

## **The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400–1700 Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism**

**Vienna, 7–10 December 2011**

### **ABSTRACTS**

#### **PRESENTATIONS BY EARLY-CAREER RESEARCHERS**

**Andreas PUTH** (Universität Leipzig): *Habsburg rule and Austrian past visualized: the Wappenwand at Wiener Neustadt and Frederick III's 'Repraesentatio Majestatis'*

Frederick III (1440-1493) has long suffered from pejorative historiographical judgements. Traditionally seen primarily in terms of his efforts to unify the strife-ridden Habsburg territories, and criticised for his alleged neglect of the Empire as a whole, a much more differentiated view has emerged in the last three decades, demonstrating especially his awareness and exercise of his imperial rank. Art-historical assessments equally reflected Frederick's negative standing: his artistic enterprises were characterized as old-fashioned, lacking in sophistication, and provincial. Yet again, there is growing awareness that such judgements are in need of reconsideration within the wider context of the visual strategies deployed by rulers and princes in 15th-century Europe. This aim is the starting point of my paper which concentrates on the development of Wiener Neustadt as Frederick's principal residence in the 1440s-60s. Special attention will be paid to the large-scale extension and refurbishment of the castle which included the construction of the church of Our Lady above the western access to the inner courtyard. The east façade of the chapel was covered by the 'Wappenwand'. This display of ruler imagery will be analyzed with regard to its spatial setting as well as its combination of several features characteristic of Frederick's visual representation: statuary, heraldry, inscriptions, and devices. In relating it to its literary model it will be seen as forming a nexus between the medieval and proto-humanistic strands at Frederick's court.

**Katharina VAN CAUTEREN** (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven): *'Victor Orbis': the Emperor, the Sultan and the artistic battles of the last world emperor*

The Fall of Constantinople on May 29, 1453 went down in history as an almost literal break point, dividing Europe into a Christian and a Muslim part – a seemingly impassable gap.

However, the coming of the Ottomans also opened up chances for interchanges between both cultures. Although often overlooked by art historians, these interchanges in particular took place in a courtly – and, more specifically: imperial – context. The Ottoman Sultan and the Holy Roman Emperor had all the more reason to interact, as they shared a similar self-image: both were profiled in contemporary art works, pamphlets and panegyrics as the legendary Last World Emperor, who was to overcome the heathen, realize universal rule, and ultimately clear the way for the Apocalypse and for the coming of millennial peace and abundance. At the same time, both the western and the eastern emperor (or their would-be peers) to a certain degree were blended with the returned Messiah, who during the final end time will restore paradise. The millennial self-image grew so important that it seems to have become a rather standardized ingredient in both the imperial Habsburg and Ottoman visual arts of the 16th century.

Therefore, this conference proposal wants to shed a new light on the messianic topos in Eastern and Western imperial art, based on a selection of 16th-century case studies from both the sultanic and the Habsburg courts. How did the sultan and the emperor make use of the visual arts to propagate a similar self image? How was the infidel ‘other’ – be it Christian or Muslim – profiled within this image scheme? Did the imagery surrounding both sovereigns truly undergo mutual influences, and if so, how and why did these interchanges take place? Moreover, in Europe also minor, but equally ambitious princes seem to have been using similar ‘messianic’ image strategies to profile themselves. A final case study therefore will look at the Brussels’ court of the late 16th century, thus not only bringing to light new patterns of interaction between East and West, but also between ‘central’ and ‘peripheral’ courts.

Thus combining both art historical and historical research on cultural interchange, and with a focus on imperial power, its representation and the never-ending dialogue between traditional imagery and the politically driven outdoing of this, this paper is firmly embedded in PALATIUM’s objectives.

**Madelon SIMONS** (University of Amsterdam): *Archduke Ferdinand II and his ‘theatrum’ of representation in Prague (1547-1567)*

This paper will focus on the iconography of a few of Ferdinand’s manifestations in Prague related to the Habsburg royal and imperial representation. After a brief introduction of the Prague court around 1550, the fascinating architecture of the hunting lodge Hvězda (Stern near Prague), and its large stucco decorations is presented. I would like to pose the question how this decoration must be considered as a part of the specific Habsburg representation in Prague. And how did the archduke manifested himself? What happens if this stucco-decorations in Hvezda are presented in comparison with the images of cavalcades preceding the tournaments, images of the spectacular dinners or plays and with splendours of the triumphal entry the archdukes commissioned? What kind of subjects were chosen, and was there any relation with the Archdukes aspirations on the field of collecting? Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria is in the end the most famous collector of his generation, who left his collections at his death in 1595 in Castle Ambras displayed as museum. In some analysis of the mid-16th-century architecture and decorations in Prague, programmatic aspects or even Habsburg dynastic idiom is postulated. I have my doubts, since my analysis of the archduke’s activities did not reveal very complicated

iconographical statements. The artists working for the King and for the Archduke in the fifties were not directed by a known architect or even a stage manager who was able to oversee a program. Sources reveal only that German artists are quarrelling with the Italians (locals were rarely commissioned) and every group seems to have had his own program and his own contribution.

**Paola MOLINO** (European University Institute, Florence/FWF-project Fugger Zeitung, Vienna): *The making of court libraries at the end of the 16th century: the Imperial Library in Vienna and the Real Biblioteca of the Escorial in comparison*

In June 1575 both Maximilian II and his cousin Philipp II entrusted two scholars with the organization of their new court libraries: the Dutch Hugo Blotius (1534-1608) was given the official title of *Praefectus Bibliothecae* in Vienna and Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598) was appointed *librero mayor* of the library that was in the process of being built at the Escorial. Despite the differences in their careers and educations the two scholars shared a common intellectual background and had similar projects as regards as the scientific organization of the disciplines in the two court libraries. Nevertheless, the conditions of rising of the two libraries were very different: whereas Philipp II was building his monumental palace in the isolated monastery of the Escorial, the Imperial library in Vienna was lodged in the narrow space of the Minorite Monastery right in the centre of the city; and whereas the long life of Philipp II assured a consistency in his cultural agenda, the sudden death of Maximilian II in Regensburg in 1576 and the transfer of the Imperial court to Prague will deeply redefine the meaning of the Imperial library in Vienna. Following the research that I have done on the organizations of the sciences, of the spaces, and the uses of the Imperial library in Vienna between 1575 and 1608, my paper will attempt to sketch a comparison between the two libraries at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century on three main levels: that of the organizations of the sciences in the library, of its uses by the kings and the members of the court, and the attention devoted by the crown to the general maintenance of the library. As we shall see, the study of the two court libraries will allow us to study the two very different court societies of Vienna and Madrid (Escorial) from a particular angle, shading light on crucial political and confessional issues.

