The Interior as an Embodiment of Power

The Image of the Princely Patron and its Spatial Setting (1400-1700)

Edited by

Stephan Hoppe, Stefan Breitling and Krista De Jonge

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Preface

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

At the root of this volume stands the PALATIUM colloquium 'The Interior as an Embodiment of Power. The Image of the Prince and its Spatial Setting, 1400-1700', organised in Bamberg from 4 to 6 October, 2013.

Founded in 2010 and financed for five years by the European Science Foundation, the PALATIUM research networking programme intended to create a 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). The world of the courts 1400–1700 constituted a network of truly European scale and international character. In the field of court studies PALATIUM's focus on the residence stands out as a main defining characteristic, distinguishing it clearly from similar initiatives in Europe. Fourteen research institutions from eleven European countries supported the programme financially. Without the participation of our peers and without the ready support of local institutions, however, no PALATIUM event would have reached its audience or indeed have taken place. We sincerely thank Professor Stephan Hoppe (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) and Professor Stefan Breitling (Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg) for their unceasing efforts in making the Bamberg workshop a success and in developing the presentations into book chapters. In addition, special thanks are due, as always, to the members of the PALATIUM Steering Committee who helped to select contributors and to the PALATIUM coordinator Pieter Martens, who oversaw the organization of the event and who serves as co-editor to the present series.

The original aim of the Bamberg colloquium was to explore functional aspects of the court residence in conjunction with the formal layout and design of the interior, seen as an important medium of princely self-expression. In assembling papers and presenters, the convenors attempted, as always within the PALATIUM programme, to realize a broadly comparative perspective with case-studies ranging across early modern Europe. To quote from the call for papers, presenters were asked to embed into inter-regional and broader historical narratives diverse phenomena such as: the ceremonial approach of visitors; the calculated artistic effects on their route; 'special effects' of a spatial nature such as staircases and enfilades; and, of course, furnishings and furniture. Together, the ten selected chapters in this volume constitute an important stepping stone towards the synthesis the convenors called for. They combine the narrow focus and the micro-level of the dollhouse with the grandeur and monumental scale of the ballroom and long gallery, and in doing so prove yet again that the whole of this multidisciplinary mosaic is greater than the bare sum of its parts.

In publishing these papers under a creative commons licence in print and online we hope that they will reach a broad audience interested in this important and fragile part of our shared European heritage and will raise the level of awareness to its hidden meanings.

Introduction

Stephan Hoppe, Krista De Jonge and Stefan Breitling

The interiors of late mediaeval and early modern courtly residences attest to the important history of feudalism in Europe and beyond, when such spatial settings were essential for the creation of an appropriate princely image and for claiming the entitlements that went with it.[1] While attempts to understand and analyse these phenomena date back all the way to the 1960s, it was only during recent decades that the functional layout of the early modern residential palace started to prompt comprehensive studies with a comparative approach.[2]

The central rooms of such palaces, as well as those of less palatial structures, were usually carefully designed and richly decorated. The present volume, therefore, aims to present new ways of addressing this topic as the result of our improved understanding of the overall functioning of a palace.

The activities of governing in conjunction with a representative ceremonial, with special events and with everyday princely duties required a special architectural and decorative setting. Such three-dimensional spatial settings indoors largely codified human interactions by a firm set of ceremonial rules. The etiquette, in return, influenced the plan and design of the residential interiors. Art, architecture, decoration and furnishings of court residences formed, therefore, embodiments of power in their functional context.[3] Well-preserved exemplars of this type of embodiment now belong to the most precious elements of European heritage, even though their original meaning has mostly been lost. To the informed, contemporaneous observer, however, palace and interior represented appropriate settings for cultural exchange, multiple connotations of which may still be read to this day.

Unfortunately, many of the original interiors have long disappeared. Palaces and residences of mediaeval and pre-modern times have experienced serious modifications over the past two to eight centuries. Sometimes, the special purpose of a setting lost its sense after a particular event; sometimes, subsequent owners changed the overall concept or used only parts of the original plan. The individual history of specific palaces, including their transformation from residence to hunting lodge to dower house etc. (or vice-versa) and the consequent fluctuation of rank and number of inhabitants, led to phases of transformation. Refurbishing not only changed the style of the rooms' appearance but also resulted in the loss of the material traces of the original functional context.

Therefore, it is even more important that building archaeologists' campaigns record and evaluate the objects preserved. Evidence needs to be gathered and studied in detail of temporary screens and of architectural structures such as baldachins at residential buildings and halls. Often the architectural structures with or (more frequently without) the rich former decoration are preserved, while many objects are stored out of context in museums and depots and nothing but written sources testify to the losses.

Decoding this system of signals can only be made possible by the building of virtual reconstructions and models of the interiors and by the re-enactment of the social intermingling and political networking that once took place therein. One may also think of such reconstructions as a means of visualizing the moving of objects over time: arrival, integration as part of the interior design and, finally, departure.

In the end, the digital modelling of rooms and of ceremonial routes will influence the ways, in which works of art originating from a context of palatial and residential architecture are presented in their functional context.[4] Otherwise, a very specific group of objects, essential for European heritage, will lose its historical impact as well as its cultural opulence.

To understand the relationship between the concept of princely magnificence and the continuous artistic display, early modern palace buildings and the orderly setup of their interiors must be analysed as a means and product of princely self-expression. There is little sense in reducing residential culture to mere architectural space or the decorative arts to an autonomous genre. As a result, years ago, the attention of related fields of research shifted from the outside and from the façades of palaces to the interiors and from stylistic analysis towards functional aspects in conjunction with the formal layout and with the design of palatial interiors. Nowadays, once barren spaces have become rich examples of courtly chambers through the visual reconstruction of their formerly existing decorative schemes and furnishings. Their meaning is underpinned by descriptions of ceremonial events and everyday scenes from the written sources. Conversely, such written descriptions of events, of objects and of works of art no longer in situ gained in meaning by the reconstruction of their original architectural and decorative framework, of their spatial setting and of their ceremonial function.

It is the aim of this publication to embed a range of phenomena concerning the setting, meaning and construction of residential interiors and of their diverse elements into an inter-regional and comprehensive historical narrative. It is based on the international PALATIUM colloquium The Interior as an Embodiment of Power—The Image of the Prince and its Spatial Setting (1400–1700), held 4-6 October 2013 at Bamberg and organized by the editors.

The complexity of the matters discussed made it necessary to assemble international scholars from a broad range of fields of research and engaged in diverse projects. As a result, the historical background, the planning and execution as well as the intended and achieved messages imparted by the final appearance of diverse interiors, whether they were well preserved or simply described in writing, could be reconstructed by the colloquium. The evidence included written

sources, archaeological research, art historical analysis, objects preserved as well as fragmentary remains.

The synthesis provides a Europe-wide overview over the typical layout of spaces and rooms as well as over their respective functions as ceremonial passages. The reader thus gains an insight into the meanings of decoration, furnishings, paintings and other works of art as images of power and into practical issues such as the financing, planning and organization of rich interiors. In conclusion, matters of influence and competition between different regions, courts, people and periods become visible.

Obviously, international exchange is a key to the cosmopolitan aristocratic society and its architectural projects. Similarities and diversities of the spatial and ornamental settings of interiors attest to the existence of historical boundaries and help to distract from a modern view focused on the nation, deeply rooted in most scholarly disciplines. An international network of scholars, dealing with residential architecture, needs to overcome such heterogeneity of standards to arrive at a shared level of discourse.

Traditional rules of interaction, contemporaneous trends, individual concepts and financial means together determined the shape of interior settings and decorations of late mediaeval and early modern courtly residences. The issue of the setup and decoration of residential interiors is therefore very close to the central issue of locating princely power within the typical dichotomies of the legal and symbolic and of the practical and artificial. The contributions in this volume are ordered chronologically, yet they build several thematic groups.

Several contributions introduce the typical orderly sequence of spaces and rooms as well as their respective functions with examples of different periods. Typologies of floor plans linked to written sources disclose the meaning of particular rooms as spaces to achieve the symbolic and practical implementation of power at the time. An overview over the Burgundian-Habsburg court residences in Flanders (Krista De Jonge) discloses the ground-floor pattern developed for Burgundian court ceremonies and successfully exported to many other European courts. The case of Neuburg am Inn (Nicole Riegel) focuses on the complex system of architectural and decorative framework, which became the norm in Central Europe around 1530, following Italian role models and merging them with regional customs and requirements. The essay underlines the fact that in many cases only a temporary division of larger, multi-purpose spaces could achieve the necessary number and diversity of rooms. An analysis of the distribution of rooms at the Polish royal residences during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Franciszek Skibiński) demonstrates an ideal programme of advanced residential building, comprising an all-encompassing artistic and thematic decoration. The transformations of the old palace at Warsaw attest to the compromises made necessary by adopting a more modern functional setting.

Taking typical elements and features of residential interior design from the late fifteenth to the eighteenth century into consideration, it becomes clear that in Europe and beyond the traditional aristocratic etiquette of regulating social interaction by special spaces and ceremonial

rules stayed the main factor to determine an embodiment of power. Since the spatial setting was vital for the prince and his family to fulfil representational needs, the relationship between social interaction and architectural setup was so close, that a textile environment could oftentimes fill architectural gaps of representation. Decoration provided the heraldic background, it raised decorum to an appropriate level and it sent out a calculated artistic effect to visitors who advanced along the ceremonial route towards their prince.

Another group of articles addresses the contemporaneous meaning and iconography of decoration, furnishings, paintings and other works of art within a given spatial context. The concept and aim of interior decoration was to underscore typical arrangements as well as to highlight the power and status of a particular ruler. Nonetheless, they might also refer to personal aspects, a special political background or a political meaning. The fourteenth-century residences of Karlstein and Prague (Annamaria Ersek), mid-seventeenth century Hungarian aristocratic residences (Ingrid Halászová-Štibraná) as well as many other palaces displayed genealogical portraits in their great halls or in special galleries, offering important heraldic and symbolic images. They displayed either full-size statues or the heads of Roman emperors, wearing laurel wreaths or crowns. Thereby they linked the household to the (ancient) imperial tradition so that the genealogy could be received into the prince's own family tree.

A third group of essays addresses the practical issues of financing, planning and organizing such interiors. The textile chambers and chapels of the Burgundian dukes emphasized the importance of the availability of appropriate spatial settings and of their heraldic decoration (Katherine Anne Wilson). It is remarkable though – in particular to architectural historians – that textile sets in combination with wooden trestles fulfilled the necessary requirements for residential representation, almost independently of the building structures as such. To achieve the appropriate framework for aristocratic activity and representation, the act and the meaning of a place was more important than a permanent building fabric.

Nonetheless, full-size interior decorations were often the most costly part of the residential architecture. Both planning and construction required special skills and considerable amounts of money. The construction of generic architectural features contrasted with the often highly sophisticated and sometimes very individual interiors. For example, in the case of his residence at Ludwigsburg, the prince was probably not very interested in the style or in the details of the decoration, but ensured that his architect received the best education available at the time (Ulrike Seeger). He, therefore, was given free access to the latest fashions current at Paris, Prague, Vienna and Augsburg. The variety of examples discussed here makes it clear that, while most features of residential interior design may be considered as typical, there was also an occurrence of individual, unique and even personal inventions. Most rulers were then very much involved in issues of concepts of interior designs and personally decided whom to commission with the projects.

A fourth set of articles refers to the cultural transfer of architectural and decorative concepts for residential interiors, since they defined the ceremonial spaces and mirrored the person-

ality and role of the monarch. It is important to understand the sources of such ideas for interior concepts and to be able to prove whether monarchs intentionally chose specific forms and features on purpose. Princes knew contemporaneous publications that could be used as pattern books for interior design from which a potential client could choose. They were not necessarily specific and not exclusively connected to a court or to aristocratic culture – at least during early modern times. While the decorative scheme may at times have been determined by circumstances, the location of its dedicated space was of great symbolic and practical importance to the prince. Henry VIII of England had started at his palace at Whitehall with a conventional English pattern for his private rooms, but during his rule he rearranged the setting so that it would reflect the changes in his social relationships to his closest followers and to intimate members of his court (Astrid Lang). In the final stage, he no longer physically resided in his 'privy chamber', yielding this closed-off space to an unoccupied throne and to a wall painting set behind it to advertise his omnipresence and power.

It seems that Mary Stuart was no less concerned about an appropriate spatial environment (Alexandra Nancy Johnson). Mary´s rooms at Holyrood included all necessary features to declare her sovereignty. Taking into account the change of her function and status, the interior fully equipped for a queen was in itself a political statement. If the architecture was more than just the image of a prince, one could also draw real power from the interior setup.

The rather sad story of the self-representation of Duchess Auguste Dorothea of Schwarzenberg through her eighteenth-century dollhouse showed to the contrary to what extent the idea of the life and power of a monarch was connected to spatial settings (Annette C. Cremer). The setting and the decoration reflected an ideal world consisting of hierarchies, in which everybody had his or her appropriate place. In the case of Auguste Dorothea, reality did not match the image she aspired to. Therefore, she had to create a parallel one by means of the interior of her dollhouse. There is a meta-discourse on this interior, literal and non-literal, still waiting to be disclosed.

As this volume reveals, there is an interesting psychological aspect linked to the interiors of courtly residences. Codified spatial settings together with traditions of etiquette and interaction have formed a long-lasting topos in people's minds over the centuries. The richly decorated and only partially accessible interior as an embodiment of power is a consistent part of our cultural memory. From this point of view, it would be interesting to investigate further the degree to which rulers and subjects experienced and thought about the palaces' interiors. Based on the vast typological, stylistic, architectural and historical studies about medieval and early modern court residences, it should be possible not only to gain a better understanding of the remains, but also of the people who bequeathed them to us.

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[1] Elias 2006, originally 1969; Girouard, 1978 and later.

[2] Guillaume 1994; Hoppe 1996; Satzinger 2014; Chatenet and De Jonge 2015.

[3] Hahn and Schütte 2006.

[4] Hoppe and Breitling 2016.

Between Place and Function:

Notes on the Portrait Galleries in Charles IV's Residences of Karlstein and Prague

Annamaria Ersek (Université Paris–Sorbonne – Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte)

During his lifetime, Charles IV (d. 1378), a descendant of the House of Luxembourg, accumulated a great quantity of titles, from 'King of Bohemia' to 'King of the Romans'. In 1355, Charles IV finally became the Holy Roman Emperor. Since his family had only recently acquired links to the upper strata of society in Central Europe, gaining a more exalted position at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Charles urgently needed an elaborate and highly efficient representative system to legitimize his reign and to ensure the succession of his heirs. One of his principal tools was the use of history, particularly the cult of his ancestors and predecessors. This method allowed Charles IV to visualize the continuity of the political entities over which he ruled, namely that of the Holy Roman Empire and of the Kingdom of Bohemia by assembling the portraits of great monarchs of the past. In what follows, we shall discuss 55 fresco portraits for Karlstein and about 120 portraits on panel for Prague castle. Such cycles of paintings constituted, at the time, some kind of codification of historical reality – a pictorial document that had the same historical value and validity as a written document of the same content.[1]

Charles IV owned portrait galleries of his ancestors in three of his castles: the Prague and Karlstein genealogies are considered by most scholars to have been commissioned soon after 1355, while the Tangermünde cycle is more recent, having been executed in 1374. Unfortunately, none of them survived, so we have to use documentary evidence and copies included in manuscripts to reconstruct the lost paintings.

