations before reaching its final and present state.

For her original altarpiece, the queen chose to emulate her elder brother Charles V and the commission he gave Titian (ca. 1488-1576) for the monumental *La Gloria* altarpiece destined for the Yuste monastery church, today in the Museo del Prado (Madrid).<sup>53</sup> In 1568 Catherine commissioned from the same Venetian master a painting of the *Flagellation of Christ*, which is now lost but which was recorded in an engraving entitled, *Il Semolei* (fig. 15) by the Venetian draughtsman, painter and

etcher Battista Franco (ca. 1510-1568?). Giorgio Vasari was the first to relate, in the second edition of his *Vite*, that Catherine ordered from Titian a large-scale painting of *The Flagellation of Christ* for the Jerónimos chapel, which Vasari described as exquisite: '*alla reina di Portogallo in un quadro fece un Christo poco minore del vivo, battuto da' giudei alla colonna, che è bellissimo.*'<sup>54</sup> This was the first Italian Renaissance painting Catherine ever commissioned for a specific location and with a specific purpose in mind, and it is telling that she chose Titian, Charles V's favorite court painter, to execute for her an altarpiece intended for the most significant project of her reign. It equally emphasizes that the queen's original conception for the *capela mor* altarpiece was radically different from its present form. Her intention was to hang one single magnificent painting as the focal point of her austere chapel. Titian's *Flagellation* reflected Catherine's devotion to the Hours of the Cross and the Passion of Christ.



Fig. 15 Battista Franco (ca. 1510-1568?), *Il Semolei, The Flagellation of Christ*, engraving after a lost Titian, Venice, 1568, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1874, 0808.369.

Catherine was greatly influenced by a contemporary manuscript from the hand of the Hieronymite priest and mystic Frei Miguel de Valença, *Meditaciones sobre las horas de la Cruz*. Valença became Prior of the Jerónimos monastery in 1550, where he dedicated himself to study and meditation. Under his priorship, and in line with the dictates of the Council of Trent, the imaging and iconography of Christ in the monastery was given new direction and significance. Valença must have encouraged the queen to present in the visual program of the altarpiece a more direct, accessible and straightforward image of Christ. Through information provided by agents or resident ambassadors in Italy, the Portuguese queen may well have been aware of a contemporary commission for a *Transfiguration of Christ* executed by Titian for the Church of San Salvador in Venice and dated around 1560 (fig. 16), the Transfiguration being a Christological theme which deals with the dual nature of Christ as God and man.<sup>55</sup> The dedication of this church to the divine nature of Christ as Savior provided the justification for Titian's extraordinarily large painting (245 x 295 cm) at the main altar forming the central focus of the church (fig. 17). This monumental canvas is set into an elaborate marble tabernacle, recalling a small-scale monstrance containing the Holy Eucharist. Evidently, Catherine had envisaged, if not the identical theme, a similar concept and manner of presentation for her commission of the *Flagellation* for the *capela mor*, probably at the advice of Titian himself.



Fig. 16 Titian, *Transfiguration*, Church of San Salvador, Venice. Photo: public domain.



Fig. 17 Interior view of the Church of San Salvador with the main altar, Venice. Photo: public domain.

For inexplicable reasons, however, Titian's *Flagellation* never reached Lisbon, and it is not known if the queen ever expressed regrets about Titian being unable to complete her altarpiece. Why the *Flagellation* remained in Titian's workshop, and why Catherine never received it, is enigmatic.<sup>56</sup> The answer may lie in the fact that Titian and his studio assistants were extremely busy in 1568 completing a number of other paintings for the Spanish court, which took priority, including the colossal *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* for Philip II and the Escorial monastery, which is still *in situ*. These commissions for Spain made it impossible for Titian to fulfil Catherine's wishes at this juncture, let alone to have the time needed to complete a gigantic altarpiece for the Jerónimos chapel. But who had guided and advised Catherine to order a *tour-de-force* painting by Titian? One possibility is that her sister, Mary of Hungary (1505-1558), one of Titian's foremost patrons, may have introduced the Portuguese queen to the Venetian master before her death in 1558.

Mary's own court portrait by Titian, of which Catherine owned a replica in her portrait gallery in the Lisbon royal palace, visually emphasized her political role as regent of the Low Countries. No

longer extant but known through copies, it was executed in Augsburg in 1548 and depicts Mary dressed in widow's weeds standing in front of a column, a pictorial allusion to Charles V and his emblem of the twin columns of Hercules (*Non Plus Ultra*).<sup>57</sup> Mary specifically chose to mold herself in the likeness of her widowed aunt Margaret of Austria, self-imaging herself as a loyal servant dedicated to the rule of the Habsburg dynasty. This Titian portrait was a conscious commission, a political move by Mary, who chose to have herself portrayed both as a pious widow and as a stateswoman engaged in Habsburg court politics and diplomacy.

Catherine was not a connoisseur of Italian painting, nor did she collect the kind of Italian art works, sculpture or antiquities so avidly sought by contemporary princes, collectors and her sister Mary. An introduction to Titian through Mary of Hungary is quite plausible. An important link between the Habsburg court in Flanders and Portugal was cultivated through the relationship of Mary and Catherine. Documents in the Lisbon archive have disclosed that these sisters, who never met, maintained close contact, exchanging ideas on artistic and political matters.<sup>58</sup> Gifts, court portraits, Flemish tapestries, slaves, and exotica from Portuguese Asia were reciprocated between the two siblings. Catherine's patronage reflects patterns of collecting and modes of patronage established by Mary in Flanders.<sup>59</sup> Catherine's preference for Flemish art works and craftsmen reflects the guiding influence of this sister,<sup>60</sup> but in the case of the Jerónimos altarpiece, a Venetian—Titian—was considered by Catherine, under Mary's influence, to be a more suitable choice.

While few art works with an Italian provenance were recorded in Catherine's collection and *Kunstkammer*, Flemish tapestries, paintings and objects were present.<sup>61</sup> Through her close ties with the Papal court, Catherine did receive gifts from the Vatican, as in January 1577, when a casket full of *Agnus Dei* was sent by the Pope to the queen.<sup>62</sup> Only one painting from Rome is documented in Catherine's private chapel in the Lisbon royal palace: the miraculous image of the Virgin from Santa Maria Maggiore, commissioned by Francisco de Borja in 1569 for the queen. Or was it Charles V who inspired his younger sister to think of Titian as the painter for her altarpiece? Catherine idolized her brother and knew many details of his living arrangements and daily life at Yuste. From courtiers whom she sent almost on a daily basis to visit her brother she was well-informed about the emperor hearing mass from his quarters, with a direct view of the high altar in the Yuste monastery church where Titian's *La Gloria* hung. Despite the emperor's predilection for Flemish tapestries, portraits and paintings, his respect and admiration for the Venetian painter was celebrated at his court and among his family.

Circumstances in Titian's career and workshop forced Catherine to begin a new search for a new concept for her altarpiece and for a suitable painter of quality.<sup>63</sup> At this juncture she hoped to secure the services of the Spaniard Gaspar Becerra (†1568), who was engaged in the service of her niece, Juana of Austria in Madrid, or of the Fleming Frans Floris (1519-1570), through the intervention of her nephew Philip II and her ambassador in Spain, Francisco Pereira. However, Becerra had recently passed away and the queen was unaware that Floris resided in Flanders. Consequently, Catherine next solicited her nephew and her court diplomat Pereira to obtain the services of the Italian painter Francesco da Urbino (†1592), who was then working at the Escorial monastery, but this too ended in an impasse. Catherine's extended search finally led her to settle for a painter who was active at her own court—her last choice for reasons of necessity and time—and of Spanish origin (from Seville), Lourenço de Salzedo (ca. 1530-1577).<sup>64</sup> He subsequently designed an



altarpiece radically different from her original masterpiece, the grandiose but minimalist conception to have been executed by Titian. Salzedo's retable, more complex in design, is made up of five panels superimposed on two levels with *Scenes of the Life of Christ*, mirroring the notion of a universal Christian monarchy cultivated at the Lisbon court.<sup>65</sup>

Once the queen had committed herself to Salzedo, she went, as discussed above, to great lengths to obtain for him the best artist's materials and pigments from Italy and from Spain, as recently discovered archival documents reveal. Catherine had no intention of leaving any detail to chance, as she expected her memorial to last forever. From two surviving letters,<sup>66</sup> we know she closely supervised Salzedo's altarpiece, having written her ambassador in Rome as early as February of 1571 to secure quality pigments, ordering him to send these as quickly as possible to Lisbon.<sup>67</sup> Time was of the essence for Catherine, and when those expected from Italy had in June 1571 not yet arrived in Portugal, she then requested Juan de Borja, the Castilian ambassador in Portugal, to intervene with her nephew Philip II.<sup>68</sup> The diplomat in turn asked the Spanish king's secretary, Gabriel Zayas, to organize the pigments Catherine needed for her altarpiece and to advise him of their cost and expense:

*La Reyna me mando que de su parte escriviese a V. M. y le enbiase la memoria que con esta va de çiertas colores que a menester para el Retablo que manda pintar em belen para que si ay las huviere V. M. las mande comprar y las enbie avisando de lo que cuestan para que ay se den luego los dineros y no allandose a comprar se pidan a su Magestat [Philip II] de las que sus pintores tienen / su Alteza a muchos dias que tiene escrito por ellas a Italia y no se las [han] enbiado y aqui tienen ya neçesidad de ellas.*

When Zayas did not immediately react and respond, Borja reminded him again in a second letter of the importance of these colors for the queen's Jerónimos altarpiece: '*las colores me mando La Reyna [Catherine] que tornase a acordar a V. M. es cosa de que su Alteza lleva mucho gusto por ser para el monasterio de belen.*' Shortly after, Philip II sent word to Lisbon agreeing to help his aunt obtain pigments through his squadron of Italian and foreign painters working at the Escorial. Much to the queen's dismay and outrage, however, the courier organized by her Portuguese ambassador in Castile encountered problems en route to Lisbon and her package with colors was mistakenly confiscated by custom officials near Badajoz, in Albuquerque (in the Extremadura).<sup>69</sup> This mishap of course caused more unexpected delays, as Juan de Borja duly reported back to Zayas:

*El correo que truxo las [cartas] de 26 [de Junio] que es uno que despacho el embaxador de portugal que se llama Pinto me dixo como me traya un emboltorio que V. M. le dio el qual le tomaron en Alburquerque como V. M. lo vera por la carta de Gaspar Ramirez que con esta va estoy con muy gran cuydado de saber lo que era aunque tengo por çierto que seran las colores que su Magestad [Philip II] enbia a la Reyna lo qual me parece que es ya tanta desverguença que yo no se como llevarlo y confieso a V. M. que he tenido que hazer conmigo el holvidar la tierra a donde naçi porque no se cosa que se lleve peor que sin justiçia armada la Reyna queda muy escandalizãda y tanto que queria enbiar un criado suyo a quexarse de todos estos.*<sup>70</sup>

Philip II again had to intervene and promised to remedy the matter and punish the official responsible for this blunder. Once matters were resolved, the pigments finally arrived at the Lisbon

court and the monies for payment were forwarded to Spain.<sup>71</sup> Catherine's artistic exchange with her nephew at this date was a fruitful one and demonstrates that identical pigments were used for frescoes at the Escorial and for the altarpiece of the Jerónimos *capela mor*, thus creating a symbolic link, through color and paint, between these two representative churches and their pictorial decoration.

In a second series of letters from Lisbon, Borja informed Gabriel Zayas of a wooden writing desk, perfumes and gloves that Catherine had sent to the king's secretary for his invaluable assistance with the purchase of the pigments.<sup>72</sup> In equal gratitude, the queen sent her nephew a number of gifts, among them church vestments and *pallios* for the Escorial monastery that she had personally embroidered in 1575, for which Philip was most grateful because they were made by his aunt, 'kissing her hands many times' for them.<sup>73</sup>

The need for no time to be lost in the completion of the altarpiece was due to Catherine's advanced age and fragile health at this date. This was compounded by the fact that her relations with her grandson Sebastian had disintegrated, both personally and politically. In a letter Catherine addressed to Sebastian in 1571 she justified her reasons for moving to Spain, complaining that he never resided in Lisbon when she did, and stating that because of their estrangement she preferred to bury herself alive (*'enterrarse viva'*) in a convent.<sup>74</sup> In another letter to Jerónimo Osório, Bishop of Algarve, she confessed that her departure would be a wake-up call for the country: *'desejo de ser com minha ida hun despertador.'*<sup>75</sup> Just before the Jerónimos chapel and altarpiece were even completed, the queen again made serious moves to retire to a convent in Spain, making it imperative for her that the Jerónimos project be terminated before her intended departure. Both the Jerónimos project and the continuous strife with her grandson had left the queen tired and exhausted. In a personal note to Philip II, Catherine confirmed she would retire to the Madre de Deus convent founded by her aunt, Manuel I's sister, the Dowager Queen Leonor, and that she would reside in her aunt's former quarters.<sup>76</sup> The *capela mor* altarpiece had taken its toll: it had been a long journey from Titian to Salzedo. The queen, worn down by the tense political situation at the Lisbon court, was most pleased to see the completion of her chapel, as Juan de Borja reported to Philip II in October of 1572: *'a la capilla nueva que la Reyna les ha hecho en Belen, hizose con mucha solemnidad, y esta ya la capilla acabada y puesta en su perfeçion, es un edificio muy para ver, quedo la Reyna muy contenta de haverle dado fin.'*<sup>77</sup>

The Jerónimos altarpiece was first attributed to Lourenço de Salzedo by Baptista de Castro in his seventeenth-century account of the monastery. A total of five panels depict scenes from the life of Christ with two themes that which underscore the human and divine nature. On either side of the altar are paintings of the *Adoration of the Magi*, while above the altar are three scenes from the *Passion of Christ* (fig. 18a-b). The sequence of the two last scenes was deliberately inverted, so that one sees from left to right, *Christ carrying the Cross*, then the *Descent from the Cross* and then the *Flagellation*. The representation of Christ's dead body, which normally follows the *Flagellation*, visually dominates the central area, directly above the altar, and serves as an antithesis to the painting below, now lost, of the infant Christ, the new Messiah, in the manger being worshipped by one of the kneeling Magi: Caspar, the eldest of the three. To the right of the lost central panel, each with his retinue, are Balthasar, the black African, and to the left Melchior (or Belchior, the youngest of the three), to whom Salzedo gave the idealized appearance of the late king John III. The black king

is realistically portrayed and may have been a real-life portrait of one of the numerous slaves (some manumitted) employed in Catherine's household.<sup>78</sup> Balthasar wears the turban and cloak of an eastern potentate as he offers the child a luxurious gold vessel. The seated male and female figures to left of Melchior are very sculptural in appearance, particularly in their poses and drapery, reflecting the impact of the Roman school of painting represented by Michelangelo and Giulio Romano, and Salzedo's exposure to these artists during his influential period of residence in Rome.<sup>79</sup> Melchior is preceded by a page carrying a casket, dressed as an Old Testament king and wearing a crown. The elements of exoticism usually depicted with the three Magi—camels, tigers, leopards—were eliminated in this panel, being replaced by the realistic portrayal of two Asian elephants in the right background, sharing a water fountain with mules.

The decision to juxtapose the *Adoration of the Magi* with the *Life of Christ* was deliberate and Salzedo's *Flagellation* was evidently commissioned by Catherine to replace the painting she had expected from Titian. In the Late Middle Ages the three Magi came to represent the three parts of the known world: Europe, Africa and Asia. The luxurious symbolic gifts brought to the Christ child—frankincense (homage to Christ's divinity), myrrh (used for embalming), gold (symbol of Christ's kingship)—foreshadow his death on the cross. The theme of the *Adoration of the Magi* essentially represented the subjugation of temporal powers to the authority of God and the Church. In keeping with Catherine of Austria's beliefs and Counter-Reformation philosophy, the ultimate purpose of her chapel was the worship of Christ in the Eucharist, visually reinforced by the body of the dead Christ dominating the painted space above the altar.

The presbytery was considered the symbolic center of the Blessed Sacrament. The principal theme stressed here is the veneration of the Cross and the Eucharist in the form of Christ's body and blood. Devotion to the Eucharist became a form of family piety institutionalized by the Burgundian and Habsburg courts.<sup>80</sup> Piety, as Catherine fully appreciated, was a virtue claimed by the Habsburgs as an inalienable birthright of the family, and the Eucharist was adopted as an amulet and talisman of the Habsburg dynasty. The image of the Holy Cross and Eucharist became potent politico-religious symbols representing the sacrosanct nature of Habsburg power, which Catherine transposed to her chapel.



Fig. 18 Lourenço de Salzedo, main altarpiece, *Capela Mor*, Jerónimos Monastery, Belém. Photo: Luís Pavão.

The Christological themes of passion and death in the altarpiece, highlighting Christ's dual nature as human and divine, were carefully selected and intentionally juxtaposed with the Magi as a prefiguration of the salvation of mankind. The entire conception and iconographical program of the *capela mor* and the retable with its pictorial program revolved around the mass, which was offered both for Christ and for the deceased members of the royal family. The symbols of majesty represented by the actual dead bodies of the monarchs and their queens, placed discreetly on either side of the chapel and reposing in severe classical sarcophagi set upon elephant caryatids, were subject to the glorification of Christ. Both terrestrial and celestial powers are honored here, as are the immortality and divine character of kingship. This notion was reinforced by the now lost iron balusters and grates that once separated the Aviz monarchs, the chosen representatives of God on earth, from the rest of the Church and humanity. Manuel I's ideology reflected in the decoration of the cloisters culminates here in Catherine's agenda for the *capela mor*: the Jerónimos complex had not only been dedicated by Manuel to the Virgin Mary, but also to the Three Magi.

There is no doubt that this altarpiece was conceived of with its architectural context in mind. Catherine's letters to Rome reconfirm that Salzedo had begun painting the retable in February of 1571, precisely when construction of the chapel was nearing completion. Details in the formal composition of the altarpiece show that Salzedo allowed himself to be dictated to by its structural and architectonic frame. Certain elements visually and illusionistically unite the two painted cycles: the background pilaster in the panel of *Melchior* is placed directly underneath the column in the *Flagellation* above. The small landscape with *Christ carrying the Cross* is precisely repeated below in the *Melchior* panel. The numerous figures are unusually large, placed close to the foreground plane,



filling the entire scene. There is little room for any progression into background space and for extraneous details. The objective was to render the figures as large as possible, in order that they might be seen from a greater distance, particularly since the chapel was once divided from the church. Salzedo intentionally painted the Magi as bulky giants (*colossi*), while Christ appears more delicate and slender.

Salzedo adhered to the strict, cohesive symmetry of the chapel. There is uniformity in its simplicity, both in the architecture and in the altarpiece. It appears that Catherine of Austria informed herself of current aesthetic trends imported from Italy and consciously applied these to the *capela mor*. *Decorum* and *gravitas* are emphasized throughout, in conformity with Counter-Reformation thought, but who advised and guided her? Could it have been the intellectual Spanish Ambassador, Juan de Borja, who was very close to the queen and who observed the building of the *capela mor* at every stage? Or was it Salzedo, who had lived for a considerable period in Rome? The models for the figures were adapted from contemporary Italian art, and the strong and even lighting projects a sense of realism and monumentality. The red, blue, and yellow palette is strident, emulating in certain areas the compositions and color schemes favored by such contemporaries as Parmigianino and Sebastiano del Piombo, whose altarpieces and paintings were avidly collected by Spanish nationals residing in Rome. Despite his erstwhile 'rival' Titian, Salzedo fulfilled Catherine's patronage requirements, and was equally able under pressure to complete the altarpiece within the queen's restrictive time frame. Despite Catherine's need for no time to be lost, his retable broke with tradition, innovatively keeping in line with Italianizing influences which appeared in Portuguese painting in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Salzedo, though obviously not of the caliber of Titian or del Piombo, nevertheless satisfied the queen's requirements, finding pictorial solutions which satisfied his demanding patron. The *capela mor* with the Salzedo altarpiece prefigured the stylistic and aesthetic tendencies that occurred slightly later (after 1576) at the court of Philip II, and which manifested itself at the Escorial monastery in the paintings and frescoes emulating the Roman school of painting by Pellegrino Tibaldi, Luca Cambiaso, Federigo Zuccaro and Romulo Cincinnato.<sup>81</sup>

### The Queen's Funeral and Exequies: February 1578

A rare account of Catherine's death and funeral ceremony, the only one to have survived, can be found in the Archivio Segreto in the Vatican. The Papal Nuncio in Portugal, Roberto Fontana, summarized these events in two letters he wrote to Cardinal Como in Rome on 7 February 1578. Catherine's health had deteriorated to such a degree that two days before she had been given the last rites. Then, in the early morning hours of February 6, according to Fontana, the queen died with great pain, passing into a better world: *'e questa notte è passata a miglior vita, con gran dolore.'*<sup>82</sup> King Sebastian was present and retired afterwards to the Convent of S. Francisco in Xabregas, as was the Cardinal Infante Henry, who went to the Madre de Deus convent adjacent to the queen's residence. Fontana further explained to Cardinal Como how the queen's sepulcher was located many leagues from Xabregas, in the *capela mor* of the Jerónimos monastery, which she had built for herself, her husband and her children: *'molti legati [...] la sua sepultura ella stessa già si le haveva preparata nelle Capella Maggiore della Chiesa di Belem monasterio di monache de S. Geronimo dove tuvo parimente quelle de suo Marito e figliuoli.'* On the morning and evening of February 6, processions and orations were held throughout the city of Lisbon. In his second letter, Fontana

relates how that same evening Catherine's body was carried to her sepulcher at Belém on a litter covered with black velvet, decorated with a white cross, in front of which marched many noblemen, courtiers and members of the Confraternity of the Misericórdia.<sup>83</sup> This group was followed by one hundred friars, each carrying a torch, and the royal family on horseback surrounding the funeral bier. Catherine's chief lady-in-waiting walked behind the bier, with the Archbishop Teotónio of Braganza and a great multitude of gentlemen and courtiers on horseback. Other participants, priests and clergymen went ahead to Belém, to wait at the door of the Jerónimos church for the arrival of the Count of Vimioso and three other principal officials of the realm. When Catherine's funeral procession arrived, the ceremony and offices began, lasting well past midnight. Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588), Catherine's spiritual advisor and confessor, delivered the principal sermon, which was well received by those present. In it Granada eulogized the virtues of the deceased queen, comparing her religiosity to that of a canonized saint: '*predicó [...] con gran encarecimiento de las virtudes de la Reina, que haya Gloria.*'<sup>84</sup>

In her own testament, Catherine of Austria requested that she be buried in her sepulcher with the 'accompaniment and funereal pomp normally observed for the burial of the kings and queens of this kingdom.'<sup>85</sup> Her sole concern was that her funeral exequies should not be excessive in display and spectacle; accordingly, as noted by the Castilian courtier in Lisbon Juan de Silva, although 'celebrated with pomp, they were less sumptuous than those observed at the Madrid court'.<sup>86</sup> Catherine of Austria was thus laid to rest in her splendid tomb with the same majesty, restraint and *decorum* with which she had lived her life. Her 'incomparable queenly virtues, pious soul and singular prudence' were praised and memorialized in her epitaph composed by André de Resende (see fig. 11).<sup>87</sup>

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### Illustrations

Fig. 1 Exterior view of the Jerónimos Monastery in Belém (Lisbon). The square box-like structure at the far right demarcates the *capela mor* built by Catherine of Austria. Photo: José António Silva.

Fig. 2 Floor plan of the Jerónimos church with the *capela mor* marked in the yellow box. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 3 Interior view of the Jerónimos church. View of the *capela mor* through the ornate Manueline nave. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 4 The tombs of John III (far left) and Catherine of Austria on the right side of the *capela mor* facing the altar. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 5 The *capela mor* built by Jerónimo de Ruão. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 6 Panel with grotesque in the arch next to Catherine of Austria's tomb after a Flemish model. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 7 View of Catherine of Austria's Tomb. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 8 Detail with one elephant caryatid holding Catherine of Austria's sarcophagus with tusks of real ivory. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 9 View of the pair of elephant caryatids of Catherine of Austria's tomb. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 10 View of Catherine of Austria's bronze royal crown resting above her sarcophagus. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 11 Catherine of Austria's epitaph written by André de Resende. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 12 Exterior view of the *capela mor*. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 13 The rear of the *capela mor* with its fortified, tower-like exterior in a style George Kubler dubbed the *estilo chão*. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 14 Francisco de Holanda, Drawing for a fountain projected for the ship dockyards of Lisbon (*Ribeira dos naos*) from *Da Fabrica que falece Lisboa*, 1571, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Ms.51-III-9, f. 18r.

Fig. 15 Battista Franco (ca. 1510-1568?), *Il Semolei, The Flagellation of Christ*, engraving after a lost Titian, Venice, 1568, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1874, 0808.369.

Fig. 16 Titian, *Transfiguration*, Church of San Salvador, Venice. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 17 Interior view of the Church of San Salvador with the main altar, Venice. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 18a-b Lourenço de Salzedo, main altarpiece (and detail), *Capela Mor*, Jerónimos Monastery, Belém. Photo: Luís Pavão.

<sup>1</sup> The queen's malaise and melancholy were compounded by the fact that Lisbon was besieged by the plague in 1569, in the worst epidemic to have struck Portugal in the sixteenth century. Catherine and the Portuguese court fled to cities along and across the Tagus River, moving between Vila Franca de Xira, Santarém and Alvito, residing outside of Lisbon for months.

<sup>2</sup> Consult Lowe 2000, pp. 226–48, for Leonor's cultural and religious patronage. More recently, the exhibition catalogue: *Casa Perfeitissima. 500 anos da Fundação do Monasterio da Madre de Deus* (Lisbon, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> For a copy of a letter written by Maximilian in 1517 to Leonor concerning these relics see Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda (hereafter BA), Ms. 51-VI-25, no. 7: *Carta do Emperador pera a Rainha dona Lianor sobre as reliquias que lhe inuiou*. See Bouza 1998, p. 52: '[...] en la Madre de Dios de Enxobregas hay cuerpos de santos.'



<sup>4</sup> Jordan 1985, pp. 16–18; Jordan Gschwend 1990, pp. 187–98.

<sup>5</sup> See Bouza 1998, p. 52, note 73 for a letter which describes Catherine's residence at Xabregas: '[...] *en un monasterio que hay fuera de aquí, de la misma orden, que se llama Madre de Dios de Enxobregas [...]. Y en medio está la casa donde la mia tía [Catherine of Austria] vivió y no la podré ver porque estan allí sus criados.*'

<sup>6</sup> Ferreira de Andrade 1990, pp. 21–23. On 18 August 1558 Catherine was granted a special Papal dispensation which allowed her to later build this door, giving her direct access to the Passion chapel. She was allowed to build such doors at other monasteries she frequented in Lisbon, such as the Esperança convent. Cf. *Corpo Diplomático Português*, vol. 8 (Lisbon, 1884), pp. 56–57: '*Bulla de penitenciaría à Rainha. Bulla Exigit Celsitaclinem: absolvendo a Rainha D. Catherina por ter aberto uma porta de seu hospício para o convento da Esperança, e dando lhe permissão que o possa fazer para outros conventos.*' Also Bouza 1998, p. 52, note 73: '*De allí dio en Xabregas, donde la serenísima Reyna de Portugal tiene su alcázar y sale por un corredor a oyr misa a una yglesia no grande, con sus damas, y el embajador de España [...].*'

<sup>7</sup> Juan de Borja, son of Francisco de Borja (a Spanish courtier who grew up with Catherine at Tordesillas), was ambassador to the Portuguese court from 1569 to 1575. He was a trusted confidant of the queen and in her 1578 codicil she left him the sum of 4,000 *cruzados* for his daughter's dowry. Borja was also active artistically during his Portuguese residency, enjoying the friendship of Francisco de Holanda. Borja, an amateur of emblems and *devisas*, published in Prague in 1581 a book entitled *Empresas Morales* which was partially conceived of during his residency at the Lisbon court.

<sup>8</sup> Catherine set into motion serious plans to consolidate her finances in Portugal in order to undertake her move to Spain. For letters which document her intentions see Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS). See especially the minute of a letter from Philip II to his ambassador Juan de Borja dated 12 May 1571, AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 388, f. 108 for the problems Catherine faced in taking her estate and monies to Spain, because her grandson Sebastian was her legal heir. At the same time, Catherine ordered research undertaken at the Habsburg family archives in Simancas to see which rents and properties were legally hers while a review of her 1524 marriage contract and capitulations was made. She wanted a copy of this contract sent to her to Lisbon. Cf. AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 388, f. 115 for the notarized court papers regarding Catherine's dowry and jewels dated 1525. As well as AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 390, f. 99. Also a letter from Juan de Borja to Philip II's secretary, Gabriel de Zayas, written from Lisbon (22 May 1571), AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, ff. 162 and 160, concerns Catherine's estate in 1570 which the ambassador found to be very modest in income: '[...] *no he podido entender lo cierto en lo que toca a dineros y a joyas y los demas muebles son pocos [...]*,' and f. 172, Borja to Zayas (12 June 1571): '*ya escrevi a v.m. como lo que sabia de la açienda de la Reyna era que la Renta seran como sesenta mil ducados, las joyas no se si llegaron a çiento y çinquenta mil, lo que se sabe la demas Recamara es poca cosa [...].*'

<sup>9</sup> The exchange of letters between Philip II, Juan de Borja and Catherine of Austria, regarding where she should retire to in Spain are in AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 387, f. 21 (21 August 1570); AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 388, f. 216 (29 August 1570). Also Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional of Portugal (hereafter BNP), Cod. 8570, ff. 143–144v, *De como a Rainha Dona Catherina se queria ir agravada destes Reynos pera Castella.*

<sup>10</sup> See AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, f. 91 (1571) for a letter Catherine addressed to Sebastian justifying her reasons for moving to Spain. She complained to Sebastian that he never resided in Lisbon when she did, and that she preferred to bury herself (*enterrarse viva*) in a convent rather than continue the tense relationship they cultivated.

<sup>11</sup> Moreira 1987.

<sup>12</sup> Lunenfeld 1977, pp. 57–78.

<sup>13</sup> Lunenfeld 1977, p. 69.

<sup>14</sup> Eichberger 2005.

<sup>15</sup> Lawrence 1997, p. 17; Carpin 1997, pp. 39–40.

<sup>16</sup> Brantôme 1991, p. 511. Also King 1991, pp. 188–193.

<sup>17</sup> King 1991, p. 182.

<sup>18</sup> DGARQ, NA 792, f. 193v (1543).

<sup>19</sup> For more on Catherine's religious patronage see Jordan Gschwend 2010, pp. 215–38.

(<http://artey sociedad.blogs.uva.es/files/2012/09/13-JORDAN.pdf>).

<sup>20</sup> Moreira 1987.