**Laura FERNANDEZ GONZALEZ** (University of Edinburgh): *'Historia Pro Patria': the Hall of Battles in El Escorial Monastery and the fame of the Universal Monarch*

The Hall of Battles (*Sala de las Batallas*) in El Escorial Monastery is a long gallery covered in frescoes: the artistic programme is devoted to a number of victorious battles. The chamber is one of the most remarkable halls in El Escorial, located between the regal palace adjacent to the administrative palatine section and the basilica. The walls represent several battles: the battle of *Higueruela* against the 'moors' covering completely the wall adjacent to the basilica. The chamber's decorative programme continues with frescoes displaying the siege of St. Quentin. The room is completed in the remaining walls with paintings of the Azores battle where Philip II finally destroyed Antonio Prior de Crato's pretensions to the Lusitanian crown. Philip II of Spain commissioned these paintings in the decade of the 1580s. These depictions represent some of

triumphs of Philip II's forces and also Joan II's defeat of Granada in 1431. The 'ideals' underlying these victorious battles were some of the major achievements and responsibilities of Philip and his dynasty: *Defensor Fidei* against Islam (represented in the painting of Higuera), the hegemony over Europe with the victory over France, and the global empire accomplished with the unification of the 'Roman Hispania' represented in the Iberian union.

This paper aims to explore the ideas behind those pictorial creations in the construction of the Monarch's fame. Upon Philip II's death the 'image' of the king was portrayed and illustrated in sermons, funerals and ephemeral architecture erected to mourn King's loss. In these funerals fragments of the life of the Universal Monarch were represented like a 'summarised' biography. Elegies and other publications of this type highlighted aspects of his personality and devotion. This study compares the representation of the *res gestae* in its multiple forms immediately after the Monarch's death: by cross examining accounts from the Philippines and Americas, Madrid, Seville, Naples, Pavia, Florence, Lisbon among others. These chronicles, some of them generally unknown, have never been studied before in relation with the 'themes' exposed in the Hall of battles in Escorial. Thus this study seeks to unveil whether the 'discourse' of these numerous and diverse sources of information was directed under the 'umbrella' of the central court in Madrid or was the result of a dispersed effort. The purpose is to 'discover' whether there was an imperial unified image of Philip and how did the accounts presented the achievements and ideals displayed in Halls of Battles in El Escorial.

**Milton Pedro DIAS PACHECO** (Universidade Nova de Lisboa): *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)*

When king Phillip – I of Portugal/II of Spain – was acclaimed sovereign of Portugal, during the Courts of Tomar in 1581, he spent the first three years in the kingdom in order to reorganize it according to his personal administrative requirements and political needs. Determined to restructured the new realm in the his own image, as the powerful ruler of the vast Spanish Habsburg Empire, which would thoroughly increase extremely with the junction of the Portuguese colonial territories, Phillip I ordered to the royal architects, Fillippo Terzi and Giovanni Battista Antonelli, to undertake the survey of all royal residences in Portugal, such as the main palace on Lisbon, the *Paço da Ribeira*, or the countryside habitations, located in Salvaterra de Magos and Almeirim. Like he did on the most representative religious monasteries and convents related to the foundation of the Portuguese realm, the monarch promptly decided to promote a strengthening architectural renovation and an aesthetic enrichment of the royal palaces with its pomp of retinue, establishing also new ceremonials protocols both for the public and private palatine dependencies, namely in the royal palace chapel. Once more, art would become a vital socio-political weapon to emphasize the royal image and reinforce adherence to the new Spanish Habsburg monarchy. As we shall see, the main goal of our conference approach is to present and analyse the architectural and artistic interventions planned on all of the Portuguese royal residences by the king Phillip I of Portugal/II of Spain, from 1580 to 1598. It is also our purpose to comprehend the reinforcement of the *repraesentatio majestatis* of the

Habsburg sovereign near to his subjects through the examination of the court ceremonial and the palatine spaces ritualization.

**Sara FUENTES LAZARO** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid): *Stairways to Heaven: dynastic symbolism and illusionistic painting in the Spanish Habsburgs' palace-monasteries (1666-1692)*

The Monastery of Royal Barefoot Nuns of Madrid was founded in 1559 by Princess Joan of Austria, following the medieval Spanish tradition of *cuartos reales* associated to convents and pantheon-churches, which were meant as a permanent or temporary residence for ladies and infants of the House of Habsburg. Over its grand staircase, a monastic space decorated ca. 1666 by Bolognese and Madrilenian painters, the illusionistic architecture displays a royal balcony that houses the symbolic presence of Philip IV, along with the future King Charles II, Princess Margaret and Queen Mariana of Austria.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, aligning himself with his father's patronage and wise instrumentalization of the arts, Charles reassumed an equal place of honour (close to his mother Mariana, as a widow, and to his second wife Mariana of Neuburg) in the allegorical representation of The Glory of the Spanish Monarchy, depicted by Luca Giordano on the vault of the imperial staircase of El Escorial, the Habsburg palace-monastery *par excellence*. In this complex, dynastic artefact, built by Philip II but only completed by Charles II from 1692 onwards, the last Spanish King of the lineage intended to show himself as an eternal devotee of his ancestors and protector of the religious order responsible to pray for their salvation.

These two staircases, readable as second façades to the intimacy of the monastic private spaces, may also be understood as powerful „generators“ of Habsburg identity, as linked to its religious fundamentals as to Burgundian etiquette. In the Descalzas Reales, the royal family leans over a balcony that replicates their actual presence in hundreds of ceremonies presided over at the same palace, whereas at El Escorial, under *La Gloria*'s splendour, they attend the processions of the Hieronymite community. The pictorial illusionism of these balconies and balustrades aims to contextualize a lively group portrait, a *Majestatis Repraesentatio* buttressed by an intricate iconographic program devised for the staging of kinship and its continuous presence both in public rituals and private devotion.

## OPENING LECTURE

**Larry SILVER** (University of Pennsylvania): *Europe's Turkish Nemesis*

The Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union after World War II strongly suggests with its Iron Curtain what life was like across the Christian-Muslim frontier during the entire 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 consciousness and created a climate of fear in many 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 Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493-1519)

and his Habsburg successors. 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.