Although both art and architecture at the court of Charles IV have generally received a great deal of attention, his cultural politics require a closer inspection of, for example, the relation between the chosen location and concrete function of his portrait galleries. Overall, research has been limited to defining the location of these paintings rather spuriously as in 'the castle hall'[2] or in the 'audience hall' for Prague castle.[3] As regards the Karlstein genealogy,[4] we are often informed about specific premises: for example, we learn that the genealogy was to be found in a second-floor room of the castle,[5] which is often referred to as an audience hall as well. Such issues are, however, fundamental for our understanding of these pictorial cycles, since they might help us with determining their 'target' audience and with defining their function. In my essay, I intend

to concentrate on these tangible aspects for the two portrait galleries at Karlstein and Prague. Firstly, I focus on the location and the public accessibility of the spaces, in which the portrait cycles were displayed. Secondly, I concentrate on the composition and pictorial concept of ancestors' galleries. These two main points of my investigation provide the foundation for a re-evaluation of the traditional interpretation of these types of embellishment and may shed new light on the portraits' actual role in the representation of Charles IV.

The Location of the Galleries in the Palace in the Light of Written Evidence

In October 1414, Edmund de Dynter, secretary of the duke of Brabant, Anthony of Burgundy, travelled to Bohemia on a diplomatic mission, as is borne out by his own account. On this occasion, he met Wenceslas of Luxembourg, the son of Charles IV in Bohemia. Both Dynter and Wenceslas had an interest in the succession to the title of the duke of Brabant. In the course of his report, Edmund de Dynter describes a visit to one of the royal residences. Here, Wenceslas took the diplomat by the hand and led him towards a room, where:

> were painted the precious images of all the dukes of Brabant down to John III. These images had been commissioned by the Emperor Charles, Wenzel's father. The King also said to me that this was his genealogy, and that he was descended from the progeny of the Trojans, and more specifically from the emperor Saint Charles the Great and the noble house of Brabant. For he said that his great-grandfather, the emperor Henry of Luxembourg, was married to the daughter of John I Duke of Brabant from which union sprang his grandfather John, king of Bohemia and Poland.[6]

Unfortunately, the report does not specify the name of the castle where this event took place. In the previous paragraph, Edmund de Dynter had spoken about his visits to three of Wenceslas's residences, Karlstein, Točník and Žebrák,[7] which are located very close to one another. The castle of Žebrák, founded in the thirteenth century, was in use during the lifetime of Charles IV but nearly two decades after his death, in 1395, a great fire devastated it. Wenceslas left the ravaged building and had another castle built next to the old one. Since Točnik also dates to this period, it is, therefore, without doubt that Dynter's description refers to Karlstein, when he speaks about paintings commissioned by Wenceslas's father.[8]

As a result, we may safely consider the above quotation as a reference to Karlstein castle (fig. 1) and as a highly important report, since it preserves a reference to the diplomatic use of the portrait gallery. As for the exact original position of the room, in which the gallery was situated, it is an issue of much scholarly debate. Some authors state that it could be found on the castle's first floor; others – indeed the majority – mention a room on the second floor. Today, it is the second-floor room, which is set-up as an audience room with a more recent ancestors' portrait gallery. A small-size reconstruction of the supposed original look of the Portrait Hall is also presented in the castle (fig. 2).

Fig. 1 Castle of Karlstein, Czech Republic.

Fig. 2 Reconstruction of the Hall of the Luxembourg Genealogy, Karlstein Castle.

In the light of Edmund de Dynter's written account, there are, however, some issues that need clarification. The author affirms plainly that he was led to another room from the one where he and his companions were originally received by the king. From this statement, we may conclude that the genealogy was not displayed in the Audience Hall but in another room. It would seem logical to assume, therefore, that it was situated in a room adjacent to the Audience Hall or, more likely, on the second floor, exactly above the first-floor Audience Hall. The terminology of 'quandam aulam' (to a certain hall) also suggests a room of greater dimension.

Another issue, already addressed by previous research, was the question of accessibility of the Portrait Hall. As Martindale had asked, though without providing an answer, 'If that was the chamber to which Edmund de Dynter was led by Wenzel, where had he and his diplomatic colleagues just been received in audience and how did they get there without already passing by the genealogy?' Nonetheless, if we accept that the audience room, where the diplomats were received, was on the first floor and that the other room, which actually contained the genealogical cycle, was found on the second floor of the palace, exactly in the same position as the reception hall, it could perhaps solve the problem. The plan of the castle makes the easy access from the Audience Hall of the first floor to the Portrait Hall on the second storey possible, without passing the private rooms of the king.[9]

It seems that this Portrait Gallery was, therefore, not identical to the customary Audience Hall but located in another room, access to which was perhaps reserved for special guests of the sovereign. It also raises important queries about the function of this cycle, since we can exclude, as a result, that this room was the stage of Charles IV's principal official appearances and affairs of state. It is also important to remember that during the fourteenth century there was not yet a standard processional route laid out for the visitors to the castle as would, however, be developed during the next century.[10] The Luxembourg family tree was perhaps 'reserved for the privileged few'.[11] It was in this sense comparable to the innermost sacred spaces of Karlstein, which was also not located in the same part of the castle complex as the Portrait Gallery.

Edmund de Dynter's is not the only account; another written source also preserves information about the actual location of the genealogical cycle. In the 1597 renovation report of Karlstein castle,[12] we learn that 'the lineage of Charles IV' had been painted 'in the palace'. The report specifies that the room, in which Charles IV had resided during his lifetime, was decorated with wooden panelling and had a vaulted bay. According to the report, this room's function had changed and, while it had formerly been inhabited by Charles IV, it was now called the Audience Hall. From this very room, one could access the Hall where the portraits of the ancestors of Charles IV had been depicted. The walls of this Hall had since been whitewashed but the report stated that it might be possible to find traces of the historical frescoes under the whitewash. In addition, the report seems to confirm that the genealogy was situated on the castle's second floor, since the other rooms mentioned can be identified with rooms adjacent to the second-floor hall but not with the neighbourhood of the first-floor hall.

In the case of Prague Castle, the situation is somewhat more complicated. Charles IV had this castle 'constructed at great expense on the pattern of the royal palace of the French kings'[13] and, according to contemporaneous writers, aimed 'to demonstrate the magnificence of the glory of his kingdom of Bohemia, since princes, administrators, and nobles were pouring in to visit him from all parts of the world'.[14] The king and emperor himself described the event in his autobiography:

> Prague castle was completely desolate, ruined and destroyed and from the time of King Ottokar [II] levelled to the ground. In that place we had a large and beautiful place built anew and equipped it with many and sumptuous goods, which can be seen today.[15]

Unfortunately, such is no longer the case, for the disposition and the decoration of the Luxembourgian castle are only known in fragments and from written sources. The castle of Charles's era was rebuilt around 1500 by Benedikt Ried, but was subsequently destroyed by a great fire that devastated the architecture of the castle complex in 1541.

The portrait gallery commissioned by Charles IV was situated in the room, which is known today as the Hall of Wladislaw (fig. 3). To reconstruct the original (that is to say, the fourteenth-century) state of the castle, we may avail ourselves of the renovation reports of the castle dating to the twentieth century and containing stratigraphic measurements as well as of a contemporary document concerning the original construction: the *Coronation Order* of the Bohemian kings, recently analysed by Richard Němec.[16]

Fig. 3 Prague castle, Wladislas Hall.

The *Coronation Order* indicates that the procession passed from the bedroom (*thalamus*) to a ceremonial hall (s*ala regia*). After that, the procession continued through a gate on its way to the Cloister of Saint George. Earlier scholarship had suggested that the Hall of Wladislaw was divided into three spaces during the age of Charles IV: a large room to the East next to the chapel of the Virgin Mary and, finally, a large room assumed to be the Audience Hall. Since we can locate the above-mentioned gate to the North of the room and in the light of the new results presented by R. Němec,[17] it can, however, be confirmed that the Hall of Wladislaw was not divided under the House of Luxembourg. Therefore, we may identify this room with the original location of the Portrait Gallery.

The *piano nobile* of the palace can thus be reconstructed as follows: it fell into two parts, each with a different function. On the right hand, a representative part with the *sala regia* was located whereas on the left, the less public rooms, with the *privatissima*, the bedroom (*thalamus*), an antechamber (*anticamera*) and other rooms, including the *studiolo*, were laid out. Alongside this spatial division the liturgical spaces, for example the Chapel of the Virgin Mary at the south end of the hall and the Chapel of All Saints on the east side found their place.[18]

If we look at the spatial setting of the two galleries, we note a significant difference. As far as we know at present, it seems that the Karlstein gallery was not located in the main reception hall but in another room, situated next to the private rooms of Charles IV. The Prague gallery, to the contrary, was painted in the main Audience Hall of the sovereign. Therefore, the two galleries addressed diverse audiences: a large group of spectators might gain access to the Prague paintings, which functioned as an important element in Charles IV's courtly/official representation. In his residence at Karlstein, however, the Portrait Gallery may have been part of a more intimate environment and been reserved for special guests. In this context, we should also not forget the dimensions of these rooms. The Audience Room at Prague measured 30 x 16 m during the age of Charles IV. Karlstein, during that same period, had a smaller *aula* of 22 x 8.5 m,[19] although it is possible that the hall was not identical with the genealogy's location.

Composition of the Galleries

After an overview concerning the spatial situation of the ancestors' galleries, we should turn our attention to their composition. As regards the reconstruction of the Portrait Gallery at Prague, two hypotheses have dominated scholarship. The first, based on the publication of Joseph Neuwirth at the end of the nineteenth century, is considered to this day.[20] It proposes that Charles IV had painted his Přemyslid ancestors in the Prague castle, beginning with Přemysl the Ploughman, the mythical ancestor of the Přemyslid dynasty. This thesis is based on three manuscript copies (one is illustrated), preserved in the Austrian National Library at Vienna.[21] It needs to be stressed that this assumption is accepted by many scholars, it continues to influence research to some extent and to lead conclusions in a certain direction.

In accordance with the other theory of reconstruction, first published by Antonin Salač in the 1960s,[22] the original cycle commissioned by Charles IV did not represent his Bohemian ancestors but included a series of royal portraits from antiquity to the time of Charles IV. This assumption is based on inscriptions found at Prague Palace in combination with a written source from the sixteenth century.

Petrus Apian's *Inscriptiones Sacrosanctae Vetvstatis* have been preserved in several manuscripts.[23] On one page, we can read the words 'Bohemiae Regni Inscriptiones' next to the mention of 'Pragae aula regia'. Thereafter, four monarchs of antiquity, i.e. Ninus, Alexander the Great, Tola and Romulus are listed. From the description it becomes clear that the mentioned 'inscriptions' were situated in the *aula regia* of Prague palace.

In the above-mentioned Hall of Wladislaw, two inscriptions were found in the middle of the twentieth century (fig. 4). Salač, who first published the discovery, dated them to the fourteenth century. The first one ('LXXXI Karolus III Grossus Gallicus cepit impare anno dni. DCCC LXXX. Et impavit annis. XII'), refers to the reign of Charles III the Fat (839–888) while the second commemorates the Byzantine Emperor Leo IV (750–780) ('LXV. IIII […] cepit impare anno dni. DCC. LXX. VII et impavit annis V.')[24] Each person is numbered and mentioned by the date of death and the years he reigned. In addition, a fifteenth-century manuscript, compiled by an Augustinian friar, Oldrich Kriz of Telc, preserved the Czech translation of a catalogue of emperors. In this work, Marie Blahova was able to identify the translation of the inscriptions once displayed in and now rediscovered at Prague castle. [25]

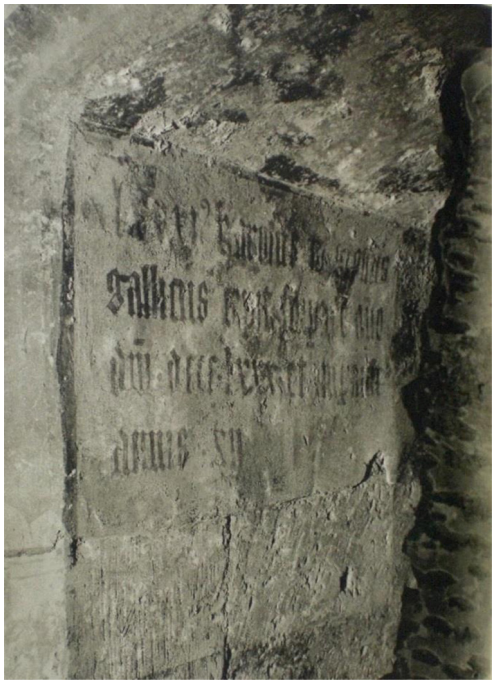

Fig. 4 Inscriptions found in Prague Castle.

We need to turn to yet another manuscript in order to prove that Prague Castle hosted an Imperial Gallery rather than a cycle of Přemyslid kings during the time of Charles IV. On the margin of a page of the *Marcha* written by Marco Battagli da Rimini was added a note, next to the name of Henry VI (erroneously identified as Henry VII): 'Usque huc imperatores in pallatio regali sunt depicti in castro Pragensi […] .'[26] Since Emperor Henry VII was not included in the alleged Přemyslid cycle (i.e. in the mentioned copies of the Austrian National Library), this piece of information suggests as well that instead of the Bohemian ancestors, the imperial predecessors had been depicted, providing further evidence for the reconstruction of the gallery.[27]

In this case, the manuscripts of the Austrian National Library, which actually documented a cycle of portraits of Bohemian rulers, might refer to another pictorial cycle. This more recent portrait gallery started with Přemysl the Ploughman and presented the Bohemian rulers until the Jagellonian Louis II (1506–1526). The fact that this cycle of portraits disappeared, as had done the original portrait gallery of Charles IV, may have given rise to the on-going confusion.

We can, therefore, reconstruct the Prague cycle as a series of 120 portraits, starting with four important monarchs from antiquity: Ninus, Alexander the Great, Tola, Romulus. It was continued with the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar onwards. The Byzantine emperors were also represented and, finally, the Holy Roman emperors ended the cycle.

Fig. 5 Portrait of Rudolf IV of Austria, Vienna, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum (PD-Art template).

As for the appearance of the portraits, Mateusz Grzęda recently linked the Prague gallery to the famous panel painting representing Rudolf IV of Habsburg, preserved in the Diözesanmuseum in Vienna (fig. 5).[28] Based on the inscriptions found in Prague Castle, he argues that an inscription, which was placed separately on plaster above every panel, identified each figure with black letters on a white background. Not only the type of inscription but also its position suggests, in his opinion, that the Prague series of portraits might have provided a model for the Viennese panel in terms of composition.[29] If we accept this hypothesis, we can imagine, not only conceptually but also visually, a series quite different from the Karlstein one. Nevertheless, we have to remain very cautious about such attempts to reconstruct the actual visual elements of this cycle.

In the case of Karlstein, two manuscript copies (1569–1575)[30] preserved the original decoration and thus allowed for the clear reconstruction of its contents, if not on a stylistic then at least on a programmatic level. The first manuscript is preserved today in the National Library of Austria (ÖNB 8330) and the second one can be found in the Archives of the National Gallery of Prague (AA 2015), known there as *Codex Heidelbergensis.*

The pictorial cycle with the ancestors of Charles (figs. 6 and 7) contains three main groups: Biblical ancestors, classical gods and heroes, and finally historical rulers, beginning with Pippin the Short and ending with the reigning emperor. The parallel text of this pictorial cycle can be found for example in Giovanni di Marignola's 'ancient history',[31] which related that 'through the uninterrupted kinship in the Trojan blood of Aeneas, Charles descended from the pagan gods Saturn and Jove.'[32]

Figs. 6 and 7 Figures of Charles IV and his mother, Elizabeth of Bohemia, from the Luxembourg Genealogy painted on the walls of Karlstein Castle, now lost. Copies preserved in the *Codex Heidelbergensis*, Prague, Archives of the National Gallery, AA 2015.