- <sup>21</sup> Jordan Gschwend 2009, pp. 32–42.
- <sup>22</sup> Thomaz 1991, pp. 35–103.
- <sup>23</sup> Jordan Gschwend 1992, pp. 70–90; Deswarte-Rosa 1996, pp. 157–98; Oriol e Trindade 2008, pp. 459–533.
- <sup>24</sup> Sousa Viterbo 1988, pp. 419–24; Jordan 1994, Part Two: Appendix 6, cats. 11, 13, 15–18, 20.
- <sup>25</sup> DGARQ, CC I, maço 109, doc. 40; DGARQ, CC II, maço 248, doc. 23. Cf. Sousa Viterbo 1988, pp. 419–24.
- <sup>26</sup> Kubler 1972, pp. 63–64.
- <sup>27</sup> DGARQ, CC II, maço 248, doc. 80. Cf. Sousa Viterbo 1988, pp. 423–24; Alves 1991, pp. 183–84.
- <sup>28</sup> DGARQ, CC I, maço 29, doc. 47; DGARQ, CC I, maço 109, docs. 42 and 55; DGARQ, CC II, maço 248, doc. 38; DGARQ, Torre do Tombo, Ms. da Livraria, Ms. 729, ch. 26, f. 597v.
- <sup>29</sup> Carvalho 1990, pp. 181–84; Alves 1991, pp. 191–95.
- <sup>30</sup> One pachyderm had broken during production or transportation and was immediately replaced.
- <sup>31</sup> Oriol e Trindade 2008, pp. 459–533.
- <sup>32</sup> BA, Ms. 46-X-22, f. 77v.
- <sup>33</sup> AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 387, f. 21 (12 August 1570).
- <sup>34</sup> AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 388, f. 216 (29 August 1570) and f. 225 (20 December 1570).
- <sup>35</sup> Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (hereafter BNP), Reservados, Cod. 8920 (1571); London, British Library (hereafter BL), Additional Mss., ff. 61–65, for letters the city municipality (*camâra*) of Lisbon wrote the queen about her wish to move to Castile.
- <sup>36</sup> Among them, the Hieronymite monastery at Vale Bemfeito near Obidós, the Dominican convent of Pedrogão Grande, the convent of São Francisco in Faro, and the churches of Santa Catarina and S. Domingos in Lisbon. In a letter to Pope Pius IV, Catherine told him of the special devotion she and John III had for the Convent of Santa Cruz in Coimbra. See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Barb. Lat. 9920, f. 213 (Lisbon, 8 October 1564): *‘[o rei] a que tinha singular devoção [to the Santa Cruz convent] como eu tenho.’*
- <sup>37</sup> Moreira 1987, pp. 16–18.
- <sup>38</sup> BNP, Colecção Pombalina 686, ff. 803–822: *‘Treslado do Compromisso das Capellas da Rainha D. Catharina tirado do original que está no Torre do Tombo donde está seu testamento. Trata da doação feita ao Convento de Belem para sustenção de 20 Merceeiros.’*
- <sup>39</sup> Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter BNE), Ms. 474. This religious tract personally written by Osório has never been studied and remains unpublished. Also Jordan 1994, pp. 136–150; Jordan Gschwend 2001, pp. 60–68.
- <sup>40</sup> Over the years a number of gifts had been given by Catherine of Austria to the Jerónimos monastery in Belém. She donated reliquaries (in a silver-gilt coffer), costly ornaments and religious objects (a miraculous cult statue of Our Lady of Ajuda and a St. Sebastian) which were later listed in the monastery’s inventories in the seventeenth century. Other objects perhaps associated with the queen (a silver-gilt cross, chalice and various church vestments possibly embroidered by Catherine) are in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (Lisbon). For a summarized discussion of all these objects see Moreira 1987, p. 21.
- <sup>41</sup> Jordan 1994, p. 27, note 66; Jordan Gschwend 2001, p. 62, note 129. See also *Noticia da fundação do convento da Madre de Deos de Lisboa das religiosas descalças da primeira regra de Nossa Madre de Santa Clara...*, located in the library of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Estante 74, no. 2, ff. 26–27r. Other generous donations made by the queen to the Madre de Deus convent included, in 1565, large-scale portraits of herself and John III in prayer and devotion by Cristóvão Lopes and in 1574 several organs. Sometime before Catherine’s death in 1578, she gave the convent a number of important relics, including two heads of the 11,000 Virgin Martyrs, and curtains of gray silk embroidered with gold she had sewn herself for the tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament. This latter gift is noted in the above *Noticia...*, f. 27r: *‘[a]inda estroutro dia soube que fizera a Senhora Raynha [Catherine of Austria] com suas maos as cortinas do Santissimo Sacramento de retros Pardo, lavrado de ouro.’*
- <sup>42</sup> Segurado 1970, pp. 330–333; Deswarte-Rosa 1987, pp. 147–83.
- <sup>43</sup> Moreira 1981, p. 98.
- <sup>44</sup> Hecksher 1947, pp. 155–82.
- <sup>45</sup> Jordan 1985, p. 30.

- <sup>46</sup> Jordan 1985, pp. 56–57.
- <sup>47</sup> Jordan Gschwend 2009, p. 34.
- <sup>48</sup> Jordan Gschwend 2010b.
- <sup>49</sup> Hirsch 2001, p. 3; Jordan Gschwend and Beltz 2010.
- <sup>50</sup> Jordan Gschwend 1991, pp. 121–26.
- <sup>51</sup> Felicidade Alves 1984; Jordan 1985, p. 17, note 38 and pp. 121–22.
- <sup>52</sup> Baptista Pereira 1986, pp. 53–66.
- <sup>53</sup> Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 346 x 240 cm, inv. no. 432. (<http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/la-gloria/>).
- <sup>54</sup> Vasari 1881, p. 453; Chiari 1982, p. 29.
- <sup>55</sup> Bohde 2001, pp. 450–72.
- <sup>56</sup> Another Venetian painter, Tintoretto, is recorded as having purchased Catherine of Austria's *Flagellation* at the auction of the contents of Titian's workshop after 1576. Whether the *Flagellation* was ever completed and what became of this painting is not known.
- <sup>57</sup> Paris, Musée des Art Décoratifs, inv. no. PE 243. For more on this portrait consult Jordan 1994b, p. 88, fig. 51.
- <sup>58</sup> Jordan 2005, pp. 91–113.
- <sup>59</sup> 'Patterns of Patronage among Habsburg Queens, Regents and Princesses,' in Jordan 1994, pp. 417–31. For more on Habsburg women, their courts and collections in the sixteenth century see: <http://habsburgsintherenaissance.blogspot.ch/>.
- <sup>60</sup> DGARQ, NA 792, f. 95v, for unspecified goods the Portuguese factor in Flanders sent the queen in 1538.
- <sup>61</sup> Serrão 2003, p. 252, argues for Catherine's '*gusto romanista*' and her taste for things Italian (specifically Roman) throughout her reign. However, in the queen's inventories and related documents this cannot be corroborated, and Serrão's assertion that Catherine purchased engravings and works of art in Rome is not documented.
- <sup>62</sup> Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV), Segreteria di Stato, Portogallo, 3, ff. 32–33v.
- <sup>63</sup> The complexities regarding Catherine's search for a suitable painter were first outlined in Bouza 1998b, pp. 77–78. Subsequently taken up by Serrão 2000, pp. 17–77; Serrão 2003, pp. 249–65.
- <sup>64</sup> Moser 1950, pp. 27–31; Serrão 2003, pp. 249–65.
- <sup>65</sup> Franco 1992, pp. 70–71.
- <sup>66</sup> The queen wrote a total of three letters to Rome in 1571 requesting her ambassador buy high-quality paints.
- <sup>67</sup> Two letters in BA, cited in Jordan 2000, pp. 285–86, note 56.
- <sup>68</sup> AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, ff. 172–73 (12 June 1571).
- <sup>69</sup> AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, f. 58 (7 July 1571).
- <sup>70</sup> See AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, f. 59, for a response with a marginal note made by Philip II: '*Justo sera bolver a remediar esto y aun a castigarlo.*' In short: the need to remedy this unfortunate situation and to punish the customs officer for his blunder.
- <sup>71</sup> AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 390, f. 94, letter from Borja to Zayas (9 January 1572).
- <sup>72</sup> AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 390, f. 10 (July 25, 1572), f. 27 (7 September 1572), f. 33 (23 October 1572), f. 120 (29 October 1572) and ff. 121–22 (10 December 1572): '*estando para partirse este correo vino a mi posada el secretario de la Reyna y me dio esta escrivania para V. M. la qual le embia su Alteza por señal de agradecimiento que tiene del cuydado que V. M. tiene en lo que toca a su servicio.*'
- <sup>73</sup> Minute of a letter from Philip II to Catherine, in AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 392, f. 204 (19 September 1575): '*y tambien recibi mucha merçed y contentamiento con los corporales y palios para sanct lorençio [El Escorial], que por ser tan pulidos y de mano de V. A. los he tenido en lo que es razon y las beso a V. Alteza muchas vezes por ellos.*'
- <sup>74</sup> AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, f. 91 (1571).
- <sup>75</sup> BNP, Reservados, Cod. 8570, f. 144v.
- <sup>76</sup> AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 392, f. 175 (18 July 1575): '*en çiertas casas y aposiento en que la reyna doña leonor my tia vivio.*'

<sup>77</sup> AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 390, f. 117 (28 October 1572).

<sup>78</sup> Jordan 2005, pp. 155–80.

<sup>79</sup> Serrão 2003, p. 252 and p. 264. There is no documentation, however, which confirms Catherine of Austria brought Salzedo to her court in 1564 to work as her painter or portraitist.

<sup>80</sup> Tanner 1993, pp. 183–222. In 1565 Catherine commissioned from the Lisbon court painter Cristóvão Lopes two life-size portraits of herself and the late King John III at prayer, which she donated to the Convent of Madre de Deus. These portraits, which hung facing the main altar of the Madre de Deus church in adoration of the Eucharist, not only express the *pietas* and devotion of the Portuguese monarchs, but were also visual reaffirmations of the queen's own fidelity to the Habsburg notions of *Pietas Austriaca* cultivated by her and other members of the dynasty. For more on these devotional portraits see Jordan 1994b, pp. 136–50.

<sup>81</sup> For the immense interest Philip II showed in the building and construction of his aunt Catherine's *capela mor* consult Serrão 2000, pp. 29–34. The Spanish king went so far as to request a drawing of the Jerónimos monastery in 1568 (Serrão 2000, p. 21).

<sup>82</sup> The date of Catherine's death in the scholarship has invariably and erroneously been given as 12 February 1578. Cf. ASV, Segretaria di Stato, Portogallo, 1, f. 61v.

<sup>83</sup> ASV, Segretaria di Stato, Portogallo, 1, f. 63 (8 February 1578).

<sup>84</sup> Excerpt of a letter written by Juan de Silva to Philip II (April 1578) cited in Llanos y Torriglia 1923, p. 90, note 118, while a copy of Granada's speech sent by Cardinal Infante Henry to the Spanish king has not survived. Cf. Resina Rodrigues 1988, p. 578.

<sup>85</sup> '*Testamento e codycillo da Rainha Catarina que Deus tem [...]*,' in *As Gavetas*, 6 (1967), p. 10.

<sup>86</sup> Resina Rodrigues 1988, p. 578: '*a pesar de su innegable pompa, se revistió de un aparato menor que lo habitual en la corte de Madrid, en idénticas circunstancias.*'

<sup>87</sup> Resende's inscription reads: *CATHERINA PHILLIP I CASTEL REGIS F. JOANNIS III LUSITAN. REGIS. P. F. INVICTI CONIUX MAGNI ANIMI PLECTATIS EXIMIO PRUDENTIA SINGULARIS ET INCOMPARABILIS EXEMPLI REGINA H. S. E.*



## IV

# Habsburgs and Muslims

# Europe's Turkish Nemesis

**Larry Silver** (University of Pennsylvania)

Americans who lived through the Cold War with the Soviet Union from World War II until the late twentieth century probably can well imagine from the Iron Curtain what life was like across the Christian-Muslim frontier during the sixteenth century. Ever since the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, threats from both military attack as well as ideological war against the alien religion of Islam preoccupied the consciousness and created a climate of fear in European Christian states. Nowhere was this anxiety concerning the rival superpower greater than within the loose German-speaking confederation known as the Holy Roman Empire, led by Habsburg emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519).<sup>1</sup> Indeed the eventual frontier between Catholics and Muslims, established after the battle of Mohács in Hungary (1526), still coincides almost exactly with the modern, hostile frontier between Catholic Croatia and Orthodox Serbia (Catholics who remained behind the Ottoman lines were forced to convert to Islam and became the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina).



Fig. 1 Map of the Danube, by Willem and Johann Blaeu, *Novus Atlas* (Amsterdam, 1636).

In an atlas map of the Danube watershed, produced by Johann Blaeu in Amsterdam during the 1630s we see this confrontation institutionalized around the image caption (fig. 1). Here this heightened awareness of both a political and religious frontier, manned against a mysterious and foreign enemy at the border, is personified by the confrontation of two pairs of figures. On one side, the east, a sultan with an elaborate turban brandishes his scimitar above a round shield with the crescent moon of Islam. His female companion, surely an allegory of the Muslim faith, stands contemptuously upon a crucifix and dispenses the exotic scent of incense; but she is scantily clad in a revealingly low-cut dress, certainly is not a figure to admire. In case the viewer missed these obvious visual cues, a noxious toad rests on the ground between these Ottoman personifications. By contrast,

on the western side of the standoff, a handsome bearded ruler figure in armor steadfastly confronts this enemy with a broadsword. His shield displays the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire, and his crown resembles the official *Bügelkrone*; complementing his orb of office, he wears the exclusive pendant of the noble Order of the Golden Fleece, headed by the Habsburgs. His female companion, who personifies the Christian religion, holds her crucifix upright and wears a distinctly modest gown.

Throughout the sixteenth century Turks were regarded in apocalyptic terms by leading Christian thinkers as a scourge of God. This attitude began early: we can already find it prominently advanced in Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (1494).<sup>2</sup> In Chapter 99, 'Of the Decline of the Faith,' Brant intones about Christendom,

At first the cruel heretic  
did tear and wound it to the quick  
and then Mohammed shamefully  
abused its noble sanctity  
with heresy and base intent. [...]  
So strong the Turks have grown to be  
they hold the ocean not alone,  
the Danube too is now their own,  
they make their inroads when they will,  
bishoprics, churches, suffer ill [...]

But the poet places his trust in the young Emperor-elected to be the antidote,

The noble Maximilian,  
he merits well the Roman crown.  
They'll surely come into his hand,  
the Holy Earth, the Promised Land.

Many of the woodcut illustrations in Brant's popular volume were designed by the young Albrecht Dürer, the same artist who produced some of the earliest German images of Ottoman Turks. Beginning with his first visit to Venice in 1494, Dürer turned his omnivorous gaze to the substantial community of Turkish visitors, documenting their exotic dress.<sup>3</sup> He seriously engaged with this unfamiliar nationality, which had such a strong trade presence in Venice, and his curiosity resulted in a series of drawings that emphasize distinctive costumes.<sup>4</sup> Some of these colored drawings of 'orientals' by Dürer survive in copies, indicating their importance as models, used for later reference by his many followers and credited with an on-site accuracy. However, several of these drawings actually derive, not from studies of costumed models, but rather from earlier artworks by local Venetian painters, particularly Gentile Bellini, who had even visited Istanbul earlier on a diplomatic mission (figs. 2-3).<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 2 Albrecht Dürer, *Three Turkish Men*, ca. 1495.



Fig. 3 Gentile Bellini, *Procession in Piazza San Marco*, 1496, detail of three Turkish men in background, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

Other Dürer drawings expressly focus on the military trappings and skills of Turkish soldiers, specifically their archery (fig. 4). This other preoccupation—a focus on Turks as formidable military enemies—would strongly inflect not only Dürer’s own presentations but also those of many of his later German followers.



Fig. 4 Albrecht Dürer, *Oriental family of an ottoman archer*, 1496, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana.



Fig. 5 Albrecht Dürer, *Oriental Ruler seated on his Throne*, ca. 1496/97), Washington, National Gallery.



Fig. 6 Albrecht Dürer, *Apocalypse Series*, 1497, pl. 2: *Torture of St. John the Evangelist*.

In the wake of his 1494 visit to Venice, Dürer also produced a drawing study (fig. 5) for an uncompleted engraving: an *Oriental Ruler Seated on his Throne* (ca. 1496/97).<sup>6</sup> In this fantasy image any first-hand experience of Turks in Venice is overwhelmed by an intimidating suggestion of both power and majesty as well as stern menace. Details of this exotic foreign costume still preoccupy the artist. A distinctive crowned turban (probably imaginary) marks the royal rank and status of this



frontal, enthroned figure; its encrusted round jewels are echoed on his princely robes, highlighted by an enormous necklace with pendant.<sup>7</sup> Exotic details of the costume speak to its ‘Asiatic’ character: fringes added to the robe as well as the footwear of sandals beneath it. Both power and authority of this ruler are conveyed, respectively, by a huge, two-handed battle sword in his right hand and by an orb in his left. While akin to the ceremonial orb of the Holy Roman Empire, which Dürer’s home town of Nuremberg proudly guarded, the orb in the drawing significantly lacks the surmounting cross of imperial Christian regalia. The threatening authority of this bearded potentate is further enhanced by his stern and menacing facial expression; despite his formal frontality, his glowering eyes turn away to scowl obliquely out of the frame, as a kind of negative inversion of holy icons of the face of Jesus.<sup>8</sup> This image clearly does not record a portrait of any particular Ottoman sultan; instead, it uses a figure of authority to personify the perceived threat of Turkish Islam to Christendom. Indeed, Dürer would soon adapt this enthroned orientalist ruler as the persecuting emperor Domitian in the woodcut scene of the *Martyrdom of St. John*, the first illustration of his 1498 publication of the *Apocalypse* (fig. 6).



Fig. 7 Albrecht Dürer, Sultan Süleyman, 1526, Bayonne, Musée Bonnat.



Fig. 8 Anonymous, Sultan Süleyman, ca. 1530/40, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

At the end of his career Dürer produced a very different image of a Turkish ruler, the profile ‘portrait’ of ruling Sultan Süleyman (monogrammed and dated 1526, see fig. 7), in the artist’s favored medium for portrait drawings, silverpoint.<sup>9</sup> Its profile presentation suggests that the German artist had access to an existing portrait prototype, almost surely derived from a Venetian painter, in the form of a medal.<sup>10</sup> In fact, a specific source survives: a silver medal in which the profile faces the opposite way but with the bust truncated at the same point of the chest and shoulders. There the sultan wears the same turban as in Dürer’s silverpoint, and he is identified by an inscription in the block Latin letters, ‘SULEYMAN.CAESAR ‘TURCARUM / MELECK. ET. ARAB. TURC.’<sup>11</sup> Both the medal of Süleyman and the Dürer profile drawing present the same distinctive long neck and prominent nose

and lips. Around a decade later a Venetian painter close to Titian painted a bust-length portrait of a young, mustachioed Sultan Süleyman in the same orientation as Dürer (ca. 1530/40; see fig. 8), presumably using the same visual source.<sup>12</sup>



Fig. 9 Albrecht Dürer, *The Martyrdom of Ten Thousand*, 1508, oil on panel, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Fig. 10 Albrecht Dürer, *The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, ca. 1497/98, woodcut.

In 1508, in response to a commission by one of his principal courtly patrons, Frederick the Wise of Saxony, Dürer painted an image to commemorate martyrs' relics in the prince's extensive religious collection at Wittenberg. For this image, Dürer again cast the Turks as sadistic persecutors for the narrative, *The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* (1508, fig. 9).<sup>13</sup> In this early Christian subject from the Middle East, the Persian king Sapor, acting on command of Emperor Diocletian of Rome, slaughtered the Christians of Bithynia (343 C.E.). Dürer had depicted this same subject already appeared a decade earlier in a woodcut (ca. 1497/98; fig. 10). In both compositions, Christians are cruelly tortured to death, tossed from cliffs by turbaned conquerors. In the painting, however, the martyrs' imitation of Christ is emphasized by two figures on crosses and a third standing awaiting execution; two wear crowns of thorns like Christ in the Passion, a clear medieval allusion to martyrdom and sainthood as an *imitatio Christi*, but now with the oppressors represented as Turks. Opposite, in the lower right corner, both standing and mounted figures with distinctive beards, complex turbans and colorful robes clearly conflate the ancient king, through dress, to the modern Turks. His sinister commands thus become fused with those of the implacable religious enemies of Dürer's own day.

In addition, the painting also took on more personal significance for the artist, who included his own self-portrait as a darkly clad witness in the center, inscribing himself expressly as 'Albrecht Dürer, German' (*Alberto Dürer aleman*), to link his identity still closer to his patron, an Elector of the Empire and the leading lieutenant to Emperor Maximilian. He also included a friend, plausibly

identified with the recently deceased poet laureate of the Empire, Conrad Celtis. Thus, Dürer fuses past with present and assimilates modern Ottomans onto historic persecutions of Christians in the Levant.<sup>14</sup>

The year 1529 marked the climax of the ongoing conflict between the forces of Holy Roman Empire and their enemies, the Ottoman Turks, then poised in siege at the gates of Vienna after an unbroken string of victories in the Balkans and along the Danube (a series highlighted by Belgrade 1521, Mohács and Buda, 1526). Not only did the advance of the armies of Sultan Süleyman pose an immediate threat to the Habsburg rulers in their traditional capital, but ultimately the siege undermined their own Christian claims to universal monarchy, claims implicit to the title of ‘Holy Roman Emperor.’ This peril was actually redoubled by the contemporary ‘odd couple’ alliance, especially after 1530, between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs’ mortal enemy in Europe, King Francis I of France, an alliance that encompassed commercial privileges, non-aggression pacts, and culminated in coordinated military campaigns (1536-37).<sup>15</sup> Taken together, this period of political tension heightened national self-consciousness in Germany of the Empire as the ultimate bulwark against further Turkish incursion.



Fig. 11 Nicolaus Meldemann, *Circular View of the City of Vienna at the Time of the First Turkish Siege in 1529*, eight sheet woodcut, 1530.

The Siege of Vienna in 1529, a momentous event at the Habsburg capital that turned back the tide of Turkish advances into continental Europe, received careful documentation in the form of a large (81.2 x 85.6 cm.) multi-sheet commemorative woodcut, designed by Dürer’s follower Sebald Beham and printed in Nuremberg by Nicolaus Meldemann from six blocks (1530) (fig. 11).<sup>16</sup> The work had an official imprimatur, a privilege granted by the Nuremberg city council. The printmaker prized reportorial accuracy of battle details; topographical accuracy was emphasized as well, with all the views based on careful studies taken from the great tower of St. Stephen’s cathedral in the heart of the city. To document fully the defense against the troops of the Turks, the print shows the city at the pictorial center; the siege itself outside the city walls is seen in the round from an elevated, bird’s-eye viewpoint above the central cathedral tower.<sup>17</sup> This composite image visualizes actual troop movements, tents, and artillery explosions characteristic of contemporary practices of warfare.



In the process, Beham's woodcut celebrates victory over Turkish invaders—even as it participates in the vogue for printed images of military documentaries.

Meldemann's local rival as publisher of woodcut broadsheets in Nuremberg, Hans Guldenmundt, made his own commemoration of the great event as a pamphlet with text by local poet Hans Sachs and prints by Sebald Beham, as *The Three Besiegers of Vienna*. His procession series of Turkish officers and soldiers included archers, armed spahis (roughly akin to European knights), and earnest profile equestrian portraits of Turks on horses. These Turkish besiegers were led by Sultan Süleyman himself, plus his principal counselor Ibrahim Pasha and General Sansaco.<sup>18</sup> The source for these images stemmed from an earlier suite of five woodcuts, produced in the Netherlands by Jan Swart of Groningen and dated 1526, the high water mark of Ottoman conquests along the Danube.<sup>19</sup> These images thus held contemporary pertinence as newsworthy while also catering to the ongoing fascination with Turkish costume, particularly headwear, as well as their exotic weapons and battlefield instruments (trumpet, bagpipe, and high-pitched shawm). The sultan himself (fig. 12) appears in profile at the center, riding on horseback, accompanied by a lone foot-soldier and labeled '*Solimanus imperator Turcharum*' with the date. Other mounted triads, variously dressed, are also labeled as 'Mamelukes,' 'Arabs,' and 'heathens,' respectively.



Fig. 12 Sebald Beham, The Turkish Sultan Süleyman, woodcut published with the pamphlet *The Three Besiegers of Vienna*.

A darker side of Turks at war was produced in 1530 by Hans Guldenmundt at Nuremberg as a woodcut series for opinion formation and rallying of imperial troops in revenge for alleged atrocities in and around Vienna. Images, attributed to Erhard Schoen but freely adapted from Swart, now show mounted Turkish warriors leading pairs of captive Christians on foot with a rope around their necks; verses by Hans Sachs describe their cruel conditions.<sup>20</sup> Even worse is the baby carried by one of them on his spear. The text laments how 'the evil, gruesome Turk' has killed children, stolen sheep and cattle, burned down homes, and condemned Christian captives to slavery, pulling plows like animals. Worse still is the 1530 Guldenmundt/Schoen broadsheet woodcut collaboration recounting the



threat to civilians by Turks on the outskirts of the Vienna Woods, showing them killing babies by impaling them on stakes or slicing them with scimitars (fig. 13).<sup>21</sup> Here the Sachs poem reads:

Oh Lord God on the highest throne,  
 look at this great misery,  
 the Turkish raging tyrant  
 has carried out in the Vienna Woods,  
 murdering virgins and wives,  
 cutting children in half,  
 and impaling them on pikes [...]
   
 Oh, our shepherd Jesus Christ [...]
   
 save us from the hand of the Turk.

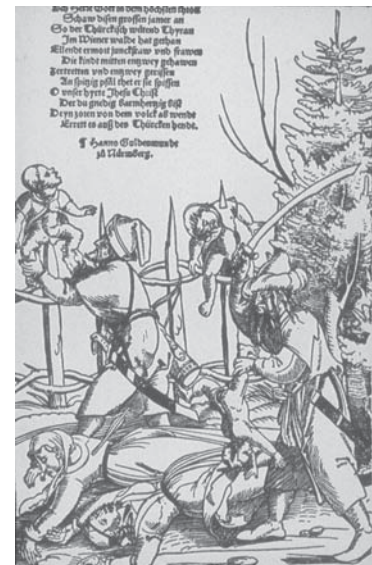


Fig. 13 Erhard Schoen, Turkish Atrocities, woodcut, published by Hans Guldenmundt in Nuremberg, 1530.

No friend to either papacy or Empire, Martin Luther declared in his preface to the *Book of Revelation* (1530; published in 1546) that the Turks were a scourge sent by God to chasten Christians on the eve of the apocalypse:

Here, now the devil's final wrath gets to work: there in the East is the second woe. Mohammed and the Saracens, here in the West are papacy and empire with the third woe. To these is added for good measure the Turk, Gog and Magog [...] Thus Christendom is plagued most terribly and miserably, everywhere and on all sides, with false doctrines and with wars, with scroll and with sword.<sup>22</sup>

But for the current emperor, defender of Christendom, the ongoing contest against the Turk was conceived as a crusade, so after Vienna in 1529, Emperor Charles V looked for an opportunity to go on the offensive and reverse Turkish conquests in mainland Europe. In doing so, he could reassert his imperial status as well as his leadership of the Christian faith. He got his opportunity in 1535, when he led a campaign from his base in Spain against the fortified city of Goleta near Tunis. The 1535 campaign in the Maghreb combated Berber corsair Kheir-ed-Din (known in the Christian west as 'Barbarossa'), admiral of the Turks in the Mediterranean. Equipped with four hundred ships and some thirty thousand soldiers, Charles V had set out to stop Muslim raids on Christian shipping and to secure maritime dominance over the Sultan's fleets. Francis I of France, Charles V's nemesis, was supplying Barbarossa with arms while treating with Sultan Süleyman (thus forging an alliance between the two principal enemies of the Empire). The proximate cause of war was Barbarossa's deposing of King Mulay Hasan of Tunis, a nominal vassal of the emperor. Andrea Doria of Genoa commanded the imperial fleet; land forces served under Alfonso d'Avalos, marquis of Vasto.

Commemorating and celebrating that (short-lived) victory, the emperor was later presented with a suite of tapestries, the most costly and luxurious of all media. Using the same panoramic

design as an earlier tapestry cycle, celebrating the military spectacle of the 1525 *Battle of Pavia* (a glorious 1525 victory over the French in Italy), designed for Charles V at the behest of Margaret of Austria by her court artist, Bernart van Orley. This twelve-part set on the *Conquest of Tunis* was woven in Brussels by Willem de Pannemaker (1549–54) after designs by Dutch artist Jan Vermeyen (who had been embedded with the invading troops, like recent American journalists in Iraq), probably with the help of experienced tapestry designer Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1546–50).<sup>23</sup>

In terms of documentary validity, this tapestry suite offered a mixture of careful observations, especially of costumes and settings, even as it conveyed a fully realized propaganda message. The climax of the conflict was the month-long siege of the fort of Goleta (which protected Tunis) and the subsequent sack of the capital. Particularly careful topographical renderings of the city of Tunis include mosques and city walls. Further details include ancient ruins of Carthage, especially the prominent aqueducts, seen from different angles in successive tapestries, as well as the distinctive Mediterranean oared galleys, marked by their triangular, lateen-rigged sails. Moreover, the entire series begins with an aerial map of the entire Mediterranean basin, seen from the vantage point of Barcelona, with Africa at the top. The documentary character of these tapestries is further emphasized by the inclusion of text histories in two languages; longer passages in Castilian at the top, shorter Latin verses at the bottom.<sup>24</sup> As if to assure the images' documentary claims, Vermeyen even included a self-portrait while drawing in the field into the design of *The Sack of Tunis*. He also appears in the initial map panel, where a full-length self-portrait figure stands beside a tablet with the proud declaration: 'The course of events is represented in this work as exactly as possible the action is treated in this tapestry according to nature, all that concerns cosmography leaving nothing to be desired.'<sup>25</sup>



Fig. 14 Willem de Pannemaker after Jan C. Vermeyen, *The Quest for Fodder*, Sixth tapestry of the *Conquest of Tunis* series (including ancient ruins of Carthage), Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional.

According to Hendrick Horn, Vermeyen distinguishes between the Maghrebi 'Moors', and their Turkish allies, and he even subdivides the former group into the more urban Arabs and the nomadic Berbers. Both groups of turbaned Moors are shown more sympathetically than the Turkish

warriors, Janissaries, in their pointed caps, who fought for Barbarossa and are shown in several tapestries as head-hunters. These varied groups are especially evident across the foreground of several works, notably the sixth tapestry, *The Quest for Fodder* (fig. 14). Mulay Hassan and his retinue of Moorish allies of Charles V also appear, across the foreground of the *Fall of Tunis*.

Like Vermeyen, carefully producing costume studies and landscape topographies in Tunisia, the artistically trained nobleman Melchior Lorichs of Flensburg was another Northerner who exploited his privileged role in an imperial entourage to gain access to the Islamic world. Lorichs went to the Ottoman capital of Istanbul as a member of the Holy Roman Empire's entourage to the court of Süleyman under ambassador Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1554–62), the same individual credited with importing the tulip into Europe from Turkey.<sup>26</sup> He served as the ambassador's eyes for the military capacities and resources of the Ottomans, and published several treatises (1568, 1574) concerning the dangers that the Turkish army posed to Christian Europe. Yet Lorichs also produced the most meticulous on-site studies of the people and buildings of Constantinople by any European visitor during the sixteenth century.



Fig. 15 Melchior Lorichs, *Byzantium sive Constantineopolis* (View of Istanbul), 1559, two sections, Leiden, University Library.

From the high ground of Galata (the part of the city opposite the Golden Horn from what is now called the Old City), Lorichs made a vast yet careful sepia and black ink panorama of Istanbul (Leiden, University Library, 45 x 1.127,5 cm; now divided into twenty-one sections; see fig. 15).<sup>27</sup> This panorama, obviously composed out of separate studies from various positions, records the city skyline, including not only the dominating domes and minarets of mosques but also ancient Roman memorial columns, palaces, caravanserais, gates, and city walls. Ships of all sizes and shapes, including European carracks as well as Levantine vessels with lateen-rigged sails, fill the crowded waterways. Inscriptions label the points of interest in two different colors of sepia ink, though written in a single hand. Near the center of the ensemble appears an idealized self-portrait; a well-dressed, youthful European in dark costume seen from the back, prepares to write or draw on an extended scroll similar to the one today at Leiden. He dips his quill into an elaborate goblet-like inkwell that is held for him by a turbaned Turk (fig. 16).





Fig. 16 Melchior Lorichs, Section with an ideal self-portrait of the author at the center of *Byzantium sive Constantineopolis*, 1559, Leiden, University Library.



Fig. 17 Melchior Lorichs, Sultan Süleyman's Mosque, 1570, woodcut.

Lorichs also produced a woodcut, monogrammed and dated 1570 (fig. 17), of the great mosque complex, the Süleymaniye, that the architect Sinan had recently built (1550–57) for Sultan Süleyman.<sup>28</sup> Scholars have suggested that this print lacks both the clarity and the accuracy of the skyline drawings made on site, but such distortions may have been intentional efforts on the part of the artist to convey the grandeur of the complex to an audience that had never actually seen it. Lorichs' print furthermore suggests a momentous historical event by placing in the sky above the mosque both gathering storm clouds as well as a glowing star with a tail, like the 'comets' and other ominous celestial apparitions associated with earthly catastrophes or conflicts in contemporary German cosmology.<sup>29</sup> To many Europeans, the architectural splendor of this complex would have been compromised by the source of its funding, tribute amassed through conquest and colonization of Christian-ruled territories, so this may be Lorichs' way of accommodating his western audiences.