In short, no European Christian could forget the clear and present danger posed to both his faith and his political autonomy by the Islamic Ottoman Empire across the border. Yet that threatening superpower also held ongoing fascination and exotic allure, realized in pictorial terms. Indeed some artists in imperial service, particularly Jan Vermeyen with Charles V on Mediterranean “crusade” and Melchior Lorichs with the imperial embassy in the Ottoman capital, had experienced both Tunis and Istanbul in person, so their artworks carried more documentary authenticity instead of the more commonly pictured stereotypes of Turks.

Ultimately, almost all images of Turks from the Holy Roman Empire 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. This talk will survey artists from the time of Albrecht Dürer and Maximilian I at the beginning of the century to the battle allegories by Hans von Aachen for Rudolf II at its conclusion; it will also examine images of Turks under Charles V and Philip II in Habsburg Spain’s contest against the Ottomans in the Mediterranean.

### **‘REPRAESENTATIO MAJESTATIS’ AND RESIDENCY**

**Nicole RIEGEL** (Universität Würzburg): *Bausteine eines Residenzprojekts: Kaiser Maximilian I. in Innsbruck [Projecting a residence: Emperor Maximilian I and his Innsbruck building activities]*

Innsbruck became a royal residence only with Maximilian I. From the beginning of his regency in Tirol 1490 until his death in 1519 Maximilian dedicated greater part of his on the whole quite fluctuating building initiatives to Innsbruck court. These concerned Hofburg, Neuhof with Goldenes Dachl, Wappenturm and Äußere Burg as well as the Zeughaus. In my talk the different imperial building activities around 1500 will be analyzed in their functional correlation and interdependence, taking into consideration aspects of fortification, comfort, representation and court ceremonial.

While the actual state of the Habsburg court buildings including various remains of the 15th and 16th centuries are documented reliably in the *Österreichische Kunsttopographie*, little is known about the residential concept cherished and partly realized by Maximilian. Which were the steps and measures Maximilian took to transform an archducal residence into a royal one? Which were the practical, representational and ceremonial functions of the diverse spatial units? Are there any signs of a complex functional structure regarding Maximilian’s Innsbruck court buildings in their totality? The archives contain rich material pertaining to these questions, and the current state of research renders promising a confrontation of the components of Maximilian’s residential concept with contemporary architectural solutions on a European scale, such as Meissen, Prague, Amboise, Blois, Milan and Pavia.

In my talk I shall question the conventional assertion, nourished by the practice of ambulatory rule, financial straits and the fate of the Emperor's tomb project, that Maximilian lacked a proper residential concept. On the contrary the building activities in Innsbruck protracting for decades strongly advocate the hypothesis of a continuous and dynamic modification of a rather complex project for an imperial residence. Its reconstruction might be of some importance within the spectrum of residential culture around 1500 and it may offer new evidence in relation to the question of tradition and innovation in Habsburg princely representation.

My proposal is connected with a larger research project on the architectural and functional history of Innsbruck Hofburg in the 15th and 16th centuries to be carried out in collaboration with Prof. Dr. G. Ulrich Großmann, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg.

**Renate HOLZSCHUH-HOFER** (Bundesdenkmalamt, Wien): *Multiple identities of Casa Austria during the 16th century: the function of 'Residence Architecture' designed as an enduring component within the culture of presence, 'Präsenzkultur', of the early modern time*

During the imperial election campaign for Charles V, the House of Habsburg was subjected to a crucial test arising from the threat of losing its imperial dignity. At this time, agreements on the division of the estates and the brotherly succession as emperor were made. This pre-programmed the future partition into an Austrian and a Spanish line. Both proponents of the future lines developed different political visions. The multi-causally determined rift within the Habsburg dynasty was concealed by political and symbolic representation on the Reich's platform whilst, on the other hand, it was confirmed through ceremonial means. This resulted in the creation of multiple identities within the dynasty. In the medial imperial (self)-staging by Ferdinand I there was a deliberate mix of fictional, factual and semi-authentic identities of title, function, dignities, political goals, reactive actions or propaganda idioms.

The climax occurred in 1551-52 during the negotiations for the Passauer Contract when there seemed to almost schizophrenic attributes acquired, with the accumulation of many identities within a single person. At this time, Ferdinand lurched along close to high treason. He was acting as a brother and therefore dynasty-committed, yet also as political antagonist at the edge of civil war, a defender of Catholic Church but nevertheless an ally of the protestant dukes. His declared goal was to take over the power in the Reich whilst his brother was still acting as emperor, and exceptionally he became an official mediator between the two parties, of which he himself was one.

The lecture will show that residential architecture was a material representative of the ruler, not only designed as a bearer of political propaganda, but was additionally conceived as an enduring element within the presence culture, Präsenzkultur, of the Early Modern Time. The residences guaranteed during the time, leading to the next "solemn" ceremonial act, which had to take place frequently in order to confirm and create law, the persistence of the personal claim. The residential architecture was, subsequent to the divergence of the two lines, primarily concentrated on the ruler's persona and only secondarily on dynasty; this differentiation is visible within symbolism, structure and typology.

**Ivan Prokop MUCHKA** (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague): *Architectura ancilla musicae. Architecture in relationship to music at the Habsburg courts in Central Europe*

Shortly after mid-16th century, the Emperor Ferdinand I actively supported the construction of a choir loft and a new organ for the most important church in Bohemian kingdom, the St Vitus Cathedral at the Prague Castle. This fact is documented in extensive written sources that still have not been adequately interpreted, although art historians often take individual quotes from them, such as that the organ was supposed to be the largest and most beautiful one in all Christianity, "der größte und schönste Orgel der Christenheit" (1553).

The court architect Bonifaz Wohlmut was not only the author of this monumental choir loft in the St Vitus Cathedral but also of the music balcony in another royal building in Prague, the "most beautiful Renaissance transalpine building", the Summer Palace (Belvedere) in the Royal Garden of the Prague Castle. Thus architecture appears in an entirely new context of royal representation where music plays a substantially greater role than before. The origin of the large organ for St. Vitus Cathedral is also closely linked with the history of another imperial residence, the Hofburg in Innsbruck. The paper also informs about the newly discovered contemporary drawings of the Renaissance organ for St Vitus Cathedral that has been destroyed by fire in 1757.

**Walter CUPPERI** (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München): *Reassessing the role of sculpture in the royal residences of Madrid (1568-1636)*

Ancient and early modern portrait sculpture played a seminal role in visualizing the supranational identity and dynastic memory of the Habsburgs in Castile. Philip II in particular increasingly used large-size sculpture in the decoration of his Spanish residences. By showing a clear preference for Italian marble sculptors, Italian bronze casters and ancient sculpture received as gifts, he also contributed to distinguishing the visual culture of his court from that of the surrounding region.