If we analyze the content of the cycle, we will note that among the Přemyslid ancestors, it was only Elizabeth, mother of Charles IV, to be represented. Nevertheless, this fact does not necessarily mean that Karlstein contained no representation of members of the Přemyslid branch, since the stairway of the Great Tower contains frescoes of the legends of St. Wenceslas and St. Ludmilla as well as other portraits of the family of Charles IV. We need to remember that until recently the decoration of the southern stairway in the Great Tower did not attract much scholarly attention and that interest in it did not start before the beginning of this century. However, the stairway held a unique position in the carefully conceived Karlstein iconography, since it provided access to the Chapel of the Holy Cross on the second floor.[33] Unfortunately, the murals are in a pitiful state, but tracings were made from them before they were removed in part. In the case of the representation of the family of Charles IV, corresponding older iconographic sources may help us with the identification. A copybook, preserved today at the Herzog August Library at Wolfenbüttel (the *Linea Caroli Quarti)*, includes copies of Karlstein paintings (fig. 8). Folio 17r is divided into three horizontal bands. The top band is a copy of the scene of *Exaltatio Crucis* (as in ÖNB 8330) from the Chapel of St. Catherine's in the Lesser Tower, faithfully reproducing the original painting. The drawings in the two horizontal bands at the bottom were in all likelihood also executed after originals in Karlstein; we find them in the uppermost fields of the inner and outer wall of the stairway, although in a badly damaged state.[34] Six large and two smaller figures in the middle band of the Wolfenbüttel drawings are turned to the right, while nine figures in the bottom band are turned to the left. This counter-orientation of the kneeling figures clearly documents their original location, i.e. on opposite walls.

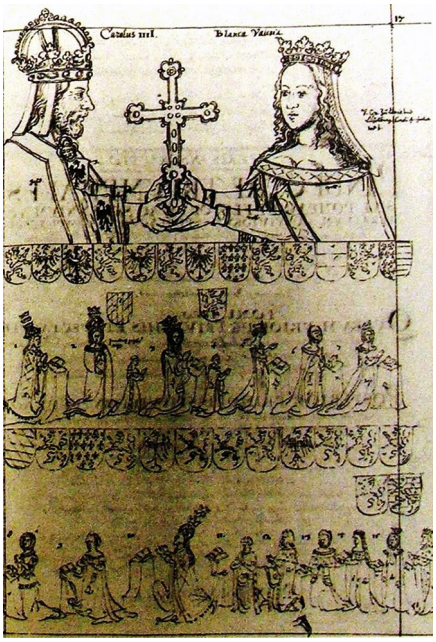

Fig. 8 The *Exaltatio Crucis* from the Chapel of St. Catherine and the *Family of Charles IV* from the top of the stairway in the Great Tower of Karlstein Castle. Drawings from the *Linea Caroli Quarti*, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 60.5 Aug. 26.

In any event, in the case of such complex structures as the castles at Karlstein or Prague, we evidently cannot aspire to a unique and exhaustive interpretation. Nevertheless, we should pay close attention to the diverse levels of meaning and review the conventional categorization that aims to describe particular places as scenes of imperial or royal representation. One of the most important conditions for the realization of such an endeavour is the exact location of these pictorial cycles as well as the reconstruction of the accessibility of these spaces. Needless to underline that terms such as propaganda are not always appropriate to describe the intended functions of all works of art;[35] this term seems to be particularly unsuitable when presenting a fourteenth-century reality.

Conclusion

As regards the specific portrait galleries at Prague and Karlstein, the outline of two different concepts seems to emerge. The Prague cycle, presenting 120 paintings, accentuates the continuity of a particular political entity, that of the Holy Roman Empire. The location of this cycle in a highly representative context, which was accessible to a larger public, seems to correspond to its more official content. Of course, we may ask why an Imperial Gallery was set up in Prague Castle, which served after all as the royal residence. Perhaps it was meant to blazon forth the ambitions and aspirations of Charles IV who wished to secure the imperial throne for his descendants, even though he failed to establish the Luxembourg dynasty on the imperial throne for the long term.

The Karlstein cycle, however, does not present a series of predecessors in office but Charles's alleged ancestors. The space reserved for this decoration formed part of the more intimate premises within the castle and should, therefore, be decorated accordingly. Even though written records, in particular the documents issued by the royal chancellery, prove that Karlstein was the hub of political and administrative activities and that at least part of the royal chancellery was situated at Karlstein, it seems that the Luxembourg genealogy corresponded to another function of the castle. Since Ferdinand Seibt called Karlstein Charles's 'geistliches Lustschloss',[36] we may add that it served not only as 'spiritual pleasure palace' but also as a 'place of delight', intended for courtly entertainment.

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Illustrations

Figs. 1–3 Photo author.

Fig. 4 published in Salač 1962.

Fig. 5 Vienna, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum (PD-Art template).

Figs. 6–7 Codex Heidelbergensis, Prague, Archives of the National Gallery, AA 2015 (Friedl 1956, figs. 75 and 74).

Fig. 8 *Linea Caroli Quarti*, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 60.5 Aug. 26. (Fajt 2003).

[1] Dvořáková 1964, p. 54.

[2] Fajt 2005, p. 10. Wammetsberger 1967, p. 89. Bogade 2005, p. 170.

[3] Neuwirth 1896. See also recently Zurek 2014.

[4] Similarly to the Prague cycle, the fundamental publication on this cycle dates to the end of the nineteenth century: Neuwirth 1897. The portrait cycle is discussed in detail in Friedl 1956, as well as in Stejskal 1976; Stejskal 1978 and Stejskal 1996. In the field of history, see Melville 1987, in particular pp. 260–64; Clemens 2001; Blahová 1986 and Blahová 2008.

[5] Bogade 2005, p. 171.

[6] de Dynter 1857 (1414), III, pp. 73–74. English translation in Martindale 1988, p. 5.

[7] Menclová 1972, II, pp. 153–71.

[8] See also Neuwirth 1897.

[9] For a plan, see Menclová 1972, p. 50.

[10] See the presentation of Krista De Jonge at the Bamberg colloquium and her essay included in the present volume.

[11] Scales 2012, p. 233.

[12] Fajt 1998, p. 51. For the original in Czech, see Wocel 1858a, pp. 70–1; a paraphrase in German is included in Wocel 1858b, pp. 274–5. See also Dvorsky 1897, pp. 512–3.

[13] These are the words of the chronicler Frantisek of Prague, cited in Crossley 2003, p. 113: 'ad instar domus regis Francie cum maximis sumptibus edificavit'.

[14] From the *Chronicle* of Benes Krabice of Weitmile 1333, cited in Boehm and Fajt 2005, p. 75: 'quoniam ad ipsum confluebant principes et procur[atores] ac nobiles de omnibus partibus mundi, volens ostendere magnificentiam gloriae regni sui Bohemiae […]'.

[15] Nagy 2010, chapter 8, p. 95: 'Castrum vero Pragense ita desolatum, destructum, ac comminutum fuit, quod a tempore Ottogari regis totum prostratum fuit usque ad terram. Ubi de novo palacium magnum et pulchrum cum magnis sumptibus edificari procuravimus, prout hodierna die apparet intuentibus'. English translation in Crossley and Opačić 2005, p. 59.

[16] Němec 2012.

[17] Němec 2012.

[18] Němec 2012.

[19] Menclova 1972, II, p. 168.

[20] See for example Rosario 2000, Clemens 2001 and Bogade 2005.

[21] ÖNB 7304, 8491, 8043.

[22] Salač 1962, pp. 304–06.

[23] Ingolstadt, 1534 [VD16 A 3086, p. CDLII], Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, available online.

[24] Salač 1962, p. 305.

[25] Blahová 2007, p. 56, n. 37. Blahová 2008, p. 394, n. 66.

[26] Massera 1912, AA 1212–1354, XXXV, XLVI.

[27] Blahová 2007, p. 57. The editor of Marco Battagli's chronicle also wrote about another instance, likely added after the first, which stated 'Ego Andreas vidi picturas in castro Pragensi' but there is not sufficient evidence that the writer referred to the decorations from Charles IV's period rather than to the later painted cycle.

[28] Grzęda 2015. I would like to thank Mateusz Grzęda for kindly sending me his article before publication.

[29] Grzęda 2015.

[30] On the dating process see: Neuwirth 1897: 1569–75; Stesjkal 1978: 1574–75.

[31] Regarding additional parallels, see recently Zurek 2014, chapters II–III.

[32] 'Karolus autem ex deorum gentilium Saturni et Jovis recta linea per Troyanos nascitur descendisse et de qua per Enee filium […]. per Laviniam, filiam regis Jani […] atraxit originem.' FRB III, p. 520. Translation as cited in Tanner 1993, p. 97.

[33] Fajt 2003, p. 16.

[34] Ibid., p. 18.

[35] See for example the book title of Rosario 2000: *Art and Propaganda: Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378*.

[36] Seibt 1978, p. 392.

Ceremonial 'Grey Areas':

On the Placing and Decoration of Semi-Public and Semi-Private Spaces in Burgundian-Habsburg Court Residences in the Low Countries (1450–1550)

Krista De Jonge (University of Leuven – KU Leuven)

In its basic principles, the spatial organization of the princely apartment in the Burgundian-Habsburg world of the late fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries closely resembled that of its counterparts at other courts in Europe. Both the most public space, the multi-functional great hall (*salle*), and the most private one, the chamber (*chambre*) with its attendant wardrobes and cabinets could be found everywhere.[1] What separated France, Germany and England from the Burgundian Low Countries and Habsburg Spain, was on the contrary the development of the semi-public and semi-private zones in between the two; their particular disposition, size, characteristic furnishings, and the specific function of their component spaces.[2] This is the subject of my essay.

These intervening spaces played a major role in separating visitors according to rank, following a principle, which was only explicitly written down during the waning of the Burgundian era in the second half of the fifteenth century. Charles the Bold (or the Rash), duke of Burgundy, played a key role in this process. A master at the use of the ordinance to instil 'order and rule' in his household, he refined the principle of access depending on a fine grading of rank to a veritable art, which was inherited later by his Habsburg descendants.[3] From 1496–1497 onwards, court ordinances listing officials at the court of Philip the Handsome and his son, Emperor Charles V, include a paragraph explaining that, if a space preceding the chamber and following the chamber is available, it can be used to receive visitors of middling rank:

> Item, [my lord] desires that access to his chamber be ordered in the following manner as regards his *pensionnaires*, chamberlains, *maîtres d'hôtel*, and gentlemen, to wit: if there is a room before the one where he sleeps, there his porters will stand guard on the door, and all *pensionnaires*, chamberlains, *maîtres d'hôtel*, and gentlemen can enter it. And if in some place he has two rooms before his sleeping chamber, he wants the gentlemen to enter the first one, and the following one, next to his, can be entered by the *pensionnaires*, chamberlains, and *maîtres d'hôtel*. None of them shall enter nor stay in my lord's chamber until he is dressed, or until they are called hither by the cup bearer, or when the servants of the chamber come in.[4]

From this passage, we can deduce that neither the number nor the role of the intervening spaces were entirely fixed, especially not for the varying accommodations 'on the road'. These are ceremonial 'Grey Areas'.

Sallette

The dining hall (*sallette*), literally 'small hall', shows up quite early in the process of differentiation of rooms in the mediaeval princely residence, but assumes different roles at different courts (fig. 1). At the French royal court of the Valois where the roots of the Burgundian house may be found, for instance in the new Louvre as built by King Charles V of France in the 1360s, the dining hall remains outside the main sequence of rooms, according to Mary Whiteley. However, in Alain Salamagne's reconstruction of the lost royal apartment on the third level, the *salle neuve du roi* which is reached first from the main staircase, doubles as dining hall.[5] In the Burgundian-Habsburg context of a century later, the *sallette* similarly constitutes the theatre of the ceremonial public dinner, meant to awe spectators with the prince's splendour, but often constitutes a separate space from the salle.[6]

In the Bruges residence of the Prinsenhof, which was renovated in successive stages between 1446 and 1459, Philip the Good, the 'best-served man alive' according to the chronicler Georges Chastelain, had a *sallette* at his disposal, which flanked St. Christopher's chapel and the duke's new oratory. It was accessible by a gallery from his private rooms, which were built along the garden side of the fourteenth-century, previously existing great hall.[7] Because of the convoluted renovation history of this residence, it might be better not to draw any conclusions from its position outside the main room sequence of the ducal apartment. Nevertheless, the *sallette*-and-chapel complex constitutes the main, representative part of the palace.[8] Interestingly, in the residence of *Grand Chambellan* Engelbert II of Nassau in Brussels, begun in 1481, the *sallette* on the ground floor could apparently only be accessed directly from the courtyard, thus also remaining outside the main suite of rooms (see below). Similar to Bruges, it connected with the residence's sacred space, specifically with the upper balcony of the chapel, affording a view of nave and choir (which are situated on a lower level because of the sloping terrain).[9]

An equally ambiguous situation existed at the Brussels Coudenberg Palace, the former residence of the dukes of Brabant, the residential wing of which was rebuilt under Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (1431–1436). The surviving accounts are clear on the location of the main hall, which also served as audience room and council chamber. Its end gable, adorned with two staircase turrets, loomed over the remnants of the inner, early thirteenth-century city wall; one of these must have served as main entrance until a larger winding stair, lodged in a tower in the middle of the courtyard façade (1468–1469), was built.[10] This extension, it seemed to us before, must have turned the original sequence of rooms around, the *sallette* moving towards the new entrance, but this is far from certain. It is actually not entirely clear which of the two spaces situated between the new staircase and the audience hall was the *sallette* and which was Philip the Good's presence chamber. Since the smaller projecting room can be identified, on the basis of its dimensions, with the duke's most private withdrawing chamber or *retraite*, which had to connect directly with the presence chamber, the *sallette* now does not seem to have been the room closest to the audience hall but rather the one further removed, next to the new staircase tower.[11]

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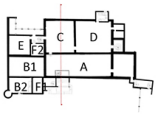

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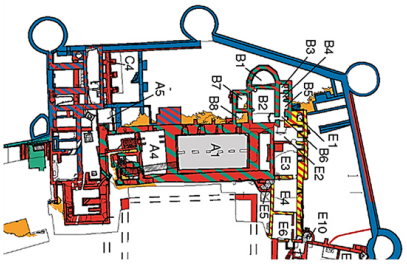

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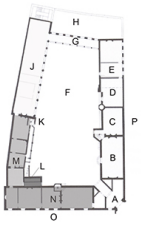

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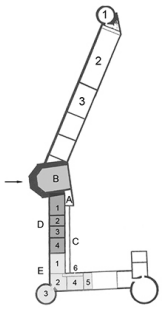

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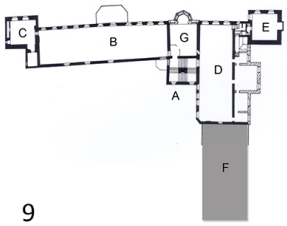

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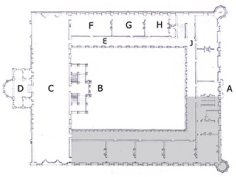

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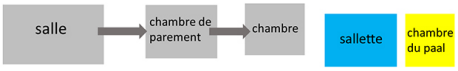
1 Coudenberg Palace, Brussels

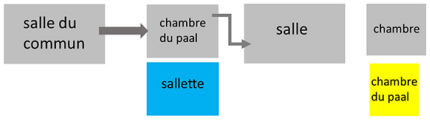


2 Prinsenhof, Bruges

3 Prinsenhof (Hof ten Walle), Ghent

4 Mary of Hungary's Palace, Binche

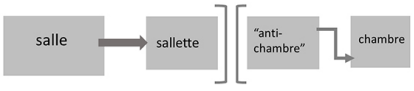
5 Engelbrecht II of Nassau's Palace, Brussels



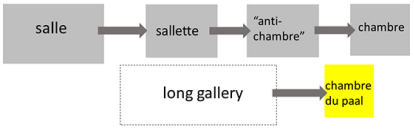
6 Margaret of Austria's Palace, Mechelen

7 Antoine de Lalaing's Castle, Hoogstraten

8 William of Croÿ's Palace, Brussels



9 William of Croÿ's Castle, Heverlee



10 Henry III of Nassau's Palace, Breda

Fig. 1

1 Coudenberg Palace, Brussels. Rooms sketched out in blue: Philip the Good (1431–1436). Light blue: Charles the Bold (1468–1469). White: Mary of Hungary (1533–1537). A audience room with chapel (*grote camere voer int hoff*); T1 staircase turret; B presence chamber (*camere van parement*); C sleeping chamber (*retrait*); D ducal chamber (25 x 25 ft); E Philip the Good's *sallette*, possibly reduced by Charles the Bold's staircase tower, and changed into the *groote pale*; F Charles the Bold's *sallette* (29 x 33 ft), later (part of) Mary of Hungary's *sallette*; T2 Charles the Bold's new staircase tower; G *cleyne pale*; H (site of) Mary of Hungary's chamber (42 x 26 ft); I Mary of Hungary's cabinet; J Mary of Hungary's long gallery; T3 Mary of Hungary's new staircase. Based on ARAB Kaarten en plannen, inv. in hs. 1326.