Lorichs' careful drawings of both male and female costumes served as studies for his later woodcut illustrations and were composed with clear graphic syntax of parallel and cross hatching that indicates that he was thinking from the outset about reproduction in printed form. In fact, Lorichs planned a large edition of woodcut illustrations based upon his on-site drawings in Turkey. Blocks were cut from these designs in 1565, 1570, 1575 and 1576, but even though a title page was produced (1575) the planned publication was never completed.<sup>30</sup> A small, reduced version of this volume appeared in Antwerp in 1574 (published by Gillis Coppens van Diest, who also published the first atlas, Abraham Ortelius's, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 1570) under the title, *Soldan Soleyman Turckischen Khaysers... Whare und eigentliche contrafectung und bildtnuss* (Sultan Süleyman, A True and Real Facsimile and Portrait of the Turkish Emperor). One drawing (monogrammed and dated 1557, Paris, Louvre) shows a richly caparisoned dromedary camel, striding through a landscape with a royal drummer on his back pounding his instrument, presumably to announce the advent of the sultan behind him.<sup>31</sup> This image was produced as a reversed woodcut in 1576. The artist also produced other drawings of distinctive, sometimes historical, German costumes, that were probably intended for a companion volume of European costumes, akin to contemporary costume books like Cesare Vecellio's (Venice, 1590) or Abraham de Bruyn's (Antwerp 1577).<sup>32</sup>





Fig. 18 Melchior Lorichs, Portrait of Süleyman the Magnificent, 1562(?), engraving.



Fig. 19 Melchior Lorichs, Süleyman the Magnificent with the Süleymaniye Cami in Background, 1574.

Lorichs also produced portrait engravings of the Sultan Süleyman when the latter was advanced in years (1574). One of these, based on a drawing of 1559 and monogrammed with the artist's initials (fig. 18), presents the sultan at bust-length, wearing his own, distinctively high turban. Following the formula established in the late portrait engravings by Dürer, such as *Frederick the Wise* (1524), the sitter appears before a neutral, toned background with a ledge bearing an inscription. The print is elaborately captioned in both Arabic and Latin. The Arabic inscription declares the sitter to be 'Sultan of sultans, Süleyman shah, son of Sultan Selim Khan,' and concludes with the formula, 'may God protect his helper.' The Latin inscription is even more elaborate: '*Imago Suleymanni Turcorum Imp. in Oriente, Unici Selimiy Filii, Qui An. Do MDXX. Patri in Imperio Successit: Quo Etiam Anno Carolus. V. Maxaemyliani Caesaris Nepos Aquisgrani in Occidente Coronatus est Christian: Imp: A Melchiore Loricis, Flensburgensi, Holsatio, Antiquitatis Studiosiss°, Constantinopoli, An. MDLIX, Men. Feb., Die XV, Verissime Expressa.*'<sup>33</sup> The full-bearded ruler's face is somewhat haggard and drawn, showing his age and the cumulative strain of his reign.

Lorichs' second engraved portrait of Süleyman shows the sultan standing at full-length before a gate of the city, through which passes a caparisoned elephant bearing two banner-carriers, one of them displaying the crescent moon of Islam (fig. 19). Visible through the gate behind him is Süleymaniye mosque complex, which Lorichs had studied on site in preparation for the abovementioned woodcut. The features of the sultan derive from the bust-length study made by Lorichs in 1559, but the engraving was only produced in 1574. In that year, inscribed as the 'true and real likeness [counterfeit]' of the sultan, it accompanied Gillis Coppens van Diest's publication.<sup>34</sup>

Lorichs' woodcut images return us to the tradition of observant, on-site documentary treatment of the Ottoman Turks and their empire, first conveyed by the woodcut illustrations by Erhard Reuwich for the pilgrimage guide of Bernhard von Breydenbach in 1486 and maintained in Dürer's early accurate drawings of Turkish costume and custom in Venice. However, after the decisive military advances in the Balkans, especially during the 1520s, the heightened threat of Turkish armies to both the German Holy Roman Empire as well as to wider European Christendom made it difficult for Dürer and his followers to remain neutral observers of contemporary Islam. Around the time of the 1529 siege of Vienna, European fascination intensified about military aspects of the Turks. Both in Germany and in The Netherlands, sixteenth-century artists' designs—for printmakers and for tapestry producers alike—kept images of Turkish armies richly available to Northern audiences, whether princes or general public.

After the Emperor Charles V's siege of Tunis in 1535, the next signal victory over Turkish forces in the Mediterranean occurred at sea, the Battle of Lepanto (1571). Main credit for the victory was shared between the naval forces of Venice and the armies of Charles's son, Spanish King Philip II. So appropriately two principal commemorations of Lepanto were produced for the Spanish monarch and sent to the Escorial palace by the aged Venetian painter Titian.



Fig. 20 Titian, *Philip II Offering the Infante Don Ferdinand to Heaven*, (1573–75), Madrid, Prado Museum.

The first of these is an allegorical portrait, *Philip II Offering the Infante Don Ferdinand to Heaven* (1573–75) (fig. 20), which shows a fierce naval battle behind the principals, where dark smoke silhouettes the flaming vessels.<sup>35</sup> Documents describe the picture as 'The Naval Battle' (*Batalla Naval*). Ironically, Don Fernando, presumptive heir and first son of the king's final marriage, who was born in the very same year as the Battle of Lepanto, 1571, would die a scant three years after the image was painted. In the picture a descending angel—and/or a winged Victory—extends both a laurel crown and palm of military conquest, together with a banderole with a message intended for the youth: *Maiora tibi* (greater things for you). This same combination of classical reference with religious symbolism suffuses the main action. Philip, bareheaded, wears parade armor

as he offers his son at what looks like an altar table in a Christo-mimetic act, like the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple (Panofsky has compared this gesture to imagery in late medieval manuscripts, where a priest is shown lifting up a nude child, a symbol of the soul; this scene adorns the opening of *Psalm 24*: ‘Unto thee O Lord, do I lift up my soul’). A row of columns like a temple entry recedes along the right side; the sturdy column, symbol of the virtue of Fortitude, frequently accompanies the full-length standing subjects of court portraits, such as Titian’s formative 1551 image of Philip II, then a prince. This row converges perspectively like a series of ancestors on the bright central figure of the *infante*. Meanwhile, in the lower left corner crouches a shackled Turkish prisoner, identified not only by his features but also by his crescent banner and his discarded turban; the spoils of his weapons behind him were added on a strip by painter Vicente Carducho in 1625, when the painting was enlarged to match the grand dimensions of Titian’s earlier great military celebration for a Spanish king in armor: his equestrian portrait, *Emperor Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg* (1548), a conquest not of Turks but over a Protestant alliance.



Fig. 21 Titian, *Religion Succored by Spain*, 1573, Madrid, Prado Museum.

The other painting sent by Titian to Spain in celebration of King Philip’s contribution to the Battle of Lepanto was an allegory, *Religion Succored by Spain* (1573, fig. 21).<sup>36</sup> It shows the encounter of two female personifications before a sea battle in the background. Crouching on the right side, a nude who attempts modestly to cover herself can be identified as Catholicism from the chalice behind her and a cross leaning against a solid rock (of faith and the papacy). Above that cross, snakes on the trunk of a dead tree signify devilish threats to Christendom, presumably by the Islamic Turks as well as by heretic Protestants in Europe. Striding boldly in from the left and facing Religion, a female warrior enters carrying a spear and a shield like the goddess Minerva in earlier mythologies by the artist. Panofsky rightly associates her with the pictorial tradition of the goddess of war, Bellona, and calls her *Ecclesia militans*. Behind her a second woman advances with upraised sword, like a figure of Fortitude; she in turn heads a troop of Amazons. Their armed force is identified with Spain through the heraldic arms of Philip II on the corner shield. Once more the spoils of war appear as weapons in the center foreground, between Spain and Religion. At the head of the background naval battle, in place of a Neptune on his marine chariot, drawn by sea horses, we see instead the personification of a turbaned Turk, heading for shore to threaten the vulnerable figure of the Church, who turns to accept welcome reinforcement from her deliverer. Thus the allegory, deftly unpacked



by Panofsky, can be described in his words as ‘The Christian Religion, Threatened by Internal Subversion (the snakes of Heresy) and External Enemies (the Turk), Seeking the Protection of the Church Militant and Fortitude.’



Fig. 22 Domenikos Theotokopoulos, El Greco, *Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus*, ca. 1577–79, Royal Monastery of S. Lawrence of the Escorial, Patrimonio Nacional.

One final image commemorates the Catholic unity that provided victory at Lepanto. It survives only as an ambitious vision by an artist who hoped in vain to serve the court of Philip II: El Greco, arriving in Spain in 1576, fresh from his own period of finishing school at Venice and Rome. His *Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus* (ca. 1577–79) survives in two versions, one in the Escorial (fig. 22), the other now in London (National Gallery).<sup>37</sup> Its subject was correctly identified in the seventeenth century by Fray Francisco de los Santos (1657), who identified it as a representation of the mouth of Hell and the bridge of Purgatory, called it the *Gloria* by El Greco for Philip II, thus comparing it directly with Titian’s *Gloria*, made earlier for the meditation of Charles V. Kneeling in adoration of the holy name, itself a Jesuit object of devotion, the three great leaders of the Holy League who marshaled the forces for Lepanto: Philip II, dressed as always in black, Doge Mocenigo of Venice in a robe trimmed with ermine, and the current pope, Pius V, in clerical robes. On 9 March 1566, Pius V had issued a bull, *Cum gravissima*, exhorting all Christian powers to unite against the Turk.<sup>38</sup> A fourth kneeling figure at the pope’s right is dressed in classical armor and holds a sword; he has been identified by Anthony Blunt as an idealized portrait of the general of the Lepanto fleet, Don Juan of Austria, half-brother of Philip II, who died in 1578 and was buried in the Escorial Royal Pantheon. Indeed, according to Francisco de los Santos, this image hung near that tomb in the mid seventeenth century. This picture reaffirms Christian doctrine and Catholic unity while also presenting these important contemporary figures alongside resurrected souls who await redemption and admission to heaven and the company of the angels above. Even more than an allegory, this vision situates contemporary religion within a cosmos of the Last Judgment and the triumph of good over evil.



On the eastern front, the Holy Roman Empire resumed its own active Turkish Wars (1593–1606), fought during the reign of Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612). The renewed conflict began in August 1593, when Sultan Murad III broke a truce that had been in effect since 1584.<sup>39</sup> Although the two sides fought to a deadlock before the peace of Zsitva-Torok (11 November 1606) was ratified, this protracted activity along a Central European front held worldwide significance as another boundary contest between Christendom and Islam. It also provided the opportunity (or, indeed, the necessity) for considerable propaganda—including visual art—on the part of the Habsburg ruler. Although Rudolf II never actually led his troops in battle, he had himself portrayed by his numerous court artists as a great military victor and preserver of the faith.



Fig. 23 Hans von Aachen, *Allegory of the Turkish War (Battle of Kronstadt/Brasov)*, 1603, Vienna. Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Principal propagandistic commissions went to Rudolf's court painter in Prague, Hans von Aachen, the author of a belated cycle of oil sketches on parchment, bound together in a volume under the title *Allegory of the Turkish War* (completed before 1607).<sup>40</sup> The latest of the military events depicted in the cycle, the Battle of Kronstadt/Brasov, dates from mid-1603 (fig. 23). This motivation to celebrate 'victories' through visual imagery echoes the heritage of the grandiose cartoons and tapestries of Charles V's earlier Tunis campaign. Like Vermeyen preparing to paint his cartoons, von Aachen made meticulous topographic studies. Yet he altered the rhetoric of the presentation by utilizing allegorical figures, chiefly female personifications, such as winged victories or places (e.g. Hungary), along with more historically credible groupings of infantry and cavalry. In the final two images he also included banners as trophies to signify victory.

Frequently the compositions display the heavens open to show divine figures overseeing the battle: classical gods appear in person or through the surrogates of their symbolic animals, and the artist does not miss the opportunity to suggest parallels between the eagle of Jupiter and the heraldic eagle of the Holy Roman Empire. The eagle clawing the crescent moon, symbol of Islam, was also a favorite *impresa* of Rudolf II.



Fig. 24 Adriaen de Vries, Relief with the regaining of the fortress of Raab/Győr (1598), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Fig. 25 Hans von Aachen, *The Battle of Sissek* (1593), Vienna, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum.

Some of von Aachen's designs were translated into sculpted relief by Rudolf's court sculptor, Adriaen de Vries, notably the image (ca. 1604–05) of the regaining (1598) of the fortress of Raab/Győr (fig. 24).<sup>41</sup> Both the oil sketches and the bronze relief were more personal, private items than tapestries or prints, and were reserved for the notoriously withdrawn emperor himself rather than conceived for large-scale public display or broad circulation. Yet their genesis and presentation received more direct input from the ruler himself than had the tapestries, commissioned through the agency of the emperor's sister and regent, Mary of Hungary.

A characteristic von Aachen image, *The Battle of Sissek* (1593; one of the sources for de Vries's relief) (fig. 25), inaugurates the scenes of war. It shows the emperor's eagle attacking the sultan's crescent in the sky above, and places classical river gods in the corners to suggest the site. Additionally, a winged Victory extends palm and laurel garlands to the seated female allegory of Croatia, who bears a crown and scepter and heraldic blue and white squares on her skirt. Alongside these fantastic allegorical elements, the background of the image clearly depicts the actual riverside setting of the city and its fortified walls. The battle is in progress: imperial forces move inexorably from left to right, sporting their banners, and vanquished Turks are cast into the river. Cavalry with lances are complemented by infantry with pikes; the modern firearm, a arquebus or musket, is visible in the left middle ground. Some Turks wear identifiable costume, especially turbans, but these are less ethnographically accurate records of dress than they are symbolic attributes to help communicate and celebrate the partisan victory over a dreaded enemy. Along with their allegorical

main figures, these representations of battles by von Aachen attend more to the specific topography of the sites than they document the actual movements of armies.

Von Aachen's works survive for the most part both in the form of oil sketches (Vienna) and presentation drawings (Dresden), the latter of which were finished in 1604 and presented in 1607 to Christian II, Elector of Saxony.<sup>42</sup> Once more both patron and audience are courtly, imperial adversaries of the Turks, and again the chosen subjects are battles—a different category from the tradition of dispassionate ethnographic study of costumes or customs, intended to satisfy curiosity and display the exotic.

By contrast, Rudolf II assembled in his castle at Prague the actual battlefield booty seized from the Turks, making it a feature within his vast collections.<sup>43</sup> Consisting chiefly of bows and their leather cases, as well metal-edged weapons (daggers, swords, battle-axes), these trophies were displayed to impress visiting ambassadors. Such delegations included Safavid Persians, envoys from the empire that abutted the Ottomans on the opposite flank. This display of trophies must have helped kindle a proposed alliance between the Holy Roman Empire and the Persian Shah Abbas (1587–1629).<sup>44</sup>

The artist of printed portraits of Rudolf II was his court engraver, Aegidius Sadeler.<sup>45</sup> Sadeler, like the imperial sculptor, Adriaen de Vries, devoted his main portrait energies to depicting the majesty of Rudolf II. And his allegorical vocabulary in framing the imperial majesty partakes of a new learned artistic vocabulary, which asserts conquest over the Turkish nemesis. After an extended century of visualizing Turks, this imperial program fits firmly into an ongoing Habsburg tradition, albeit with a more propagandistic purpose. Indeed the allegories, like Rubens's cycle for Queen Mother Marie de' Medici in France during the 1620s, not only offer a more learned and elite pictorial vocabulary but also serve to airbrush embarrassing setbacks and harsh realities, in this case the ultimate military stalemate with the Turkish forces by the Empire. Like the modern example of the Cold War adduced above, no European Christian could ever forget the clear and present danger posed to both his faith and his political autonomy by the Islamic Ottoman Empire across the border. That threatening superpower, however, also held ongoing fascination and exotic allure, realized in pictorial terms all the more by those artists, particularly Vermeyen and Lorichs, who had experienced Tunis and Istanbul in person instead of picturing stereotypes of Turks.

Ultimately, almost all images of Turks from the Holy Roman Empire necessarily blended (to varying degrees) these opposing qualities: fear and loathing towards a formidable enemy that defined Christian Europe through contrast; alongside fascinated, careful observation, produced, usually in multiple print images, for the delectation in Europe of commoners as well as rulers.

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of Maximilian's art patronage, including his various verbal and visual campaigns for a contemporary crusade against the Ottoman Turks, see Silver 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Edited and translated by Zeydel 1944, pp. 315–22.

<sup>3</sup> Raby 1982; Levenson 1991, pp. 212–13, nos. 109–110.

<sup>4</sup> Carboni 2007. See also the essay by Elizabeth Rodini in the same volume.

<sup>5</sup> Raby 1982, p. 25; Aikema & Brown 1999, pp. 266–67, no. 38; Koschatzky & Strobl, 1971, pp. 64–65, no. 15 (W. 79, ca. 1495); Levenson 1991, p. 213, no. 110; Bartrum 2003, pp. 108–09, no. 38 (W. 78, ca. 1494–95). See now Campbell & Chong 2005. In the specific case of the *Three Orientals* (London, British Museum, W. 78, ca. 1494–



95), Dürer explicitly replicated three small figures in the background of a large painting by Gentile Bellini, the *Corpus Christi Procession in the Piazza San Marco*, dated 1496; therefore, these figures must have been experienced by Dürer prior to completion of the final picture, perhaps through preliminary drawing studies.

<sup>6</sup> Levenson 1991, pp. 212–13, no. 109, White 1973, 365–74. The figure of the drawing was traced through to the other side of the sheet, to serve as the model for the engraving. That print exists in only one unfinished proof (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and was unrecorded by Bartsch. See also Strauss 1981, pp. 54–55; and Strauss 1974, no. 1495/18–18a.

<sup>7</sup> Addition of both rubies and turquoise does indeed mark a number of the sultan's personal decorative objects, including the royal mace; see Atıl 1987; and *Schätze aus dem Topkapı Serail*, 1988.

<sup>8</sup> DeWitt 2011, pp. 109–45, esp. 112–13, 121–23.

<sup>9</sup> See Strauss 1974, pp. 2320 – 2321, no. 1526/8. The drawing is inscribed in German script, *Suleyman imperator, die leibfarb ist gantz lederfarb* (Emperor Süleyman, the body-color is completely leather-colored).

<sup>10</sup> For the relations between portrait medals and portrait woodcuts as multiple likenesses, Silver 2003.

<sup>11</sup> Dresden, Münzkabinett; *Im Lichte des Halbmonds...* 1995, p. 75, no. 24. This rare medal does not appear in the celebrated collections of London, Vienna, Berlin, and Munich, and its artist and origin remain unknown. It also resembles a related etching by Hieronymus Hopfer. Compare also the profile medal with turban of Sultan Mehmet II ('the Conqueror'), facing the same leftward direction as Dürer drawing, dating ca. 1480 and patterned after a design by Gentile Bellini of Venice, *ibid.*, p. 53, no. 5, with Gentile's celebrated near-profile painted portrait of Mehmet II (1480; London, National Gallery), *ibid.*, p. 52, no. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Im Lichte des Halbmonds...* 1995, p. 74, no. 21; Heinz & Schütz 1976, pp. 182–84, no. 156, fig. 101. Based on the age of the sultan, the profile model for the painting probably dates to the 1520's, like Dürer's own source.

<sup>13</sup> Anzelewsky 1970, pp. 212–18, no. 105. A horizontal format drawing, preserved in a fastidious copy (W. 438, Vienna, Albertina; see Koschatzky & Strobl, pp. 168–71, no. 62), served as a preliminary composition of this complex theme. More widely on Frederick the Wise as a courtly patron of Dürer, see Silver 2004, pp. 149–62.

<sup>14</sup> Panofsky 1942, 39–54; Spitz 1958.

<sup>15</sup> Especially after 1530. Knecht 1992, pp. 224–25, 233–34, 294–95. For the best recent survey of the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in the sixteenth century, see Press 1994 and Kafadar 1994.

<sup>16</sup> *Im Lichte des Halbmonds...* 1995, pp. 78–79, no. 36; Landau & Parshall 1994, pp. 227–28, figs. 233–34; Moxey 1989, pp. 78–79, n. 28 for references.

<sup>17</sup> Colding Smith 2010, pp. 72–73; Hale, 1990, pp. 17–19; Clifton 2009, pp. 41–50; Landau & Parshall 1994, pp. 227–28.

<sup>18</sup> *Im Lichte des Halbmonds...* 1995, pp. 79–80, no. 37. *Wien 1529...* 1979–80, pp. 63–69, no. 151.

<sup>19</sup> Colding Smith 2010, pp. 54–82, esp. 65–67 (I am grateful to Dr. Smith for sharing her research with me prior to publication); *Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm...* 1986, pp. 175–76, no. 59.

<sup>20</sup> Colding Smith 2010, p. 54, with translation; Moxey 1989, pp. 76–77, fig. 4.7.

<sup>21</sup> Colding Smith 2010, p. 1, with translation.

<sup>22</sup> Luther 1960, vol. 35, p. 407.

<sup>23</sup> Campbell 2002, pp. 385–91, 428–34; Jardine & Brotton 2000, pp. 82–87; also Horn 1989, pp. 13–17, 35–37, 41–47, 111–223; Seipel 2000. Scholarly debate continues about whether Vermeyen designed the tapestries alone or whether he collaborated with experienced designer Pieter Coecke van Aelst.

<sup>24</sup> History, indeed, but not without bias. The *Sack of Tunis* uses its Latin inscription to editorialize: 'The troops sent against the outskirts of the town lay siege to and take them, slaughter the enemy [*hostemque*] in armor and, taking the houses, spare the inhabitants. They use the right of conquest [*iure belli*]. More than twenty thousand captives recover their liberty and thrice salute Charles the Avenger [*Victorem Carolum*] with cries of gratitude. The conqueror reestablishes the unfortunate Hasan on the throne of his ancestors, though he hardly merited this, as he had promised so much and performed nothing,' translated by Campbell 2002, p. 429, no. 50. Or the Latin from the initial tapestry: 'Wishing to overcome the infidel armies of the Turk and the warrior [Barbarossa] who, obeying the orders of Suleiman, raises cruel war against the realms of Spain, Caesar, Charles the Fifth of that name, gathers together with the blessings of heaven, the armies and fleets of Spain and Italy to threaten the African troops. Not brooking delay while time and the hour proceed, he energetically hastens to his ships and his loyal companions,' translated by Horn 1989, p. 181.

<sup>25</sup> Horn 1989, p. 181.

<sup>26</sup> Fischer 1962; Fisher 2009; St. Clair 1973, nos. 6–10.

- <sup>27</sup> Westbrook, Rainsbury Dark & van Meeuwen 2010, pp. 62–87; Evans 2004, pp. 406–08, no. 249; Sievernich & Budde 1989, pp. 241–44; Mango et al. 1989; Romanelli 1999, pp. 154–58, no. 16; Yerasimos 1990, pp. 294–97; Fisher 1962, p. 24. For the general phenomenon, see Nuti, 1996.
- <sup>28</sup> *Schätze aus dem Topkapi Serail* 1988, p. 72, no. 6. For the building complex, Goodwin 1971, pp. 215–39; now see Necipoglu 2005.
- <sup>29</sup> Silver 1999, pp. 194–214, with references.
- <sup>30</sup> Fischer 1962, pp. 38–58. After several false starts, the publication first appeared in 1626 in Hamburg with Michael Hering. Ward-Jackson 1955, 83–93.
- <sup>31</sup> *Dessins de Dürer...* 1991, pp. 128–29, no. 120, argues that the drawing was done at a later moment back in Germany, with the date recording the period of observation.
- <sup>32</sup> Kaufmann 1988, pp. 64–65, nos. 14–15; and Fisher 1962, pp. 58–64, nos. 64–78.
- <sup>33</sup> The translation of the Latin inscription will be added here.
- <sup>34</sup> *Soldan Soleyman Turckischen Khaysers... Whare und eigenliche contrafectung und biltnuss*, dated 21 April 1574.
- <sup>35</sup> Humfrey 2007, p. 368, no. 293; Checa 1994, pp. 52–56; Panofsky 1969, pp. 72–73.
- <sup>36</sup> Humfrey 2007, p. 367, no. 292; Checa 1994, pp. 58–60; Panofsky 1969, pp. 186–90. Also Wittkower 1977, pp. 143–46, which sees the Church Triumphant in the Minerva figure and the nude figure as the Magdalene, Sin redeemed. But see a seventeenth-century assessment of the image by Fray Francisco de los Santos, Wittkower 1977, p. 145, n. 8. Humfrey 2007 rejects the notion that this picture is a reworked version of a much earlier painting, seen the artist's studio and described in 1566 by Vasari (VII, 458) as a work begun for Alfonso d'Este, who had commissioned the Ferrara *Camerino d'alabastro*. However, recent technical examination does not show changes to the attributes of the main allegories, so the Vasari work is probably lost, though it is possibly identical to a work sent to Emperor Maximilian II and engraved in 1568 by Giulio Fontana. In the engraving the suppliant nude is described in Latin as 'the pious image of the religion of the unvanquished Emperor of the Christians,' in Panofsky 1969, p. 187. A workshop copy of the Escorial painting is in Rome, Palazzo Doria-Pamphilij.
- <sup>37</sup> Brown et al. 1982, pp. 231–32, no. 12; Blunt 1939–40, pp. 58–69.
- <sup>38</sup> Panofsky 1969, p. 188.
- <sup>39</sup> Kappel 1995, pp. 125–33; Haupt 1988, vol. I, 97–98. For the complex diplomatic history via an imperial perspective, Evans 1997, pp. 75–78; the Ottoman outlook, between Europe and Persia, is conveyed by Goodwin 1998, pp. 164–67.
- <sup>40</sup> Jacoby 2000, esp. pp. 174–75, 178–80, 182–203; nos. 56, 58, 60; more generally for von Aachen and the other artists at Prague, Kaufmann 1988, esp. pp. 133–63, nos. 1.44, 1.48–60. Ink drawing copies of the oil sketches by von Aachen's workshop show a larger original cycle.
- <sup>41</sup> Scholten 1998–99, pp. 159–61, no. 18. This more composite work, derived from several of the von Aachen designs, speaks more generally to the Turkish War on the battleground of Hungary, and it features the Muslim dragon and serpent being attacked by imperial eagle and lion along with river personifications (Danube and Sava).
- <sup>42</sup> Unusually for von Aachen a pair of preliminary compositional drawings survive: one in Dusseldorf, Kunstmuseum (inv. no. 941), the other in Moscow, Pushkin Museum (inv. no. 7456; discussed in *Prag um 1600*, vol. I, pp. 333–34, no. 183).
- <sup>43</sup> Pfaffenbichler 1998, pp. 161–65.
- <sup>44</sup> This proposed alliance was brokered by the Englishman Robert Shirley; see Evans 1997, pp. 77–78; see also the remarkable double portraits in Persian ambassadorial dress (1622), painted in Rome by Anthony van Dyck of Sir Robert and Teresia, Lady Shirley (Petworth House), in Brown & Vlieghe 1999, pp. 160–63, nos. 29–30.
- <sup>45</sup> *Im Lichte des Halbmonds*, nos. 132–34; *Prag um 1600*, vol. I, nos. 19, 36–37, esp. Husein Ali Beg, depicted in 1601, who also visited the Elector of Saxony.

# ‘The Good and Honest Turk’

## A European Legend in the Context of Sixteenth-Century Oriental Studies

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### ‘But deliver us from evil’

‘Believe me, it is a greater pleasure to repay with good deeds and injustice suffered, rather than punish evil with evil. Take your freedom, take Constanze and be more humane than your father [...]’—this is how Selim pasha addresses Belmonte, the son of his ardent enemy in the closing scene of Mozart’s opera *The Abduction from the Seraglio*. ‘Nothing is as ugly as revenge [...]’, sing the freed prisoners, to the utmost anger of the fat, mean and bloodthirsty Osmin.<sup>1</sup> We know that the figure of the good and noble Turk, Selim pasha, who generously overcomes his prejudices and voluntarily forgives his enemies was formed by the composer himself in accordance with his Enlightenment ideals, and that it was Mozart himself who turned Osmin into a comic yet blood-curdlingly cruel figure to balance the pasha’s generosity.<sup>2</sup> We may say that Selim and Osmin demonstrate the light and the dark side of the European image of the Turk in a perfectly clear form.<sup>3</sup>

Light and shadow are inseparable—a fact that those studying the centuries-long struggle of Christianity and the Ottoman Empire often tend to forget. In the old and new literature exploring the image of the Turk, dark and light tones seem to alternate and never to find harmony: in the foreground is the fictitious or real figure of either the mean and cruel or good and noble Turk.<sup>4</sup> The literary figure of the ‘pagan Turk’ conceived as the ‘natural enemy’ of Christianity and the ‘scourge of God’<sup>5</sup> is lost in the distant past before the European appearance of the Ottomans and is woven into concepts of the Huns, the Tartars and the Hungarians. Jean Delumeau is right in saying that the West represented its own fears in the demonized Muslim enemy.<sup>6</sup> This is how the enemy turned into the apocalyptic dragon identified with Satan: *draco rufus*.<sup>7</sup>

The other side of the coin, the legend of the ‘honest Turk’ (Voltaire’s ‘*bon musulman*’)<sup>8</sup>—in the form depicted by Paolo Giovio, Guillaume Postel and Jean Bodin,<sup>9</sup> and then in the age of the Enlightenment<sup>10</sup> by Voltaire, Lessing, Hume and Mozart—may also be traced back to the depths of the past.<sup>11</sup> It is related to the idea stemming from Origen that neither all the evil things in the world nor even Satan and hell can be considered everlasting, as God will destroy them on the last day, ‘when he restores all things’.<sup>12</sup> ‘*Sed libera nos a malo*’, thus prayed Christians, not knowing whether to look for evil in the outside world or in themselves. They could not decide whether final liberation was to be the destruction or the transformation and improvement of evil. ‘The whole creation carries the hope of liberty’, said Origen,<sup>13</sup> and his faith was shared by many great men of the Renaissance

such as Pico della Mirandola, Erasmus and others.<sup>14</sup> Renaissance itself—among many other things—was the rebirth of the desire for liberty. This ray of hope sometimes projected itself on the image Christians formed of the Turk.<sup>15</sup>

## The second Rome

Travellers, ambassadors, writers, scientists, artists and polymaths interested in the world of the Orient—sixteenth-century intellectuals in the service of the Habsburgs promising to describe the Ottoman Empire in their works—were all aware of the sharp contrast between the European image of the Turk and theirs.<sup>16</sup> They had different views of ‘Turkishness’,<sup>17</sup> yet they basically treated their subject as an intellectual problem and tried to grasp it within Renaissance concepts.

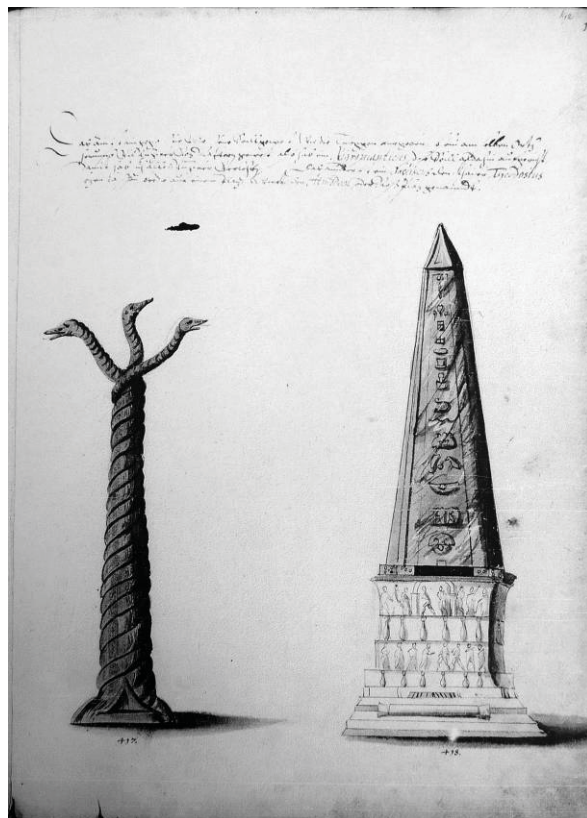


Fig. 1 The Serpentine Column and the Obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople.