However, while recent contributions have significantly improved our understanding of the architectural development of sites such as the Alcázar of Madrid, no serious attempt has been made to re-discuss the role of sculptural decoration in the organization of its interiors and gardens. Philip II's diverse reception of Italian and Netherlandish models in the distribution of statues among his different residences, as well as between interior and exterior locations, also deserves specific attention. Specifically, my paper will first discuss the display of Leone and Pompeo Leoni's busts and statues, their original Netherlandish destinations and their later re-adaptation to the Alcázar of Madrid. Here a whole wing of Philip's apartments, the *bóvedas*, currently believed to be a storage area, was actually destined to the display of large works of art near to the *jardín secreto*. Secondly, I will consider the presence of busts of Roman Emperors in the Alcázar and in the Casa de Campo.

My paper aims to demonstrate that Philip II intended to display significant sets of sculpture in the rooms of the Alcázar, a fortress partially dating to the *Trastámara* period. Yet, his purpose constantly raised issues in the planning phases and final transformations of its royal apartments. This was most acute during the renovation undertaken by Philip II, when the limitations

imposed by the pre-existing building and the work-in-progress nature common to most royal sites negatively inflected the display of sculpture. The latter circumstance has long provided support for the questionable claim that the Spanish king had scarce interest in secular sculpture. Yet expensive and numerous sets of sculpture were already displayed in Madrid by 1602 – *before* the completion of the Aranjuez gardens.

**Eva-Bettina KREMS** (Philipps-Universität Marburg): *Transfer of portraits as an indication of political strategies: Dynastic identity and European politics of the Spanish Habsburgs in the middle of the 17th century*

Diego Velázquez, the court artist of King Philipp IV., painted a lot of portraits in the 1650s which show the female members of the Spanish court. These portraits were sent from Madrid to different European courts including the Imperial court in Vienna, the court of the governor of the Spanish Netherlands in Brussels and finally even the French Royal court in Paris.

The envoys and ambassadors were important figures in this process of transferring portraits from court to court because they themselves conveyed the paintings and the messages while representing the interests of their rulers at the foreign court. Thus, the transfer of portraits alongside the political axes casts a light on the political relations between the Spanish and the Austrian Habsburg dynasties and the Royal court in France. One of the most important challenges in this politically precarious period of the 1650s was to stabilize the dynastic identity within the highly competitive situation in European policy. In my paper I will analyze Velázquez' portraits and their different functions as witnesses of this political situation and I will ask if there was a specific "portrait culture" of the Habsburg dynasty.

### **IMPERIAL, ROYAL OR PRINCELY IDENTITY AND REGIONAL PATRIOTISM**

**Dagmar EICHBERGER** (Universität Trier & Universität Heidelberg): *Official portraits and regional identities. The case of Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519)*

The phenomenon of commissioning an authorized portrait that functioned as a state portrait emerged in the middle of the fifteenth century. The large number of contemporary copies of the official likeness of Philip the Good (1396-1467) suggests that the duke actively pursued a strategy of disseminating his portrait in his newly acquired territories and elsewhere.

Emperor Maximilian I became acquainted with the rich cultural life of the Burgundian Netherlands as the young bridegroom to Duchess Mary of Burgundy. He developed his personal pattern of patronage by drawing both on Austrian and on Netherlandish traditions. This becomes evident when studying the portraits that were commissioned either by himself or by members of his family. In about 1510, Maximilian's court painter Bernhard Strigel (c.1460-1528) created a distinctly imperial image that showed the Habsburg ruler in strict profile, glad in armour and presenting his symbols of power. A few years earlier, the Antwerp artist Joos van Cleve (c.1485/90-1541) had developed a different portrait formula that rather recalls Netherlandish traditions and thus fulfilled a different purpose. In 1518, not long before his death, Maximilian approached Albrecht Dürer to develop a new portrait that could be used as

model for paintings on wood or canvas. Once Dürer adjusted his template to the medium of woodcut printing (1519), a new level of communication was reached within the realm of portraiture. This activity was, however, no longer controlled by the imperial family.

This paper argues that Maximilian and his family employed a range of alternative portrait types that were selected according to their suitability for specific cultural contexts. Margaret of Austria's collection in Mechelen can be considered a linchpin in so far as her residence was a storehouse for portraits of her family. She kept at least four portraits of Maximilian in different rooms of her palace. She used the various portrait types according to the function of the individual spaces and acted as mediator when a likeness of the Emperor was required for one reason or other.

**Marie-Elizabeth DUCREUX** (Centre de Recherches Historiques, EHESS, Paris): *Royal blood, wisdom and virtues: Hungarian and Bohemian medieval Holy Rulers' revival in the 17th century*

As previous researches have amply demonstrated, a variety of visual and written sources display the outlines of the *Pietas Austriaca*. They also show the special attention that the members of the House of Habsburg have devoted for creating a 'dynastic identity' (e.g. "Fürstenspiegel", panegyric and emblematic literature). Then the concern for princely holiness and sanctity was related to these two axes: piety and dynastic exaltation. However, in both Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, a process of multilayered redefinition of local Bohemian and Hungarian Patron Saints and Early rulers' worship and cult has spread out from Ferdinand II until the end of Leopold I's reign and even later on (we are focusing here on the Seventeenth-Century achievements; however, it should be said that for the hagiographical and "literary" point of view, the process was set earlier in Bohemia, that is from the end of the sixteenth-Century, while in Hungary it would still be developed in the Eighteenth-century).

Partly due to a combination of Post-Tridentine Catholicism and of Habsburg's major forms of representation as pious rulers, it was rooted in political events and strategies as well as in specific uses of local history. Actualizing the past and inventing traditions, it has also nurtured symbolical and sometimes ambivalent competitions of anteriority and primacy regarding the sovereign's virtues. On the basis of Hungarian and Bohemian discourses and images related to Saint Ladislav, Saint Stephen, the Hungarian Holy Crown and Saint Wenceslas in the 1660's and 1680's, the paper would like to point out some specific features which, in the author's view, would also possibly ask for relocating our previous understanding of *Landespatriotismus*. Indeed, instead of simply enhancing traditions, they were re-creating them as well as suggesting new possibilities of understanding contemporary circumstances, linking together ambivalence and loyalty towards the Habsburg sovereigns.