2 Prinsenhof, Bruges. A great hall (fourteenth century); B1 main chapel; B2 small chapel; C *grand' chambre* (1456–1459); D ducal chamber with turning staircase (1456–1459); E new *sallette* next to private gallery towards the garden (1448–1452); F1 old oratory; F2 new oratory with turning staircase. Sanne Maekelberg.

3 Prinsenhof (Hof ten Walle), Ghent. A great hall; B *sallette* (called *antisale* in 1646); C chapel; D location of flanking oratories; E turning staircase to private rooms (located half a story higher in adjacent wing). ADN E2353, detail.

4 Mary of Hungary's Palace, Binche. A1 site of the sixteenth-century great hall (on earlier foundations); A4 site of the Emperor's *sallette* (first floor); E3 site of Eleanor of France's *sallette* (first floor). Survey Ministère de la Région Wallonne, DGATLP, P.-Ph. Sartieaux, detail.

5 Engelbrecht II of Nassau's Palace, Brussels. Ground floor. A entrance with dome; B great hall above kitchens (basement); C chamber with stove above kitchens (basement); D *sallette*?; E upper oratory of the chapel; F courtyard; G connecting gallery; H (lower on the slope) courtyard of the *petit palais*; J open portico (ground floor), gallery above (first floor); K staircase tower; L great staircase tower with dragon windvane; M apartments; N garden apartments; O garden; P *chaussée de la Madeleine*. Based on Domenico Martinelli's plan of 1696 (Milan, Museo Sforzesco, Gabinetto dei disegni, Raccolta Martinelli, IV : Disegni d'Architettura, 27), redrawn by Pieter-Jan Pelgrims.

6 Margaret of Austria's Palace, Mechelen. A main staircase to the first floor; B turning staircase; C hall and chapel; D site of the chapel oriel; E *premiere chambre a chemynee*; F *seconde chambre a chemynee*; G *riche cabinet*. Based on Leonard Blomme's survey before the 1880 restauration, Mechelen, Stadsarchief, B3697.

7 Antoine de Lalaing's Castle, Hoogstraten. First floor. 1 chamber above the chapel; 2 library above the great hall; 3 council chamber above the great hall; A staircase; B great chamber with stove; C gallery above the ground-floor portico. D Apartment of Elizabeth of Culemborg: D1 *chambre de parement*, D2 chamber, D3 wardrobe, D4 wardrobe or cabinet. E Apartement of Antoine de Lalaing: E1 *chambre de parement*, E2 *sallette*, E3 private chapel, E4 chamber, E5 wardrobe, E6 corridor. Based on the cadaster plan of 1716, Anholt, Fürstliches Archiv, redrawn by Line Mertens.

8 William of Croÿ's Palace, Brussels. Ground floor: A *conciergerie*, with entrance from the Place des Bailles; B great hall; C *sallette* (later subdivided in *antisalle* and *sallette*); D antechamber (*chambre de parement*); E staircase; F main courtyard; G kitchens and rooms for washing; H backyard; J small garden. First floor* : A*-G* gallery; B* hall; C* *sallette*; D* chambers. Based on Pierre Le Poivre's plan of 7 March 1596. L AA 2420bis verso.

9 William of Croÿ's Castle, Heverlee. First floor. A Entrance, main staircase; B long gallery (above ground floor portico); C *chambre du paal*; D great hall; E chambers; F (lost) west wing with ducal apartment.

10 Henry III of Nassau's Palace, Breda. First floor. A entrance; B (lost) main staircase to the first floor; C great hall; D chapel. Main apartment in the north wing: E open portico, closed before 1600; F *salle dorrée* (*sallette*); G *chambre dorrée*; H *grande garderobbe*; J staircase. The grey parts were only completed in 1696. Based on the plan by Ph. W. Schonck, 1768 ('s-Hertogenbosch, Rijksarchief Noord-Brabant, 1985).

All this might imply that in the fifteenth century, the *sallette* was not necessarily part of the linear sequence of rooms from hall to chamber, but could be placed off the main route; because of its public function, easy access was an important factor. The later Habsburg ordinances seemingly confirm that any available and conveniently placed room could be turned into a *sallette* by putting the necessary furnishings in it for the occasion (see below): a flexibility probably dictated by the nomadic living conditions of the court.[12] The situation in the fifteenth-century Prinsenhof in Ghent, or Hof ten Walle, anticipates what would become the standard disposition by the early sixteenth century. Great hall and dining hall occupy a single large volume covered by a saddleback roof, the chapel and its adjacent oratories jutting out from the middle at right angles, while the more private rooms occupy the first floor in the adjacent wing.[13] By the early 1500s, the *sallette* had indeed become part of the main sequence in frequently used residences, not only the impe-

rial ones but also those of the higher nobility. Regent Margaret of Austria, daughter of Emperor Maximilian I, chose to reside in Mechelen, the city paying for a new residence built from 1509 onwards. Her *sallette* was situated on the first floor behind a larger *salle* which doubled as a chapel, as part of a ceremonious entrance route.[14] A straight staircase in a spacious entrance hall, inspired by Spanish examples she had known during her brief betrothal to the Infante Juan, led from the ground floor to a landing on the first floor with an open *loggia* in front of both stair and *salle*. Her *sallette* had a representative role, since dynastic portraits of her own family and of allied houses decorated it.[15]

A comparison with the situation in the residences of the highest-ranking nobility in the country might be fruitful. The inventories describing the order of rooms in the present-day Arenberg Castle at Heverlee near Leuven, built before 1519 for the Lord High Chamberlain to Emperor Charles V, William of Croÿ, Lord of Chièvres, are very clear. Unfortunately, of the main apartment in the west wing nothing remains but its point of departure, the *grande salle pavée de pierre* which is today part university lecture hall, part work space. Following this hall, there was the *sallette ordinaire*, followed by two unspecified chambers and a wardrobe.[16] The lost residence in Mechelen of Antoine de Lalaing, Chièvres's chief rival at court, was also well provided with *sallettes*, the chief one of which seems to have been situated next to the great hall.[17] A third example confirms that by the middle of the sixteenth century, this had become a standard disposition. In the Nassau palace at Breda, built for Henry III of Nassau and Mencía de Mendoza from 1536 onwards, the *sallette* followed the great hall on the first floor and preceded the chamber and wardrobe room in a linear sequence (see below).[18]

In the new residence built by Jacques Du Broeucq for Regent Mary of Hungary at Binche between 1545 and 1549, the great hall, raised partially on mediaeval foundations, was followed by a *sallette* at either end, the one belonging to the main apartment extending across the entire width of the hall.[19] Its counterpart on the ground floor is known for its sumptuous décor and festive apparatus erected for the festivities on 30 August 1549, when Mary of Hungary hosted an imperial visit (fig. 2). The visitors included her brother, the emperor, who used the main apartment on the first floor, her sister the Dowager Queen Eleanor of France, who used the other *sallette* on the first floor and the following rooms in the fifteenth-century wing, and the heir apparent, Philip of Spain, who resided on the ground floor. Mary herself made do with the attic.[20] But these dessert tables descending from the sky with lightning and thunder effects, and the wall fountain spouting wine, adorned with coral, were not part of the usual furnishings. Jean Sigoney's ordinance of 1545, used to put Philip of Spain's house on a Burgundian footing before his extended voyage of 1548–1551, describes the ephemeral furnishings with which any room of sufficient size can be turned into a *sallette* as follows:

Fig. 2 Anonymous, *Dessert of the banquet on 30 August 1549, served in the ground-floor sallette or 'chambre enchantée'*, pen and wash on paper, 409 x 387 mm. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Drawings, F 12931, plano C.

> When the porter has accomplished this task, the *tapissier* has a large carpet brought to the room where His Majesty is going to eat, and puts it where the table shall be placed, and according to His wishes, the tapestry officials go watch over it, and to the palace *fourier* falls the job of having the table placed and the chair brought forward, together with another, smaller table that serves as preparation table in the same room where His Majesty [shall eat] if there is room for it, and if there is not, in the closest room, which will serve for the service of the bread and of the cellar […].[21]

The characteristic raised dais, canopy and buffet are clearly represented in the watercolours illustrating a series of festive events which took place in the Brussels palace at the turn of the year 1565: the marriage of Alexander Farnese, son of Margaret, duchess of Parma, to Mary of Portugal, a cousin to the Portuguese king (fig. 3).[22] They lent an almost sacred flavour to the elaborate ceremony of the public dinner, as described by *L'Estat de la maison du Duc Charles de Bourgoingne, dit le hardi* sent by Olivier de la Marche, master of the household (*maître d'hôtel*) of Charles the Bold, to the English court in November 1474.[23] Usually, the court watched from a distance, while the prince ate alone, seated under a baldachin,[24] at least if there were no guests of equal rank. A balustrade might serve to keep spectators at a distance, as shown in the idealized illustrations of the *Thurnierbuch* (fig. 4).[25] This custom led Charles V to have many lonely dinners, such as the one in D. Pedro de Mascarenhas's house in Brussels in 1531. The ambassador of the king of Portugal

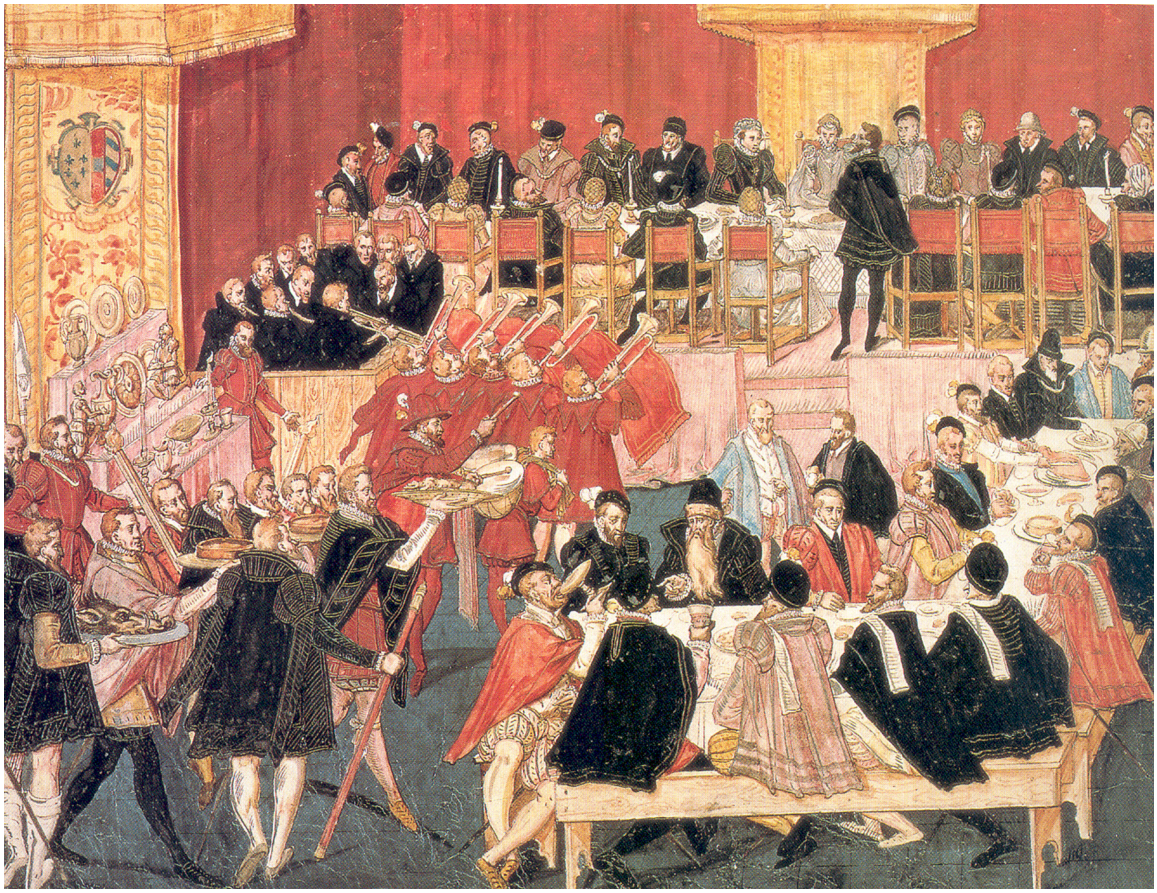


Fig. 3 (Attributed to) Frans Floris, *Pourtraictz au vif des Entrees Festins Joustes & Combatz matrimoniaux celebrees en la Ville de Bruxelles l'an nostre Seigneur Mille Cincq cens LXV… entre Treshaut Trespuyssant & Tresexcellent Prince Monseig. Alexandre de Farneses…. & entre Treshaute Trespuyssante & Tresexcellente Princesse Donna Marie de Portugal*, gouache on parchment, 300 x 380 mm (approximately). Warsaw, University Library, Drawings Zb. Król. Wol 755, pl. 12.

had invited the imperial court to an elaborate feast celebrating the birth of an heir to the Portuguese throne. The emperor was served by the noted humanist Damião de Góis from a buffet with 'the blue-white pottery that the Portuguese bring from the East', Chinese porcelain or its Portuguese imitation.[26] At that point in time, the buffet had not yet taken the form of an elaborately carved piece of furniture, as would happen in later decades. The number of shelves carrying precious cups and *tazze* depended on rank, as did the type of textile furnishings and the vessels themselves, as mentioned by Aliénor de Poitiers in the *Honneurs de la Cour*. The weight of precious metal as well as the number of pieces made for *grandt monstre*, a 'great showing' in the words of Antoine de Lalaing.[27]

der F. G. von Beyern. VI

Hertzogen von Beyern das Morgenmal zu Hof mit der Röm. Keyſ. May. eyngenommen/vnd darnach vngefehrlich vmb zwölff vhr iſt der Durchleuch-

tig Hochgeboren Fürſt vnnd Herr / Herr Ferdinand/ Ertzhertzog zu Oeſter-reich/ꝛc. in die Keyſerlich Burgk ankommen/davon vor niemand gewüßt/ hat ſein Loſament gehabt ins Herren Andre Pögl/Röm. Key. May. ꝛc. Hofraht/ Hauß. Man hett auch auff dieſen tag den Kampff/ nach laut der verkündung deß Thurniers/angefangen/aber vngewitters halben hat man auff den drit-ten tag darnach verzogen.