It is worthwhile examining the significance of the Habsburg peace delegation sent to Istanbul in 1553 from the point of view of the development of Oriental studies.<sup>18</sup> The relationship between the Habsburgs and the Porte was extremely tense at the time; sultan Süleyman I could not forgive Ferdinand for the 1551 attack against Transylvania and the murdering of governor Frater Georgius (George Martinuzzi),<sup>19</sup> with the result that in 1552 he launched a general attack against the kingdom of Hungary.<sup>20</sup> Peace negotiations came to a halt and the Habsburg ambassador Giovanni Maria Malvezzi was imprisoned by the Ottomans.<sup>21</sup> The new delegates of Ferdinand I had been charged with a very difficult and multi-layered task: they were supposed to sign a peace agreement that



would leave Transylvania under Habsburg rule, and at the same time to seek political relations with the external enemies of the Sultan, primarily the Persians.<sup>22</sup>

Researchers of the history of Ottoman and Habsburg diplomacy are usually amazed that Ferdinand's envoys carried out their delicate mission in such a way as to leave them plenty of time for scholarly and scientific research: they discovered and studied ancient architectural remains, explored the peoples of the Sultan's empire, and observed the flora and fauna of the landscape in front of them.<sup>23</sup> In reality, the profound interest of the ambassadors in the Ottoman Empire was not at all a side activity. On the contrary, the feverish search for antiquities expressed the essence of the mission, tellingly representing the aims for power—however far exceeding their current possibilities—of the Viennese court.



Fig. 2 Martino Rota: Antonius Verantius.

We know that the embassy was led by the best Humanist intellectuals of the time. Antal Verancsics (cr. Antun Vrančić, it. Antonio Veranzio; 1504–1573), the bishop of Pécs (Fünfkirchen), was a scholar with an original mind and a wide intellectual horizon.<sup>24</sup> A mere list of his discoveries and works would fill pages. We still treasure his uniquely rich collection of Hungarian historical sources—diaries, memoirs, memorandums, biographies, etc.: the so-called Verancsics Collection<sup>25</sup>—, his abundant correspondence,<sup>26</sup> and high-quality historical essays.<sup>27</sup> As part of the embassy, he used Ptolemaios's map to find ancient ruins, copied Roman inscriptions, and collected Greek and Roman coins.<sup>28</sup> This is when he came into possession of a valuable Turkish manuscript, the so-called 'enlarged' version of the narrative of the Ottoman chronicler Mehmed Muhjí al-Dín. The author of this important source compiled anonymous Ottoman chronicles from the beginnings of the Ottoman Empire to his own era (until 1549). The manuscript later named after Verancsics (*Codex Verantianus*) became one of the main sources for European historians researching Ottoman history.<sup>29</sup>

Another important role in the Istanbul embassy was played by Ferenc Zay, a brilliant Hungarian soldier who was captain of the Danube fleet. He was an educated man; his Hungarian military chronicle of the 1521 fall of Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) is preserved in the Verancsics Collection.<sup>30</sup> Despite his many battles against the Turks, Zay was known to have excellent relations with them, which is precisely why he was selected for the Porte delegation.<sup>31</sup> Another member of the mission was the Hungarian commissioner of the Fugger bank, Hans Dernschwam, who profoundly despised the Turks but studied the country's glorious past with holy devotion.<sup>32</sup> Dernschwam possessed one of the richest libraries of the era,<sup>33</sup> and it was primarily due to him that the embassy got hold of such valuable manuscripts as the rare copies of Dioskorides's *Herbarium*<sup>34</sup> and Zónaras's *Annales*, which are now great treasures of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna.<sup>35</sup> The brilliant Hungarian humanist Joannes Belsius completed Dernschwam's famous travel diary with sketches of ancient monuments and inscriptions.<sup>36</sup>

In 1555, Verancsics and his embassy were joined by one of the best diplomats of the time, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq from Flanders, whose delicate, readable and elegant *Turkish Letters*—the literary adaptation of the mission in question—introduced the Ottoman Empire and the Turks to Europe.<sup>37</sup> The other ornament of the delegation was Melchior Lorck, a Danish-German painter in Ferdinand's service.<sup>38</sup> His engravings and drawings of Ottoman subjects represent the same quality in the fine arts as Busbecq's book does—in line with the works of Montaigne and Justus Lipsius—in literature. Ferenc Zay, Verancsics and Busbecq were depicted by Lorck in a Renaissance series of portraits,<sup>39</sup> which is perfectly harmonious in elaboration and composition—expressing the intellectual togetherness of the members of the Ottoman mission with artistic means (see figs. 3–5). We may learn a lot by highlighting typical motives in the works of Lorck, Busbecq and Verancsics, motives that help explore the inner links of this shared world of thoughts.<sup>40</sup>



Figs. 3–5 Melchior Lorck: The portraits of Antonius Verantius, Franciscus Zay and Augerius Busbequius.

In 1559, Melchior Lorck painted his self-portrait on the extremely precise and light panorama of Constantinople (fig. 6).<sup>41</sup> The extract shows the painter standing on the banks of the Galata, painting the huge metropolis on the other side. We see an elegantly dressed, blond-haired, Western European young man, lethargically dipping his pen in an inkpot handed to him by a clearly symbolic



figure, a big ‘Turk’ wearing a turban. The meaning of the allegoric gesture is quite clear. Lorck interprets the panorama before him and himself getting lost in the landscape simultaneously. The artist—*antiquitatis studiosissimus*<sup>42</sup>—spectacularly turns away from the Turk but at the same time accepts his help. He is *drawing* the mosques of the Ottoman capital (see figs. 7 and 9), Istanbul, but *sees* the aqueducts and columns of Constantinople, the ‘second Rome’. The archaizing panorama of Istanbul was the intellectual recapturing of the Ottoman Empire.

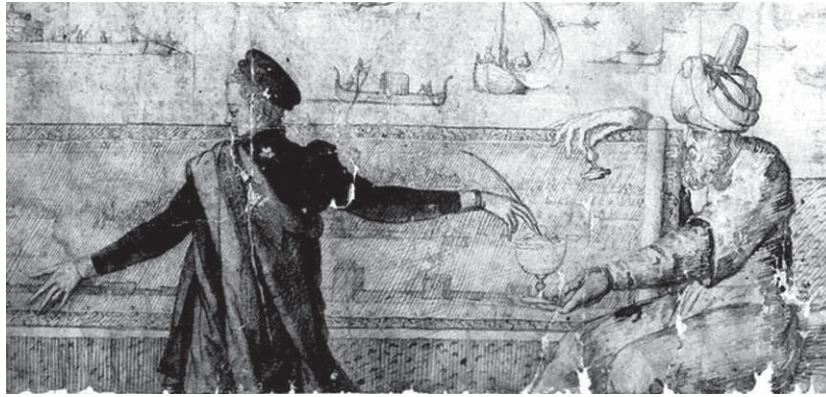


Fig. 6 Self-portrait of Melchior Lorck.



Fig. 7 Melchior Lorck: The Suleimanye in Istanbul.

Busbecq elaborated on the same thought in the closing chapter of the *Turkish Letters*, in the panegyric of Ferdinand I, written in the style of ancient royal mirrors. He compared his own king to Süleyman I. He used vivid colours to depict the immeasurable numerical superiority and power of the Ottoman emperor, against which Ferdinand—the stoic philosopher, the persevering and ingenious new Fabius Cunctator—could primarily rely on his morals and rationality, and these virtues indeed ensured him success:

Three things Solyman is said to set his heart on, namely to see the building of his mosque finished (which is indeed a costly and beautiful work),<sup>43</sup> by restoring the ancient aqueducts to give Constantinople an abundant supply of water, and to take Vienna. In two of these things his wishes have been accomplished, in the third he has been stopped and I hope will be stopped. Vienna he is wont to call by no other name than his disgrace and shame.<sup>44</sup>

Busbecq thus saw the rivalry between Habsburgs and Ottomans not as the struggle of ‘good’ and ‘evil’ but as a trial between two differently structured ancient empires, Rome and Carthage.

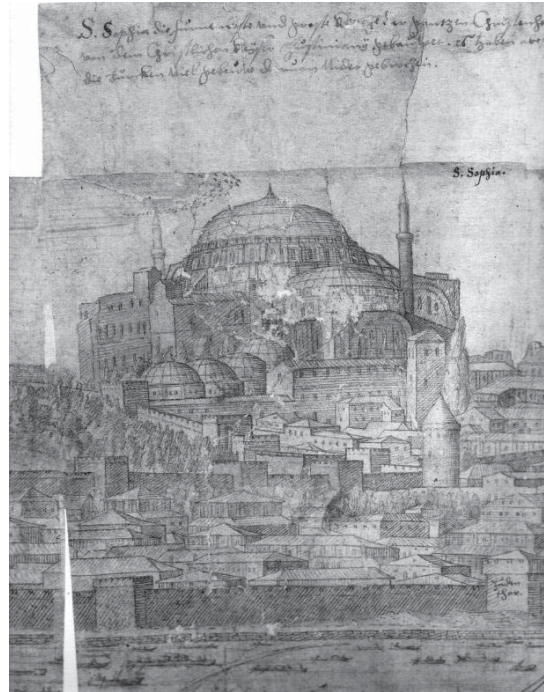
Fig. 8 The *Monumentum Ancyranum* in Ankara.

Fig. 9 Melchior Lorck: The Hagia Sophia in Istanbul.

When sultan Süleyman invited the Habsburg embassy to Amasya in Asia Minor in 1555, Verancsics, Derschwan and Belsius, the delegation's secretary, discovered the most famous ancient inscription among the ruins of a sanctuary near Ankara, the political testament of Emperor Augustus, later to be known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (fig. 8).<sup>45</sup> Although the public was only informed about the findings through Busbecq's book—published almost two decades later—and he was the one to carry the glory, success had in reality been shared. Many scholars have studied the circumstances under which the findings were discovered. Here I would only like to emphasize that Augustus's inscription, apart from its historical significance, expressed the humanist aims of the ambassadors in a perfectly constructed form. As Busbecq says:

Here we saw a very beautiful inscription, containing a copy of the tablets in which Augustus gave a summary of his achievements. We made our people copy out as much as was legible. It is engraved on the marble walls of a building now ruinous and roofless, which formerly may have formed the official residence of the governor. As you enter the building one half of the inscription is on the right, and the other on the left. The top lines are nearly perfect; in the middle the gaps begin to present difficulties; the lowest lines are so mutilated with blows of clubs and axes as to be illegible. This is indeed a great literary loss, and one which scholars have much reason to regret; the more so as it is an ascertained fact that Ancyra was dedicated to Augustus as the common gift of Asia.<sup>46</sup>

Let us focus on the last sentence of the quote. We know the *Monumentum Ancyranum* to be a basic document of the institution of the Roman *principatus*, and in this document Octavian seemingly defined himself as the reformer of Roman freedom and republic but in reality as the omnipotent *Augustus Caesar*, reconstructor of world order (*restitutor orbis*).<sup>47</sup> People in Vienna knew that the Ottoman sultan declared himself the heir of Byzantine rulers, in other words, emperor of the



Eastern Roman Empire.<sup>48</sup> Western and Eastern emperors were considered to be of the same rank. Augustus's testament—which was discovered in the Orient—represented the unity of the empire once ruled from the West. We can rest assured that Ferdinand I, the would-be emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, entirely agreed with this definition of the concept of emperorship.

### Studia turcica

Peter Lambeck and Adam František Kollár, the scholarly seventeenth- and eighteenth-century librarians of the Viennese Hofbibliothek, already noted that the findings of the Verancsics delegation looking for Ottoman antiquities and the entire intellectual results of the embassy became an integral part of the imperial library and the scientific work supported by the court.<sup>49</sup> During the reign of Ferdinand I's heirs Maximilian II and Rudolph II, a new generation of humanists belonging to the Viennese circle turned to Oriental studies. Ottoman studies at the time owe the most to two competing foreign scholars, the Dutch Hugo Blotius<sup>50</sup> from Delft, the first *praefectus* of the Hofbibliothek, and Johannes Löwenklau,<sup>51</sup> the Westphalian historian, both of whom were protégés of Lazarus von Schwendi.

In 1576, Blotius wrote his important *Turcica* catalogue entitled *Ex bibliotheca librorum et orationum de Turcis et contra Turcas scriptorum catalogus*. Research has shown that the scholarly librarian compiled his encyclopaedic work—an attempt to assemble and collect all works and knowledge on the Ottomans—with strong anti-Turkish intentions.<sup>52</sup> In the preface addressed to Rudolph, Blotius talked about the practical uses of the collection, expressing his wish that his work might serve as an intellectual weapon in the hands of warriors fighting in the ultimate struggle against Turks. Researchers have often wondered why the irenic Blotius, who was against all religious conflict<sup>53</sup>—and was himself a member of the mystic religious community called the Family of Love (*Familia Charitatis*)—spoke of the Ottoman question in such harsh tones.

There are several correct answers to this question. It is possible that Blotius simply wanted to please the new ruler, Rudolph, who was much more aggressive and violent than his predecessors. Another solution is that the librarian urged the emperor to lead a war against the Turks because he wanted to deter him from taking other aggressive steps—launching an armed Counter-Reformation against Protestants.

It is also possible, however, that Blotius's anti-Turkish feelings did not immediately stem from the topical political and religious aims of the collection but from the genre of the work, the encyclopaedic 'spirit' of the catalogue.<sup>54</sup> We know that while Blotius was editing *Turcica*, he had in mind the example of a library containing every single book in the world, encompassing science and culture as a whole—Conrad Gessner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*.<sup>55</sup> The imaginary universal library was a model of the universe, served omniscience, and thus contained all branches of science, including the cultural treasures of the Muslim enemies of Christianity, as well as all the literature on the subject. The Baconian principle of *scientia est potestas* naturally existed long before Bacon.

Johannes Löwenklau wrote his famous Ottoman chronicles with highly similar ideas. Published between 1588 and 1591, his Latin and German historical works are to this day invaluable

and essential sources for those studying the history of the Ottoman Empire. The author traced the history of the Ottomans from the beginnings to his own time, wishing to write an authentic Ottoman history. He used all available genuine sources—the books of Guillaume Postel, Ogier Busbecq and Ottoman historians, and Antal Verancsics's above-mentioned Turkish codex among others.<sup>56</sup> Just like Blotius's *Turcica* catalogue, Löwenklau's Ottoman chronicles were encyclopaedic works, elaborated with the aim of *historia universalis*. Löwenklau's Latin-language Turkish chronicle published in 1591 (fig. 10) also served as intellectual ammunition for the European powers preparing to attack the Turks. The German historian was also a member of a Protestant spiritual community, the Moravian Brethren. He was a tolerant, gentle Humanist, but he nevertheless supported the imminent great anti-Ottoman war with all his heart, and a few years later ended his life in the fifteen-year war in Hungary, during the siege of Esztergom/Gran. In a dedication to the German prince-electors, Löwenklau summed up the primary aim of his work as follows:

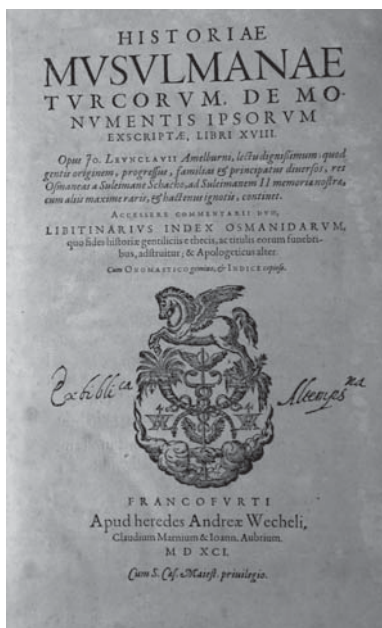


Fig. 10 Johannes Löwenklau's Ottoman Chronicles (1591).

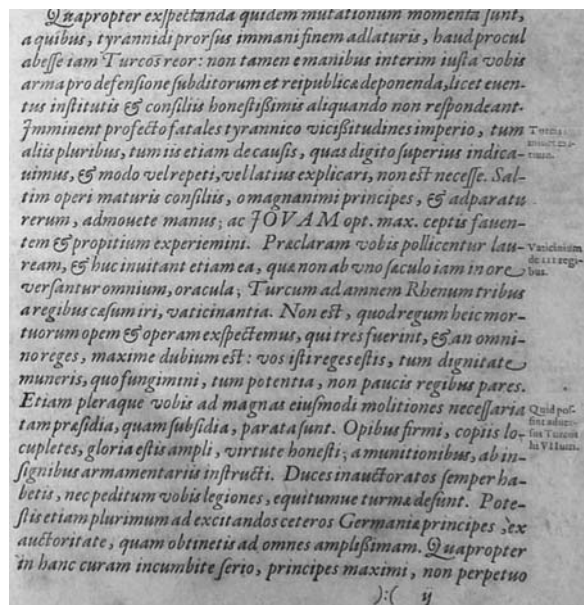


Fig. 11 Johannes Löwenklau: *Vaticinium de III regibus*.

The time of changes is soon to come, bringing the menacing *tyrannis* to an end. I think the Turks are not far from it [...]. O generous princes [...], you were promised beautiful laurel leaves a long time ago, this is what the prophecies cited by so many warn you of. The prophecies say that three kings will kill the Turkish king by the river Rhine (fig. 11). There is no reason to wait for the help and work of these three mortal kings, it is even doubtful whether they were kings at all. You are those kings, partially because of the dignity of the title you are wearing, partially because of the great power that few kings have. You now have protective weapons, great treasures and strong armies [...], you are supplied with excellent ammunition.<sup>57</sup>

This confession-like prophecy was the intellectual programme of Löwenklau and other humanists interested in Ottoman studies, stemming from the almost apocalyptic, late Renaissance thinking of the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>58</sup> While on one hand it urged the evolution of science and the encyclopaedic summing up of knowledge, on the other it announced the imminent end of

the world. Our contemporary thinking finds these two viewpoints incompatible, yet they contained no contradictions for Blotius and Löwenklau.

The scholars of the time of Ferdinand I were still hoping for the return of ancient Rome (*Roma instaurata*)<sup>59</sup> and they integrated the programme of the intellectual occupation and transformation of Turks into this belief in renewal. This idea was the very origin of the legend about the ‘good and honest Turk’. It seems that Löwenklau and his contemporaries did not count on the return of golden antiquity: on the contrary, they believed instead in the quick perfection of the world (*instauratio magna*) and the imminent end of history.<sup>60</sup> The prophecy the historian is referring to is evidently from Johannes Lichtenberger’s famous book of prophecies (Heidelberg, 1488, see fig. 12), which says that at the end of time the Turkish emperor is going to march to Cologne by the river Rhine, where he will lose his head.<sup>61</sup> The words about the three kings refer to the relics of the patron saints of Cologne, the Magi relics which the author finds it unnecessary to believe in.<sup>62</sup>

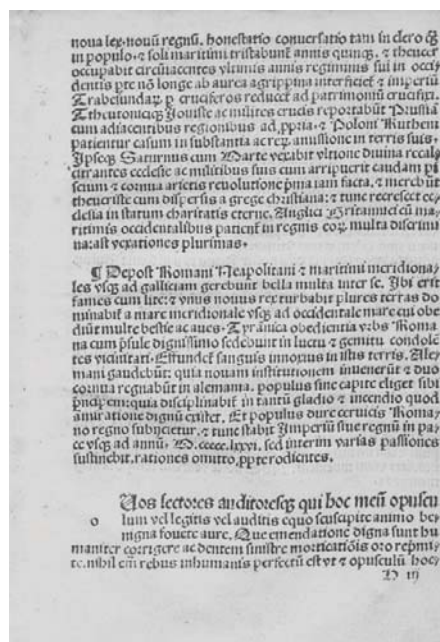


Fig. 12 Johannes Lichtenberger: *Prognosticatio* on the End of the Ottoman Empire.

The ‘time of changes’, the approaching universal *reformatio*—Lichtenberger uses the same word—will seize and transform everything and everyone. In Saint Paul’s words, often cited at the time: ‘Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian bond nor free: but Christ is all and in all’ (Col. 3, 11)—that is, the Messiah. This rather pessimistic prophecy paradoxically envisioned a positive picture of the Turk: the Turkish will fall but we will fall with them. What would come next was not to be part of history any more.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Glaube mir, es ist ein weit größeres Vergnügen, eine erlittene Ungerechtigkeit durch Großmut zu vergelten, als Schuld durch Schuld zu sühnen. Nimm deine Freiheit, nimm Konstanz und werde du menschlicher als dein Vater’ [...] ‘Nichts ist so häßlich wie die Rache’ (Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, K 384, libretto Gottlieb Stephanie nach Christoph Friedrich Bretzner, N 21a; N 21b).

<sup>2</sup> Cairns 2006, pp. 69–92.

<sup>3</sup> Jellinek 1994, pp. 163–64; Sutter Fichtner 2008, pp. 100–07.

<sup>4</sup> Dimmock 2005, pp. 5–42.

<sup>5</sup> Barnes 1988; Meyer Setton 1992; Andermann 2000; Ács 2000; Schmidt & Biggemann 2004, pp. 392–408.

<sup>6</sup> Delumeau 1978, pp. 342–55.

<sup>7</sup> Schlosser 1908, pp. 17, 19; Jardine & Brotton 2000, pp. 13–22; Brotton 2005.

<sup>8</sup> ‘*Candide, en retournant dans sa métairie, fit de profondes réflexions sur le discours du Turc; il dit à Pangloss et à Martin: Ce lion vieillard me paraît s’être fait un sort bien préférable à celui des six rois avec qui nous avons eu l’honneur de souper.*’ (Voltaire, *Candide*, chapter 192).

<sup>9</sup> Zimmermann 1995, pp. 121–122; Kuntz 1981, pp. 97–100; McCabe 2008, pp. 15–36, 58–64.

<sup>10</sup> Jacob 1981.

<sup>11</sup> The topic of the ‘good and honest Turk’, which appears for instance in Lessing’s *Nathan the Wise*, Mozart’s *Il Seraglio* and Voltaire’s *Candide*, has a remarkable prehistory. On the historical and philosophical context of the anonymous treatise *De tribus impostoribus* (1598) see Niewöhner 1988; Assman 1997, pp. 93, 157, 238, 240, 249.

<sup>12</sup> Schmidt & Biggemann 2004, pp. 339–68.

<sup>13</sup> Tzamalikos 2007, p. 320.

<sup>14</sup> Panofsky 1960, pp. 18–21.

<sup>15</sup> Coles 1968, pp. 145–58; MacLean 2005, pp. 1–28.

<sup>16</sup> Faroqhi 2007, pp. 80–100; Ágoston 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Dimmock 2005, pp. 20–25.

<sup>18</sup> Miller 1808; Verancsics 1857–1875, vols. 3–4; Busbequius 1605; Busbecq 1881; Tardy 1983, pp. 110–20.

<sup>19</sup> D’Ayala 1867; Papo 2009, Papo & Németh 2009.

<sup>20</sup> Centorio 1566.

<sup>21</sup> ‘*Malveczius orator Turcicus incarceratur*’: Busbequius 1605, pp. 8–9.

<sup>22</sup> Thallóczy 1885, pp. 76–106.

<sup>23</sup> Tardy 1983, pp. 121–7; Dernschwam 1984.

<sup>24</sup> Sörös 1898; Gyulai 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Bartoniek 1975, pp. 35–56.

<sup>26</sup> Verancsics 1857–1875, vols. 6–12.

<sup>27</sup> Verancsics 1857–1875, vol. 1., cf. Bartoniek 1975, pp. 37–39.

<sup>28</sup> Thallóczy 1885, p. 83.

<sup>29</sup> Ács 2011, p. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Zay 1980.

<sup>31</sup> Thallóczy 1885, p. 72–75.

<sup>32</sup> Babinger 1923, cf. Häberlein 2012.

<sup>33</sup> Berlász 1984.

<sup>34</sup> On the discovery and fate of the sixth-century illuminated manuscript called *Vienna Dioskorides* see Visser 2004.

<sup>35</sup> Dernschwam 1984, p. 51.

<sup>36</sup> Tardy-Moskovszky 1973, pp. 390–94; Tardy 1983, pp. 128–35.

<sup>37</sup> Busbequius 1605; Busbecq 1881; Martels 1994.

<sup>38</sup> Fischer-Bencard-Rasmussen 2009, vol. 1, pp. pp. 66–138 (biography), pp. 87–106 (Turkish sojourn).

<sup>39</sup> Mikó 2008, pp. 26–27; Fischer, Bencard & Rasmussen, vol. 5. (forthcoming), cat. nos. 1556,2; 1557, 1 and 1557,2; Gyulai 2011, pp. 129–30.

<sup>40</sup> Rogerson 2005.

<sup>41</sup> Iuliano, p. 56; Westbrook, Dark & Meeuwen 2010, pp. 75–76.

<sup>42</sup> Fischer, Bencard & Rasmussen 2009, vol. 1, p. 108. This self-designation is used for the first time on his engraved portrait of sultan Süleyman published in 1562. Ibidem, vol. 5 (forthcoming), cat. no. 1562, 1.

<sup>43</sup> ‘The Suleimanyeh, or mosque of Solyman, is the most glorious masterpiece of Ottoman architecture. It is built after the pattern of St. Sophia, and was intended to surpass it. As regards the regularity of the plan, the perfection of the individual parts, and the harmony of the whole, that intention appears to have been fully attained. It was begun in 1550 and finished in 1555.’ Note of the editors: Busbecq 1881, p. 410.

<sup>44</sup> Busbequius 1605, pp. 289–90.

<sup>45</sup> Tardy-Moskovszky 1973; Tardy 1983, pp. 128–35; Martels 1991.

<sup>46</sup> Busbequius 1605, p. 62; Busbecq 1881, p. 142–43.

<sup>47</sup> Mommsen 1883; Cooley 2009; cf. Darkó 1977, pp. 34–45.

<sup>48</sup> Jardine-Brotton 2000, pp. 23–47.

<sup>49</sup> Viskolcz 2008.

<sup>50</sup> Molino 2005; Molino 2011.

<sup>51</sup> Ács 2011.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Louthan 2005, pp. 75–79.

<sup>53</sup> Molino 2005, pp. 284–298; Sebők 2007, pp. 302–332; Maurer 2011.

<sup>54</sup> Bredekamp 1995, pp. 30–36.

<sup>55</sup> Leu, Keller & Weidmann 2008; Molino 2012.

<sup>56</sup> Ács 2011.

<sup>57</sup> Leunclavius 1591, p. 15.

<sup>58</sup> Meyer Setton 1992; Green 2011.

<sup>59</sup> Biondo 2005.

<sup>60</sup> Ball 1975, 15–54.

<sup>61</sup> Lichtenberger 1499, p. D iij r; Kurtze 1986.

<sup>62</sup> Ács 2005.

# The *Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcs*

Süleyman and Charles V: Iconographic Discourse, Enhancement of Power and Magnificence, or Two Faces of the Same Coin? <sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

In court culture, sets of tapestries were often commissioned to celebrate the glory of princes, kings or the Emperor, with iconographic programmes emphasizing these personages' bravery or illustrious provenance. The political use of tapestries as visual paraphernalia (or artefacts) of monarchal and imperial status designed to be displayed during public events such as processions, coronations and receptions of foreign ambassadors is well established today. In the context of the long-standing conflict between the Ottoman Empire and Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1556), the series of the *Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz*, intended as tapestry designs, made after drawings by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (Aelst, 1502 – Brussels, 1550) is of great interest.<sup>2</sup>

The iconographic programme cannot be grasped without an in-depth understanding of Ottoman history bound by ideology rather than race,<sup>3</sup> and without a reassessment of the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566),<sup>4</sup> particularly with regard to the political, economic and cultural exchanges with the West and to court ritual and rivalry. In this respect, the 1989 study of Gülru Necipoğlu has highlighted the mimetic discourse between Süleyman and Charles V, focusing on the symbolic meaning of the regalia as a visual representation of sovereign insignia supporting a clever *mise en scène* of political power-lust.<sup>5</sup> Elaborating further on the *topos* of a self-fashioning compelling image of imperial power, Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton shed light on the permeable nature of the political and artistic boundaries between the Ottoman empire and Christendom on the basis of a re-evaluation of the cultural production of the Renaissance with particular attention to the political-ideological use of tapestries as a common court language that prevailed all over Europe.<sup>6</sup> For these authors, the journey to Constantinople 'was not simply an unprincipled attempt to sell sumptuous but iconographically incomprehensible tapestries to the Ottoman court [...] it showed an astute understanding of the shared imperial and iconographic preoccupations of the courts [...] skilfully [...] manipulated by a firm, and designer, situated at the nexus of the European tapestry industry.'<sup>7</sup>

The present study aims to review critically the documentary value of these prints as primary sources, the circumstances of Coecke's journey to Constantinople, and finally the artistic and cultural context in which this chorographic frieze was created.

### *The Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz*

Several copies of the original edition of the *Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* are conserved in public collections (fig. 1). Mostly, only the seven woodcuts with panoramic scenes divided from one another by terms<sup>8</sup> with alternate male and female figures in Turkish costumes are preserved.<sup>9</sup> When assembled, the seven compositions form a frieze framed by an entablature and a base, with a title page and a colophon, like the set in the British Museum.<sup>10</sup> The work was intended to be presented together in the form of a scroll or perhaps as a mural decoration.<sup>11</sup>



Fig. 1 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Les moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz...*, *Feast of the Circumcision outside of Constantinople*, Antwerp (?), 1553, London, British Museum, Department: Prints & Drawings.

The title page and the colophon (fig. 2–3) with elaborate strapwork and scrollwork-like design, in the style of Cornelis Bos ('s-Hertogenbosch, before 1515 – Groningen, 1555)<sup>12</sup> and Cornelis II Floris de Vriendt (Antwerp, 1514 – 1575), provide the data about this set, mentioning explicitly that the scenes were '*au vif contrefaictes par Pierre Coeck d'Alost, luy estant en Turquie, l'An de Iesuchrist M.D. 33*' and that the woodcuts were published posthumously, three years after the death of the artist, by his widow, Mayken Verhulst (Malines, 1518 – after 1593/1596).





Fig. 2-3 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Les moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz ...*, title-page and colophon Antwerp(?), 1553, London, British Museum, Department: Prints & Drawings.

The same year she published in de ‘*coopstadt van Antwerpen*’ the Dutch translation of Sebastiano Serlio’s Books I, II and V on Architecture that open with similar title pages decorated with strapwork (fig. 4).<sup>13</sup> The place where the *Moeurs* woodcuts were printed is not mentioned, but it is very likely that it was Antwerp.