**Jan BAŽANT** (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague): *The Habsburg imperial mythology and Waldstein palace in Prague*

In the first century of Danube monarchy three residences of European significance were built in Prague: the Belvedere at Prague castle of emperor Ferdinand I (1537-1563), the villa Star which

archduke Ferdinand designed and built for his father Ferdinand I (1537-1563), and the Waldstein palace of the imperial general, duke Albrecht of Waldstein (1623-1630). After 1618 Habsburg emperors did not consider Prague as their residence city, which had far reaching results for these monuments, positive as well as negative. Due to the political decline of Prague all three residences are preserved in intact form, including their rich sculptural and painterly decoration, but their political message was doomed to oblivion.

Already in the 17th and 18th centuries these residences started to be perceived individually, in spite of the fact that Habsburg imperial mythology provided the content of their decoration programme. From the 19th century on there is a strong tendency in Czech historiography to play down the Habsburg presence in Prague. Today the Belvedere is known in Prague as the Summerhouse of Queen Anne (after Ferdinand's wife coming from a local dynasty), the villa Star is connected with alchemy or Filipina Welsper, the wife of archduke Ferdinand, and the Waldstein palace is linked exclusively with the person of its builder.

Occam's Razor recommends solutions which sufficiently explain available data. In this paper I shall apply this principle to the interpretation of the decorative programme of the Wallenstein palace. If an iconographic theme in the palace of the imperial general has direct analogy in the decoration of Prague imperial villas, I shall interpret it in frame of Habsburg imperial mythology. I shall argue that the content of Wallenstein palace decorations is a traditional celebration of Holy Roman Empire. Its praise is conventional, but very rich and sophisticated, fully conversant with the latest trends in residential decoration. In individual rooms paintings were interlinked and there was an elaborated system which united all pictures and statues decorating Wallenstein palace in Prague. Its hero was not the builder, but his emperor, Ferdinand II.

**Diana DUCHOŇOVÁ** (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava): *Between Habsburg influence and Hungarian tradition. The court of Palatine Nicolaus Esterhazy (1625-1645)*

Palatine Nicolaus Esterhazy was a prominent figure in the Hungarian society in the first half of the 17th century. As a representative of catholic political wing he participated in the re-catholization of the country and oriented his and at the same time Hungarian politics towards Vienna. The court of palatine Nicolaus Esterhazy symbolized political ambitions and at the same time as the court of the highest dignitary of the realm fulfilled representative functions of the estates. Originally a private court of an aristocrat managing his personal and economic interests turned into a centre of culture, education and arts. Moreover, the court took over several functions previously fulfilled by the royal court and became a place of formation of political elite of the country.

**Cezary TARACHA** (Catholic University, Lublin): *The courts of the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs as related by Jakub Sobieski in the first half of the 17th century*

Jakub Sobieski, the father of King Jan III, was among the most outstanding Polish politicians of the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In his youth he received a thorough education, which included studies abroad and tours around Europe. In 1611-1613 he visited Germany, England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Austria. Later, in 1638, he accompanied King Władysław IV Vasa on a

journey to Baden. In both cases he wrote accounts that were subsequently printed and published. Of particular significance among these recollections of European travels are his descriptions of the states (Spain and the Holy Roman Empire) and courts (Madrid and Vienna) of the Habsburgs. Sobieski sheds light on the rulers (Philip III, Matthias I and Ferdinand III) as well as their courtly entourage (family, ministers, clerks, diplomatic corps, informal circles of power and servants). He writes about how the courts functioned, their ceremonies and etiquette, and also about their religious life. He draws our attention to the specific features which distinguished Habsburg courts from the rest of Europe. Moreover, he reveals their role and general significance in 17th-century political reality.

## HABSBURG AND MUSLIMS

**Pál Ács** (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest): *'The good and honest Turk'. A European legend in the context of the 16th-century oriental studies in the Habsburg Empire*

The Enlightenment topic of 'good and honest Turk', appearing for instance in Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, Mozart's *Escape from the Serai* and Voltaire's *Candide*, has a remarkable Renaissance prehistory. (Cf. Friedrich NIEWÖHNER, *Veritas sive varietas. Lessings Toleranzparabel und das Buch Von den drei Betrügern* [=Bibliothek der Aufklärung, 5.], Heidelberg 1988.) In the end of the 16th century some highly erudite intellectuals around the imperial court of Vienna tried to elaborate an alternative image of the Turks, one that does not match the commonplaces of 'antiturcica' literature on the ancient enemy of Christianity and one that is also distinct from the monstrous figure who – as the scourge of God – is destined to revenge crimes according to the apocalyptic historical vision of Wittenberg Reformation.

In the present study I focus on the establishment of the *Turcica*, the collection of Oriental books, manuscripts and paintings of the imperial city. It is obvious that the original aim of the collection was to obtain a useful aid to the Habsburg ruler in the struggle against the Ottoman Empire. However, the collectors of Oriental rarities did not feel hostility towards the culture and history of the enemy. On the contrary, they considered the 'Turk' as moral, intellectual and aesthetic mirror. The eclectically Renaissance interest in antiquities of Constantinople led to Ottoman studies of critical aim.

In the course of my study I will compare the *Turcica* catalogue written by the imperial librarian Hugo Blotius [Cf. Howard LOUTHAN, *The Quest for Compromise. Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna*, Cambridge 1997, p. 75; Gábor ALMÁSI, *The Uses of Humanism. Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe*, Leiden 2009, passim] with the Ottoman history of his humanist rival Johannes Löwenklau [Johannes LEUNCLAVIUS, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum, de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae libri XVIII. Commentarii duo cum onomastico gemino*, Frankfurt am Main 1591].

**Annick BORN** (Ghent University): *Suleiman and Charles V: iconographic discourse and enhancement of power and magnificence*

In court culture, sets of tapestries were commissioned often to celebrate the glory of princes, kings and the emperor, the iconographic program underlying their bravery or their illustrious provenance. In the context of the long-standing threat between the Ottoman empire and Emperor Charles V, the series of ten woodcuts representing seven panoramic compositions of the *Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* made after designs by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in 1533 and printed in Antwerp twenty years later, is of great interest. This set of woodcuts originally intended as tapestry designs has never been studied yet in a comparative perspective with other sets made for the Habsburg court. In this paper, I will argue that the whole iconographic program of the *Moeurs et fachons de faire des Turcz* was conceived as an ensemble that embodies the greatness of Sultan Suleiman, showing among others his widely spread territories. That the same rhetoric prevailed in the design of this never executed set of tapestries can be illustrated by the comparison of the woodcut representing *Suleiman riding through the ruins of the Hippodrome* with the *Month of March* of the Hunts of Maximilian, with its elaborate view on Brussels. One is struck by the similarity of the mise-en-scène with the strong relationship between the ruler and the representation of the city. In the scene of the Hunts series, Charles V is shown in front of Brussels, legitimising through the cityscape his power. In the same vein, Sultan Suleiman is figured in front of the Hippodrome, the epitome centre of Constantine and Byzantine tradition, including looted trophies from Hungary, recognizing the Ottoman as the legitimate ruler of the former eastern Roman empire. This contextualisation shows that the designs originally functioned rather as an anti-stereotype, than as a visual repertoire to characterize the political and religious adversaries.