Den Erichtag / welcher iſt geweſen der eilffte Junij/ iſt die Röm. Keyſ. Mt. ſampt dem hochgedachten Fürſten zu Beyern/ꝛc. auff dem Gejägt geweſen/vnd haben auch das Frümal mit einander geſſen.

Ordnung

Fig. 4 Anonymous, *Breakfast of Ferdinand I, King of the Romans, and Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria*, on 9 June 1546, woodcut from Hans von Francolin and Georg Rüxner, *Thurnierbuch Das ist: Warhaffte eigentliche vnd kurtze Beschreibung von Anfang Vrsachen ... vnd Herkommen der Thurnier im heyligen Römischen Reich Teutscher Nation ... von neuwem zusammen getragen mit schoenen neuwen Figuren* ... (Frankfurt a.M.: Feyerabend, 1579), p. 19. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Digitale Sammlungen, Creative Commons licence 4.0.

Such a room was well heated. The inventory dated c.1600, describing William of Croÿ's residence at Heverlee, mentions a chimneypiece of white stone sculpted with the arms of the owner and with his collar of the Golden Fleece as well as painted. The room had other luxury items such as stained-glass windows, wood panelling on the walls, and a sculpted wooden porch (*porge*) keeping out the draught, its panels carved with the initials of the owners, G and M with a lovers' knot, *enlacees avecques noeudz d'amour*. A similar porch enclosing a spiral staircase, with linen-fold panelling and faux marbling dated c.1600, survives in the upper room of the west tower (figs. 5a and 5b).

Fig. 5a Heverlee, William of Croÿ's Castle, west tower, third floor, staircase enclosure (© author).

Fig. 5b Heverlee, William of Croÿ's Castle, west tower, third floor, staircase enclosure (© author).

The ducal *sallette's* furnishings also included a canopy or *dosseret* of cloth of gold sewn with the arms of the owner, placed above a raised dais or *passet* covered with a tapestry of garlands on a red background. There was also a tall chair or *chaise haulte pliante* covered in red velvet with golden fringes, and a leather version made to 'carry a gouty person', recalling that of Philip II in the Escorial. The walls were covered by hangings, depicting the 'history of the Indies', and the wooden buffet was also covered in tapestry with the owner's coat of arms in the centre.[28] A rare surviving example of a similarly rich *sallette* décor could be found in a late nineteenth-century collection in Wales: the sculpted ceiling of the *sallette* on the first or main floor of the Nassau Palace in Breda, which took its name of *salle dorrée* from the richly gilded decoration (fig. 6).[29]

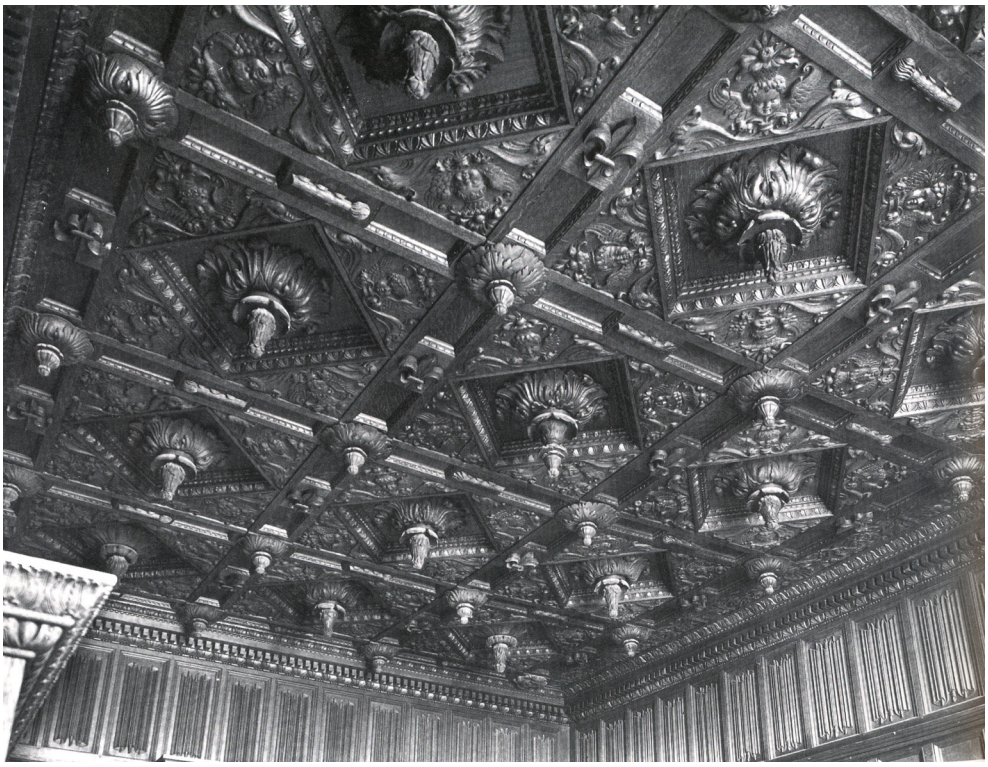


Fig. 6 Wooden ceiling from the *salle dorrée* at the Nassau Palace, Breda, present whereabouts unknown. From Wainwright 1989, p. 254, fig. 223 (© Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England).

Grande Chambre, Chambre de Parement

The canopy (*palle* or *dosseret*) made of precious cloth or tapestry, however, could also be found in other semi-public and semi-private reception spaces, the exact place of which in the sequence from public to private is very difficult to determine. Generalized representations of these form the background of many celebrated presentation scenes such as Jean Waucquelin presenting his translation of Jacques de Guise's *Chronicles of Hainaut* to Philip the Good ascribed to Rogier van der Weyden (between 1448 and 1452) and Jan Tavernier's Jean Miélot presenting his *Treatise on the Lord's Prayer* to Philip the Good (after 1457) (fig. 7).[30] One of these in-between spaces was the presence chamber or 'great chamber' (*grand' chambre*). The Bruges accounts suggest that this

room may be identified with the chamber named after the ceremonial robing (*chambre de parement*, *pareercamere*), where the ceremonial bed known as *grand lit* or *lit de parade* stood. When the Bruges Prinsenhof was being readied for the marriage of Duke Charles the Bold to Margaret of York (1467–1468), a *lit de parement* was indeed placed in the *grande chambre* or *sallette où il tient estat*. A *grand lit* was put in the ducal chamber and the *chambrette de retrait, où il couche* (where Charles the Bold actually sleeps), received a normal bed, *lit de camp* or truckle bed.[31] The terminology lacks definition, pointing to the inherent flexibility of the spatial organisation in the princely residence. The term *sallette* could apparently be used to indicate the presence chamber, and conversely, the *grand-chambre* could be used for eating, as demonstrated by one of the stories of Aliénor de Poitiers – at least for a private dinner.[32] Aliénor confirms the presence of the state bed as a characterizing element, but also – in the female apartment – of the *dressoir* with canopy (*dorsset*), loaded with precious vessels.[33] Such a bed of state was not actually used for sleeping or as a couch, but for ceremonial acts such as the bedding of newly-weds, the delivery of a child – two state beds were needed for the *gésine* of ladies of the highest rank – and the presentation of a male heir to the court at his baptism.[34]

Fig. 7 Jan Tavernier, *Jean Miélot presents his treatise on the Lord's Prayer to Philip the Good*, gouache on parchment, Oudenaarde, after 1457. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, ms. 9092, f. 1r.

In the Coudenberg palace at Brussels, the *camere van parement* also seems separate from the ducal chamber and from the *sallette* or dining room: it is called the 'room where Our Lord usually dresses' in the 1468–1469 construction accounts. It has turned out to be impossible to locate it exactly with regard to the audience hall or *salle* and the chamber.[35] For most of the sixteenth cen-

tury, moreover, the term disappears from the known sources, but it is revived in a draft ordinance from 1594 as *chambre de respect ou est le lict de parade*, 'where stands the state bed'; this document suggests it comes after the *sallette* in the sequence of rooms.[36] This ordinance reflects the situation in the Brussels palace just before its transformation in the final years of the century. Destined for the new governor Ernest of Habsburg, archduke of Austria, it describes the customs of the House of Burgundy. Conversely, in the castle of Hoogstraten belonging to Antoine de Lalaing, Margaret's first gentleman of the court and her *chef des finances*, it was the first state room of the main apartment, realized between 1525 and 1530, that possessed a state bed (*parementskamer*). Following this chamber, the *sallette* led to the private chapel in the adjoining tower, and after that came the bedchamber.[37]

Antichambre, Antisale

It seems that the *sallette* had slowly morphed into an antechamber by the end of the sixteenth century. The combined roles of dining hall and of reception room where visitors of a certain rank waited is confirmed by the aforementioned draft ordinance from 1594. In this document, the room following the *salle* is labelled *antichambre ou est le dosseret et Son Alteze menge en publicq*, that is 'antechamber' – a new-fangled term which will not gain currency in the Low Countries before the seventeenth century – 'where the canopy is and where His Highness eats in public'.[38] It is to be noted that the introduction of the *antichambre* at the French court happened already under Henry II, to be followed by the introduction of a more complex court ceremonial including the *diner en public* under Henry III.[39]

In the Arenberg Castle at Heverlee, however, it is the *chambre de parement* which is called *antichambre* in contemporary sources, as can be deduced from the inventories made for Duke Charles III of Croÿ around the turn of the sixteenth century; it was situated between the *sallette* (which kept its ancient name) and the sleeping chamber. The antechamber's furnishings include a state bed sculpted with grotesques and red taffeta hangings, while the *sallette* has the traditional buffet and canopy (*dosseret*) suspended above a platform (*passet*).[40] Similarly, according to contemporary renovation plans there is an *antichambre* on the ground floor of the Croÿ residence in Brussels, but in a separate wing and thus detached from the sequence of *salle* and *sallette*. A large-size, well-lit, almost square room, is paired with a *garde-robe* and connected by the main staircase to the more private chambers and cabinets on the upper floor.[41] The inherent fluidity of the terminology is proven once again by a phrase used in a contemporary description of the residence: *belle grande sallette ou chambre embas*.[42]

Interestingly, one of the courtyard elevations of the wing with the great hall also shows a new and most unusual term: an *antisalle* has been partitioned off from the *salle*, preceding the *sallette*.[43] The term reappears in the survey plan established by the royal engineer Pierre-Paul Mercx in 1646, when the Prinsenhof at Ghent was sold.[44] It indicates the room which is, without any doubt, the original '*salette au mengier*' mentioned in the sources of the fifteenth century as

following the great hall, connected both with the chapel and its flanking oratories. It would appear that the term *sallette* slowly fell into disuse in the seventeenth century.[45]

Chambre du Paal

If the function of the *sallette* can be distinguished relatively easily from that of the *parementskamer*, the existence of a third intermediate chamber is more difficult to explain. The *chambre du paal* or *pale* was characterized by a monumental piece of furniture: a stove decorated with ceramic tiles or gilded metal panels of cast iron or even copper. These highly-priced luxury objects were often imported from Germany. The *pale* or stove should not be confused here with the *palle* or cloth of honour of the canopy, even if the spelling is often similar. A bigger and a smaller room with a stove are mentioned in the Coudenberg Palace accounts for 1468–1469. They were located on the first floor in the vicinity of the new main staircase, probably in the twin-gabled square volume added at the end of the wing, outside the main sequence of rooms composing the ducal apartment.[46] A room with a stove also turns up in the accounts of the Prinsenhof in Ghent as part of the main ducal apartment.[47] The room seems not to be gendered *per se*: the duchess, in this case Margaret of York, has her own *petit pale* in 1469.[48] Archaeological findings, such as those from the Hoogstraten residence in Brussels, from Binche and from the contemporary residence of Boussu, which belonged to Charles V's *premier et grand écuyer* Jean de Hennin-Liétard, show that stoves became more common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As in the case of mantelpieces, their forms continuously adapted to the architectural fashion of the time, as is confirmed by Hans Vredeman de Vries' prints and paintings.[49]

Architectural analysis of a few cases from the highest nobility, dated c.1500, suggests that the function of the room with the stove was that of a semi-private reception room, where confidential matters could be discussed in comfort and privacy. This may be deduced from the spatial organisation of the Croÿ residence, now Arenberg Castle, at Heverlee. The *chambre du paal*, located in the east tower, is only accessible by way of the long gallery on the first floor; there is no connection with either the lower or the higher levels of the tower. The adjacent cabinet allowed fuel to be fed into the stove from the back, without having servants come into the main room; there was also a lavatory.[50] The stove was a highly decorated, colourful affair of almost four meters' height, tiled as the term *potz d'allemagne* used in the inventory suggests, with feet like female winged sphinxes and panels decorated with the heads of Roman emperors and kings. The upper story had the form of a 'melon', meaning that it was topped with a ribbed *cupola* and crowned by a triumphal wreath with a phoenix rising from the ashes.[51] The room had a bow window, in fact a tall oriel window, a configuration which altogether resembles that of the long gallery and the adjacent room of Jan III Glymes's residence at Bergen op Zoom (Markiezenhof), built 1503–1512. This room might have served the same function, but there is nothing left of its furnishings.[52] In keeping with this, in the tapestry attributed to Barend van Orley and conserved in the castle of Laarne (c.1525), the imperial official Jean-Baptiste de Tassis is shown playing chess with friends in a front room distinguished by a monumental mantelpiece decorated with a medallion on the sculpted hood and by a buffet carrying precious vessels.[53] The inner room heated by a stove, which can be

glimpsed beyond an open door at the right, is reserved for women playing with children (fig. 8). Moreover, it has windows in two adjacent walls, suggesting that as in the case of the chamber *du paal* in Heverlee, it is situated at the end of a wing rather than in the middle.

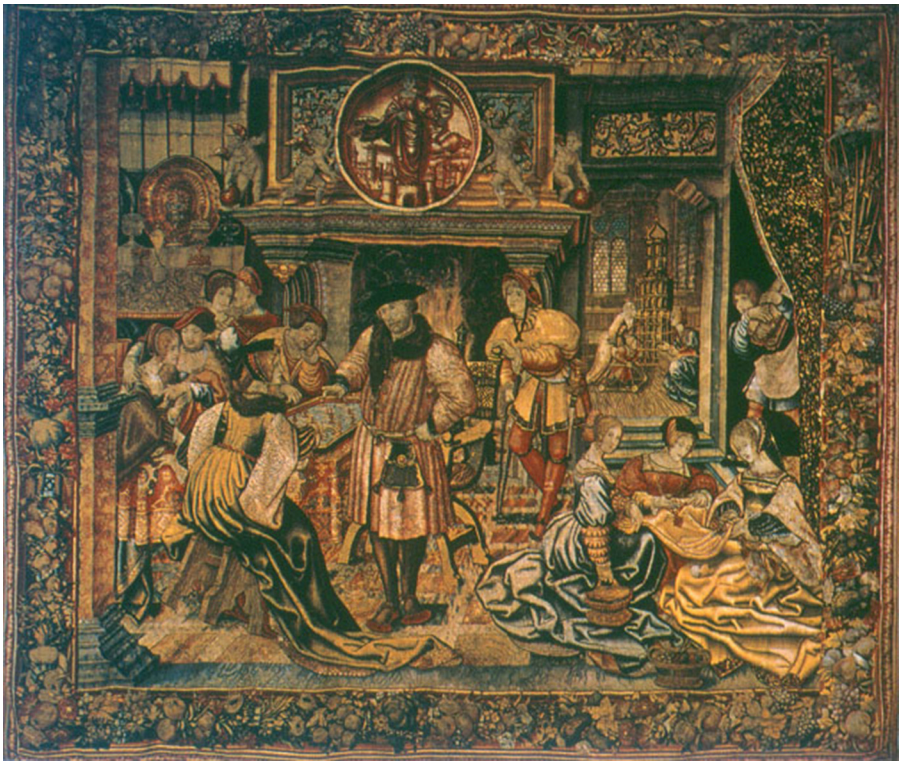


Fig. 8 (Attributed to) Barend van Orley, *Jean-Baptiste de Tassis and Company*, tapestry, c.1525. Castle of Laarne (photograph collection: author).