Fig. 4 *Den eersten boeck van architecturen Sebastiani Serlij ... / overgesedt uitien Italiaenische in nederlands, duer Peeter Coecke van Aelst ... Gedruet inde vermaerde coopstadt van Antwerpen : ... duer Mayken Verhulst vveduwe des seluen Peeters voers, 1553, Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent.*

Mayken Verhulst, mentioned by Guiccardini among the female painters, was well acquainted with the Antwerp humanist and printer milieu, first and foremost with the book printer Gillis Coppens van Diest (? , c. 1496 – Antwerp, 1572), who printed for Coecke several of his translations of books on architecture by Serlio, but also the famous account of the Joyous Entry of Philip II in Antwerp written in 1549 by Cornelius Grapheus, city secretary, with woodcut illustrations of the ephemeral decorations after designs by Coecke.<sup>14</sup> Mayken Verhulst, as mother-in-law of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (Breda (?) c. 1525 – Brussels, 1569), also maintained close ties with Hieronymus Cock (Antwerp, 1518 – 1570), founder in 1548 of the printing house *Aux Quatre Vents* or the ‘House of the Four Winds’.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, from 1548 on, Cock published series of prints with cartouches framed by interlaced bands and scrollwork with *grotesque* figures, garlands and trophies after designs by the architect and sculptor Cornelis Floris.<sup>16</sup> Although no conclusion can be drawn about the author of the title page and the colophon of the *Moeurs*, it is more than likely that Floris knew personally Coecke and his entourage.<sup>17</sup>

The London series mounted on canvas shows clearly that the architectural frame was printed from separate woodblocks repeating the same motif, whereas the commentary in vernacular French

along the bottom underneath each scene was most probably impressed with block letters. Contrary to what is found in the literature, the frieze preserved in the Brussels Royal Library was assembled in the nineteenth century prior to its entrance in the collection, the entablature and base being later additions based on the London set or even after the facsimile edition of Sir Stirling Maxwell.<sup>18</sup>

The material description raises questions concerning the genesis of the woodcut series. Does the whole composition with an architectural border along the top and the bottom reflect faithfully the original project of Coecke, even though *modelli* for tapestries usually did not include borders? This could also explain the blank space of the borders. Nevertheless, the title page mentions that the artist drew the design on the blocks later: '*Lequel aussy de sa main propre a pourtraict ces figures duysantes à l'impression d'ycelles*'. This would suggest that he was only responsible for the preparatory drawings, though the well-balanced ratio between the height of the compartments and the entablature and base testifies to the artist's personal knowledge of the principles of architecture. Finally, the French text is problematic as far as its author is concerned. Is it an accurate record of the notes made by Pieter Coecke on the original drawings? Or are we dealing with posthumous commentaries written down by his widow?<sup>19</sup> Similarly, texts in Castilian in the upper border and Latin in the lower describe the events illustrated in the *Conquest of Tunis* designed by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (Beverwijck, c. 1500 – Brussels, 1559) after 1546 and woven in the Brussels workshop of Willem de Pannemaker between 1549 and 1554 after cartoons produced in collaboration with Pieter Coecke.<sup>20</sup>

### **Coecke journey to Constantinople: a politico-commercial enterprise?**

Although the exact circumstances of Coecke's travel to Constantinople remain uncertain, all written sources situate it within the context of the Antwerp-Brussels tapestry. In his life of Pieter Coecke of 1604, Karel Van Mander reports in much detail on the voyage to Turkey:

[...] He [i.e. Coecke] was urged on by some tradesmen, tapestry-makers from Brussels called Van der Moeyen, to travel to Constantinople in Turkey where they were planning to undertake something special by making beautiful, costly tapestries for the Great Turk, and they got Pieter to paint some things for that purpose to show the Turkish Emperor; but since the Turk, according to his Mohammedan Law, did not want figures of people or animals, it was fruitless and nothing came of it—except that a useless journey and high expenses incurred.<sup>21</sup>

Another important account is by André Félibien, who reported in 1666 that '[...] he went to Turkey, from where he brought the secret of beautiful dyes of silk and wool [...]'.<sup>22</sup>

Some archival sources have been connected to these literary ones. On 15 June 1533, Jacob Rehlinger, merchant from Augsburg and his Antwerp associate Pieter van der Walle, trader, jeweller and merchant of luxury goods, signed a contract with Willem Dermoyen for an option on re-editing the set of the *Hunts of Maximilian* and of the *Battle of Pavia* series. Rehlinger declared that he had received a tapestry of each set as samples to send off abroad. For the *Hunts*, the example was the *Month of September*, though the document does not specify which one was selected from the other



series. Rehlinger and his associate committed themselves to informing Dermoyen, before the end of year or at last in December 1533, whether they would acquire the first, the second, or both series. The document provides other valuable data concerning the transaction that are also found in another contract concluded at the request of Marco Casarli by a notary in Venice on 18 Augustus 1533, between Jacob Rehlinger and the Venetian jeweller Marco di Niccolò. This second source, dated two months later than the first contract, mentions explicitly that the samples of tapestries were to be offered for sale to Süleyman by their Venetian partner Marco di Niccolò.<sup>23</sup> The delay of a maximum of four months between the signing of the second contract and the commitment vis-à-vis Dermoyen concerning the commercial issue of this enterprise is very short, which allows us to conclude that this trading network operated efficiently. The average time for couriers to travel between Venice and Constantinople was forty-six days, with a minimum of fifteen and a maximum of eighty-one days.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, a Venetian traveller undertook the journey to Constantinople in January 1534 and arrived sixty-seven days later; a month to six weeks seems to have been the usual time span.<sup>25</sup>

Until now, no archival document mentioning the name of Coecke can be connected to this attempt to penetrate the Levantine market. Nevertheless, it is very likely that the artist could have been involved in one way or another. Indeed, business ties linked Coecke to the Antwerp merchant Peter van der Walle, who sold a set of the *Seven Deadly Sins* to Mary of Hungary in 1544. According to Thomas Campbell, '*maistre pierre van aelst peintre d'anvers*', as he is cited in a contemporary manuscript describing the iconography of the designs prepared for the Brussels weaver Willem de Pannemaker,<sup>26</sup> may have designed this series just before he left for Turkey. Campbell also suggests that Van der Walle commissioned the cartoons as a speculative venture.<sup>27</sup> Coecke, as a pupil of Bernard van Orley (Brussels, c. 1491/92 – 1541), was also very familiar with the Brussels circle of tapestry designers and weavers and maintained close connections with it during his entire career. Moreover, the name of Coecke has been associated with the cartoons for three series woven in Brussels during the 1520s: the *Life of Christ*, the *Battle of Pavia* and the *Hunts of Maximilian* (fig. 7), the last two sets being attributed to Van Orley and assistants.<sup>28</sup> Although it is still a matter of conjecture, Coecke's collaboration on the design of the *Hunts* was already mentioned by André Félibien in 1666, and this was the first time that he was directly associated with a set of tapestries in a written source, which thus provides a direct link between Coecke and Dermoyen.<sup>29</sup> Finally, Jacob Rehlinger, one of Charles V's important financiers and factor for the Fugger Company in Antwerp in 1520–21 and again in 1538–40, translated Serlio's Book IV on architecture, which had been published in 1542 by Coecke, into German.

While a commercial purpose of this whole enterprise cannot be denied, it is also likely that it was a pretext to send spies to the Ottoman Court. As recorded in various letters kept in the Imperial archives, the Roman Emperor endeavoured to keep himself informed on a daily basis about what was happening in Turkey, especially as of 1529. To achieve this, he established a diversified network of informants that was parallel or complementary to the one created by his brother Ferdinand. Amongst these informants was Marco di Niccolò, double agent for both Charles V and Süleyman the Magnificent, who was decapitated in Mars 1536 in Constantinople.<sup>30</sup>

After years of hostilities at the eastern borders of the Habsburg empire, the constant threats to Vienna, and at last the alliance of Francis I with Süleyman, Charles V delegated the Fleming



Cornelis de Schepper to negotiate an agreement concerning Hungary. He entered into *pourparlers* with the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha between May and July 1533 and concluded a truce allowing free trade between the Holy German Empire and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>31</sup> De Schepper went back to Brussels and then joined the Roman Emperor in Monzón (Aragon); by the end of December 1533 he had returned to Constantinople via Venice and Ragusa (today Dubrovnik), where his presence is attested on 26 April 1534. In a letter dated 2 June 1534 and addressed to a certain Monsieur de Malines, an encoded name for Charles V, references are made to the tapestries sent to Constantinople:

Last, I wrote to you how I arrived at that place, and what I thought could be said to Pierre Vande Walle concerning the tapestries and other goods. Since then the merchants have had much to suffer, and are oppressed increasingly from day to day, to such an extent that I don't advise them to come any more, and I think they will follow my advice. Other ways have to be found to sell off the said merchandise.<sup>32</sup>

Regarding the intense political exchange and the flow of information that circulated at that time,<sup>33</sup> it is impossible to credit Van Mander's assertion that the trip to Constantinople led to nothing because of Islamic law, first and foremost because human representations are indeed found in contemporary miniatures but also because sets of tapestries were already sent to Constantinople in the late fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup> It could even be argued that the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha was eager to compete with the lustre of the Western courts, as attested by the tiara commissioned in Venice and delivered in 1532; the luxury goods consisted mostly of jewellery and curiosities. After his death in 1536 his successors avoided conspicuous consumption at the Ottoman court.<sup>35</sup> The political events themselves necessitated a radical break with the diplomacy of reconciliation. Before the end of 1533 Süleyman summoned the pirate leader Barbarossa from Algiers to the court in Constantinople and ordered him to reorganize the Ottoman fleet in the Mediterranean. De Schepper left Constantinople on 13 June 1534 for Vienna, via Belgrade (30 June), Pressburg (today Bratislava, 15 July), and Prague (30 July).

With the exception of the date of 1533 on the front-page of the woodcut series and Van Mander's statement that Pieter Coecke '*was there for about a year*', no accurate information with respect to his trip is known,<sup>36</sup> neither the dates of his departure from Antwerp and Constantinople, nor his itinerary for the outward or the return journey. Many scenarios are plausible. The artist could have been a member of the entourage of De Schepper who arrived in the Ottoman city in May 1533 or, as a representative of the Dermoyen firm, he may have left Venice soon after the 18 August 1533, the date of the second contract, with the samples of tapestries and could have accompanied De Schepper on his return, but this is pure speculation.<sup>37</sup> Only the drawings that the painter brought from his journey, which are considered as the first reliable and illustrated reportage on Turkish civilization with views of landscapes and cityscapes from life, and the commentaries that located the scenes allow a partial reconstruction of the countries he visited.

### The seven panoramic scenes 'au vif contrefaictes'

According to Van Mander, this long frieze should be read from right to left, starting with *Süleyman riding through the ruins of the Hippodrome* (fig. 6), so that the Sultan and the cavalcade are looking left from the epitomized centre of the Ottoman Empire to his widely spread territories with the representation of *An Encampment in Slavonia* (fig. 5) at the borders of the Habsburg empire ensuring that even the most recently conquered territories are included. After the invasion of the kingdom of Hungary and the defeat at the battle of Mohács, from 1529 until 1552 the Ottoman army gradually conquered the eastern part of Slavonia, one of the three core regions of the medieval kingdom of Croatia. This scene reflects everyday life in a camp and the difficult conditions encountered by travellers in the mountains, especially during winter. At the time, caravanserais were not yet built along the whole Imperial road between Constantinople and Belgrade, via Sofia and Edirne. Cornelius de Schepper, on the way back from Constantinople in July 1533, related that, after Edirne, they put up pavilions and tents in order to sleep in the countryside.



Fig. 5 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Les moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz ...*, *Encampment in Slavonia*, Antwerp (?), 1553, London, British Museum, Department: Prints & Drawings.

The commentaries are a mine of information for viewers unfamiliar with the Turkish civilization and Muslim traditions. The detailed description of each scene interacts with the visual depiction and draws attention to particular situations, customs and beliefs that are confirmed amply by other sources, not only the letters and travel diary of Cornelius de Schepper already mentioned, but also the accounts of other ambassadors, the most famous being the *Turkish Letters* of Ogier Ghislen de Busbecq, who was appointed by Ferdinand between 1554 and 1562 as ambassador to the

court in Constantinople to negotiate, *inter alia*, the disputed territory of Transylvania (which more or less corresponds to present-day Romania).<sup>38</sup>

The iconography of the whole set attests to a high sense of observation and a thorough understanding of Ottoman society, emphasizing the diversity of culture in the extensive lands around the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans under Ottoman control. Everything is depicted with a great respect for foreigners and a non-Christian civilization, which it even glorifies.<sup>39</sup> It is tempting to follow Friedländer's assumption and to consider the woodcuts as being based on the *modelli*<sup>40</sup> intended to be submitted to Süleyman's approval before tapestries were commissioned. Necipoğlu suggested that the decision to show tapestries with pro-Habsburg subjects was probably meant to incite the Sultan to order similar tapestries for Ottoman propaganda.<sup>41</sup> However, after the truce negotiated by Cornelius de Schepper, the sending of the *Month of September* was probably not insignificant, given that it featured a horseman seen from the back whose profile and beardless face recall that of Ferdinand in the *Month of December*.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the figure of a rider perfectly controlling his horse, in this case the king of Bohemia and Hungary, could be considered, in light of the recent political events, as a message delivered for the attention of the Sultan. Even if these hypotheses cannot be ignored, especially in the context of court culture, the samples probably also had another function as well, namely, to show with concrete examples the refinement of execution and the high quality of the material used in the tapestries woven by the Brussels firm of Dermoyen.

The very similarity that the generic iconographic programme of the woodcut frieze shares with the *Hunts of Maximilian* is striking. The same rhetoric prevails: in *the Hunts*, the depiction of the leisure of the Emperor and other noblemen is the pretext to represent the centre of Habsburg power in the Low Countries during the reign of Charles V on the first tapestry of the set, the *Month of March*. The cityscape offers a unique view of Brussels with the old Coudenberg palace on the left, the tower of the town hall as a symbol of the civic authorities and the church of St Nicholas in the middle, and finally the church of Sts Michel and Gudule on the right. Both tapestries feature representations of places and buildings directly associated with the Emperor and court ritual and practices, for example, the Soignes forest, the castle of Tervueren, or the *Place des Bailles* created by the Emperor in front of the Coudenberg palace.

In the *Moeurs et Fachons de Faire des Turcs*, the ethnographic reportage made by Coecke was also a way to visualize for the 'others' the vast territories of the Ottoman Empire. As for the *Hunts*, the first scene presents the ruler, the *Padisha riding through the ruins of the Hippodrome* in Constantinople, the heart of the Ottoman Empire, formerly capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, and a strategic place for trade with Asia and Africa. Since the fall of the city in May 1453, the reconquest of old Byzantium constituted a leitmotiv at Western courts, reflecting its high symbolic significance for Christendom.

As a court painter familiar with the imperial propaganda programme, Coecke intentionally chose to situate the scene on the Hippodrome, which was filled with statues of gods, emperors and heroes as well as with looted trophies such as three sculptures of antique gods and nude goddesses placed on a column (Hercules and Venus or Diana and Apollo?) that had taken from the royal castle at Ofen in Hungary in 1526 and destroyed in 1536 after Ibrahim Pasha fell into disgrace. Pieter Coecke and Cornelius de Schepper were the only ones to record having seen these sculptures.<sup>43</sup> This almost topographic view of the site with the cityscape of the imperial capital shows many of the

monuments visible at that time, not only those of the Ottoman civilization but also ones from the Byzantine period and from antiquity.<sup>44</sup>

The similarity in *mise en scène* with the *Month of March* is obvious, with its strong relationship between the ruler and the city. Easily identifiable urban landscapes are used as markers of sovereignty and power, at the same time delivering a strong political message, namely, the recognition of Süleyman the Magnificent as the legitimate ruler of the former Eastern Roman Empire. Both emperors are portrayed on horseback, a strong reference to the antique Roman code of representation that enhanced the legitimacy of their title. Moreover, both were the temporal representatives of their respective religious world, Charles V being head of the Holy Roman Empire and the sultan likewise being a ruler with moral and religious authority. Even if not explicitly expressed, the representation of Charles V and Süleyman also emphasizes a semiotic analogy between the image of the royal portrait and God.



Fig. 6 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Les moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz ...*, Süleyman riding through the ruins of the Hippodrome, Antwerp (?), 1553, London, British Museum, Department: Prints & Drawings.





Fig. 7 Bernard van Orley (after designs by ca. 1528–31), *Departure for the Hunt (Month of March)* from a twelve-piece set of the *Hunts of Maximilian*, Brussels, Dermoyen workshop, 1531–33, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Pieter Coecke, who was well aware of the discourse delivered in tapestries intended for large-scale public display at the Habsburg court, translated it quite literally in a set considered to have been designed originally for Süleyman. As mentioned before, this attempt to penetrate the Levantine market led to nothing, with the exception of the record that still survives in this chorographic woodcut frieze.<sup>45</sup>

Two decades elapsed between the printing of the *Moeurs* and the journey to Constantinople. We can legitimately ask what the original plan was, and even if *modelli* were ever submitted to the Sultan or his entourage. That Pieter Coecke was a privileged observer of the Ottoman civilization in all its diversity of culture, manners and customs is amply demonstrated by scenes such as the *Turkish funeral* and the *Feast of the Circumcision outside of Constantinople* (fig. 1), even though no original drawing ‘from life’ survives.

In 1553 (or maybe 1554 if we take into account the Easter Calendar, as the precise date of the edition of the *Moeurs* is not given), the tapestry set of the *Conquest of Tunis* was already woven or at least almost completed. It was displayed for the first time at the wedding of Philip II of Spain and Portugal and the English queen Mary Tudor on 7 July 1554 in Winchester Cathedral and again in January 1555 at the church of Notre-Dame in Antwerp for a meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece.<sup>46</sup> It is tempting to hypothesize that at that time Mayken Verhulst saw a unique opportunity to print the travelogue made twenty years earlier by her husband. Before Coecke’s premature death, an event that was closely associated with the realization of the cartoons of the *Tunis tapestries series*,<sup>47</sup> it is obvious that he reworked the drawings taken from life during his trip and sojourn. But for what purpose did he do so? The unusual oblong format of the scenes separated by terms, the entablature and the base does indeed suggest that the series was well designed as models for tapestries and was only later on turned into printing blocks.<sup>48</sup> Several elements point in that direction. First and

foremost, the style is much more compatible with Pieter Coecke's late works, such as the *Lisbon triptych*, but one also notices the same creative spirit that prevails in the *Tunis tapestries*, even if their iconography diverges drastically. The compositions exhibit similarities in layout, with the action being concentrated mainly in the foreground to leave a maximum of space for the development of the panoramic views. The presence of the painter in the last scene dressed in a Slovenian costume, which affirmed that he was there, just as Jan Vermeyen portrayed himself twice in the *Tunis tapestries* in order to certify his presence during the Emperor's campaign in 1535, attests to a kind of mutual emulation between the two court painters. Moreover, the text in the tablet of the first tapestry of the *Tunis series*, *The Map of the Mediterranean Basin*, displays the same rhetoric as the title page of the *Moeurs*. It testifies that Vermeyen reported the action according to nature but also that the project was represented with geographical accuracy.<sup>49</sup> Again, a similar willingness to convince the viewer that what he was seeing had been depicted with all possible topographical rigour is found in the French commentary on *The Feast of the Circumcision outside of Constantinople* (fig. 1), in which it is explicitly stated that the cityscape is a true representation of the city outside made after nature: '*La vraye assiete ou qualite de la Ville de Constantinople par le dehors contrefaict apres le nature*'.<sup>50</sup>

More than fifty years before Van Mander introduced the notion of '*naer het leven*' into Dutch art theory, the term of '*au vif contrefaict*' had already appeared in the title page of the chorographic frieze of the *Moeurs et Fachons de faire de Turcz*, and the same idea prevailed as well in the introductory text of the *Tunis series*. Both ensembles started as independent records of 'topographical views' and events with ethnographic interest and were only later transformed into works of art.<sup>51</sup>

From 1540, Antwerp became a major centre for the printing of accounts and travelogues of the Levant. At that time the Europeans were better informed about what was happening in the Ottoman Empire than anywhere else in the world.<sup>52</sup> In 1544, Gillis Coppens van Diest published the accounts of Bartolomej Georgijević, a Hungarian captured by the Turks who returned to the West after thirteen years in slavery, and the same year Gregorius Bontius printed a book by the same authors on the origins of the Turks and various aspects of their social life.<sup>53</sup> As Cecilia Paredes has pertinently noted, although the *Moeurs* innovate in terms of iconography, the set is still part of a figurative and literary tradition. It assumes the literal transposition into image as much as it represents and illustrates the voyage of Coecke in Turkey.<sup>54</sup>

## Conclusion

Because of the whole cultural and artistic context in which first the drawings were re-elaborated and then the woodcut frieze created, it seems difficult to consider this series as an illustrative example of the mimetic discourse in a self-fashioning image of imperial power-lust between Charles V and Süleyman. If it was not, then who was behind the initiative?

More than ten years elapsed before Mary of Hungary commissioned Vermeyen to execute the *Conquest of Tunis* to celebrate the victory of the Emperor. However, the repercussions of this

military success were of limited scope, since the Ottoman fleet quickly regained control of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The *Moeurs*, which can be considered as an ethnographic reportage or an illustrated travelogue, also contains a powerful political message, as is shown by the comparison with the *Hunts of Maximilian*, a typical example of Habsburg propagandistic discourse. By showing Sultan Süleyman as the Magnificent, the victory of the Holy Roman Emperor at the Battle of Tunis was made even more glorious.



Fig. 8 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Les mœurs et fachons de faire de Turcz ...*, detail of Süleyman riding through the ruins of the Hippodrome, Antwerp (?), 1553, London, British Museum, Department: Prints & Drawings.

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## Illustrations

Fig. 1-3, 5-6, 8 The Trustees of the British Museum, Department: Prints & Drawings.

Fig. 4 Photo author.

Fig. 7 RMN, Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre), photo by Daniel Arnaudet.

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<sup>2</sup> On Pieter Coecke, still worth referring to Friedländer 1917 and Friedlander 1975, pp. 32–39 and on this series, see especially Stirling Maxwell 1873; Marlier 1966, pp. 55–74.

<sup>3</sup> Constantinople alone was a multi-ethnic society where the Turks cohabited with non-Muslim ethnic groups, mostly Jews, Greeks and Armenians. The bibliography on the subject is very abundant, see Wittek 1938 (ed. 2001); İnalçik 1994; Kafadar 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Considered as the 'golden age' of the Ottoman Empire, see Bacqué-Grammont 1989; Kunt & Woodhead, 1995. On the politics of Charles V, see Parker 1999 and on the mutual influences between Europe and the Ottomans, see İnalçik 2002.

<sup>5</sup> Necipoğlu 1989.

<sup>6</sup> Jardine & Brotton 2000. This view has been challenged. Nancy Bisaha 2004 notes that the authors' claim to cultural openness and respectful exchange relies on material goods and artwork, though she presents a superficial treatment of written sources (esp. pp. 6, 191–92 n. 13), whereas Silver 2011 emphasizes that in the Holy Roman Empire the Turks were seen as a marker of difference, with the usual stereotype of exotic and cruel warriors. Nevertheless, the importance of the East-West luxury trade in decorative art is well documented and attests to the European taste for 'exotic objects'. Paintings provide evidence of the dissemination of such consumer goods as well as models for the emergence of new artefacts produced locally. For Italy, see Mack 2002; Brotton 2002. For a broad overview of the import of textiles, tiles and ceramics, carpets, arms and armour in Eastern and Western Europe: Atasoy & Uluç 2012.

<sup>7</sup> Jardine & Brotton 2000, p. 120.

<sup>8</sup> And not caryatids as often mentioned. Similarly, the title page of the second edition of Coecke's Dutch translation of Sebastiano Serlio's Book IV on Architecture (1549) is decorated with male and female terms supporting a pediment. A copy is preserved in Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, ACC.028738.

<sup>9</sup> Like the set kept in Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, BHSL. RES. 1323/2 and in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund 1928, inv. 28.85.7a,b; Boorsch and Orenstein 1997; Orenstein 2004.

<sup>10</sup> London, British Museum, Department: Prints & Drawings, inv. E,6.1-7, 455 x 4825 mm (overall).

<sup>11</sup> As suggested by Stirling Maxwell 1873 (p. 2) this may explain the destruction of the greater part of the impression. On procession friezes and their origin, function and use, see Silver 2008.

<sup>12</sup> As early as 1962 Schéle considered a collaboration between Cornelis Bos and Pieter Coecke. In 1542, Coecke supplied Bos with three hundred copies of the 1539 Dutch edition of Serlio's Book IV, six of the 1542 German edition and 650 of *Die inventive der colommen* published in February 1539 (n.s. 1540). Schéle speculated that Bos was involved in the production of the books and that he was responsible for the woodcut illustrations. See

also Schéle 1965, pp. 18–23. This hypothesis is questioned by Van der Coelen (1995, pp. 191–92) who emphasized that Bos was a specialist in engraving on copper. Nevertheless, the banishment of the artist in 1544 makes it unlikely that he was implied in the series of the *Moeurs*, though he does seem to have maintained contacts with the artistic community in Antwerp until the end of his life (Van der Coelen 1995, p. 143).

<sup>13</sup> Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, ACC.028724/1 and ACC.028738. See also: <http://adore.ugent.be/OpenURL/app?id=archive.ugent.be:0D7B5258-B864-11E0-8849-E58E37D8FA8C&type=carousel>

<sup>14</sup> The collaboration with Gillis Coppens started as early as 1539 with the Dutch edition of Book IV: *Generalen reglen der architecture*. That Pieter Coecke, who explicitly used the title of sworn bookseller of the Emperor, had permission to publish the memorial book of the Entry printed in 1550 under his own name attests that he enjoyed a privileged status within the Scheldt city, whose council forbade painters, sculptors and printers to reproduce in any form whatsoever the decorations erected on the occasion or even to publish descriptions. In other words, only the official publications were authorized. Concerning the decree of the city council: Van der Stock 1998, pp. 152–53, 370 (transcription of the document). On the Books of Architecture, see a.o. De la Fontayne Verwey 1976; De Jonge 2004 (with bibliography).

<sup>15</sup> Bruegel started to work for Cock as soon as 1554 or even in 1552. The earliest testimony of Bruegel's activity in Cock's printing house is illustrated by a print *Wooded landscape with the Temptation of Christ* bearing the signature *H. Cock. fecit*. Sellink 2007, pp. 13, 57 cat. 16 with previous bibliography. On Cock and the publishing house, see Van Grieken 2010; Van der Stock 2013; Van Grieken 2013.

<sup>16</sup> The title page of the 1548 series of twenty designs for pitchers and shells with grotesque decorations displays similarities with that of the *Moeurs*. One might wonder what the participation of Cock was in the preparation of this set; he did indeed have knowledge of similar works based on antique models by Agostino Veneziano, Eneo Vico and Leonardo da Udine. For the print series and the collaboration with Cock, Van Mulders 1996 and for the 1548 series, esp. pp. 43–49, 142–45, figs. 119–139; see also Van Grieken, Luijten & Van der Stock 2013, cat. 76a-b, pp. 280–283.

<sup>17</sup> His brother, Frans I Floris, painted the decoration of the Triumphal Arch erected by the Genovese for the 1549 Joyous Entree of Philip II of Spain in Antwerp.

<sup>18</sup> Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, inv. S. II 32364, frieze of fourteen woodcuts; the title page and the colophon, on separate sheets, are also late additions (probably nineteenth century). A second set on fourteen sheets of a later edition (seventeenth century?) is also kept in the collection: inv. S. II 148040–148049.

<sup>19</sup> See the discussion below.

<sup>20</sup> The original tapestry set is preserved in Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, and the cartoons in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie. A close examination of the cartoons sustains this hypothesis. Campbell (2002, pp. 387–90) has suggested that some of the main figures in the foreground are by Coecke, unlike Horn (1989, pp. 122–25), who denied the participation of the artist. Several figures that present recurrent stylistic analogies with later works by Coecke were pasted over the vertical strips of the cartoons. A technical study of the cartoons would probably help us to understand the genesis of the work and the collaboration between the two masters and their workshop. Nevertheless, beside stylistic features that some main figures share with Coecke's works, some pieces of technical evidence reinforce this assumption, such as the comparison of the underdrawing of the *Triptych of the Descent of the Cross* (Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 112), which shows idiosyncratic handwritten characteristics in the drawing outlines and shadowing effects. This will be developed in another study devoted to the Lisbon altarpiece.

<sup>21</sup> Van Mander ed. Miedema 1994, I, pp. 130–31.

<sup>22</sup> Félibien ed. 1705, p. 255.

<sup>23</sup> Necipoğlu 1989, pp. 419–21; Balis, De Jonge, Delmarcel & Lefébure 1993, pp. 39–40; Campbell 2002, p. 379.

<sup>24</sup> Estimation for the period between 1497 and 1522. See Parker 1999, p. 114.

<sup>25</sup> For the account of this voyage and comments, see Stirling Maxwell 1873, pp. 22–30. In a letter (Constantinople, 2 June 1534) to 'Monsieur de Malines' (the Emperor), Cornelius De Schepper writes that he will leave on Friday next and hopes to be in Vienna in twenty-five days. See Gachard & Piot 1881, III, p. 541.

<sup>26</sup> Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, see Bauer & Steppe 1981, pp. 90–99.

<sup>27</sup> Campbell 2002, pp. 381, 414.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 379.



<sup>29</sup> Félibien ed. 1705, pp. 254–55; Marlier 1966, pp. 31–32. For the author of the drawings and the cartoons: Schneeberg-Perelman (1982, p. 191–226) attributed them to François Borreman and Coecke whereas Balis, De Jonge, Delmarcel & Lefébure (1993, pp. 54–79, esp. p. 78) reject the view that Coecke could have played a role in the elaboration of the set.

<sup>30</sup> Servantie 2005, pp. 271–74 and n. 68.

<sup>31</sup> The travel journal of Cornelis de Schepper is published by De Saint-Genois & Yssel de Schepper 1856, pp. 118–222.

<sup>32</sup> *'Par mes dernières, vous ay escript comment j'estoie arrivé en ce lieu, et ce que me sembla que pourrez dire à Pierre Vande Walle touchant les tapisseries et aultres marchandises. Depuis ce temps les marchandts ont eut assez à souffrir, et de jour en jour se treuvent oppressez de plus en plus ; de sorte que je ne conseille pas qu'ilz y viegnent plus, comme aussi je croy qu'ilz ne feront. Il fault trouver aultre mode pour hwyder lesdictes marchandises'*. Quoted after Gachard & Piot 1881, III, pp. 539–42 (esp. 539). In the note it is stated that *hwyder* means 'faire écouler', i.e. to sell.

<sup>33</sup> Servantie 2005.

<sup>34</sup> During a military expedition against the Sultan Beyazit, the future John the Fearless was taken prisoner. He was released in exchange for Arras tapestries that represented good old stories. Philip the Bold provided tapestries with the story of Alexander the Great's triumphs that were displayed on the walls of the Topkapi Saray. Jardine & Brotton 2000, p. 76.

<sup>35</sup> Necipoğlu 1989, p. 421. In the letter to the Emperor above mentioned, De Schepper complains that during the absence of Ibrahim Pasha things are not going as they should and that business is bad: *'par l'absence d'Imbrahim Bassa, les choses vont aultrement qu'elles ne souloient [...] Seulement je vous veulx prier vouloir dire à Pietre Vande Walle ce que ensuyt, affin qu'il ne se fie pas sur ces pierreries; car ce Grand Seigneur n'achapte plus ainsi qu'il souloit. C'est par l'absence d'Imbrahim Bassa'*. After Gachard & Piot 1881, III, pp. 539–40. The content of the entire letter is ambiguous and clearly shows that trade, diplomacy and espionage were closely related.

<sup>36</sup> Lewy (2007, pp. 67–74) believes that Pieter Coecke made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem during the period he was in Constantinople. The author's argumentation is based on an anonymous drawing of *Jerusalem as seen from the south* (Antwerp, private collection, pen and ink, 140 x 395 mm) that he ascribes to the artist. The view appears repeatedly with some alterations on several works attributed to Coecke, as for instance in the tapestry with the *Stoning of St Stephen* belonging to the cycle of Paul's tapestries (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, inv. n° T 71/8) and the triptych of the *Resurrection* (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, inv. 153). Nevertheless, as for the *View of the Saint Peter basilica under construction* (Roma, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ashby collection, inv. 329, pen and brown ink, 198 x 408 mm), the attribution of the drawing does not rely on strong stylistic similarities with undisputed drawings by the master but merely on the fact that Coecke is the only Netherlandish artist whose presence is attested in the Southern Levant at the time. On the Roman drawing, see Born 2008, pp. 96–97.

<sup>37</sup> On the road to Constantinople, see Stirling Maxwell 1873, pp. 21–30. Marlier (1966, p. 60) suggested that Coecke could have been part of De Schepper's embassy, whereas Hamilton (2001, p. 41) presents this as a fact but without any reference.

<sup>38</sup> Aedigius Beys, Plantin's son-in-law, printed the first completed edition in Paris in 1589 under Busbecq's supervision. See Hamilton 2001, pp. 41, 45. On European sources on Ottoman history (travellers, diplomats, pilgrims, merchants, etc.), see Faroqhi 1999, pp. 110–43.

<sup>39</sup> The topic of the image of the Turk has been also widely discussed in the literature. See for example St. Clair 1973, Raby 1982, Silver 2011 and the recent overview of Atasoy & Uluç 2012, pp. 327–63.

<sup>40</sup> The style and the well-balanced compositions of the woodcuts point to a later date, suggesting that Coecke reworked them.

<sup>41</sup> Necipoğlu 1989, p. 419.

<sup>42</sup> Identification suggested by Balis, De Jonge, Delmarcel & Lefébure 1993, pp. 32, 122.