**Jochen MARTZ** (Technische Universität Dresden): *The cultivation of rare tulips in the court gardens of the Ottoman Empire as well as of the Habsburg sphere as an important symbol of power and representation*

Tulips were cultivated in Ottoman gardens at least from the early 16th century onwards. Especially rare Cultivars with special flowers gained much interest in Ottoman gardens and were very valuable. Beginning from the 1530s the tulip started to play an important role as a motif in Ottoman courtly art and craftsmanship. Because of the similarity of the flower's shape with the Arabian lettering of Allah it soon emerged as a religious symbol. As an ornament on buildings and fountains it also developed to a symbol of the reigning family of the Ottoman empire and led to a tulip fashion which continued until the 18th century.

About 1554 Ogier Ghislain de BusBecq (1522 – 1592), the Imperial ambassador at the High Gate, is said to have “discovered” the tulip in Istanbul. The first bulbs reaching Central Europe seem to have been sent by him to the Imperial court in Vienna. So the first garden tulips flowering in Europe may have been seen in the Habsburg court gardens in Vienna. The further introduction and distribution into a network of specialist's gardens throughout Europe also in the Netherlands is connected with the name of one of the most influential Botanists of the 16<sup>th</sup> century: Charles de l'Ecluse (1526 – 1609), called Carolus Clusius. As commonly known Clusius is also connected with the Imperial court in Vienna. Though he was never a director of the Imperial gardens and never created a Botanical garden in Vienna as can be read wrongly even in most recent publications, he was responsible to built and cultivate a herb garden at the Hofburg

in Vienna for Maximilian II. As a result of the recent research project about the Hofburg this garden can be located now for the first time.

As in the Ottoman empire the tulip emerged as one of the most important flowers and as a symbol of wealth and power in European gardens of the 16th to 18th century leading to a peak of interest called tulip mania in the 1630s – with interesting examples concerning Habsburg gardens. Besides these similarities nobody until now seems to have drawn attention to the fact that the European garden tulips did throughout have a completely different appearance compared to those from the Ottoman empire.

**Aygül AĞIR** (Istanbul Technical University): *The Habsburg ambassadors' and delegations' impressions of Istanbul with a special emphasis on the Topkapı Palace (16th century)*

The Safawids in the East and the Habsburgs in the west were enemies of the Ottomans for a long time. The Habsburgs for conserving their power in the Europe and for diminishing the Ottoman power in the Mediterranean basin collaborated sometimes with the Safawids, sometimes with the Venetians. However, the great hostility between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs must have been created a big curiosity about their culture. The Habsburgs for learning more about their enemy sent ambassadors and delegations to the Ottoman capital. Among them the ambassador, humanist and diplomat Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq and the artist Melchior Lorichs were important figures for receiving information. Salomon Schweigger, Hans Dernschwam were other humanists among the envoys describing Ottoman society of the 16th century. The *Turkish Letters* of the Habsburgs' ambassador Busbecq were important not only for an account of a political history but also for daily life of the 16th century Ottoman capital. Melchior Lorichs' detailed drawings were another great contribution to the history of architecture of Istanbul. The research will involve the panorama of Istanbul seen, written and drawn by Habsburgs' envoys with the special emphasis on the 16th century's Topkapı Palace view.

**Andrea SOMMER-MATHIS** (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna): *'Alla turca'. Turkish elements in theatre and festivities at the Habsburg courts during the 16th and 17th centuries*

Since the battle of Mohacs in 1526, at the latest, the Ottomans were perceived as a severe threat to the Holy Roman empire. It was only a century and a half later, after the relief of the Siege of Vienna in 1683, that the Muslim challenge to Christendom lost much of its force. The relief felt by Central Europeans about the disappearance of the Turkish danger was celebrated not just in print but also on the stage. Starting with the 1680s, these celebrations shaped the way the memory of the Turkish war was perpetuated in the Habsburg lands, both stressing the virtue and fortitude of the dynasty and painting a bleak picture of the 'hereditary enemy'. A prime example of that trend was the Jesuit drama *Ferdinandus Quintus Rex Hispaniae Maurorum Domitor* (1684) that linked the recent siege of Vienna to the Spanish victory over the Moors in 1492, whereas the Spanish comedia *El sitio de Viena* highlighted the part played by the Polish king Jan Sobieski, rather than the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I.

On the other hand, because of their exotic apparel Turks had been popular as characters in tournaments, masques and ballets throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries at the Habsburg courts, often featuring e.g. in the popular carnival entertainments called 'Wirtschaften'. The paper wants to stress the ambivalence of the image of the Turks, oscillating as it did between the hostility aroused by the Ottomans as a political and religious menace and the fascination exercised by their exotic character in the world of theatre and entertainment.

**Catherine WILKINSON ZERNER** (Brown University, Providence): *The Spanish Habsburgs and the arts of Islamic Iberia*

The attitudes of the Habsburgs toward the Islamic past of their Iberian kingdoms have not received much attention, although we know that buildings and other Islamic artefacts continued to be used and that some construction techniques and decorative systems of Islamic origin remained operative in Catholic Spain. It is important to identify the breadth of this artistic production and, if possible, to discover to what extent it was perceived as being Islamic. This paper examines various modalities of the identity and reception of the Islamic production, past and present, within the specific context of the Habsburg court; it secondly investigates instances of Islamic art's assimilation into contemporary artistic styles favoured by the court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

### **RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND THE COURT**

**Luc DUERLOO** (University of Antwerp): *A time and a place for eternity. Dynastic ideology between contingency and performance*

The concept of the "Pietas Austriaca" has proven its utility to interpret the instrumentalization of Tridentine Catholicism as the dynastic ideology of the House of Habsburg. It is habitually presented as a closed system that was put into place during the reign of Emperor Ferdinand II. Its devotional components are treated as a set of standardized formulae that are applied to legitimize Habsburg rule. This paper wants to deepen our understanding of the "Pietas Austriaca" by challenging some of these assumptions.