The costly stove gave its name to the chamber. In Heverlee, Mary of Hamale, wife of William of Croÿ, was personally involved in the furnishing of the new residence with such luxury objects. Between 1517 and 1520 or thereabouts, she sent the city architect of Leuven, Matthijs II Keldermans, to Liège, to inspect several stoves made of cast copper or bronze from the workshop of Nicolas Perlaudin, alias Niccolò Pagliardini or Pallardin, famous in Liège for his bronze tomb for the cardinal and prince-bishop Érard de la Marck.[54] This must have been a highly prestigious type of possession, fit for important reception rooms only, whether private or public. In some cases, its position seems indeed to have been more prominent, closer to the entrance. The 'greater chamber with the stove' in the Coudenberg palace, mentioned above, could actually be entered directly from the short vaulted corridor associated with Charles the Bold's new spiral staircase; the related accounts stress the prestigious nature of the room, 'where the emperor holds court' (*staet houdt*).[55] In Hoogstraten, the first chamber of the apartments on the first floor was called 'great chamber with the stove' (*grant pale*) in the 1548 inventory.[56] Located above the entrance gate in the 'tower of Castile', it was the first room a visitor entered before going along the upper gallery to Antoine de Lalaing's apartment or to that of his wife, Elizabeth of Culemborg.[57] In the residence built by Engelbert II of Nassau in Brussels, the lower great hall (*sale du commun*) was

followed by the large-size *chambre du pale*, from which a spiral staircase led to the upper great hall on the first floor.[58]

Especially in Spain, these 'grey areas' would develop significantly throughout the sixteenth century, when Charles V and, above all, Philip II continued to refine the Burgundian ceremonial. By the end of the century, the intermediate rooms were often designated with the rank of the visitors received in them, or, maybe, allowed to progress past them in the sequence of rooms. The increasing distance between the public reception rooms and the private room of the king could be said to mirror the monarch's growing remoteness from his court and his people. In the Low Countries, this development led to the considerable expansion of the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, the main apartment almost doubling its surface.[59]

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Illustrations

Figs. 1, 5, 8 Krista De Jonge.

Fig. 2 © Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Drawings, F 12931, plano C.

Fig. 3 © Warsaw, University Library, Drawings Zb. Król. Wol 755, pl. 12.

Fig. 4 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Digitale Sammlungen, Creative Commons licence 4.0.

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Fig. 7 © Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, ms. 9092, f. 1r.

ADN: Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille.

ARAB: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels.

L AA: KU Leuven, Arenberg Archief.

[1] Guillaume 1994. Paravicini 1997. Chatenet 2002. Hoppe 1996. Thurley 1993. Chatenet and De Jonge 2014.

[2] In addition to the above: for Spain, see Gérard 1984 for the best case study on the (lost) Alcázar of Madrid. Domínguez Casas 1993 is flawed because of its reliance on a document not connected with the era of the Catholic Monarchs; see De Jonge 2010, p. 63 and p. 83, n. 10.

[3] Paravicini 1999/2002.

[4] ARAB, Audiëntie 22/5, Ghent, 1 February 1499 (1500 new style), f. 130: 'Item, veult et ordonne q(ue) ordre soit tenu es entrees de ses chambres tant de pensionnaires chambellans maistres dostel et gentils hom(m)es: assavoir q(ui)l y aura une chambre devant celle ou il couchera, en laquelle chambre seront les huissiers qui garde(n)t la porte, et y entreront tous pensionnaires, chambellains maistres dostel et gentilz hom(m)es. Et par un lieu ou il f(er)a avoir deux chambres devant celle ou il couchera, il veult q(ue) en la p(re)mie(re) entrent les gentilz hom(m)es et en lautre prouchaine ala sienne entreront les pensionnaires chambell(ans) et maistres dostel. Et si non entreront et demeuront tout en une sans entrer en la chambre de mondit s(eigneur) jusques ace q(ui)l soit habillie, quilz y soyont appellez po(ur) p(ar) le som(m)elier de coupe ou q(ue) les varletz de chambre y entreront […].' Reiffenberg 1845–1846. De Jonge 1994, pp. 107–08. Paviot 1999.

[5] Whiteley 1992. Salamagne 2010, pp. 102-04.

[6] This ceremony, described by Olivier de la Marche in his *Estat de la maison du duc de Bourgoingne, dit le Hardy*, astounded the Castilian court when Philip the Handsome visited Spain in 1502: Domínguez Casas 1993, pp. 557–58. Paviot 2007. On the later Habsburg period, see Pfandl 1938, pp. 18–22, 25–32; Noel 2005; Hofmann-Randall 1985/2012, pp. 68–71, 157.

[7] Our reconstruction is based upon the surviving accounts. The synthesis accounts based on the more detailed daily accounts and receipts in ARAB, Rekenkamer 27389–27394 were the most useful. De Jonge 2000. Digital reconstruction in Maekelberg 2014.

[8] In 1389, Philip the Good's grandfather Philip the Bold had added a first, similar complex with two chapels, oratory and *sallette* to the end of the old great hall. The later version just extended this complex by elongating the *sallette* and inserting a new oratory between it and the great hall.

[9] Most authors, e.g. Delen s.d., pp. 59–71, use the reconstruction plans by Paul Saintenoy from 1915, ARAB *Cartes et plans gravés et imprimés*, 782 (7012); Saintenoy 1937a and 1937b. See my corrected plan in De Jonge 2014, pp. 112–14. General history in Van Nieuwenhuyze and Meijering 2010.

[10] ARAB, Rekenkamer 27395 deals with the 1431–1436 building phase, while ARAB, Rekenkamer 2423, ff. 153r–171v, describes the 1468–1469 extensions.

[11] De Jonge 1991, pp. 18–24.

[12] ARAB, Audiëntie 23/5, *Relacion de la orden de servir que se tenia en la casa del Emperador Don Carlos Nuestro S(eño)r el año de 1545, e la misma se guarda* agora *en la de su M(agestad)* (copy), ff. 31r–36v. This ordinance also constitutes the standard for the seventeenth-century ordinances of the Spanish court. Rodríguez Villa 1913. On the continuation from Burgundy to Spain, see Hofmann-Randall 1985/2012; Hofmann-Randall 1995; Carlos Morales 2000; Hortal Muñoz and Labrador Arroyo 2014.

[13] This placement can be clearly deduced from ADN 4097, ff. 150v (1430–1431); B 4104, ff. 99v (1456–1458); B 4109, ff. 98r (1463–1464); B 4165, ff. 64r, 67v (1469); B 3513, inventory of 1487, f. 1v. With thanks to Daniel Lievois† for his transcriptions. See in general Lievois 2000 and Laleman 2000.

[14] Eichberger 2002, pp. 77–82, 118–24. De Jonge 2005b.

[15] Eichberger and Beaven 1995.

[16] Anonymous inventory c.1600, L AA 432, ff. 220r–246v (modern foliation). De Jonge 2004. De Jonge 2014, pp. 108–110.

[17] Arnhem, Gelders Archief (voormalig Rijksarchief in Gelderland), *Archief Culemborg*, 244, see Gelder 1972, I, pp. 51–54. De Jonge 2014, p. 111.

[18] This was indeed a *sallette*, as attested by the 1597 and 1619 inventories. Breda, Gemeentearchief, see Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974, I, p. 75 and p. 150, respectively.

[19] De Jonge 1994, pp. 114–16. The foundations of this fifty-foot-long space are easily recognisable on the terrain, see Dehon 2005, p. 91.

[20] Anonymous, 1549, pen and colour wash, 409 x 387 mm. Royal Library of Belgium, Cabinet des dessins F 12931, plano C. van den Boogert and Kerkhoff 1993, pp. 312–13 cat. no. 214.

[21] ARAB, Audiëntie 23/5, *Relacion de la orden de servir que se tenia en la casa del Emperador Don Carlos Nuestro S(eño)r el año de 1545, e la misma se guarda* agora *en la de su M(agestad)* (copy), f. 31r. 'Despues que el uxer de la sala ha hecho esta diligencia, el tapicero manda llevar una alhombra grande a la pieca donde su M(agestad) ha de comer, y la tiende donde sepone la mesa, y encomiendo su M(agestad), los officiales dela tapiceria la tornan á guardar, y al furier de palacio le toca mandar poner la mesa y traer la silla, y otra mesa pequeña que sirve de aparador en la misma pieca donde su M(agestad) come aviendo lugar para ello, y no aviendole, en la pieca mas cercana, que es para el servicio de la panat(eri)a y cava...'.

[22] (Attributed to) Frans Floris, *Pourtraictz au vif des Entrees Festins Joustes & Combatz matrimoniaux celebrees en la Ville de Bruxelles l'an nostre Seigneur Mille Cincq cens LXV… entre Treshaut Trespuyssant & Tresexcellent Prince Monseig. Alexandre de Farneses…. & entre Treshaute Trespuyssante & Tresexcellente Princesse Donna Marie de Portugal*, gouache on parchment, 300 x 380 mm (approximately). Warsaw, University Library, Drawings Zb. Król. Wol 755, pl. 12. Bertini 1997.

[23] Paravicini 1999/2002; Baecke 2013.

[24] According to Aliénor de Poitiers's mid fifteenth-century account of the Burgundian court, a standard element of the Burgundian *diner en public*; see La Curne de la Palaye 1759/1825, II, p. 211.

[25] This generic image served to illustrate a number of historic tourney dinners in the different editions of the *Thurnierbuch*, see Amman, Rüxner and von Francolin 1566.

[26] According to a witness account copied in the Venetian Marin Sanudo's diary, De Jonge 1991b, pp. 85–88.

[27] See the subtle differences in the descriptions of the *dressoirs* in the rooms of ladies of varying rank, La Curne de la Palaye 1759/1826, II, pp. 143–216. Paviot 1997. Sterchi 2001. Confirmation in the letter by Margaret of Burgundy to her sister-in-law Isabel of Portugal, duchess of Burgundy, 1430, see Paviot 1996, pp. 120–22. See also the report by Antoine de Lalaing, seigneur de Montigny, on the first voyage of Philip the Handsome to Spain in 1501–1502. Gachard 1876, pp. 153, 176, 180, 251: in Burgos, the buffet carried sumptuous gold vessels of great weight; in Toledo, on one occasion the buffet had six shelves; on another, there were five, one belonging to the King of Castile, another one to the duke of Alva, each allegedly carrying a few thousand pieces of gold and gilt silver.

[28] L AA 432, ff. 220r–225v; also the description by Charles Millet, May 1598, LAA 398/23, ff. 44r–50v.

[29] Formerly in Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick's collection, Goodrich Court, Wales (the house was demolished in 1949 and the ceiling's fate is unknown). Photograph reproduced in Wainwright 1989, p. 254 fig. 223. De Jonge 2003, p. 38. On the palace, see Wezel 1999.

[30] Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, ms. 9242, f. 1r; ms. 9092, f. 1r. Iconography and typology discussed in Stroo 2002.

[31] ARAB *Rekenkamer* 1795, quoted by Laborde 1851, p. 312.

[32] La Curne de la Palaye 1759/1826, II, p. 149.

[33] La Curne de la Palaye 1759/1826, pp. 179–80; definition of *dorsset* (*dosseret*) on pp. 176–77.

[34] For instance, see La Curne de la Palaye 1759/1826, pp. 191–96, 197.

[35] De Jonge 1991, pp. 18–20. Compare with the Louvre of the 1360s: Salamagne 2010, pp. 98–99, 102–04.

[36] ARAB, *Audience* 33/1, doc. 6: *Memoire touchant les entrées en les sales et antichambres de la cour*, f. 1r.

[37] Mertens 2006–2007, pp. 51–61.

[38] ARAB, *Audience* 33/1, doc. 6: *Memoire touchant les entrées en les sales et antichambres de la cour*, f. 1v.

[39] Chatenet 2002, pp. 133–40, 179–84. Chatenet 2003. Knecht 2016, pp. 185–204.

[40] L AA 432, ff. 220v–225r; 398, ff. 44r–50v. De Jonge 2014, p. 109.

[41] Pierre Le Poivre, plan for the renovation of the Cröy residence in Brussels, 7 March 1596, L AA, 2420bis verso shows the proposed subdivision of the original *salle* and *sallette*. De Jonge 2014, pp. 106–08.

[42] Enghien, Arenberg Archive, box no. 60/12, not numbered.

[43] On the elevation L AA 2464A (which corresponds with the Lepoivre plan mentioned in note 41, but not to scale), the rooms are marked off with the terms *salle*, *antisalle*, and *sallette.*

[44] ADN E 2353.

[45] Also suggested by the change in names for the early seventeenth-century *sallette* in the renovated Coudenberg palace, see De Jonge 1999b, reconstruction plan p. 192, room no. 11.

[46] De Jonge 1991, p. 32. Later, Mary of Hungary would recuperate this space in order to turn it into her *sallette*, adding her new chamber and cabinet at the end of it.

[47] Amongst others, ADN B 4104, ff. 99v–100r (1456–1458); B 4165, ff. 45v, 47v, 52v, 61v, 64v–65r, 69r (1469); B 3513, ff. 2v (1471); B 4126, ff. 134v–135 (1502); ARAB *Rekenkamer* 2715, ff. 181r–v (order for more *pales*, 1544–1545). With thanks to Daniel Lievois† for his transcriptions.

[48] AND 4165, ff. 45v, 50r–v.

[49] Examples from other noble and court residences in Buyle 1990; Fourny and Buyle 1994; De Jonge et al. 1998, pp. 136–37; De Jonge 2005a.

[50] L AA 432, ff. 142r–153v. De Jonge 2003, p. 39. De Jonge 2004, p. 74.

[51] A similar structure can be seen in the background of a tapestry attributed to Barend van Orley and dated c.1525, conserved in the castle of Laarne, URL: http://balat.kikirpa.be/object/58426.

[52] Meischke 1987, pp. 40–43, 51–53, proposes the function of a chapel and dates the insertion of the bow window to the beginning of the 1520s. There is indeed a 'chapel at the gallery' (*op de capelle boven de galerie*) in 1578. While in Meischke's opinion the room seems too small to serve as chapel without the oriel, its dimensions are roughly those of Mary of Hungary's cabinet next to her new long gallery at the Coudenberg palace (1533–1537), i.e. approx. 4 x 3 m. De Jonge 1994, p. 111, n. 20, p. 123, fig. 3 (ARAB *Kaarten en plannen ms. 1326*).

[53] For a similar chimneypiece with medallion in the gallery on the first floor of the Arenberg Castle at Heverlee, see De Jonge 2003, p. 41.

[54] ARAB Arenberg Archief, Kwitanties ad annum 1517–1520, not numbered (nos. 40–41). De Jonge 2004, pp. 73–76. On Pallardin's tomb, dated 1526–1528, see Brassinne 1946.

[55] ARAB *Rekenkamer* 4210, ff. 112v, 114v.

[56] Arnhem, Gelders Archief (voormalig Rijksarchief in Gelderland), *Archief Culemborg*, 244, see Gelder 1972, I, p. 39. In spite of the name, however, the inventory describes a large mantelpiece with a sculpted relief in the antique manner; the stove may have been replaced between the 1520s and 1548.