<sup>43</sup> De Schepper visited on the 27 May 1533 Ibrahim Pasha in his palace situated on the Hippodrome and provided a description of the site. See De Saint-Genois & Yssel de Schepper 1856, p. 119.

<sup>44</sup> The buildings around the Hippodrome and the axis of the different obelisks and columns are slightly rearranged and shifted for compositional reasons. For a discussion on the accuracy of the site and monuments, see Marlier 1966, pp. 69–72.

<sup>45</sup> Until now, no preliminary drawing has been associated with this woodcut series. A large woodcut: *Description de la court du Grand Turc Solimans faisant son sejour en Constantinople, avec la maniere des*

*vestements de ceux de sa suite* (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus Prentenkabinett, 189 x 36 cm) is associated with the *Moeurs* but erroneously in my view. Illustrations in Hamilton 2001, pp. 28–33.

<sup>46</sup> Campbell 2002, p. 428 (with previous references).

<sup>47</sup> Coecke died in Brussels on 6 or 16 December 1550. In a letter dated 17 December 1550 from Mary of Hungary to Charles V concerning the *Tunis tapestries*, we find the following statement: '*il a plut à Dieu prendre à soy le peintre mestre Piere*'. If it cannot be formally excluded that there is more than one painter whose first name is Pierre, it seems unlikely that two court masters painters died unexpectedly in Brussels at the same time. For the epitaph, see Marlier 1966, pp. 29–31, 35 and document published by Horn 1989, II, p. 381.

<sup>48</sup> Even after the artist's death, the statement '*Lequel aussy de sa main propre a pourtraict ces figures duysantes à l'impression d'ycelles*' should perhaps not be taken literally but adds credibility to the assumption that the scenes from nature were not altered by the hand of another person.

<sup>49</sup> 'The course of events is represented in this work as exactly as possible [...] the action is treated in this tapestry according to nature, all that concerns cosmography leaving nothing to be desired'. Quoted after Horn 1989, pp. 181, 230 n. 32 (Spanish text).

<sup>50</sup> The city is depicted from a place called Kassimpasha, seen from across the Golden Horn, the city's harbour. Marlier 1966, pp. 66–69.

<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, there are, of course, drawings preserved that are portraits of cities or monuments, like for instance Jan Gossart's *View on the Colosseum Seen from the West* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. kdz 12918) with a later sixteenth century inscription at upper right: '*Jennin Mabusen eghenen / handt. Contrafetet in Roma / in [?] Coloseus*' or the *View on Bergen-op-Zoom* made by Dürer during his stay in Antwerp in 1520 (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung, Albertina, inv. 3165 D 139). The notion '*naer het leven*' has been developed further in our presentation *The Customs and Fashions of the Turks « au vif contrefaictes »* by Pieter Coecke van Aelst: critical reading and visual evidence, in *Netherlandish Culture of the Sixteenth Century. Interdisciplinary Conference*, Toronto, 19–20 October 2012.

<sup>52</sup> Hamilton 2001, pp. 26, 35 and ff.

<sup>53</sup> *De Afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum*, Antwerp, Copenius, 1544, 8° and *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, Antwerp, 1544, 8°, Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent: Hi 4013 and Hi 7026.

<sup>54</sup> Paredes 2005, pp. 146–48.

# 'Alla turca'

## Türkische Elemente in Theater und Fest an den Habsburgerhöfen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert\*

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**Andrea Sommer-Mathis** (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

### Festaufführungen in Wien und Madrid zur Feier des Entsatzes von Wien 1683

Spätestens seit der Schlacht von Mohács am 29. August 1526 wurden die Expansionsbestrebungen der Osmanen in Mitteleuropa zunehmend als Bedrohung empfunden. Man versuchte dieser Gefahr sowohl durch Abwehrkriege als auch durch diplomatische Verhandlungen zu begegnen, doch erst der Entsatz Wiens im Jahre 1683 brachte die endgültige Wende, und im Frieden von Karlowitz 1699 musste das Osmanische Reich schließlich auch umfangreiche Gebietsabtretungen hinnehmen.

Die Erleichterung über das Ende der osmanischen Expansion schlug sich in ganz Europa nicht nur in einer Flut von Flugblättern und Druckschriften nieder,<sup>1</sup> sondern auch in zahlreichen Festen und Theateraufführungen. Schon die ersten Feierlichkeiten unmittelbar nach der Zweiten Wiener Türkenbelagerung 1683<sup>2</sup> spielten sowohl für die Konstruktion des späteren 'Türkengedächtnisses' als auch für die Imagebildung der europäischen Fürsten eine nicht unwesentliche Rolle. Die mediale Verarbeitung der militärischen Ereignisse erfolgte einerseits über die Betonung der eigenen Größe und Tapferkeit und andererseits über die gleichzeitige Diffamierung des besiegten Gegners. Dies gilt auch für die Festlichkeiten und Theaterproduktionen, in denen man den so mühsam errungenen Triumph über die Osmanen an den habsburgischen Höfen in Wien und Madrid feierte.

Am Kaiserhof setzten die Jesuiten den Entsatz Wiens in dem allegorischen Drama *Ferdinandus Quintus Rex Hispaniae Maurorum Domitor*<sup>3</sup> (Abb. 1) mit dem spanischen Sieg über die Mauren 1492 in Beziehung und erinnerten in einer Szene auch an die gleichzeitige Vertreibung der Juden aus Spanien.<sup>4</sup> In der abschließenden musikalischen Huldigung<sup>5</sup> der habsburgischen Kronländer wird Kaiser Leopold I. mit Ferdinand dem Katholischen verglichen und als neuer *defensor fidei* gefeiert.<sup>6</sup>

Am spanischen Hof in Madrid wurde der Sieg über die Türken 1683 mit einer zweiteiligen *comedia* von Pedro de Arce gefeiert, die unter dem Titel *El sitio de Viena*<sup>7</sup> (Abb. 2) das hochaktuelle Thema der Belagerung und des Entsatzes von Wien thematisierte, jedoch den polnischen König Jan III. Sobieski als den eigentlichen Helden feierte. Dem in Sobieski verkörperten Tugendideal werden die negativen Eigenschaften des Hochmuts und der Machtgier gegenübergestellt, die hier nicht nur –

wie sonst meist üblich – an den feindlichen Osmanen, sondern auch an einigen Christen exemplifiziert werden.

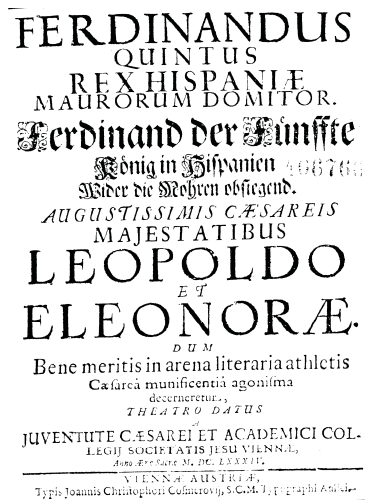


Abb. 1 Titelblatt der Perioche des Jesuitendramas *Ferdinandus Quintus Hispaniae Maurorum Domitor*, 1684 (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 406.766-B.Mus.).

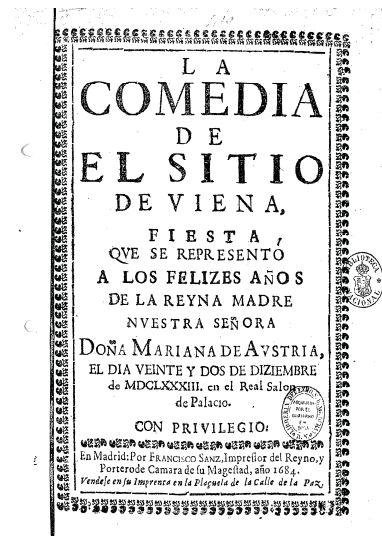


Abb. 2 Titelblatt der *Comedia de El Sitio de Viena*, 1684 (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, T 12709).

Der spanische König Karl II. hatte sich zwar selbst an der Türkenabwehr nicht aktiv beteiligt, ließ den Entsatz Wiens aber dennoch in Madrid mit Prozessionen, Dankgottesdiensten, Feuerwerken und Festbeleuchtungen als kollektiven Triumph der gesamten Casa de Austria feiern.<sup>8</sup> Die *comedia* Pedro de Arces stellt auf Grund ihrer besonderen zeitlichen Nähe zum aktuellen Anlass eine Besonderheit dar, fügt sich jedoch in eine lange Tradition historischer Dramen, die sich mit politisch-militärischen Ereignissen der jüngeren Vergangenheit beschäftigten, wobei auch die Begegnung zwischen Orient und Okzident immer wieder thematisiert wurde.<sup>9</sup>

### **Turcos, moros y moriscos in der spanischen Dramatik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts**

Die ersten theatralischen Werke mit türkischen Sujets, die aus Spanien bekannt sind, entstanden unmittelbar nach den Feldzügen von Sultan Süleyman I. dem Prächtigen gegen Ungarn, die ihn zweimal – 1529 und 1532 – bis vor die Tore Wiens führten. Diese Vorstöße der Osmanen bedeuteten zwar für Spanien, im Gegensatz zu ihren späteren Offensiven im Mittelmeer (1535 Belagerung von Tunis, 1541 von Algier), keine unmittelbare kriegerische Bedrohung,<sup>10</sup> doch war die Angst vor einer neuerlichen Islamisierung Spaniens stets präsent. Dies wirkte sich auch auf die Wahrnehmung der ‘Türken’ in Spanien aus; sie wurden zum neuen Feindbild mit den von den Mauren übernommenen stereotypen Zuschreibungen als Ungläubige, Barbaren und Tyrannen.

Davon ist allerdings in den spanischen Dramen aus den 30er Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts noch kaum etwas zu finden: López de Yanguas benutzte das ‘türkische’ Ambiente seiner *Farsa dicha turquesana contra el Turco muy galana*<sup>11</sup> (1530) lediglich als Folie, um das Christentum als die einzig wahre Religion zu propagieren, während in Luis Miláns Divertissement *El cortesano*<sup>12</sup> (1538) die



Türken überhaupt nur als stumme Statisten fungierten, die dazu dienten, die Hofgesellschaft von Valencia mit galanten Texten, exotischen Tänzen, Spielen und Kostümen zu unterhalten.

Nach der neuerlichen Konfrontation der spanischen Truppen mit den Osmanen während der Belagerung von Malta (1565) und vor allem in der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571) erweckten *'los turcos'* auch in Spanien immer größeres Interesse, was sich nicht nur in zahlreichen Chroniken und Reisebeschreibungen,<sup>13</sup> sondern auch in einer deutlichen Zunahme von *'türkischen'* Stoffen in der spanischen Literatur manifestierte.<sup>14</sup> Die ersten Dramatiker, die sich derartigen Themen zuwandten, bezogen sich dabei jedoch nicht auf die rezenten Feldzüge, sondern auf länger zurückliegende Ereignisse: Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega wählte als Sujet für *La destrucción de Constantinopla*<sup>15</sup> (1587) den Fall Konstantinopels 1453, und der valencianische Kanoniker Francisco Agustín Tárrega nahm die Belagerungen von Rhodos in den Jahren 1481 und 1522 zum Ausgangspunkt der Handlung seines Dramas *El cerco de Rodas*<sup>16</sup>; beide Autoren reicherten die historischen Ereignisse mit den für die zeitgenössischen *comedias* charakteristischen Liebesintrigen an.

Anders als Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega oder Francisco Agustín Tárrega konnte Miguel de Cervantes in seinen Werken ganz persönliche Erfahrungen in der Begegnung mit dem Orient verarbeiten,<sup>17</sup> denn er war als Soldat an der Schlacht von Lepanto beteiligt gewesen und 1575 in die Gefangenschaft nordafrikanischer Korsaren geraten.<sup>18</sup> Während er in seinen Dramen *Los tratos de Argel* und *Los baños de Argel*<sup>19</sup> reale Erlebnisse während seiner fünfjährigen Gefangenschaft in Algier einfließen ließ, entspringt das *'türkische'* Milieu von *La gran sultana Doña Catalina de Oviedo*<sup>20</sup> weitgehend seiner Phantasie.<sup>21</sup>

Auch in der überaus reichen Dramenproduktion Lope de Vegas finden sich etwa zwanzig Dramen mit *'türkisch'* inspirierten Sujets sowie eine noch weit größere Anzahl von *comedias* mit *'maurischen'* Themen; sie waren weitgehend frei erfunden und basierten nur zu einem geringen Teil auf realen Gegebenheiten, wobei Lope de Vega auch diese mit dichterischer Freiheit interpretierte.<sup>22</sup>

So nahm er etwa in dem zwischen 1598 und 1603 entstandenen Drama *El cerco de Viena por Carlos V*<sup>23</sup> die Erste Wiener Türkenbelagerung von 1529 zum Anlass, um Kaiser Karl V. als Sieger im Kampf gegen die Türken zu feiern, obwohl dies den historischen Tatsachen keineswegs entsprach, denn Karl V. hatte seinen Bruder, König Ferdinand I., damals militärisch kaum unterstützt, und Sultan Süleyman I. der Prächtige war zwar 1529 bis vor die Mauern Wiens gelangt, hatte aber nach nur zwei Wochen den Rückzug seiner Armee angeordnet. Erst im Jahre 1532, beim zweiten Versuch Süleymans, Wien zu belagern, versammelte auch Karl V. ein stattliches Heer, das den Sultan letztlich an der Durchführung seines Vorhabens hinderte.<sup>24</sup> – Im Widerspruch zur historischen Realität präsentierte Lope de Vega in *El cerco de Viena por Carlos V* den Kaiser (Abb. 3) als Idealbild eines Verteidigers der Christenheit und stellte ihn in krasser Schwarzweißmalerei Sultan Süleyman (Abb. 4) gegenüber, den er als grausamen Despoten charakterisierte, der aus purer Willkür schreckliche Gräueltaten angeordnet habe.<sup>25</sup> In der *comedia* begegnete Karl V. seinem Kontrahenten *'con la Fè en el ombro, y el mundo a los pies'*, wie es in einer Bühnenanweisung heißt, während der Sultan – in Umkehrung des Bildes – nach Lope de Vega den Glauben mit Füßen getreten und widerrechtlich Anspruch auf die Weltherrschaft erhoben habe. Im Schlusssatz feierte Lope de Vega den Sieg über die Osmanen explizit als Triumph Spaniens – *'Y esta es la ilustre vitoria, / que alcançò España en Viena'* – und huldigte dem neuen spanischen König Philipp III. und seiner Dynastie.<sup>26</sup>



Abb. 3 Tizian, Kaiser Karl V. im Harnisch, Mitte 16. Jh. (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. GG-8060).



Abb. 4 Umkreis Tizians, Sultan Süleyman I, um 1530/40 (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. GG-2429).

Die Metapher des Glaubens, den der Kaiser als Weltenherrscher auf seinen Schultern trägt, entspricht in ihrem Bedeutungsgehalt zahlreichen bildlichen Darstellungen auf zeitgenössischen ephemeren Triumpharchitekturen. Es sei beispielhaft nur auf einen der Triumphbögen verwiesen, die 1570 anlässlich der Hochzeitsfestlichkeiten des spanischen Königs Philipp II. mit Erzherzogin Anna von Österreich, einer Tochter Kaiser Maximilians II., in Madrid errichtet wurden: Karl V., der Vater des Bräutigams, wurde dort mit anderen Herrschern aus beiden Linien des Hauses Habsburg dargestellt, darunter auch mit seinem Bruder Ferdinand I., wobei Hinweise auf ihren 'gemeinsamen' Sieg über die Osmanen nicht fehlten. Auf demselben Triumphbogen befand sich auch eine allegorische Figur Spaniens mit einer durch eine schwere Kette an sie gefesselten Personifikation der Ketzerei zu ihren Füßen; aus den erklärenden Inschriften geht hervor, dass damit sowohl der Protestantismus als auch der Islam gemeint war.<sup>27</sup>

Ähnliche Darstellungen finden sich auch außerhalb des habsburgischen Herrschaftsgebiets, etwa in Florenz, wo man 1589 zur Eheschließung von Ferdinando de' Medici mit Christina von Lothringen einen Triumphbogen mit zwei Kolossalstatuen habsburgischer Herrscher errichten ließ, die als Kriegshelden und Bezwingler der Türken dargestellt wurden: Karl V. neuerlich als derjenige, der 1529 die Türken aus Wien vertrieben habe, und sein Sohn Philipp II. als strahlender Sieger in der Seeschlacht von Lepanto im Jahre 1571.<sup>28</sup>

Lope de Vega konnte somit in seinem Drama *El cerco de Viena por Carlos V* an eine Argumentationslinie anknüpfen, die damals schon europaweit in Wort und Bild etabliert war. Gegen Ende der *comedia* kam es zu einer kurzen Begegnung des Kaisers mit seinem Bruder Ferdinand, bei der die beiden Monarchen und ihre Generäle mit tapferen Herrschern und Feldherrn der Vergangenheit verglichen wurden, mit Scipio, Alexander dem Großen und Marius – wieder in Analogie zu den bildlichen Darstellungen und panegyrischen Texten der gleichzeitigen fürstlichen Einzüge in ganz Europa.

Neben Lope de Vega setzte sich auch Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla mit der Ersten Wiener Türkenbelagerung auseinander,<sup>29</sup> zeigte aber in seinem Drama *El desafío de Carlos V*<sup>30</sup> auch die mit dem Krieg verbundenen existenziellen und finanziellen Nöte, ja sogar die körperliche Gebrechlichkeit des Kaisers, der von heftigen Gichtanfällen geplagt wird. Titelgebendes Thema der *comedia* ist die Legende vom Zweikampf zwischen Süleyman dem Prächtigen und Kaiser Karl V., der nur deshalb nicht zustandekommt, weil die Türken schon vorher abziehen. Bei Rojas Zorrilla werden die Feinde durch den Spanier Luis de la Cueva in die Flucht geschlagen, wobei dieser vom Heiligen Martin unterstützt wird, der auf einem weißen Pferd an der Seite der Christen kämpft – in Analogie zur spanischen Legende von *Santiago Matamoros*, dem Heiligen Jakob, der den Spaniern im Kampf gegen die Mauren Beistand geleistet haben soll.

Historische Wahrheit war bei Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla ebenso wenig zu finden, und auch nicht zu erwarten wie bei Lope de Vega und den übrigen Dramatikern des Siglo de Oro, was jedoch keineswegs bedeutete, dass sie die historiographischen Quellen nicht kannten oder benutzten. Bei Lopes Türkendrama *El cerco de Viena por Carlos V* konnten diese zwar bisher nicht eindeutig nachgewiesen werden, doch in anderen seiner historischen *comedias* hielt er sich, wie viele seiner Zeitgenossen, häufig an die Darstellung der umfangreichen Vita Karls V., die König Philipp II. zur Glorifizierung der Herrscherpersönlichkeit seines Vaters – und damit implizit auch seiner eigenen – bei Fray Prudencio de Sandoval in Auftrag gegeben hatte.<sup>31</sup>

An der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert verfasste Lope de Vega noch eine ganze Reihe weiterer Dramen mit ‘türkischen’ und ‘maurischen’ Sujets, in denen er ohne Unterschied Großtürken und Berberkönige, Sultane und ihre Favoritinnen, Renegaten und spanische Gefangene auftreten ließ – entscheidend war die Bühnenwirksamkeit der Stoffe und Figuren. Es ging Lope de Vega wohl vor allem darum, ein möglichst attraktives ‘orientalisches’ oder allgemein ‘exotisches’ Milieu für die dramatische Handlung seiner *comedias* zu schaffen.<sup>32</sup> Symptomatisch ist dabei, dass in all diesen Dramen keine klare Differenzierung zwischen Türken und Mauren vorgenommen wird. *Turcos*, *moros* y *moriscos* waren Sammelbegriffe für alle Muslime, gleichgültig, ob sie aus Nordafrika, dem arabischen Raum oder aus dem Osmanischen Reich stammten. Ihre Anders- und Fremdartigkeit war nicht ethnologisch differenziert, sondern einzig durch ihre Zugehörigkeit zum Islam, den es – in den Augen der katholischen Monarchen und ihrer literarischen ‘Sprachrohre’ – zu bekämpfen galt.

### **Turcica in ritterlichen Turnieren an den österreichischen Habsburgerhöfen**

Eine ähnlich undifferenzierte Darstellung von Mauren und Türken findet sich auch in den ritterlichen Turnieren, die ab der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts an den österreichischen Habsburgerhöfen veranstaltet wurden. Stellvertretend für viele andere sei das ‘Huszarische Turnier’ genannt, das Erzherzog Ferdinand II., der jüngere Sohn Kaiser Ferdinands I., 1557 als böhmischer Statthalter in Prag abhielt. Die Husaren, eine ungarische Elitetruppe des Reichsheeres, galten als die tapfersten Verteidiger Europas gegen die Osmanen und boten sich daher als Identifikationsfiguren für die Habsburger in besonderem Maße an. So trat auch Erzherzog Ferdinand II. nur ein Jahr nach seinem Feldzug gegen die Osmanen in Ungarn (1556) in der Rolle und im Kostüm eines Anführers der Husaren zum Schaukampf gegen die Muslime an (Abb. 5).<sup>33</sup>



Abb. 5 Erzherzog Ferdinand als Anführer der Husaren  
(Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. 5134, fol. 167).

Bei dem Prager ‘Huszarischen Turnier’ handelte es sich um ein Scharmützel, einen Gruppenkampf, der von zwei Parteien ausgetragen wurde: Die eine erschien im Kostüm christlicher Ritter und Husaren, die andere Gruppe als ‘Türken’ und ‘Mohren’ (Abb. 6). Für die Ausstattung der islamischen Gegner ließ Ferdinand Maskenvisiere anfertigen, die aus Eisen gefertigt und mit Ölfarbe bemalt waren; sie sollten die Physiognomie von Türken und Mohren imitieren (Abb. 7). An den Visieren angenietete Lederschlaufen dienten zur Befestigung von Schnurrbärten aus Rosshaar, Turbanen und Kapuzen. Über dem Harnisch wurden die entsprechenden orientalischen Kleider angelegt. Zur Ausstattung der ‘huszarischen’ oder ‘ungarischen’ Reiter gehörten auch sogenannte ‘Flügelartschen’, Schilde, die spitz zulaufend die Gestalt eines Flügels nachbildeten und dadurch Schutz gegen Säbelhiebe auf den Kopf und den Nacken boten (Abb. 8).



Abb. 6 Reiter im ‘mohrischen’ Kostüm  
(Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Inv.-Nr. 5134, fol. 53).





Abb. 7 Maskenvisiere.

(Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Sammlungen Schloss Ambras, Inv.-Nrn. WA 284, WA 248, WA 494).



Abb. 8 Flügeltartsche.

Von den Ausstattungsstücken dieses und ähnlicher Turniere haben sich einige erhalten; nachgearbeitete orientalische Sturmhauben (Abb. 9) ebenso wie die 'Silberne huszarische Rüstung' Ferdinands II., die der Erzherzog nach dem Türkenfeldzug von 1556 in Auftrag gab (Abb. 10). Es ist anzunehmen, dass noch weitere orientalische bzw. orientalisierende Waffen und Requisiten aus dem Besitz des Erzherzogs für diese Turniere benutzt wurden. Nach der Übernahme der Regentschaft in Tirol 1564 stellte Ferdinand diese Originale, zusammen mit den speziell für die 'Huszarischen Turniere' angefertigten Dekorationen, in seiner 'Türkenkammer' auf Schloss Ambras aus.<sup>34</sup>



Abb. 9 Sturmhaube im orientalisierenden Stil  
(München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Inv.-Nr. W 1388)



Abb. 10 Silberne huszarische Rüstung' Erzherzog Ferdinands II. (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Inv.-Nr. A 878)

Propagandistischer Hintergrund der ‘Huszarischen Turniere’ war die Darstellung des Kampfes der christlichen Habsburger gegen den Islam in Osteuropa und Nordafrika. Neben diesem politischen Aspekt ist allerdings auch der starke Einfluss der Ritterepen und -romane zu berücksichtigen, die mit Amadís de Gaula, Ariosts *Orlando Furioso* und Tassos *Gerusalemme liberata* im 16. Jahrhundert eine große Blütezeit erlebten. Darin wurden neben christlichen auch mohammedanische Ritter als große, tapfere Krieger dargestellt, was es den Hofadeligen erleichtert haben mag, in das Kostüm des ‘Erbfeindes’ zu schlüpfen.<sup>35</sup>

Auch die Ritterspiele im Rahmen des sogenannten ‘Wiener Turniers’ von 1560,<sup>36</sup> die der spätere Kaiser Maximilian II. zu Ehren seines Vaters Ferdinand I. veranstaltete, enthielten konkrete Hinweise auf die Rolle der Habsburger in der Türkenabwehr. So inszenierte man unter anderem möglichst realitätsgetreu die Belagerung einer auf der Donau errichteten Stadt (Abb. 11) und sparte bei der Darstellung der fiktiven Seeschlacht auch nicht mit drastischen Mitteln: Um die Verwundeten möglichst ‘echt’ aussehen zu lassen, verwendete man Ochsenblut, und um die toten Körper der Feinde darzustellen, katapultierte man aus Mörsern Stroh puppen mit Türkenmasken. Damit sollte einerseits ganz gezielt die Erinnerung an die Grausamkeit der Feldzüge gegen die Osmanen in der jüngsten Vergangenheit geweckt werden,<sup>37</sup> andererseits signalisierte man aber auch, dass man sich durchaus zutraute, die übermächtigen Feinde zu bezwingen.<sup>38</sup>



Abb. 11 Seeschlacht auf der Donau 1560. Radierung von Hanns Sebald Lautensack im Turnierbuch von Hans Francolin Burgunder, Wien 1561 (Wien, Österreichisches Theaternmuseum, Inv.-Nr. G FeS 4240/3).

Nach 1560 trat die theatralische Ausgestaltung der Turniere durch kostümierte Aufzüge und dramatische Programme, die sogenannten ‘Inventionen’, immer stärker in den Vordergrund.<sup>39</sup> Das zeigt sich auch in dem allegorischen Ringrennen, das Kaiser Maximilian II. 1571 anlässlich der Hochzeit seines Bruders, Erzherzog Karls von Innerösterreich, mit Maria von Bayern in Wien



veranstaltete; an der Konzeption des Programms und der künstlerischen Ausgestaltung waren der Humanist Johann Baptist Fonteius und Giuseppe Arcimboldo, der spätere Hofmaler Kaiser Rudolfs II., maßgeblich beteiligt (Abb. 12).<sup>40</sup> In großteils von Arcimboldo<sup>41</sup> entworfenen Kostümen und Masken zogen mythologische und allegorische Figuren auf den Turnierplatz, allen voran die vier Weltteile Europa, Asien, Afrika und Amerika mit ihren wichtigsten Ländern.

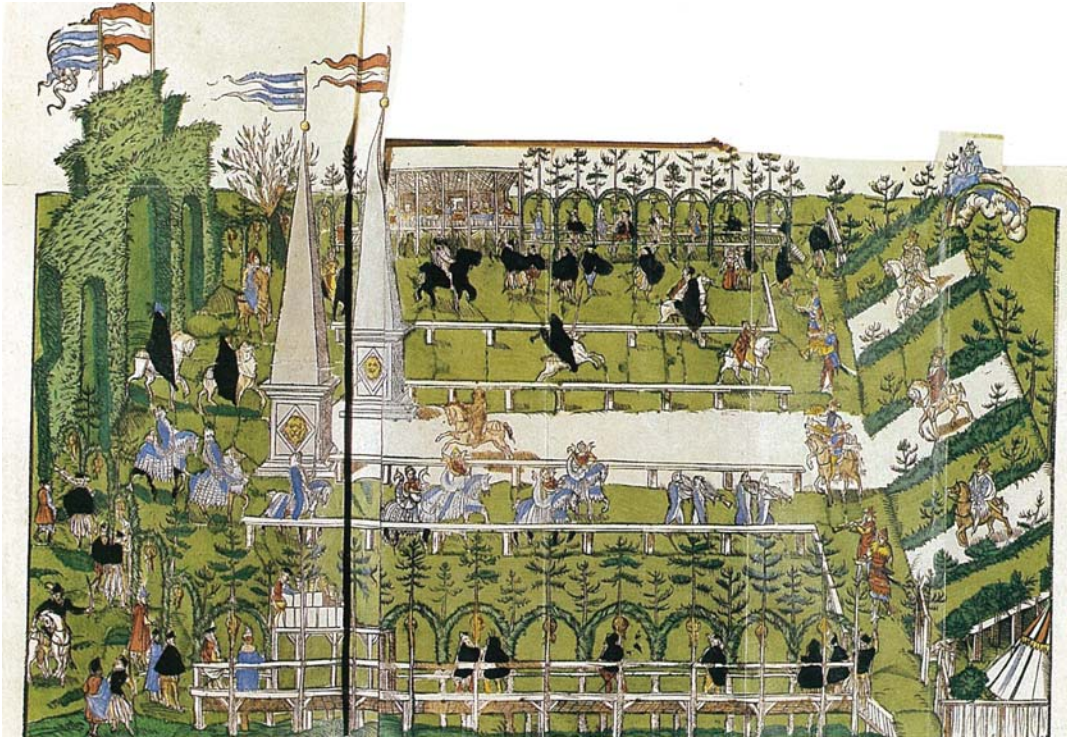


Abb. 12 Allegorisches Turnier in Wien, 1571. Kolorierter Holzschnitt in Heinrich Wirrichs Festbeschreibung (Wien, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Inv.-Nr. 1543, Bibliothek, Sign. A II 27).

Dieses Turnier mit seinem komplexen kosmologischen Programm fand kaum mehr als einen Monat vor der Seeschlacht von Lepanto statt, in der einer der Teilnehmer an den Festlichkeiten, Don Juan de Austria, als Oberbefehlshaber der Heiligen Liga die Osmanen vernichtend schlagen sollte. Der theatralische Kampf der Weltteile um die Vorherrschaft und der Turniersieg Europas über die nicht-christlichen Kontinente signalisierte die imperialen Ansprüche der österreichischen Habsburger und ging weit über bloße Spielfreude und Lust am Verkleiden hinaus, wiewohl man auch diese Komponente bei den Festen der Renaissance und des Barock nicht unterschätzen sollte. Dafür spricht die ungeheure Fülle an Festveranstaltungen mit verschiedensten exotischen – gerade auch orientalischen – Verkleidungen in ganz Europa.

### **Erdteiallegorien und ‘Nationen’-Darstellungen**

Die erste erhaltene bildliche Darstellung der Allegorien aller damals bekannten Erdteile dürfte etwa zur selben Zeit wie das Wiener allegorische Turnier entstanden sein: 1570 veröffentlichte der königlich-spanische Geograph Abraham Ortelius in Antwerpen unter dem Titel *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*<sup>42</sup> eine Sammlung von 70 Landkarten, die als das älteste Beispiel eines internationalen Atlas

gilt. Auf dem Titelblatt (Abb. 13) sind die vier Weltteile in einer triumphbogenartigen Architektur gemeinsam abgebildet, womit die aus europäischer Perspektive bis weit ins 18. Jahrhundert gültige Hierarchie der Weltteile festgelegt wurde: Europa thront als Weltenherrscherin, gekennzeichnet durch die Attribute Krone, Szepter und Erdkugel, hoch über den anderen drei Kontinenten Asien, Afrika und Amerika.

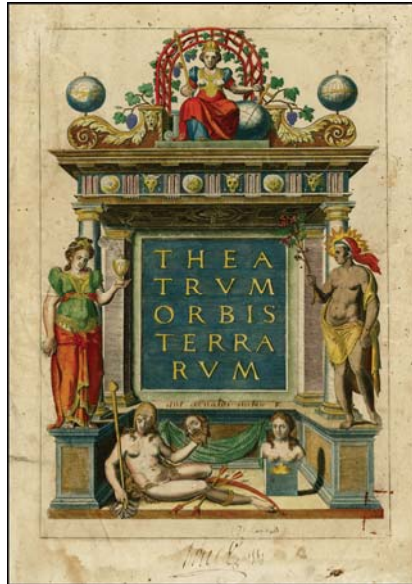


Abb. 13 Titelblatt des Atlas von Abraham Ortelius, 1570  
(Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 393 215 D/K).