On the basis of an in depth analysis of some specific cases it argues that the devotional components were flexible enough to allow for the adaption of expressions of Habsburg piety to the contingencies of time, place and – by no means least – political necessity. In the process such expressions became a performance, a display of public acts of princely devotion that at one and the same time singled the ruler out as divinely ordained and called upon his subjects to emulate his example. Furthermore, the ability to adapt to given circumstances had an impact on the use and symbolism of sacred space. As these examples will be drawn from the court of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, they will finally suggest a more complex and diverse origin of the "Pietas Austriaca" itself.

**Ilaria HOPPE** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): *The Villa Poggio Imperiale in Florence under Mary Magdalen of Austria*

The Villa Poggio Imperiale in Florence was famous for a magnificent art collection and its frescoes. It was long forgotten that its riches arose from the patronage of several women of the Medici court, like Mary Magdalene of Austria, sister of Emperor Ferdinand II. As wife of Cosimo de' Medici the Second she was Grandduchess of Tuscany between 1609 and 1628. After the premature death of Cosimo in 1621, Mary Magdalene and her Mother-in-law Cristina of Loraine were appointed as tutors for the under-aged Ferdinando de' Medici the Second. As I showed in my dissertation on Poggio Imperiale that will be published in October of this year, Mary Magdalene used the site to give room to a transitional reign. By displaying Habsburgian imagery – like coat of arms, a dynastic portrait gallery, the historic genealogy mingled with motives of the *pietas austriaca* – she legitimized the unconventionally female regency with the demonstration of her compared to the Medici superior dynastic rank and the divine right to rule. Through numerous activities during that period, as diplomatic receptions, theatre-plays and different kinds of festivities, she managed to draw of the attention from the other Medicean residences and to install her court in Poggio Imperiale.

In my paper I would like to stress two major topics: First the interaction between the gender specific structure of the apartments and the court ceremonial, reconstructed through rich archival material as the inventory of 1625 and the court diary; second the monumental fresco cycle of famous men and women from the Habsburg dynasty executed by an equipe of Florentine painters. Both themes allow a comparison to other Habsburgian residences and could help to clarify if the monumental fresco cycle in Poggio Imperiale is the first one promoting an imagery of the *pietas austriaca*. My thesis is that Mary Magdalene provided the iconography passed down to her by family tradition and took advantage of the advanced artistic resources of Florence.

**Werner TELESKO** (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna): *The 'Pietas Austriaca' – a political myth? On the instrumentalisation of piety towards the cross at the Viennese court in the 17th century*

The Hapsburg practise of piety was based on the fundamental pillars of piety towards the Virgin Mary, the saints, the Eucharist and the cross. In her work "*Pietas Austriaca*" (1959) Anna Coreth provided an exemplary introduction to the centuries-old significance of piety practised in this way. The present paper intends to critically question in which way the ritual practise of piety towards the cross has to be distinguished from the politically instrumentalised propaganda of the veneration of the cross. In this context the question arises whether the "*pietas austriaca*" was not instrumentalised over the course of time as a welcome myth of "chosenness" which was correspondingly handed down to conduct propaganda more effectively, in the sense of a vehement and dynastically political profanation (!) of such piety.

Two examples should serve as the basis for pertinent considerations: When on 5 June 1619 protestant nobles from Lower Austria were pressuring Emperor Ferdinand II in the Vienna Hofburg to allow them the freedom to practise their religion, Christ apparently whispered to the regent praying before the cross: "Ferdinand, I won't leave you!". Shortly afterwards a regiment appeared in the Burghof courtyard and saved the ruler. The *Kammerkapelle* (used by the

imperial family as their private chapel) in the Leopoldine Wing of the Vienna Hofburg was devastated by fire in February 1668. After the catastrophic fire the molten casing of the reliquary was found in the rubble, but the particles of the cross, which had been worshipped for centuries by the Hapsburgs, were said to have survived unscathed (“monstrance of the Order of the Starry Cross”). These and other forms of the Habsburg veneration of the cross beg the question: under what auspices were the traditional lines of the Hapsburg “pietas” – which had been vital ever since the glorification of Rudolf I – repackaged, invested with political content and propagated in the form of text and images during the 17th and 18th century? As it turns out, the Hapsburg veneration of the cross was inseparably linked on the one hand to other elements of the “pietas austriaca” and on the other above all to the leitmotiv of “providentia”, which was of eminent political importance: its significance was to protect the supposedly “chosen” dynasty over the course of centuries. Behind the investigation of visual mythmaking lies the intention of questioning in what regard catholic “orthodoxy” had to be regarded as indispensable in sense of politics.

**Vanessa DE CRUZ MEDINA** (Fundación Carlos de Amberes, Madrid): *Anna Dorothea at the Descalzas Reales (1622-1693): pious patronage, dynastic networks and forms of representation*

In August 1628, the young Austrian lady named Anna Dorothea professed at the Descalzas Reales in Madrid. Around a month before, it seems that some tapestries from the *The Triumph of the Eucharist* cycle arrived to the Spanish court, those commissioned for this royal female institution by the Infanta Isabella –governess of the Low Countries– to Rubens, who also arrived in a diplomat mission and painted the portrait of the young nun. How was the ceremony? And, which kind of relationship was established between these two women? In fact, Anna Dorothea had already come to Spain secretly in 1622: she was the marchioness of Austria, the last natural daughter of the emperor Rudolf II. Although she was raised in the court of Vienna by the emperor Mathias, her aunt Sister Margaret of the Cross decided to bring her orphan niece in order to educate her at the Descalzas Reales. The travel was supervised both for the Spanish king Philip IV and the Infanta. Sister Anna Dorothea of the Conception lived there until 1694, known as the marchioness of Austria and preserved this royal foundation as a reference model for the *Pietas Austriaca*.

This contribution will analyze the role played by this “imperial nun” as a pious patron and an important link in the Habsburg dynastic network. Also, it will outline the forms of representation adopted by Sister Ana Dorothea in order to show up her double condition: not only through the patronage of art, books or religious ceremonies, but also promoting several members of her family, the court and her religious order. Equally, she was the beneficiary of many pious presents sent by the Habsburgs (the Infanta, emperors and empresses...) or their relatives and clients. I will argue that the Descalzas Reales was an ideal building to play both roles in that composite monarchy –it was half a convent, half a palace– as the empress Maria and Sister Margaret de la Cruz did before. In that sense, then Sister Ana Dorothea was the next and last link in that female Habsburg network, but living in a different political context.