[57] De Jonge 2014, pp. 111–12.

[58] At least one smaller chamber with a stove was part of the lord's apartments. See the 1568 and 1619 inventories, respectively ARAB *Rekenkamer* 593, f. 249 and *Conseil privé*, Carton 214 (lost), published in Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974, I, pp. 25–43, 92–127. De Jonge 2014, pp. 112–14.

[59] De Jonge 1999a. De Jonge 1999b. De Jonge 2010.

Furnishing the Dukes with a Royal Reputation:

The Use of Chambers and Chapels at the Burgundian Court

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Recalling his visit to the Burgundian court of Philip the Good in 1466, the Bohemian nobleman Leo of Rozmital remarked:

> when we arrived at the castle where the old duke resided, the duke Charles [the son of Philip the Good] dismounted and asked my lord to do the same. Then taking him by the hand he led my lord into the presence of the old duke. The duke was seated in a hall on a throne which was hung with cloth of gold woven with great splendour, as befitted the ducal hall […] when they knelt a third time, at last the old duke gave his right hand to his son and afterwards to my lord. Then with one in either hand he led them into his chamber through nine other rooms.[1]

Leo described an elaborate residential complex of multiple connected rooms, in which function and furnishings were mutually dependent elements. Studies of the architecture of the elite residences of later medieval Europe have confirmed this picture of an elaborate complex of rooms.[2] Yet, in spite of the implication that function and furnishings were mutually dependent elements, there has been relatively little investigation of furnishings and still less of furnishings as an ensemble.[3] Given the evidential constraints, this is perhaps not as surprising as it seems. Detailed contemporary descriptions of interiors are rare. Inventories taken on a ruler's death do record furnishings, but one inventory can include close to a thousand objects. Thus, historians and art historians have tended to single out one type of object from these lists to examine in greater detail. Within specific court contexts, a range of individual objects have been subjected to detailed scrutiny, including devotional diptychs, books, textiles, and metalwork.[4] Marina Belozerskaya is one of the few who has examined more than one object at a time, analyzing the goldsmith and silversmith works, tapestries, armour and music that were commissioned by a number of European Renaissance courts. She has argued that secular rulers used these objects as an expression of their authority: in line with the notion that the ideal of luxury maintained social order, they displayed luxury objects to visitors to their courts. In her view, historians should consider luxury objects as functioning in 'ensembles', rather than as isolated objects.[5] To further our understanding of the mutual dependence of room function and furnishings in later medieval elite residences, this chapter investigates the Burgundian ducal residences and their textile chambers

and chapels. It will argue that the itinerant dukes employed textiles as a portable environment, using them to create spaces within particular Burgundian residences as the need arose, whether this need was political, dynastic or domestic. In line with their broader political programme, it will suggest that a key concern of the dukes was to furnish themselves with a royal reputation.

Moveable Goods and the Establishment of the Burgundian Dynasty

Inventories of moveable goods taken at the death of the dukes as well as ducal accounts that detail the everyday expenditure of the Burgundian household will act as the main basis for this chapter. The original inventories and accounts may be found in the Paris, Lille and Dijon archives, though some have been partially published by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century antiquarians.[6] Several of the inventories were drawn up by individuals who were, on occasion, charged with the furnishing of courtly residences, the ducal *garde de joyaux* or *garde de la tapisserie*.[7] At the death of Philip the Good, his 1420 inventory was attributed to a number of ducal councillors, including Jean de la Chesnel, known as Bouloigne, '*garde de joyaulx* to My Lord'.[8] Jean Cambier, *valet de chambre* and *garde de la tapisserie,* was similarly responsible for presenting the gold, silver and crystal vessels, chambers and tapestry for record in the inventory taken at the death of Philip the Bold in 1404.[9] Likewise, the payments for textile chambers and chapels that are recorded in the ducal accounts often passed through the hands of the same individuals.[10] In order to get a sense of how these textiles might have been placed within ducal residences and the impressions the textiles may have made on contemporaries allowed into ducal residences, a range of contemporary miniatures of European courtly residences and contemporary accounts of European courtly settings will be invoked.

To establish whether the Burgundian dukes employed textile chambers and chapels to furnish them with a 'royal reputation' it is necessary to consider firstly the establishment of the Burgundian dynasty and, second, the creation of the Burgundian court. The Burgundian dukes – Philip the Bold (1363–1404), John the Fearless (1404–1419), Philip the Good (1419–1467) and Charles the Bold (1467–1477) – were Valois princes, who had only recently acquired the territories of Burgundy and the Low Countries. King John II of France acquired Burgundy and adopted the title of duke in 1361. He then established his son, Philip the Bold, as duke of Burgundy in 1363.[11] Philip made an advantageous marriage to Margaret of Male in 1369 and on the death of her father, Louis of Male, Philip took the title of Count of Flanders in 1384.[12] By the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, the Burgundian Netherlands had become the key player in European politics.[13] Indeed, Charles the Bold apparently held ambitions for a royal title. He met with the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III at Trier in 1473 with the dual aim of a marriage for his daughter Mary to Maximilian I and a royal title for himself; though the marriage agreement was made, no title was conferred.[14] Nevertheless, the Burgundian Netherlands remained a patchwork of territories and identities, so that the establishment of Burgundian ducal authority and a Burgundian identity was a long, fractious and bloody process. The furnishings of the ducal residences had multiple roles to fulfil. First, to reinforce ducal authority. Second, to promote the dukes as independent rulers in

their own right; without compromising their heritage as Valois princes or their French alliances, nonetheless staking the potential claim to an independent royal title in the future. Burgundian ducal residences represented theatres with temporarily furnished stages on which managed courtly meetings presented an image of the dukes.[15]

The Burgundian Court as a Stage

The Burgundian court was a trendsetter within and beyond Europe. It was one of the largest courts in Western Europe: it grew exponentially from the rule of Philip the Bold, when it numbered around 100 members in 1371, to the rule of Philip the Good, when it comprised some 400 members in 1426/7, and again to the rule of Charles the Bold, when it boasted around 1600 members.[16] These numbers do not reflect the full number of bodies present at any one time, including extra officers, visitors and their servants and entourages, which may well have represented hundreds more people.[17] The numbers reinforce the claims made by contemporaries about the Burgundian court, such as Pero Tafur's statement that 'nothing could surpass in majesty the persons of the duke and the duchess and the state in which they live […]. The multitude of people and their refinement and splendor can scarcely be described'.[18] As Graeme Small and Andrew Brown pointed out, housing, provisioning and furnishing this 'multitude' was a constant logistical and fiscal challenge.[19] Moreover, the court was itinerant and its members served according to a rota, creating additional complications.[20] Even though the court became more sedentary in the later years of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, remaining in one place for months or even years, travel remained a constant feature.[21] The Burgundian court, therefore, remained fluid and difficult to determine.[22] Set alongside the recent creation of the Burgundian Netherlands and the patchwork of territories it encompassed, the scale and fluidity of the Burgundian court made it even more crucial to manage the image of the dukes through their residences and the temporary furnished stages constructed within them to house the court.

Put simply, the regular presence of the dukes themselves was the linchpin holding together their newly created territories. Moveable objects transported between the ducal residences played an essential role in fixing and framing the ducal presence. Ducal accounts reveal payments made to carters assigned with the responsibility of transporting goods between residences and to individuals charged with furnishing the residences before the ducal household arrived. In 1435 it took seventy-two carts, drawn by five or six horses, to move the court from Dijon to Arras and then to Lille.[23] Five of these carts were exclusively for the transport of textiles while one was reserved for chapel furnishings. Trusted individuals were charged with the task of furnishing the residences as the court moved. Jean Cosset, *varlet de chambre* and *garde de la tapisserie* undertook multiple works relating to decoration. In 1390, he accompanied the transportation of *vaiselles* and *tapisserie* for the reception of Charles VI at Dijon and, in April 1402, he prepared the great hall in Arras for the wedding of Philip the Bold's son, Anthony.[24]

Ducal Residences

Ducal residences were architecturally impressive and complex, as Leo of Rozmital's description suggests. Each of the four dukes rebuilt existing residential complexes and town governments partly financed work on some of their city residences, such as the work carried out at Philip the Good's residence in Brussels.[25] Numerous emblems of the dukes adorned the exteriors and interiors, on gates and in main halls, even in residences that were rarely used by the dukes themselves. In the residence of Germolles in Burgundy, primarily used by Philip the Bold's wife, Margaret of Flanders, the large letters PM (some ten inches tall), daisies (for Margaret) and thistles (chardons, leading to the play on words *cher don*, dear gift) are visible within the château today.[26] In the surviving tower constructed by John the Fearless in the *hôtel d'Artois* in Paris, symbols referring to the dukes and duchesses, oak for Philip the Bold, hawthorn for Margaret of Bavaria and hop for John the Fearless are represented in the diagonal ribs of the arch over the staircase.[27] Without a doubt, these imposing residences, their towers, gatehouses, ducal symbols, emblems and sculptures, were a constant reminder of ducal rule, even when no duke or household was present. However, as noted at the start of this chapter, the interiors themselves – the halls, chambers and chapels – remained relatively unfurnished until the arrival of the carts and the individuals charged with their furnishing.

Contemporary references to ducal residences make it clear that the rooms included numerous chambers and chapels, some of which were reserved for the dukes and their families. Leo of Rozmital's description of his visit to the Burgundian court, set out at the opening, mentioned Philip the Good's own personal chamber along with nine further chambers through which he was led. In his account of the wedding of Charles the Bold to Margaret of York in 1468, Olivier de la Marche records chambers set out for different individuals in the palace at Bruges, noting 'In the residence there was a little room set aside in front of the chapel, where the duke alone dined; and next to this room was a large room, where all the chamberlains ate'.[28] When the grand master of Santiago and Lourenço Fogaça were charged to carry letters to the duke and duchess of Lancaster from Portugal, Froissart recounts that they were received in the chamber of the duke and duchess.[29] Nonetheless, most of these references make no mention of the interior decorations.

Only a very few contemporary references do record the furnishings of royal or ducal residences. A tantalizing glimpse of the textiles used at Burgundian diplomatic occasions was given by Jean de Haynin in the meeting between Charles the Bold and the emperor in 1473. He first noted that Charles the Bold met the emperor in a small chamber decorated with embroidery of Holland. Even more striking is the complete use of textiles to cover almost every surface in the hall. Here the walls were hung with tapestries depicting Alexander, the ceiling with cloth of gold, the high chair with the Golden Fleece, footstools with cloth of gold and the floor with textiles depicting the arms of Charles the Bold.[30] Jean de Haynin also records the hangings in the rooms of some of the principal attendees at the wedding between Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in 1468: in the chamber of Margaret of York there were hangings of red and green; and in the chamber of Charles

the Bold there was a textile chamber of vermeil, with an embroidered gold sun on the ceiling and a crown with a garden background on the backing.[31]

Chambers

Chambers in the ducal residences were often in turn supplied with textile chambers, an object sometimes grouped under headings in the inventories that included vessels of gold and silver and tapestry.[32] Textile chambers were textile sets to furnish a chamber, usually comprising a bedcover, backing, ceiling and curtains for the bed, bench covers and wall hangings. Occasional extras to these sets included fringes or silks to edge the hangings as well as hooks and ropes to ensure the sets remained firmly fixed in place. The accounts of the dukes of Burgundy reveal that they were a frequent acquisition for the dukes, their duchesses, offspring and close kin. In 1394, Jaquet Dourdin of Paris was paid for the deliverance of a green chamber which included *serges* of medium size, one for the ceiling, the other for the bed, one for the backing of the bed, three *serges* of large size for making the wall of the chamber, another *serge* for the couch, *toile* for lining the ceiling and backing of the bed and fringes of silk to edge all the chamber materials.[33] In 1413, the ducal accounts note the purchase of a chamber of tapestry for John the Fearless depicting the hunt of a stag.[34] Jean Wallois of Arras was paid 105 francs for a chamber of green and white tapestry with roses and several images on each piece in 1427.[35]

Textile chambers are frequently represented in contemporary miniatures that depict the courtly households of Burgundy, France and England. Three are selected here as representative examples. The first from c.1411 depicts Charles VI of France receiving the author Pierre Salmon, in the presence of three nobles, one identified as John the Fearless (fig. 1). The second, also from the fifteenth century, depicts the wife of Charles VI, Isabeau of Bavaria, accepting the works of Christine de Pisan (fig. 2). The third is of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, being presented with a copy of the *Traité sur l'Oraison Dominicale* (fig. 3). Even when taking into consideration the fact that images do not always match reality, the components of the chambers that are described so frequently by the ducal accounts and inventories are easily recognizable. In the miniatures, we see textile covers for the bed, backing, ceiling, curtains, textiles hung on the walls or used to cover the seat of chairs or the floors. In the miniature depicting the chamber of Isabeau of Bavaria and Philip the Good we also see the hooks required to hang the textiles covering the walls and the ropes necessary to hold the ceiling of the bed in place, another purchase frequently found in the ducal accounts in relation to these textiles. During the rule of Philip the Bold, Estienne Trouchet, *tapissier* of Paris, was paid for eight bundles of red cords to 'hold' certain chambers.[36]

Fig. 1 The Boucicaut Master. Pierre Salmon's, *Réponses de Pierre Salmon*, after 1411.
'Charles VI with the author and three nobles'.

Fig. 2 Master of the *Cité des Dames*. *La Livre de la Cité des Dames*, 1405.
'Christine de Pisan presenting her work to Isabeau of Bavaria'.

Fig. 3 Attributed to Jean le Tavernier. *Traité sur l'Oraison Dominicale*, 1457. 'Jean Miélot presenting his translation of the *Traité sur l'Oraison Dominicale* to Philip the Good'.

Chapels

While textile chambers are relatively well known as part of the furnishings of medieval courts, textile chapels are often overlooked. In each inventory taken on the death of a Burgundian duke, ten to fifteen such chapels are described. Again, contemporary images suggest how they may have looked. The first, from the *Traité sur l'oraison dominicale,* depicts Philip the Good taking mass, enclosed by a textile chapel (fig. 4). The second, from the *Bréviaire d'hiver de Philippe le Bon*, depicts Philip the Good kneeling before St. Andrew, again surrounded by a textile chapel (fig. 5).

Both images depict the chapels covered in Burgundian emblems and the images correspond to the references found in the ducal inventories. In a lengthy entry under the heading '*chapelles entieres*' in the inventory of Philip the Bold, a 'new' chapel of white satin with bushes and flowers embroidered in gold is recorded.[37] The front and back of the chapel had borders with 'very large' circles in which the arms of Philip the Bold and P and M (Philip and Margaret) were represented.[38] The finishing touches to this textile chapel (which also included all the altar hangings) came in the form of the vestments for the clerics – cloaks with gold–embroidered motifs which also included the arms of Philip the Bold enclosed in a small circle embroidered with pearls.[39] In the 1420 inventory of Philip the Good we find a chapel of white satin, painted black, which depicted the *Crucifixion* on the front, stories of the Passion on the sides and the image of Christ on the day of Judgement on the back.[40]

Fig. 4 Attributed to Jean le Tavernier. *Traité sur l'Oraison Dominicale*, 1457. 'Philip the Good at Mass'.

Fig. 5 Attributed to Guillaume Vrelant. *Bréviaire d'hiver de Philippe le Bon*, 1451–1455. 'Philip the Good and St. Andrew'.