Ähnliche allegorische Darstellungen der Erdteile finden sich nicht nur als Illustrationen von Weltkarten und Atlanten, sondern sehr oft auch auf den Titelblättern der im letzten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts besonders populären 'Trachtenbücher' (Abb. 14), umfassenden Kompendien von Kostümen der Völker der ganzen Welt. Die dort abgebildeten Darstellungen beruhen zumeist auf der ethnographischen Kenntnis realer Trachten und dienten häufig als Vorlagen für die barocken Allegorien der Erdteile und ihrer Völkerschaften, die damals auch in die Festveranstaltungen vieler europäischer Höfe Eingang fanden.



Abb. 14 Titelblatt des Trachtenbuchs von Abraham de Bruyn, 1581  
(Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 253.433-E/Fid.).



Während man sich anfangs noch relativ genau an die Ikonographie der Trachtenbücher hielt (Abb. 15a-b), entfernte man sich im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts immer mehr davon und beschränkte sich im Zuge einer zunehmenden europäischen Standardisierung mehr und mehr auf die stereotype Zuweisung einzelner, als charakteristisch erachteter Attribute – und dies obwohl man die Osmanen durch Reiseberichte und türkische Gesandtschaften vielfach auch aus eigener Anschauung kannte. Die gängigen Attribute der Türken waren kostbare, mit Juwelen geschmückte orientalische Gewänder, Seidenkafane, Pumphosen und Turbane, die entsprechenden Waffen, Krummsäbel und Streitkolben, sowie das Symbol des Halbmonds, das oft als dekoratives Element eingesetzt wurde.



Abb. 15 a-b Türkischer Kaiser und Ägypter. Holzschnitte von Jost Amman in Hans Weigels Trachtenbuch, 1577 (Faksimile Unterschneidheim 1969, pp. CLXXXVII und CCXVII).

Personifikationen der vier Weltteile finden sich als Bilder und Statuen auf Triumph- und Trauerarchitekturen ebenso wie als lebende Allegorien im Rahmen festlicher Aufzüge und religiöser Prozessionen, wobei letztere am spanischen Hof besonders reich ausgestaltet wurden. Es sei in diesem Kontext nur auf die Festlichkeiten in Madrid anlässlich der kollektiven Heiligsprechung von Ignatius von Loyola, Franz Xaver, Teresa von Avila, Isidro Labrador und Filippo Neri im Jahre 1622 verwiesen, bei denen mehrfach Allegorien der vier Weltteile bzw. Repräsentanten ihrer 'Nationen' auftraten. Auch Türken kamen vor: Einmal erschienen sie gemeinsam mit Persern und Ägyptern als Bewohner Asiens, wobei sie in der Bekleidung kaum voneinander unterschieden wurden,<sup>43</sup> ein andermal im Gefolge der Europa, gemeinsam mit Deutschen, Franzosen und Spaniern. Einer der Autoren der zahlreichen Festbeschreibungen des Jahres 1622 schildert in aller Ausführlichkeit die prächtigen Kostüme der Türken aus Samt und Seide, ihre diamanten- und perlengezierten Turbane und ihren reichen Schmuck,<sup>44</sup> meint dann aber, man hätte ihnen absichtlich einen Platz an der Seite der Deutschen zugewiesen, um sie zu 'demütigen'.<sup>45</sup> Üblicherweise erfolgte eine solche 'Demütigung' im Rahmen festlicher Ein- und Aufzüge auf ganz andere Weise: Man zeigte die besiegten Feinde zu bzw. oft auch unter den Füßen der Sieger oder in Ketten als Gefangene, wie sie den Triumphwagen ihrer Bezwinger zogen; die Osmanen wurden dabei meist halbnackt dargestellt und einzig durch die ihnen zugewiesenen Attribute – Turban, Rossschweif, türkische Feldzeichen und Waffen – kenntlich gemacht.<sup>46</sup> Eine Zuordnung der Türken zu Europa, wie sie 1622 in Madrid erfolgte, stellt im Rahmen der Feste der Frühen Neuzeit eine ausgesprochene Rarität dar.

In traditionellen Bahnen bewegten sich hingegen die fiktiven Kämpfe zwischen Osmanen und Europäern, die auch während der Kanonisationsfeierlichkeiten des Jahres 1622 im Rahmen einer Prozession als Tanzgruppe (*danza de invenciones*<sup>47</sup>) inszeniert wurden: Drei als Franzosen, Spanier bzw. Türken kostümierte Quadrillen simulierten, mit Lederschilden und Lanzen bewaffnet, einen Fußkampf, während eine andere Gruppe, die aus jeweils sechs Türken und Christen bestand, eine Seeschlacht veranstaltete. Ihre zwölf Galeeren waren ganz naturalistisch mit Masten, Takelwerk und Segeln ausgestattet und so leicht, dass sie von nur einem Mann auf den Schultern getragen werden konnten. Das Wasser war auf Leinwand aufgemalt, die den unteren Teil der Schiffe verdeckte, und durch die geschickte Bewegung der Tänzer entstand die Illusion einer Seeschlacht en miniature auf den Wogen eines bloß imaginierten Meeres<sup>48</sup> – anders als die Türken und Christen, die einander bei der Wiener Naumachie des Jahres 1560 auf der Donau eine ‘echte’ Wasserschlacht geliefert hatten.

Erdteilallegorien und ‘Nationen’-Darstellungen gehörten im 17. Jahrhundert an vielen europäischen Höfen auch zum gängigen und überaus beliebten Figureninventar der mit großem Aufwand dramatisch ausgestalteten Reiterspiele und Rossballette, die sich aus den einfacheren Turnierformen der Renaissance entwickelt hatten. Im so genannten Karussell wurden verschiedene Spielarten des Turniers zusammengefasst und unter ein gemeinsames Thema gestellt, dem die jeweilige Kostümierung entsprach; sehr häufig war dies der Wettstreit der vier Weltteile um die Vorherrschaft, der zunehmend als theatralischer Schaukampf inszeniert wurde.<sup>49</sup>

So veranstaltete man etwa am Wiener Kaiserhof 1652 zu Ehren der neu geborenen spanischen Infantin Margarita Teresa, der späteren Ehefrau Kaiser Leopolds I., ein Reiterspiel, das aus einer eigenwilligen Kombination aus italienischem Musikdrama und Turnier bestand und den Titel *La gara* trug.<sup>50</sup> Darin streiten die vier Weltteile um den Vorrang bei der Huldigung der Infantin, zunächst nur mit Worten und Gesang, dann aber auch mit Waffengewalt (Abb. 16). Da sich die Kontinente im Schaukampf als gleichwertig erweisen, sieht sich Jupiter gezwungen einzugreifen: Er spricht Europa den Siegespreis zu, fordert aber auch die anderen Weltteile auf, der Infantin gemeinsam zu huldigen.



Abb. 16 Fußturnier der vier Weltteile im Rahmen der Turnieroper *La Gara*, 1652. Anonymer Kupferstich nach einem Entwurf von Giovanni Burnacini (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 79.B.1.Mus.).

Das Turnierspiel diente nicht nur der vordergründigen Hommage an das spanische Königskind, sondern zeigte auch deutlich die imperialen politischen Ansprüche der österreichischen Habsburger. Die Quadrille der siegreichen Europa führte König Ferdinand IV. an, der nicht nur zum

Bräutigam der eben erst geborenen Infantin auserkoren war, sondern auch am nächsten Reichstag 1653 zum kaiserlichen Thronfolger proklamiert werden sollte. Da Ferdinand aber bereits im darauf folgenden Jahr verstarb, trat sein Bruder Leopold das Erbe an und wurde 1658 in Frankfurt am Main zum Römischen Kaiser gekrönt. Zur Unterhaltung des dort anwesenden Adels fand unter anderem ein so genanntes Kopffrennen statt, ein Reiterspiel, bei dem man mit Lanze, Säbel oder Pistole gegen Türken- oder Mohrenköpfe aus Holz oder Pappmaché zu kämpfen hatte. Die Türkenkopffrennen gingen auf die sowohl auf osmanischer als auch auf europäischer Seite übliche Praxis zurück, den Kopf des Feindes als Trophäe zu verwenden.<sup>51</sup> In den Ritterspielen fungierten die Zielfiguren der Türken und Mohren als Stellvertreter für die Feinde, denen man im Krieg tatsächlich gegenübergestanden hatte.

Von der politischen Brisanz dieser Reiterspiele zeugt die Reaktion eines türkischen Gesandten, der im Februar 1662 einem derartigen Kopffrennen in Wien beigewohnt hatte, “wozu vier geschnitzte Türcken-Köpffe aufgesteckt und nach dem ersten mit der Lanze, auf den andern mit dem Pfeil, auf den dritten mit dem Pistol und auf den letzten mit dem Degen gerennt wurde”. Um die geschmacklose Spielfiktion der Lächerlichkeit preiszugeben, verwies er darauf, dass “Sein Kayser [...] anderwärts so vile lebendige Christen-Köpffe niedersäblen [liesse], daß man nicht nöthig habe, mit erdichteten Türcken-Köpffen solche Kurzweil zu treiben.”<sup>52</sup> Diese Turnierform blieb noch bis ins 19. Jahrhundert ein überaus beliebtes ‘Divertissement’,<sup>53</sup> das man 1814 auch den Gästen des Wiener Kongresses nicht vorenthalten wollte, obwohl es zu diesem Zeitpunkt jeder Grundlage einer realen Bedrohung durch den osmanischen ‘Erbfeind’ entbehrte (Abb. 17).<sup>54</sup>

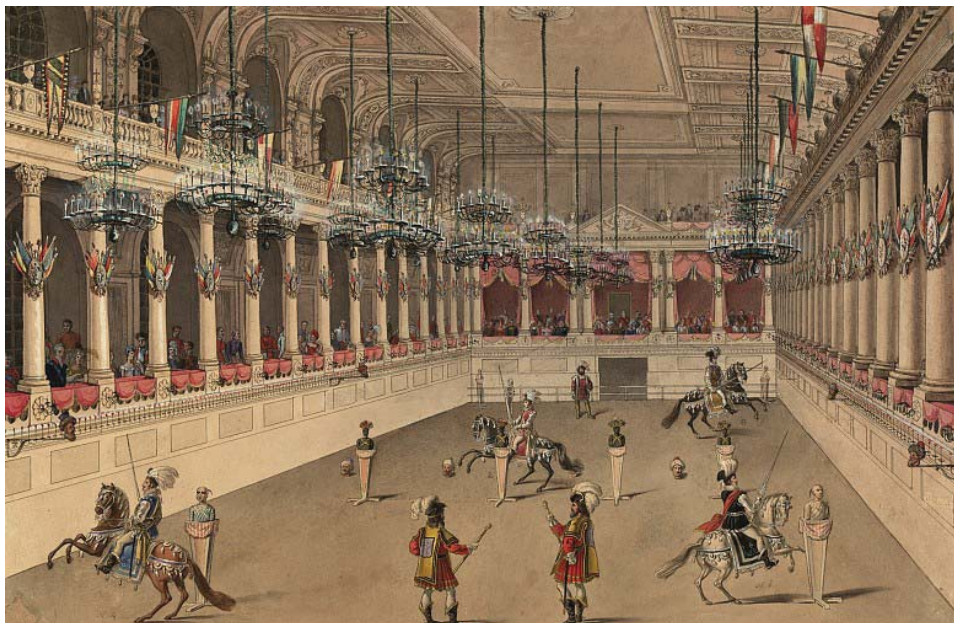


Abb. 16 Reiterspiel mit Türken- und Mohrenköpfen, 1814  
(Wien Museum, Mappe “Feste”).

Im Rahmen der Krönungsfestlichkeiten für Kaiser Leopold I. in Frankfurt am Main 1658 fand unter anderem ein Turnier mit mehreren Quadrillen maskierter Ritter statt, zu denen zwar keine Türken gehörten, sehr wohl aber Mohren: sie waren dunkelhäutig, durch das Attribut des Federschmucks jedoch in der Art der Indianer kostümiert.<sup>55</sup> Hier zeigt sich ein spielerischer Umgang mit einer älteren Turnierform, wobei jedoch der ursprüngliche politisch-religiöse Aspekt des Kampfes



gegen die Osmanen oder Mauren zur Verteidigung des Christentums gegen den Islam durch die Beliebtheit der exotischen Kostümierung deutlich in den Hintergrund trat.<sup>56</sup>

Eindeutig politisch motiviert war hingegen die wohl spektakulärste Festveranstaltung des Wiener Kaiserhofes – das Rossballett *La contesa dell’Aria e dell’Acqua* von 1667.<sup>57</sup> Hier ging es zwar weder um den Kampf zwischen Muslims und Christen noch um den Wettstreit der vier Weltteile, sondern um den Kampf der vier Elemente, doch ist diese spektakuläre ‘Barockperformance’<sup>58</sup> auch in diesem Kontext von Interesse, ist sie doch nichts anderes als eine mit allen medialen und propagandistischen Mitteln der damaligen Zeit<sup>59</sup> realisierte Antwort Kaiser Leopolds I. auf das französische Karussell von 1662,<sup>60</sup> in dem sich König Ludwig XIV. als Beherrscher der ganzen Welt inszeniert hatte: Er war im Kostüm eines Römischen Kaisers an der Spitze von Vertretern aller Erdteile – in diesem Fall von Römern, Persern, Türken, Indern und Amerikanern – aufgezogen und hatte damit dem habsburgischen Kontrahenten Leopold I. seine weltumspannenden Machtansprüche signalisiert.<sup>61</sup> Bei den Figurinen der Türken (Abb. 18 und 19) und Inder (Abb. 20) fällt auf, welche minimale Unterschiede bei der Gestaltung ihrer Kostüme gemacht wurden; das wichtigste Erkennungsmerkmal der einzelnen Gruppierungen war die unterschiedliche Farbgebung und einzelne als charakteristisch angesehene Attribute – im Falle der Türken das Symbol des Halbmonds, das sich als Ornament auf den Kostümen der Mitwirkenden und dem Zaumzeug der Pferde findet.



Abb. 18: ‘Türkische’ Soldaten im Karussell von 1662. Kolorierte Kupferstiche von Israel Silvestre in Charles Perraults *Courses des testes et bagues...* (Faksimile: *Denkmäler des Theaters*, Mappe VI).





Abb. 19 und 20 'Türkisch' bzw. 'indisch' kostümierte Reiter im Karussell von 1662. Kolorierte Kupferstiche von Israel Silvestre in Charles Perraults *Courses des testes et bagues...* (Faksimile: *Denkmäler des Theaters*, Mappe VI, Tafeln XIII, XV).

### Türkenmotive in Mummereien und Faschingsmaskeraden

Noch deutlicher wird diese Gestaltungsvielfalt bei den Maskeraden, die sich nicht nur an den habsburgischen Höfen größter Beliebtheit erfreuten. Vor allem die Faschingszeit bot den Hofadeligen vielfältige Gelegenheit zur Kostümierung und damit zum Ausbruch aus dem strengen Hofzeremoniell. Dabei waren der Phantasie kaum Grenzen gesetzt, wie etwa die Festbeschreibung einer Tanzveranstaltung am Wiener Hof aus dem Jahre 1636 zeigt, in der ganz unterschiedliche Masken aufzogen: Das gemischte 'Empfangskomitee' für den Kaiser bildeten Türken, Ferraresen und Fischer, wobei die Kostüme der Türken – laut Festbeschreibung – besonders prächtig mit Reiherfedern und Juwelen geschmückt waren;<sup>62</sup> es folgten in buntem Durcheinander Jägerinnen, Indianerinnen, Portugiesinnen und Spanierinnen, Commedia dell'arte-Figuren, die auf einem Wagen ein riesiges Stück Parmesan mit sich führten, Sklaven, die von den Personifikationen der Treue und Beständigkeit angeführt wurden, Mohren, Juden, Hirten,<sup>63</sup> und verschiedenste allegorische Figuren.<sup>63</sup>

Türkische Elemente sind in höfischen Maskenfesten und Verkleidungsdivertissements jedoch schon wesentlich früher, mindestens seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts, schriftlich belegt und in Kaiser Maximilians I. fiktiven autobiographischen Werken *Freydal* und *Weißkunig* auch im Bild festgehalten. So sind in einer so genannten 'Türkenmummerei' sechs Tänzer dargestellt, die alle weiße, zopfartig geflochtene Turbane über dunkelroten Kappen tragen; diese türkischen Kostüme werden durch Krummsäbel und groteske bärtige Masken komplettiert (Abb. 21). Auch andere der in den 'Gedechnuswerken' Maximilians I. abgebildeten Mummereien zeigen einen ähnlichen orientalisierenden Einfluss, wobei die kostbaren Gewänder und Turbane der Tänzer in deutlichem Widerspruch zu ihren grotesken Bärten und Vogelmasken stehen (Abb. 22).<sup>64</sup>



Abb. 21 und 22 Türkische Mummereien aus dem *Freydal*, 1512–15  
(Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstammer, Inv.-Nr. P 5073; Ausgabe von Leitner, Bl. 172 und 203).

Das Türkenmotiv war und blieb auch in den folgenden Jahrhunderten in höfischen Maskenspielen und Balletten stets präsent<sup>65</sup> und fand unter anderem Eingang in die Wirtschafte, eine Form von Verkleidungsbanketten, die für den Wiener Hof ab 1653 nachweisbar ist.<sup>66</sup> Dabei fungierte das Kaiserpaar als Wirt und Wirtin und empfing die als Vertreter der verschiedensten Nationen und Berufsstände kostümierten Mitglieder des Hochadels als Gäste zu einem Festmahl mit anschließendem Tanz. Zu den Nationentrachten, die immer wiederkehrten, gehören Türken und Mohren ebenso wie Indianer, Ägypter, Chinesen, Perser, Römer, Alte Deutsche, Venezianer, Spanier, Franzosen, Polen, Ungarn und Griechen.

Die erhaltenen Verzeichnisse der Wirtschafte beschränken sich auf die Nennung der Namen der Teilnehmer und ihrer 'Rollen', die ihnen durch das Los zugeteilt wurden; sie geben aber keinen Aufschluss darüber, wie man sich die Kostüme dieser Nationentrachten vorzustellen hat. Erfreulicherweise haben sich jedoch kolorierte Kostümfigurinen von der Hand des kaiserlichen Architekten, Bühnen- und Kostümbildners Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini erhalten,<sup>67</sup> die einen Eindruck geben von der Vielfalt und Farbenpracht dieser *Maschere*. Bei der Gestaltung der Völkertrachten ließ Burnacini seiner Phantasie freien Lauf, obwohl er um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts nicht nur auf Reiseberichte, Atlanten und Trachtenbücher hätte zurückgreifen können, um sich die nötigen ethnographische Kenntnisse anzueignen, sondern auch Gelegenheit hatte, 'echte' Türken am Kaiserhof zu sehen, die als diplomatische Gesandte nach Wien kamen.<sup>68</sup> Dennoch beschränken sich seine ethnographischen Assoziationen bei der Gruppe der Türken<sup>69</sup> auf die bereits bekannten Attribute: reich geschmückte orientalische Gewänder, Turbane, Krummsäbel und Halbmond – im Übrigen überwiegt das barocke Bühnenkostüm (Abb. 23), und auch die Art der paarweisen Darstellung entspricht den zeitgenössischen Theaterszenen, in denen auch mit dem gefürchteten Krummsäbel spielerisch umgegangen werden konnte (Abb. 24).<sup>70</sup>





Abb. 23 Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, Türkische *Maschere* für Wirschaften am Wiener Hof, 2. H. des 17. Jhs. (Wien, Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Min. 20; Faksimile: *Denkmäler des Theaters*, Mappe I, Tafel VII).



Abb. 24 Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, Türkische *Maschere* für Wirschaften am Wiener Hof, 2. H. des 17. Jhs. (Wien, Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Min. 20; Faksimile: *Denkmäler des Theaters*, Mappe I, Tafel VIII).

## Ausblick

Wenn man die hier kurz skizzierten Feste an den habsburgischen Höfen während des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts Revue passieren lässt und nach dem dort gezeigten Türkenbild fragt, so lässt sich festhalten, dass Türken während der gesamten Zeit der osmanischen Bedrohung vor allem im Rahmen höfischer Maskeraden und Turniere zum überaus beliebten und daher häufig eingesetzten Figurenpersonal gehörten. Dabei reicht die Bandbreite der Darstellung in den verschiedenen Genres vom grausamen, barbarischen Christenfeind über den tapferen, bewunderungswürdigen Krieger bis hin zu nicht näher bestimmten exotischen Orientalen.

Während türkische Sujets relativ früh Eingang in die spanischen *comedias* fanden, scheint eine dramatische Auseinandersetzung mit den Osmanen an den Höfen der österreichischen Habsburger kaum stattgefunden zu haben. Dies lag wohl hauptsächlich daran, dass im 17. Jahrhundert die italienische Oper am Kaiserhof über alle anderen dramatischen Gattungen dominierte und die Librettisten eindeutig Sujets aus der antiken Mythologie und Geschichte bevorzugten. Türken fanden sich daher zunächst nur in den Zwischenaktballetten der Musikdramen, waren da aber auch nicht mehr als pittoreske, exotische Staffagefiguren – anders als in Frankreich oder Italien, wo türkische Motive zu abendfüllenden Balletten ausgestaltet wurden.<sup>71</sup>

Erst im 18. Jahrhundert – als man keine weiteren osmanischen Expansionsbestrebungen mehr zu fürchten hatte – entstand auch am Wiener Hof eine regelrechte Türkenmode, die von einer schwärmerischen Faszination für den Orient bestimmt war und sich gerade in Theater und Fest besonders deutlich manifestierte.<sup>72</sup> Dabei wich die Vorstellung der Osmanen als grausame Krieger und Christenfeinde im Zuge der Aufklärung bald ganz dem Idealbild edler, großzügiger und vorbildlich handelnder Menschen, wie sie etwa *Le Turc Généreux* (Abb. 25) oder *Selim Bassa* in Mozarts *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782) verkörperten, um nur die bekanntesten Beispiele unter den zahlreichen orientalischen Opern, Singspielen und Balletten aus der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts zu nennen.



Abb. 25 Kolorierter Kupferstich nach einem Gemälde von Bernardo Bellotto, Ballettaufführung von *Le Turc Généreux* am Wiener Burgtheater, 1758.



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## Abbildungen

Abb. 1 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 406.766-B.Mus.

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Abb. 3–4 Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Bilddatenbank.

Abb. 5–6 *Wir sind Helden* 2005, p. 68.

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Abb. 11 *Wir sind Helden* 2005, p.10.

Abb. 12 *Federschmuck und Kaiserkrone* 1992, p. 140.

Abb. 13–14 *Federschmuck und Kaiserkrone* 1992, p. 46.



Abb. 15 Weigel 1969, CLXXXVII und CCXVII.

Abb. 16 *Federschmuck und Kaiserkrone* 1992, p. 287.

Abb. 17 <http://www.habsburger.net/de/kapitel/tuerkenkopfstechen-am-hof>

Abb. 18–20 *Denkmäler des Theaters*, Mappe VI: Charles Perrault, *Courses de testes et bagues*.

Abb. 21–22 *Freydal* (Faksimile von Leitner 1880–82), Bl. 172 und 203.

Abb. 23–24 *Denkmäler des Theaters*, Mappe I: L.O. Burnacini, *Maschere*.

Abb. 25 akg Images.

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\* Die vorliegende Studie erhebt keinerlei Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit, sondern beschränkt sich auf einige besonders signifikant erscheinende Beispiele der medialen Umsetzung des Türkenbildes in Theater und Fest an den österreichischen und spanischen Habsburgerhöfen.

<sup>1</sup> Kábdebo 1876. Sturminger 1955. Grothaus 1985. Schilling 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Sommer-Mathis 2013.

<sup>3</sup> *Ferdinandus Quintus* 1684. Staudt 1981.

<sup>4</sup> *Ferdinandus Quintus* 1684: 'SCENA VI. Mauris Sociata Hebræorum gens Hispaniã exturbatur. / Denen Mohren beygeselltes Juden=Gesindl wird auß Spanien vertrieben.'

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. zu weiteren musikalischen Darstellungen der Zweiten Wiener Türkenbelagerung u.a. Riedel 1982.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. zu Leopold I. als 'Türkenkrieger und -sieger', Wrede 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Arce 1684. Smieja 1983, p. 408. Sabik 1993. Sabik 1997, p. 306. Sanz Ayán 2006, p. 125.

<sup>8</sup> *Salida en publico* 1683, pp. 7–14. *Verdadera, y nueva relacion* 1683. Robles 1683.

<sup>9</sup> Mas 1967, vol. II, pp. 1–97.

<sup>10</sup> Einen Sonderfall stellt Cristóbal de Castillejo dar, der ab 1525 am Wiener Hof lebte und daher auch die Schlacht von Mohács 1526 sowie die Angriffe auf Wien in den Jahren 1529 und 1532 aus unmittelbarer Nähe miterlebte; er thematisierte seine Erfahrungen zwar in seinen Dichtungen, verfasste aber keine theatralischen Werke; vgl. Laferl, 1997.

<sup>11</sup> Hernando and Espejo 2002. Mas 1967, vol. I, pp. 57–63; vol. II, pp. 239–40.

<sup>12</sup> Milán 1874.

<sup>13</sup> Merle 2009, pp. 147–150.

<sup>14</sup> Bereits um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts (Widmung an den spanischen König Philipp II. vom 1. März 1557) entstand der Roman *El viaje de Turquía*, dessen anonymen Autor ein detailreiches Bild der osmanischen Gesellschaft und Kultur aus der Sicht eines spanischen Gefangenen in Konstantinopel zeichnet; *Viaje de Turquía* 1919.

<sup>15</sup> Lasso de la Vega 1983. Mas, vol. I, pp. 179–83.

<sup>16</sup> Mas 1967, vol. I, pp. 183–88.

<sup>17</sup> Mas 1967, vol. I, pp. 289–383. Márquez Villanueva 1991, 2005, 2010.

<sup>18</sup> Avalle-Arce 1968. Márquez Villanueva 1975. McGaha 1996. Sola 1995. Sánchez 1997.

<sup>19</sup> Zimic 1964. Zimic 1992, pp. 37–56, 139–55. Merregalli 1972. Fernández 2000.

<sup>20</sup> Cervantes 1615. Mas 1967, vol. I, pp. 341–53; vol. II, pp. 388–90, 420–23. Zimic 1992, pp. 183–203.

<sup>21</sup> *El gallardo español* spielte in Orán (Zimic 1992, pp. 87–117); ein weiteres Drama, *La batalla naval*, bezog sich auf die Seeschlacht von Lepanto, ist aber verloren gegangen.

<sup>22</sup> Mas 1967, vol. I, pp. 385–504.

<sup>23</sup> Lope de Vega Carpio 1969, pp. 301–43. Der Titel müsste eigentlich ergänzt werden zu *El cerco de Viena y el socorro por Carlos V*.

<sup>24</sup> Petritsch 2002, pp. 667–74.

<sup>25</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo 1969, pp. 42–45.

- <sup>26</sup> Sellés Ferrando 1993, p. 171; 2004, p. 49f. Laferl 1994, p. 71f. Schreder 1995, pp. 32–34. Sommer-Mathis 2001, pp. 648–51; 2002, pp. 717–19.
- <sup>27</sup> López de Hoyos 1572, ff. 34–41. Chaves Montoya 1985, pp. 131–33. Chaves Montoya 1989, p. 94.
- <sup>28</sup> Gualterotti 1589, ff. 37v–39v. Blumenthal 1980, p. 5. Sommer-Mathis 2001, p. 644; 2002, p. 713.
- <sup>29</sup> Sellés Ferrando 1993, p. 171. 2004, pp. 37–51.
- <sup>30</sup> Rojas Zorrilla. Sommer-Mathis 2001, p. 651; 2002, p. 719f.
- <sup>31</sup> Sandoval 1955/56.
- <sup>32</sup> Mas 1967, vol. II, pp. 7–95.
- <sup>33</sup> Pfaffenbichler 1992, pp. 21–24; 2003, p. 278f. *Wir sind Helden* 2005, pp. 12, 67–74 (Kat.-Nr. 3.1–3.6). Bůzek 2009, pp. 215–18. Dmitrieva 2013, pp. 321–6.
- <sup>34</sup> Pfaffenbichler 1995/96, pp. 97, 246f. Schnitzer 1995/96, pp. 231f. Dmitrieva 2013, pp. 321f.
- <sup>35</sup> Pfaffenbichler 1992, pp. 23f.; 2003, pp. 278f.
- <sup>36</sup> Francolin 1561, 1566. Venturini 2002, pp. 174–81. Winkler 1979. Vavra 1990. Pfaffenbichler 1992, pp. 24–28; 2003, pp. 279–81. *Wir sind Helden* 2005, Kat.-Nr. 3.12–3.14.
- <sup>37</sup> Kissling 1964. Höfert 2003. Pühringer 2005. Schilling 2008.
- <sup>38</sup> Sommer-Mathis 2010, p. 84. Karner 2013, pp. 122–5.
- <sup>39</sup> Watanabe-O’Kelly 1992. Schnitzer 1999, pp. 112–19.
- <sup>40</sup> Fonteius 1571. Wirrich 1571. Stubenrauch 1837. Zwiedineck 1899. Vocolka 1976, pp. 78–83; 1978. DaCosta Kaufmann 1978, pp. 33–40. Sommer-Mathis 1992, pp. 136, 140, 145, 279; 2010, pp. 86f. Pfaffenbichler 1992, pp. 28–31. Bůzek 2009, pp. 225–29.
- <sup>41</sup> Giuseppe Arcimboldo 1983. Arcimboldo 2008, pp. 243–65; Beyer 2008, pp. 245–47.
- <sup>42</sup> Ortelius 1570. Poeschel 1985, Kat.-Nr. 4. Polleroß 1992, pp. 83, 247 (Kat.-Nr. 4.20).
- <sup>43</sup> Ponce 1982, p. 175.
- <sup>44</sup> Monforte y Herrera, ff. 47v–48r.
- <sup>45</sup> Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 48r: ‘Tan galanes salieron los Turcos, que fue menester ponerles cerca la hermosura de los Alemanes, para humillarlos.’
- <sup>46</sup> Prohaska 1982, pp. 251–56.
- <sup>47</sup> Brooks 1988, pp. 148–54.
- <sup>48</sup> Ponce 1982, p. 169: ‘Despues venia una dança de peregrina vista y inuencion. Eran doze galeras bien hechas, y naturales, con tres arboles cada una. Entenas, velas, y jarcias, llenas de vanderolas, flamulas y gallardetes. Estas eran tan ligeras, aunque grandes, que cada una la sustentaua un hombre metido en ella, de suerte que el medio cuerpo salia entre las obras muertas, y la parte inferior yua cubierta con lienços, que imitauan las aguas, y pendientes de los hombros las lleuauan tan diestramente que con ellos dançauan, y fingian su batalla Nual, seys en trage de Turcos, y seys en trage Christiano.’
- <sup>49</sup> Watanabe-O’Kelly 1992. Schnitzer 1999, pp. 112–19.
- <sup>50</sup> Vimina 1652. Dietrich 1985. Sommer-Mathis 1992, pp. 148f., 287 (Kat.-Nr. 7.16).
- <sup>51</sup> Kretzenbacher 1966, pp. 105–32. Witzmann 1982, pp. 291f. *Im Lichte des Halbmonds* 1995, pp. 233, 256. Karner 2010, pp. 126–28. Karner 2013, pp. 125f.
- <sup>52</sup> Moser 1761, p. 572.
- <sup>53</sup> Vgl. auch das ‚Damenkarussell‘ in der Winterreitschule unter Maria Theresia (1743).
- <sup>54</sup> Bericht des französischen Grafen Auguste de La Garde-Chambonas, in Kretzenbacher 1966, p. 127 und Karner 2013, p. 126.
- <sup>55</sup> Beschreibung und Abbildung 1658. *Solemnia elections* 1660. Sommer-Mathis 1992, pp. 149, 283 (Kat.-Nr. 7.8); 2006, pp. 280f.
- <sup>56</sup> Noch deutlicher wird die Austauschbarkeit der ‚exotischen‘ Kostüme bei dem Festaufzug, den der Münchner Hof zu Ehren des neu gekrönten Kaisers Leopold I. 1658 veranstaltete; hier lassen sich zum Teil auch die Vorlagen für die Kostüme der ‚exotischen‘ Völker – Atlanten und Trachtenbücher – feststellen. Maccioni 1658. Jacquot, Schöne 1975. Straub, pp. 211–16. Sommer-Mathis 1992, pp. 149f., 283f. (Kat.-Nr. 7.9); 2006, pp. 282f. Epp 2012.
- <sup>57</sup> Sbarra 1667. Haider-Pregler 1969. Sommer-Mathis 1992, pp. 151f., 285f. (Kat.-Nr. 7.14)
- <sup>58</sup> Fidler 2000.
- <sup>59</sup> Schumann 2003, pp. 243–54.
- <sup>60</sup> Perrault 1670. Sommer-Mathis 1992, pp. 152, 285.
- <sup>61</sup> Sowohl Leopold I. als auch Ludwig XIV. ließen sich als ‚Türkenkrieger‘ und ‚Türkensieger‘ feiern. Wrede 2008.