**Sebastian SCHÜTZE** (University of Vienna): *Juan Carreño's 'Foundation of the Trinitarian Order' (Louvre) and the Pietas Austriaca*

Carreño's monumental "Foundation of the Trinitarian Order" is one of the most spectacular altarpieces in 17th-century Spain and was originally executed in 1666 for the high altar of the Trinitarian church in Pamplona. The church was destroyed during the Napoleonic wars in 1798 and the altarpiece, today housed in the Louvre in Paris, was removed from its context. A detailed analysis of the historical circumstances of the commission as well as of the highly original iconography reveals how strategically both Trinitarian spirituality and *Pietas Austriaca* were matched. For the very first time it was decided to represent the "Foundation of the Trinitarian Order" on the high altar, while contemporarily showcasing the Eucharist, the Trinity and the Immaculate Conception. The altarpiece, though destined for the relatively small church in Pamplona, was executed in Madrid and clearly designed to attract the attention of Mariana de Austria and of her court. The Trinitarian order had been founded already in 1198, but over the centuries had hardly distinguished itself through artistic patronage. Only from around 1630 onwards, in conjunction with the canonization process of its founder Juan de Matha and forced by the growing competition among old and new orders and their respective reform branches, the Trinitarians started to promote their redemptory mission on a grander scale trying to foster political alliances and gaining financial support from important patrons and donors. Carreño's altarpiece celebrates the foundation of the order while offering, at the same time, a unique summarization of Habsburg religious iconography. The altarpiece offers the opportunity for an in depth investigation of the indissoluble link between religious iconography and dynastic representation. Significantly, shortly after the completion of the altarpiece, and no doubt because of its particular appreciation at court, Carreño finally received his appointment as *pintor de camara*.

**Till-Holger BORCHERT** (Groeningemuseum Bruges): *Dynastical memory: Habsburg, Burgundy and the Empire*

The funerary monuments of members of the House of Habsburg belong to the most fascinating and intriguing objects for the analysis of dynastical representation in Early Modern Europe. Their ceremonial structure and iconographic program condense the official public image of the deceased, signaling their political functions, personal virtues and historical deeds. Although these monuments were conceived in a remarkable variety of forms and were individually integrated in distinctive spatial contexts in different locations, they addressed the publics.

My paper will focus on some of the most prominent funerary sites of the House of Habsburg, and will analyze the monuments for Friedrich III, Maximilian I, Margaret of Austria, and Charles V in terms of their form and structure. Specific consideration will be paid to their iconographic program and the "staging" of their public function. These monuments will then be contrasted with funerary monuments of the House of Burgundy in order to discuss potential precursors and models for the Habsburgs.

The final part of my paper will be dedicated to the investigation of funerary sites of princely families and church dignitaries in the Habsburg Netherlands and the Holy Roman Empire, in

order to establish the use of genealogical and heraldic arguments in the public display of territorial power, genealogical ambition and dynastical legitimacy.

**Annemarie JORDAN GSCHWEND** (CHAM, Universidade Nova de Lisboa): *Pietas Austriaca at the Lisbon court. The monumental chapel and funerary tombs of Catherine of Austria in the San Jerónimos monastic complex in Belém*

Catherine of Austria (1507-1578), the youngest sister of Emperor Charles V and Queen of Portugal actively promoted throughout her reign a cult of her elder brother. Simultaneously, she demonstrated her deep-seated devotion to the Habsburg dynasty, by zealously collecting heirloom relics venerated by the Habsburgs. She was gifted by the Imperial court in Vienna with relics her great-grandfather and grandfather, Emperors Friedrich III and Maximilian I respectively, collected for the Reliquienschriften in the Chapel of Saint George in Wiener Neustadt. These relics were sacrosanct for Catherine, linking her to living relatives and those Habsburg ancestors she honoured. Her cult of relics formed part of a particular *Pietas Habsburgica*, which combined religious piety with dynastic devotion. Relics were viewed by this queen as spiritual assets which reconfirmed her family identity. The remains of legendary ancestors or saints from Austria and Central Europe sacred to the Habsburg house, seen as spiritual founders of the dynasty, were particularly venerated by Catherine. In addition to this special form of collecting, Catherine emulated the *Pietas Austriaca* her elder brother, Charles V, observed at the Spanish court, by commissioning in 1565 large-scale portraits of herself and her spouse, John III, kneeling in devotion of the Eucharist, another form of devotion exclusive to the Habsburg house. However, the most impressive expression of Catherine's devotion to the Habsburg dynasty was the monumental pantheon she erected in the main chapel of the San Jerónimos monastery in Belém. She sought to create a monument which both honoured the Avis dynasty she married into, and glorified her Habsburg family. Catherine wished to demonstrate for posterity her pious devotion and ties to her natal and conjugal dynasties in the form of a sumptuous funerary chapel, built in an architectural style never seen before in Portugal.

**Juan Luis GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid): *Preachers, portraitists and nude collectors in the court of Madrid (c. 1590-1630)*

Since early Christian times, the ecclesiastical theory of images attempted to prevent idolatrous abuses. Basil and John of Damascus were the first to expose the highly influential proposition that 'the honour rendered to an image passes to its prototype,' a pronouncement that refers not only to a cult image but also to the portrait of an emperor. Preserving the memory of the king, his family and his dynasty, on the one hand, and giving reverence, honour and praise to God and his saints, on the other, were the two arguments most repeated in defence of the liberality of painting in Baroque Spain, above all at Court. For that reason, the semiotic analogy between the image of God and the royal portrait would enjoy a special reputation in Early Modern religious oratory and art treatises, so as to fortuitously summarize both demonstrations in one.

In the 1590s, we find among religious orators the first painting enthusiasts and critics. Among them all, royal preachers revealed an expertise on art superior to the rest and regularly

used images (real and metaphorical) during their sermons. Royal orators –always more shrewd, envied and ‘modern’ than the rest – had a great influence on the monarchs and Court. This was seen not only in the coinciding of the sovereigns’ religious customs with what was said by the preacher, but also in the knowledge – exhibited in the pulpit – of painting and visual arts in general, which reveals their special access to the Alcázar collections and their acquaintance with its private architectural spaces (notably the ‘cuarto bajo de verano’), together with an undeniable awareness of the princely taste.

This paper will explore how new stylistic forms of stirring emotion were put into practice *c.* 1590-1630 by royal preachers such as Alonso de Cabrera, Hortensio Félix Paravicino or Cristóbal de Avendaño. Figures of thought, vivid descriptions of Bible scenes, dramatization and visual imagery were exploited as never before. Thus, the royal orator would try to demonstrate the tangible, to make the sermon almost visible, employing a more expressive prose capable of shaking up his public. For their part, the listeners would be converted into observers; they would go from hearing a sermon within a religious building to ‘seeing’ some of the most restricted apartments of the Spanish Habsburgs’ residences.

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