<sup>62</sup> *Relazione delli Balletti* 1636: ‚[...] erano [...] così ricchi gl’addobbi, tanta la copia d’aironi, & così abondanti le gioie, che acrebbero mirabilmente il splendore à quello ben illuminato teatro [...].’

<sup>63</sup> Sommer-Mathis 1992, pp. 153f.

<sup>64</sup> Schnitzer 1995/96, pp. 229f., 244f. (Kat.-Nr. 287a-d, 288); 1999, pp. 81–95, besonders pp. 93–95. Dmitrieva 2013, p. 322.

<sup>65</sup> Trauth 2002, 2003, 2009.

<sup>66</sup> Schnitzer 1995, pp. 305–21; 1999, pp. 220–43.

<sup>67</sup> Wien, Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Min. 20. Denkmäler des Theaters 1925, Mapped I. Biach-Schiffmann 1931, pp. 71–84. Solf 1975. Sommer-Mathis 1992, pp. 154f., 289f. (Kat.-Nr. 7.21–22); 2004, pp. 245–47.

<sup>68</sup> Etwa 1665 beim Einzug des türkischen Großbotschafters Mehmed Bassa in Wien.

<sup>69</sup> Wien, Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Min. 20/61–75: ‘Turchi’.

<sup>70</sup> Vgl. dazu die um 1665 entstandene *Turquerie* von Pettau/Ptuj, die auf 47 Ölgemälden europäische Herrscher und Militärs, aber auch osmanische und tatarische Würdenträger und Soldaten zeigt, die mit dem Türkenkrieg von 1663/64 und der kaiserlichen Großbotschaft von 1665/66 in Zusammenhang standen, daneben Orientalen und Orientalinnen sowie exotische Sujets. Grothaus 1992.

<sup>71</sup> Dartois-Lapeyre 2009, pp. 163–80.

<sup>72</sup> Kopplin 1987. Kreidt 1987. Kleinlogel 1989. ‘Die Türken kommen 2006. *Turcs et turqueries* 2009.

# The Spanish Habsburgs and the Arts of Islamic Iberia

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Spanish Habsburgs were acutely sensitive to Islamic presence in their territories. Both Charles V and Philip II, for example, banned the use of Arabic and North African languages as well as Islamic dress in Catholic Spain. The *Moriscos*—a nominally Christian but formerly Islamic population living outside Granada—had been allowed to retain aspects of their Moorish identity, including language and dress. They rebelled in 1568 when these privileges were withdrawn. When the rebellion had been put down, Philip II ordered the *Moriscos* dispersed and resettled in different parts of the country and his son, Philip III, finally ordered them deported to North Africa and other foreign lands in 1609–10. The Spanish Habsburg reception of Islamic art—particularly Islamic architecture—was quite different: they continued to use some Islamic buildings, which they chose to repair and extend rather than replace; and they integrated some features of Islamic origin into their classicizing Renaissance palaces.

This makes one wonder what earlier Islamic art meant to these rulers. There is little scholarship on this issue, but two responses by early modern Spaniards to Islamic art in Spain have been proposed: 1) first, and most generally, that by the sixteenth century some features of Moorish architecture had been so completely assimilated into the artistic culture of Catholic Spain that they were no longer perceived as Islamic; 2) secondly, that some Islamic buildings like the Great Mosque at Córdoba and the Alhambra Palace in Granada were taken over by the Christians and preserved as trophies of Spanish victories over Muslims. As a consequence, it is argued, a few Moorish buildings became monuments of Spanish identity.<sup>1</sup> There is certainly some truth in these assertions: elaborate wood-inlaid Moorish ceilings, generally known as *artesonados*, were widely used in churches in the sixteenth century and the techniques for building them were exported to the Americas, none of which would have been likely if *artesonados* had been closely identified with Islam.<sup>2</sup> The Catholic Kings moved into the Alhambra Palace and preserved it after the conquest of Granada. Later, Charles V spent his honeymoon there and added some rooms; he also decorated one of the Moorish reception rooms with his device *Plvs Vltra*, executed in colored tile, which was certainly a sign of the Emperor's appropriation of the palace (fig. 1). However, I wish to suggest that the reception of Islamic art by the Spanish Habsburgs was somewhat more complex than these two options suggest. In this paper I will try to bring their reactions into clearer focus by looking briefly at how they adopted previous Castilian royal and aristocratic uses of Islamic art.





Fig. 1 Emblem of Emperor Charles V in the Alhambra Palace, Granada.

First, however, it may be useful briefly to describe the older and broader assimilation of Islamic art in the Iberian Peninsula that forms the backdrop to Spanish Habsburg responses. Moorish building and decorative practices had deeply marked the building trades in Castile and Aragon where the Arab origin of numerous words for building techniques and materials—such as *azulejos* [fired ceramic tiles], *albañil* [mason] and *alarife* [skilled artisan]—was made perfectly clear by Sebastián de Covarrubias in his *Dictionary* written in the late sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The Castilian words for paneled inlaid wooden ceilings and the intricately decorated wooden ceilings to which they referred—*alfarjes*—were understood as Moorish (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 2 Moorish ceiling of the present church, Monastery of Santa Clara, Tordesillas, 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Certain professions also seem to have been dominated by artisans of Moorish heritage still in the sixteenth century. The subject has not been investigated comprehensively but, in the building trades, gesso workers [*yeseros*] and carpenters [*carpinteros*] often had Moorish names in Castile. Such men were mostly nominally Christians or *Mudéjares*, the descendents of Islamic people who had remained in Spain and converted to Christianity in the wake of Christian conquests of Moorish kingdoms from the eleventh through fifteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup> Thus a wide range of originally Islamic techniques and motifs survived in Castilian building trades when Charles V arrived in Spain in 1517. Their Moorish ancestry was clear from the Arabic words that described them, but they appear to have ceased to be associated specifically with Islam: Moorish was no longer necessarily Islamic in the realm of the arts.

The survival of Moorish architectural forms may also have been aided by northern architects working in Late Gothic style who immigrated to Castile in the later fifteenth century. Juan Guas (from Brittany) and Simón de Colonia (from Germany) were clearly impressed by the Moorish architecture they saw in Spain. Juan Guas included a splendid Moorish wooden ceiling in the monumental staircase of his Colegio de San Gregorio in Valladolid and his treatment of the stairwell suggests, although it does not copy, the motifs of Moorish mural gesso decoration (fig. 3).<sup>6</sup> We do not know if Guas had learned to design these ceilings himself, or whether he engaged *Mudéjar* carpenters for the design as well as the execution, but he clearly embraced the tradition. Guas provided another showy *alfarje* in the upper cloister above his Gothic vaults in the Monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo.

Traces of Castilian appreciation of Moorish technique may still be seen in the sixteenth century. The highly original vault of the crossing of the Church of San Gerónimo in Granada designed in the 1520s by the great Renaissance architect Diego de Siloe suggests that he was interested in both Late Gothic and Moorish as well as classicizing vaulting (fig. 4).



Fig. 3 Juan Guas, Moorish style ceiling and stairwell in Colegio de San Gregorio, Valladolid, 1488–96.



Fig. 4 Diego de Siloe, Crossing vault of San Gerónimo, Granada, late 1520s.

Castilian royal and aristocratic taste for Moorish art should be seen against the backdrop of this widespread and diffused appreciation, but differs from it in one important way: works made for the royal and aristocratic elite did not necessarily mask or dilute their Moorish ancestry; on the contrary, their Moorish character was strongly marked. Although we cannot know if the patrons perceived such works as Islamic, knowing what they purchased and built tells us a good deal.

The appropriation of existing Islamic palaces by Christian rulers—often by the simple gesture of affixing their seigniorial coat of arms or emblems to the building—was a long-standing royal and aristocratic practice. Palaces were powerful symbols of the vanquished enemy, like the booty taken from the battlefield, e. g. the splendid woven tent [*pendón*] of the Almohade Calif Muhammad An-Nasir, which was captured at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 and is now in the Museo de Telas Ricas in the Cistercian Monastery of Las Huelgas outside Burgos. But Christian kings and nobility also commissioned luxurious silks and ceramics from artisans in the Iberian Islamic states. Beautiful Moorish lusterware from Valencia was purchased by noble families in Spain and Italy well into the fifteenth century.



Fig. 5 Façade of Pedro the Cruel's Palace at the Alcázares Reales in Seville, after 1350.

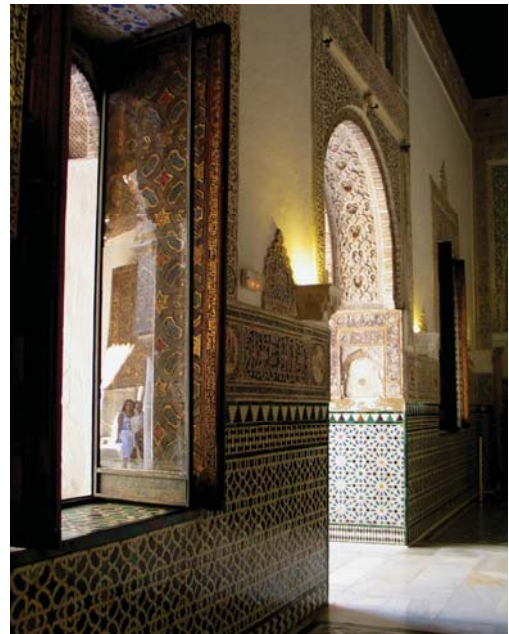


Fig. 6 Detail of decoration of Pedro the Cruel's rooms at Alcázares Reales, Seville, after 1350.

Castilian nobility went further than merely collecting luxury goods from their Moorish enemies. In the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, Spanish Christian rulers also built entirely new palaces in homogenous Islamic style. Alfonso XI built one at Tordesillas, which is now the Monastery of Santa Clara. A magnificent gilded ceiling of *Mudéjar* woodwork survives from the fourteenth-century palace in the present church (see fig. 2).<sup>7</sup> Most famously, Pedro I the Cruel (1334–1369) built a lavish new palace in the old Alcázares Reales in Seville during the second half of the fourteenth century (figs. 5 and 6). The façade has inscriptions in Arabic script, as well as a Moorish design and decorative scheme. To patrons like King Pedro, Islamic architecture represented more than power. It signified elite culture, the highest level of magnificence and luxury. The splendid rooms of Pedro's palace were designed and decorated by fourteenth-century *Mudéjar* artisans, descendants of Moorish artisans who had stayed to live under Christian rule after the Conquest of Muslim Seville by Fernando III in 1248. These designers and craftsmen maintained the techniques



and materials of earlier Andalusian Islamic architecture: colorful tile work, molded and painted plasterwork ornament, and elaborately carved and decorated wooden ceilings and cupolas and other woodwork like doors and shutters decorated with the geometrically patterned ornament.

Moorish architecture seems to have continued to represent a standard of elegance and luxury in fifteenth-century Castile. The great festival halls of the royal *alcázares* at Segovia and Madrid (destroyed) built for the Trastámara king, Enrique IV in the 1460s, were in Moorish style. Although the Catholic Kings were avid consumers of Northern European art, including tapestries and Flamboyant architecture, they occasionally dressed up in Moorish clothing and continued to use their Islamic palaces in Aragon, Andalucía and Valencia as well as Castile. They also patronized Moorish architectural style. They occupied and repaired the Islamic Aljafería in Zaragoza. In the late 1480s they began remodeling and added a second story to this palace with a splendid gilded coffered *artesonado* that was executed by the *Mudéjar* architects of the palace (fig. 7).<sup>8</sup>

The appropriation of Moorish architecture by royal and aristocratic Christians thus had a long history in Spain, where it seems to have been associated with splendor and luxury. The geometry and decorative richness of Moorish vaults and ceilings also appealed to northerners raised on Flamboyant style—which may partly explain the Emperor Charles V’s delight in the palace and gardens of the Alhambra in Granada and his construction of a small pavilion in the gardens at the Alcázar in Seville (fig. 8).

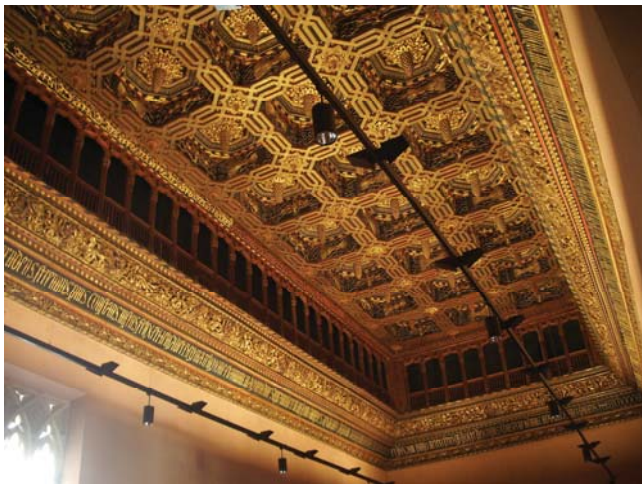


Fig. 7 Ceiling of the great hall built for Catholic Kings in the Aljafería, Zaragoza.



Fig. 8 Garden pavilion of Charles V in the gardens of the Alcázares Reales, Seville, first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The placement of this structure at some distance from the palace in the midst of carefully planned vegetation recalls the small garden buildings that were a regular feature of Islamic palaces. In the eleventh century, Almamun, the Islamic Taifa ruler of Toledo, constructed a huge pleasure (and productive) garden in the *vega* near the Tagus river below the Alcázar. In 1072 Almamun welcomed Alfonso VI of Castile and lodged him in one of the splendid pavilions in the garden. Alfonso



X was born in the small Islamic palace, now called La Galiana, near the river outside Toledo. Texts suggest that there were pavilions in Abd al Rahman III's princely city of Medinat al'Zahara near Córdoba in the tenth century and at the later Alhambra Palace in Granada. These gardens and their Moorish pavilions have mostly disappeared.<sup>9</sup>

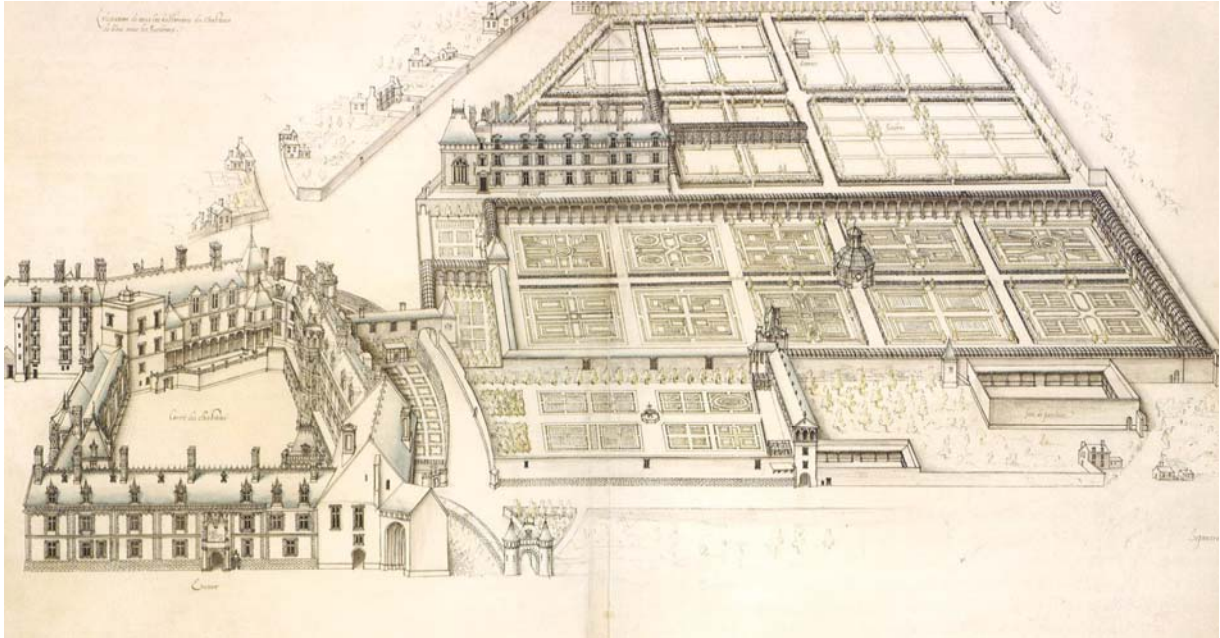


Fig. 9 Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, garden pavilion at Chateau of Blois, after Boudon and Minot 2010.

One might object that there is no need to look to Islamic precedents when more immediate sources for Charles V's building in Seville can be found in the royal and seigniorial pavilions that Charles knew from his childhood in the north. The pleasure gardens of French and Flemish *châteaux* often included small buildings set in the midst of plantings at some distance from the residence. These structures do not survive either, but the drawings of the French Châteaux by Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau often show them. Several of his views of Blois show small, centralized pavilions of the same diminutive scale and classicizing style of the pavilion in Seville (fig. 9).<sup>10</sup>

Looking more closely at the pavilion in Seville, however, one can see that the materials and composition are different from northern examples (figs. 10 and 11). Brightly colored tiles are extensively used on the outsides and insides of the low wall surrounding the Emperor's pavilion; the columns are raised on free-standing pedestals that are not classical or northern Renaissance in inspiration. Although the composite capitals and round arches are classical, the slender proportions and wide-spacing of the columns of the arcade that surrounds the exterior of the pavilion have more in common with Islamic porticos—as in the pavilion in the gardens of the Generalife in Granada—than with either Late Gothic style or Cinquecento classicism.



Fig. 10 Charles V's garden pavilion at the Alcázares Reales, Seville, interior.

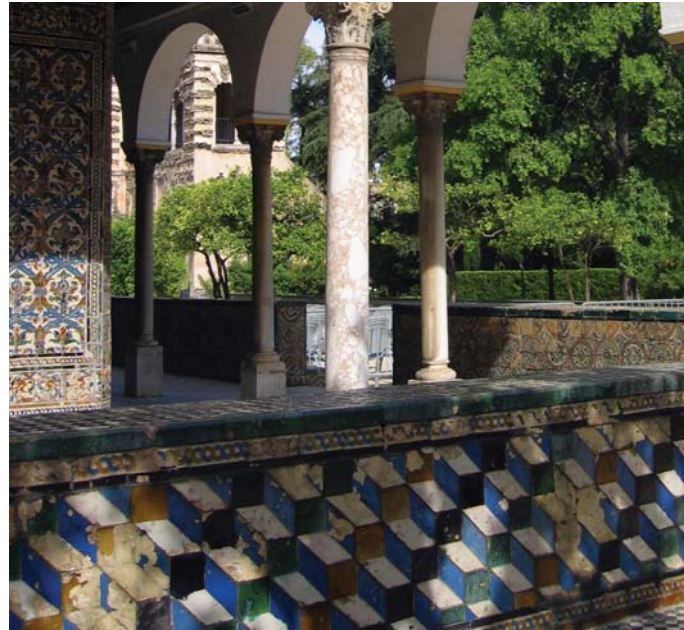


Fig. 11 Charles V's garden pavilion at the Alcázares Reales, Seville, detail of tilework.

Inside the pavilion, the walls are partly covered in glazed tile and there is a carved wooden ceiling above. The most striking Moorish feature of the pavilion, however, is the small fountain at its center. Interior pools fed by circulating fresh water were common in Islamic palaces but were not much used in Spanish Christian architecture, as far as I know.<sup>11</sup> This pool or fountain in Charles V's pavilion recalls the similar interior pool in the Alcázar itself—one of the few surviving elements from the Islamic palace which existed on the site before the city was finally taken in 1248 (fig. 12).

In spite of these seemingly Moorish elements, the pavilion does not represent a revival of Islamic architecture. The tile and gesso decoration is placed high on the wall below the ornamented ceiling as it might be in a Moorish or *Mudéjar* building, but geometric designs are replaced with more naturalistic floral tiles, and the frieze above the tiles consists of Charles V's motto *Plus Ultra* and coat of arms repeated. The white molded gesso frieze has Greco-Roman figural—not Moorish—content (fig. 13). The syntax of the composition is Islamic, but the motifs are Renaissance: they have been 'translated' from Moorish into a classical idiom.

The pavilion signals some degree of acceptance of Islamic typology, techniques and aesthetics at the Emperor's court. One can perhaps say that the small pool in the interior was inspired by the pool in the earlier Islamic palace. Does this mean that the designers and patron no longer recognized its style as Islamic or Moorish? That seems hardly credible at the Alcázar in Seville, which in all respects, except the verbal and heraldic references to its Christian patronage, is a work of Moorish architecture. Centuries of appropriation, adaptation and imitation of Islamic architecture in a Christian context may not have completely expunged its associations with Islam in the early sixteenth century but they certainly diluted them.



Fig.12 Interior pool from remains of Moorish palace at Alcázar Reales, Seville, before 1248.

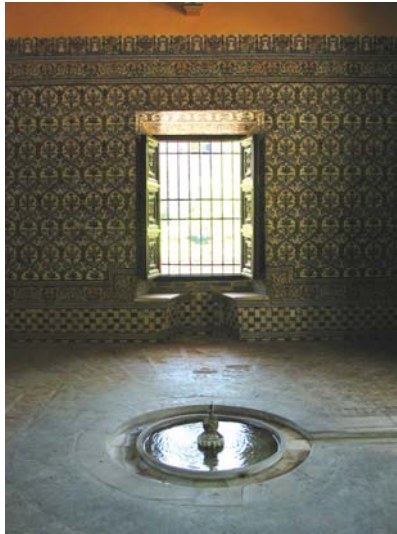


Fig. 13 Interior of Charles V's garden pavilion at the Alcázar Reales, Seville, 1520s, detail of mural tilework.



Fig. 14 Interior of Charles V's garden pavilion at the Alcázar Reales, Seville, 1520s, detail of the frieze and the ceiling.

On the contrary, Charles V was a Renaissance prince and a collector of exotic treasures and artifacts—such as Aztec feather work—from the still non-Christian cultures that made up his realms from the 1520s onwards. Of all people with Humanist training, he was in a good position to historicize such artifacts; seeing them as the productions of cultures separated from his own. To paraphrase Erwin Panofsky's famous characterization: because the Classical world was perceived as separated in time from contemporary society by the Middle Ages, it could be appreciated for itself and so could the Middle Ages. Renaissance patrons and their artists, who could reunite classical subject matter with classical form, could by extension have seen Moorish style in a similar way: sundered from contemporary Renaissance art and so available for selective and self-conscious reuse for aesthetic purposes.<sup>12</sup>

Although we cannot know Charles V's motivations in commissioning the pavilion in the gardens of the Alcázar of Seville, it seems clear from the forms of the pavilion that Moorish architecture, which had seemed the *nec-plus ultra* of civilized life to Pedro the Cruel in the fourteenth century, has been designed to harmonize with the Classical world of Greece and Rome. This creates an explicit layer of cultural dominance—the Greco-Roman—over the residual and still present echoes of the Islamic past. Were it not for their context among Charles V's additions to Pedro's palace, the figural tiles with Italianate *groteschi* decoration would not themselves suggest the Moorish decoration that is all around them.

In the sixteenth century there were aristocratic patrons, like Don Fadrique Enriquez de Ribera Marquis of Tarifa, who wanted to combine Greco-Roman classicism with Moorish style, and artisans who could produce such work. Don Fadrique was a sophisticated patron with a marked taste for Greco-Roman art. He acquired a good deal of Roman sculpture and commissioned a Renaissance portal, which was carved in Italian marble and shipped from Genoa, for his Casa de Pilatos in



Seville.<sup>13</sup> The tile decoration of the courtyard and staircase in the Casa de Pilatos from the 1540s, however, is clearly Moorish in inspiration (fig. 14).

Philip II's appreciation of Moorish architecture appears to have been similar to his father's. In the 1550s, he ordered one of the Castilian royal architects, Luis de Vega, to add a second storey to part of King Pedro's Alcázar in Seville in the Patio de las Doncellas, where Vega's arcades of the upper gallery respect the materials and colors of the Moorish level below. He also doubled columns at the corners and at intervals along the arcade. The classical moldings, arches and Renaissance balustrade harmonize as much as possible with the Moorish ornament (fig. 15).



Fig. 15 Casa de Pilatos, Seville, detail of tilework in main patio.



Fig. 16 Patio de las Doncellas in Alcázares Reales, Seville, upper storey by Luis de Vega in 1550s.

It may be possible on the basis of this brief overview to consider Spanish Habsburg practice in relation to the proposed interpretation with which I began: that the Spanish Christian reaction to their Moorish heritage was either 1) to celebrate objects and buildings as booty from victories over the Moors (e.g. the Alhambra) or 2) simply to forget the Islamic origin of Moorish work (e. g. *artesonados* by *Mudéjar* artisans) under Christian domination. Although the preservation of some Islamic buildings captured from the Moors and the wide use of Moorish-style wooden ceilings in Christian buildings occurred after the Conquest, these two interpretations do not describe the reception of Moorish art by the Spanish Habsburgs in a satisfactory way.

The Spanish Habsburgs seem much closer to the Castilian royal and aristocratic tradition of appreciation for Moorish and *Mudéjar* art. This should not be surprising: the admiration of Alfonso X the Wise (1221–1284) for Islamic science, philosophy and literature as well as practical arts like Islamic medicine and agriculture in the thirteenth century are well known and documented. It is, I think, obvious even from the little that I have presented here that the elite's favorable view of Moorish culture also embraced the arts.

At issue here is the separation of culture and religion: Islamic culture was widely admired in Early Modern Castile in the full knowledge that it was Islamic, even as that culture's religious beliefs



were entirely rejected. The first two Spanish Habsburg kings, the emperor Charles V and his son Philip II were both brought up in the Humanist revival of classical culture but both were capable of admiring Late Gothic architecture—Philip II is said to have called the Flamboyant crossing tower of Burgos cathedral ‘a work of angels’—and, I suggest, Moorish architecture also. This appreciation might seem natural in a Renaissance context, but it is worth noting that Spanish Habsburg acceptance of Moorish architecture was neither inevitable nor unprecedented. When the Normans conquered Islamic Sicily they brought their northern architectural tradition with them, but they also adopted the Byzantine mosaics and Islamic decoration that they found flourishing on the island. The Cathedral of Monreale, built between 1174 and 1182 combines all three to sumptuous effect.

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## Illustrations

(Unless otherwise noted, photographs are by the author).

Fig. 1 Emblem of Emperor Charles V in the Alhambra, Granada.

Fig. 2 Moorish ceiling of the present church, Monastery of Santa Clara, Tordesillas, fourteenth century.

Fig. 3 Juan Guas, Moorish style ceiling and stairwell in Colegio de San Gregorio, Valladolid, 1488–96.

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Fig. 10 Charles V's garden pavilion at the Alcázares Reales, Seville, detail of tilework.

Fig. 11 Charles V's garden pavilion at the Alcázares Reales, Seville, interior.

Fig. 12 Interior pool from remains of Moorish palace at Alcázares Reales, Seville, before 1248.

Fig. 13 Interior of Charles V's garden pavilion at the Alcázares Reales, Seville, 1520s detail of mural tilework.

Fig. 14 Interior of Charles V's garden pavilion at the Alcázares Reales, Seville, 1520s, detail of the frieze and the ceiling.

Fig. 15 Casa de Pilatos, Seville, detail of tilework in main patio.

Fig. 16 Patio de las Doncellas in Alcázares Reales, Seville, upper storey by Luis de Vega in 1550s.

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<sup>1</sup> These two options are presented by Grinstead 2009. For a more nuanced examination of the assimilation of Islamic architectural ideas in Spanish tradition see Chueca Goitia 1981.

<sup>2</sup> The Islamic designs for the making of such ceilings survived in the practice of Spanish carpenters, but their transmission to the Americas was probably aided by the important treatise by Diego López de Arenas (Sevilla, 1633). See also López Guzmán 2000 and Sebastián, Henares Cuéllar & Morales 1995.

<sup>3</sup> See Covarrubias, *Tesoro*. Many French architectural terms were imported with Romanesque and Gothic style, e. g. Castilian for vault [*bóveda*] was not Arabic.

<sup>4</sup> Spaniards referred to the Islamic peoples, both Arabs and North Africans, who populated and ruled parts of Spain from the seventh through the fifteenth centuries as “Moors,” a practice I continue here.

<sup>5</sup> Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, defines *mudéjares* (*mudexares*) as Moors who converted and lived under Christian domination. The adjective *mudéjar* is now applied to art produced by Christianized Islamic peoples in Spain. The Moorish identity of Mudéjar artists and architects, some of whom had adopted Christian names, is often mentioned in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century documents. See the documents cited in Domínguez Casas 1993 for the Aljafería in Zaragoza (p. 73f), the Alcázar in Madrid (p. 62f) and the Alcázar in Seville (pp. 66–70). Other Moorish carpenters are discussed pp. 74–82.

<sup>6</sup> The Colegio de San Gregorio with its staircase and ceiling in Valladolid was commissioned by Alonso de Burgos 1488–96.

<sup>7</sup> See Lobo 1990 for review of Moorish vestiges and the modern restoration of the palace.

<sup>8</sup> The Moorish architects working for the Catholic Kings were well-established in Zaragoza. Faraig and Mahoma de Gali, called *moros* in the documents, were masters of the royal works in Zaragoza. See Cabañero Subiza 1998 and 2004.

<sup>9</sup> A very useful overview is Ruggles 2000.

<sup>10</sup> See Boudon & Mignot 2010: drawings of Blois (p. 148f) and pavilions at Gailon (pp. 126–32). Du Cerceau was an inventive draughtsman as well as a topographical artist so it is not always possible to determine if details of his drawings precisely reflect the actual structures.

<sup>11</sup> Krista De Jonge has prepared an article on these northern interior fountains (unpublished; personal communication).

<sup>12</sup> Panofsky 1955, pp. 168–225 and 226–235 especially the formulation in p. 189: ‘Thus the Italian Renaissance—in a first, great retrospective view which dared to divide the development of Western art into three great periods—defined for itself a *locus standi* from which it could look back at the art of classical antiquity (alien in time but related in style) as well as at the art of the Middle Ages (related in time but alien in style): each of these two could be measured, as it were, by and against the other. Unjust though this method of evaluation may appear to us, it meant that, from then on, periods of civilization and art could for understood as individualities and totalities.’

<sup>13</sup> Casa de Pilatos was begun after 1519 but work continued into the 1540s.

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## PALATIUM e-Publication 1

This volume examines the architecture and culture at the various courts of one of Europe's most important royal dynasties, the Habsburgs. It looks for a specific Habsburg idiom in the sphere of princely representation at the courts in Madrid, Brussels, Vienna, Prague, Bratislava and Budapest, and contrasts the supranational features of this dynastic identity to its regional incarnations.

The nucleus of princely representation was the court residence. Hence the Habsburgs' official apartments are studied in relation to their court ceremony, to see if a unifying model was adopted in the different palaces in Brussels, Madrid and Central Europe. The supranational dynastic identity developed by the Habsburgs is then compared with local forms of identity, as articulated by the nobility in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland. This shows how the palaces and their decoration also expressed loyalty to the traditions of the homeland, so-called *Landespatriotismus*.

Other essays discuss how the specific religious practices of the Habsburgs, known as *Pietas Austriaca*, affected the art, culture and architecture of the different courts, and particularly the structure and function of their sacred spaces. The final section examines manifestations of the Habsburgs' self-representation as 'defenders of the Faith' against the Muslims in Spain and Central Europe, as well as other 'Turkish' echoes in palatial art in Spain and Austria.

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