Functions of Furnishings

So what were the potential functions of these furnishings? Textile chambers and chapels were important in creating and maintaining different levels of space around the duke and his family and in controlling access to their persons, especially when noble or diplomatic visitors were admitted to the court. Laura Weigert has emphasized that textile chambers should be read spatially, in that contemporary users and viewers understood these hangings as having an architectural function, not only able to decorate a space, but also to create new spaces.[41] In using furnishings for such ends, the dukes were no different from other ducal or royal families across Europe. However, it might be argued that their need to manipulate space and access was greater, given their rather unique position as almost, but not quite, sovereigns of an emerging European polity. Thinking about the experience of the Burgundian court from the perspective of a visitor, allows us to understand how these textiles may have functioned in practice.

Within ducal residences such as the *hotel d'Artois* in Paris, the *Prinsenhof* in Bruges, or the *Coudenberg* in Brussels, textiles played an important part in generating and reinforcing the idea that the Burgundian dukes were exceptional figures, set apart from their nobility. A textile chamber could function as a 'tool of thought and action', serving and advertising Burgundian authority.[42] The chambers of later medieval princely residences had a variety of functions, public or private, but always political. As spaces where 'the public character of the lord, the maintenance of his interests and prestige of his house were in the foreground', they were important places where diplomatic visitors were received.[43] A journey to the ducal court may be thought of as a political pilgrimage to access the idea of a higher authority. At the culmination of the journey, the multiple chambers of the residence and their textile chambers required the visitor to play out the pilgrim-

age in microcosm.[44] Passing through multiple spaces brought them ever closer to a personification of that authority, but one which they would never quite fully access and which would never completely live up to that idea. Entry into more claustrophobic environments effected an appealing inversion of the extent of ducal authority, a territorial reach difficult to imagine, but more tangible in constricted spaces.

Leo of Rozmital's account of his visit to the Burgundian court in 1466 reinforces that visitors were 'gradually and increasingly confronted with the status and identity of the owner' as they progressed through the different spaces of the ducal residence and that textiles played an important role in drawing visitors through the space.[45] Even though Rozmital, as a minor Bohemian nobleman at the Burgundian court, may have been exaggerating when he wrote that he was 'led into […] his chamber through nine other rooms', it is clear that the nexus of the Burgundian court revolved around the prince himself. The miniature from the *Dialogues* depicting the author Pierre Salmon presenting his manuscript to Charles VI of France reinforces the exclusiveness of the chamber space and the different levels one had to pass through in a ducal residence (fig. 6). Spaces around the duke were carefully constructed and regulated. Thus, textile chambers were perfect for constructing a space, where a visitor to the court might be granted an audience with the duke in his chamber.

Fig. 6 *Dialogues*, 1409. 'Pierre Salmon presenting the manuscript of *Dialogues* to King Charles VI of France'.

At times, textile chambers were specifically requested by the Burgundian dukes in anticipation of such diplomatic visits, as in 1395 when a ducal account records that Philip the Bold requested two textile chambers to be brought to his Paris residence for the arrival of 'the English'.[46] Froissart gives a glimpse into how such a diplomatic meeting might have looked in the eyes of contempo-

raries. Recounting a meeting between the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster, Froissart notes that 'the king and duke had each their chambers hung with cloth and covered with *tapis*, as convenient as if the king had been at Lisbon or the duke in London'.[47]

The visual programmes or emblems that so often adorned these textile chambers was one means by which the duke could hope to reinforce Burgundian authority and identity. With the presence of the duke, a chamber displaying armorial emblems of the Burgundian dynasty or their personal motif became invested with meaning and could, when necessary, produce space that was both dominating and controlling – where Burgundian ducal authority and power were foregrounded. Our contemporary images reinforce how the space of the textile chamber might be a rather oppressive one for those granted access, surrounded by multiple Burgundian motifs, the air constricted and sound muffled by hangings over the door. This is especially apparent in the miniature from the fifteenth century, which depicts the homage of Edward I to Philip the Good of France in 1286 from *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* (fig. 7). Twelve individuals, including the two kings, are packed into a fairly small chamber, which is completely covered in textiles, to witness the meeting. It does not look comfortable, and, given the nature of the ceremony, it is unlikely that it was. An account from Froissart gives another insight into the impression personal motifs on interior furnishings could make on a diplomatic occasion; here a meeting between the king of Portugal and the duke of Lancaster for the purpose of marriage negotiations between the two houses. He records:

> The duke this day entertained at dinner the king and his attendants. His apartments were decorated with the richest tapestry, with his arms emblazoned on it, and as splendidly ornamented as if he had been at Hertford, Leicester, or at any of his mansions in England, which very much astonished the Portuguese.[48]

Fig. 7 *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*. Bibliothèque National, France, fifteenth century. 'Homage of Edward I to Philippe le Bel.'

Consideration of the political context to the request made by Philip the Bold in 1395 suggests that textile chambers *were* valued for this ability to produce spaces specific to particular encounters. In 1395, Philip the Bold was in the final phase of preparations for the ill–fated crusade of Nicopolis which was to be led by his son John of Nevers, later John the Fearless. The moment the English were received into the hotel d'Artois, it was Philip the Bold's intention that the crusade would be led by Burgundy along with the dukes of Lancaster and Orleans.[49] The type of materials and the visual programmes of the chambers he requested certainly alluded to noble status. The first chamber made from mallard pelts had cost no less than 300 francs.[50] Embroidered on the second were hops, the device of John of Nevers.[51] Receiving the English visitors, the presence of the duke and his son would no doubt further invest the materials and emblems with a signal of Burgundian authority.

Did textile chapels then fulfil functions similar to textile chambers? Textiles were an appropriate adornment for chapels and churches from the early Christian period into the later Middle Ages, reflecting their prominent role in Scripture.[52] As for all other medieval rulers, the chapel of the dukes of Burgundy was an integral part of the itinerant lifestyle of the dukes and their court, travelling with them as they moved from one place to another.[53] Important dates within the liturgical calendar were celebrated with especial solemnity and, given the public nature of such occasions, textile chapels created another level of space, in which Burgundian identity and authority could be emphasized. Our contemporary images of textile chapels and the references from ducal inventories suggest their potential functions. Examining the image of Philip the Good at mass, it is clear that textile chapels were used by the dukes to control the space around them during special liturgical moments.[54] They could choose at which point in the service they were revealed or concealed from those attending, including the priest. Lisa Monnas captures this capability of the textile chapels, noting that their 'purpose was to allow the royal worshipper to participate in the main service at the high altar, separate and yet included'.[55] Moreover, they functioned as yet another visual emphasis of Burgundian authority. Textile chapels, as well as textile chambers, could be covered with armorial emblems. Discussing the meaning of textiles in this manuscript illumination, Margaret Goethring concludes that the use of such textiles was [of course], 'as much a political statement as it is an image about the personal piety of Philip the Good […]', his arms appearing on the priestly vestments, the altar cloths and the floor coverings.[56]

The multiple purposes of such chapels are reinforced by the ducal inventories. In the inventory taken on the death Philip the Bold in 1404, several chapels depicted the arms and initials of Philip the Bold and his wife Margaret of Flanders, as well as the arms of France, Flanders and Brabant. On a velvet chapel of Charles the Bold the *fleur de lis* appears alongside pearls and pinecones.[57] Sacral representations also appear. In the 1420 inventory of Philip the Good a 'daily chapel' of white satin, painted black depicted the story of the Passion on the sides, with a scene of the Judgement on the back.[58] The priests' chasubles further depicted 'several stories of our Lord'.[59] Other chapels represented sacral visual programmes alongside ducal emblems.[60] In the 1404 inventory, a textile chapel is described as bearing the arms of Brabant and Flanders, as well as sto-

ries of apostles on canopies.[61] Such a visual programme on a textile chapel may well have been appropriate for Philip the Bold, given that he had only acquired the territory of Flanders in 1384 through his marriage to Margaret of Flanders. Thus, a portable textile chapel that could accompany him on his itineration of this territory might serve as a reminder of his legitimacy to rule in front of his household. In the inventory of Charles the Bold examples of his device alongside that of the Burgundian chivalric order, The Golden Fleece, or the French royal emblem, the *fleur de lis,* are prevalent. Here we find a chapel of white cloth of gold, which included the vestments for the priests as well as textiles for covering the footstools and lectern.[62] The outside of the chapel and the vestments of the cleric were further embroidered with the emblem of the Burgundian order of the Golden Fleece and with the initials of Charles the Bold.[63] Richard Vaughan suggested that the establishment of the Order of the Golden Fleece by Philip the Good in 1430 was yet another means to unify the nobility of the diverse territories making up the Burgundian Netherlands.[64] Beguiling though this theory might be, it has failed to stand the test of time.[65] However, one clear function of the order was to mark 'the Burgundian dukes as princes of the first order in the eyes of their noble contemporaries'.[66] The foundation of the Order was another signal to European polities of Burgundian dynastic ambition, given that it was modelled on the English Order of the Garter and incorporated similar elements of Orders founded by royal dynasties.[67] Thus, we should not necessarily underplay the impact of the emblems used to adorn Charles the Bold's chapel, priest vestments, footstools and lectern. The textile chapel with emblems of the Burgundian Fleece, used to enclose and reveal the head of the Order at particular liturgical moments, was yet another visual reminder of Burgundian leadership, albeit of an elite European club. If we remain unconvinced about the power of textiles in creating spaces that framed and enhanced political moments, or indeed about the importance of the Order of the Golden Fleece to the Burgundian dynasty, it might be wise to remember that, when Charles V abdicated in Brussels in 1555, the palace interior was covered with hangings and the key hanging was the tapestry of the History of Gideon and the Golden Fleece, originally ordered by Philip the Good in 1453 (fig. 8).[68]

Fig. 8 Franz Hogenberg, *Abdication of Charles V*, sixteenth century.

Ambiguities of Furnishings

Yet, although it may have been the intention that these forms, emblems and visual programmes of textile chambers and chapels served and reinforced Burgundian authority and identity and helped in building a royal reputation, it is by no means a given that a central message – the legitimation or imposition of Burgundian authority – was successfully transmitted. Historians of the Burgundian Netherlands are well versed in considering the 'multiple meanings' and the ambiguities of the 'messages' communicated through Burgundian entry ceremonies.[69] They have been clear that Burgundian urban subjects were not simply passive receptors for 'messages' of ducal ceremony. However, the full implications of this work have been less frequently adopted by historians and art historians when they considered Burgundian court festivities, the material culture associated with them and its potential audiences.[70] In particular, the idea that the meanings of objects as envisaged by their creators may not have been fully comprehended by audiences present, or that, even if they were understood, these meanings were wilfully ignored, or possibly mocked, by intended audiences, is important to our assessment of the ability of textile chambers and chapels to furnish the dukes with a royal reputation.[71]

Two concluding examples to this chapter serve to illustrate this possibility. The first example returns us to Philip the Bold's aspirations to lead a crusade to Nicopolis. Although 'the English' were received by Philip the Bold in his Artois residence in 1395, filled with chambers demonstrating authority and Burgundian identity, this did not stop the duke of Lancaster and the duke of Orléans withdrawing from the crusade later that year. Textile chambers and chapels did their job in that their visual symbols and programmes did continue to reinforce the notion of Burgundian authority and identity and even possibly Burgundian ambition to a royal title. However, the key phrase here is that they reinforced 'the notion of Burgundian authority'. Contemporary visitors to Burgundian residences could ultimately reject that authority or even misinterpret the visual programmes so carefully chosen by the ducal family and their *garde de joyaux* or *garde de la tapisserie*. This is evident in the second example, which illuminates a rejection of Burgundian authority and ambition to a royal title. When Charles the Bold met the emperor at Trier in 1473 in order to negotiate a potential royal crown, he used almost every luxury object he had at his disposal to reinforce his reputation and claim. Richard Vaughan stresses that 'Charles the Bold evidently regarded the conference in part as a kind of gigantic public exhibition of Burgundian wealth and splendour' and that 'The duke of Burgundy's sartorial extravagances and the lavish display of jewellery aroused astonishment'.[72] When they dined at a banquet hosted by Charles the Bold at St Maximin's, further textiles adorned the church where they heard mass and the hall where they were going to eat. Recorded by the *Libellus,* the event is worth recounting:

> On 7 October the duke of Burgundy invited his imperial majesty and all his great lords and princes to come and dine with him. The abbey church of St. Maxim and the great hall, where they were going to eat, were made ready and decorated with cloths and tapestries at indescribable cost […].The Emperor was dressed in an extremely costly cloth of gold robe, with a very fine and precious cross on his breast. The duke went out to the abbey gates to meet him wearing an exceptionally fine tabard of cloth of gold and silver. He also wore many fine precious stones that stood out and twinkled like stars, valued at 100,000 ducats. His tabard was open on either side to show off the beauty and richness of his hose, on which he was wearing the [Garter of the] Order of King Edward of England […]. After this they went into the church to hear mass […]. One side of the church was hung with rich gold and silver tapestries embroidered with the Passion of our Lord Christ Jesus; the other with the story of how Jason got the Golden Fleece in the land of Colchis […]. When mass was over the duke led his imperial majesty by the hand into the hall where they were going to eat, which had been so superbly and expensively adorned and prepared that it seemed like King Ahasuerus's splendid feast. This room was hung with rich cloth of gold tapestries with the history of Gideon the regent of Israel and many precious and costly stones were sewn into them, which stood out and twinkled like stars.[73]

But we are minded to remember that this splendour, no doubt intended to enhance Burgundian authority, came to naught in that it did not achieve Charles the Bold's purpose. Charles was not crowned. In fact, Frederick made a rather hasty departure, leaving at dawn on 25 November even

though Charles the Bold entreated him to stay longer so that 'they could talk further about all sorts of things'.[74] The 'notion' of a Burgundian royal reputation had been made clear through the furnishings, clothing and other objects at Trier, but nonetheless the emperor had chosen to reject them.

When exploring the functions of moveable objects in later medieval European courts, we need not only to focus on their ability to project and reflect magnificence, luxury and authority, but also on the ability of audiences to misread or reject these projections and reflections. The Burgundian dukes may not have set out on the path to creating a new European polity, but by the rule of Charles the Bold the Burgundian Netherlands had become *the* power player in European politics. Thus, intentionally or unintentionally, their furnishings, their motifs, emblems and visual programmes reflected that journey and the difficult tightrope that their dynasty walked in maintaining cordial relations with the French royal dynasty that had spawned them and in seeking expansion of territories to the East and with it the possible acquisition of a royal title. The furnishings of their residences in the form of textile chambers and chapels that allowed visitors to see them in a more intimate setting could be 'read' by those visitors or members of the Burgundian household in a number of ways. Acknowledging the ambiguities and rejections of material culture creates fresh ways of thinking about objects acquired by the Burgundian court and of those that furnished courts across Europe and beyond.

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Hospitality and Splendour:

The Case of Schloss Neuburg am Inn, c.1530

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The transformation of the mediaeval castle of Neuburg am Inn near Passau (figs. 1–4) – initiated by an important official at the Habsburg court, Niklas Count of Salm, in 1528 – may be regarded as a major yet widely unknown example of palace building and interior decoration in Early-Renaissance Germany.[1] Following extensive damage suffered in the nineteenth century, the 1920s witnessed the reconstruction of the most splendid part of Salm's interior.[2] Notwithstanding a valuable documentation published by Julius M. Groeschel,[3] this reconstruction seemed to close the chapter on Schloss Neuburg am Inn. Nonetheless, a minute re-examination of the remaining building complex, the study of archival material and the discovery of forgotten fragments of the original interiors require a fresh evaluation of Salm's ambitious project from an art-historical point of view. In this essay, I shall focus on two areas: firstly, the design of the interior as the result of cultural transfer and, secondly, the particular function of the suite of rooms created by Salm.

Fig. 1 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, aerial photo taken from the South.

Fig. 2 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, photo of c.1910 of the East wing seen from the Inn, with the South wing already missing, whereas the section remodelled by Salm, the protruding chapel and the 'allt stokh' are still standing.

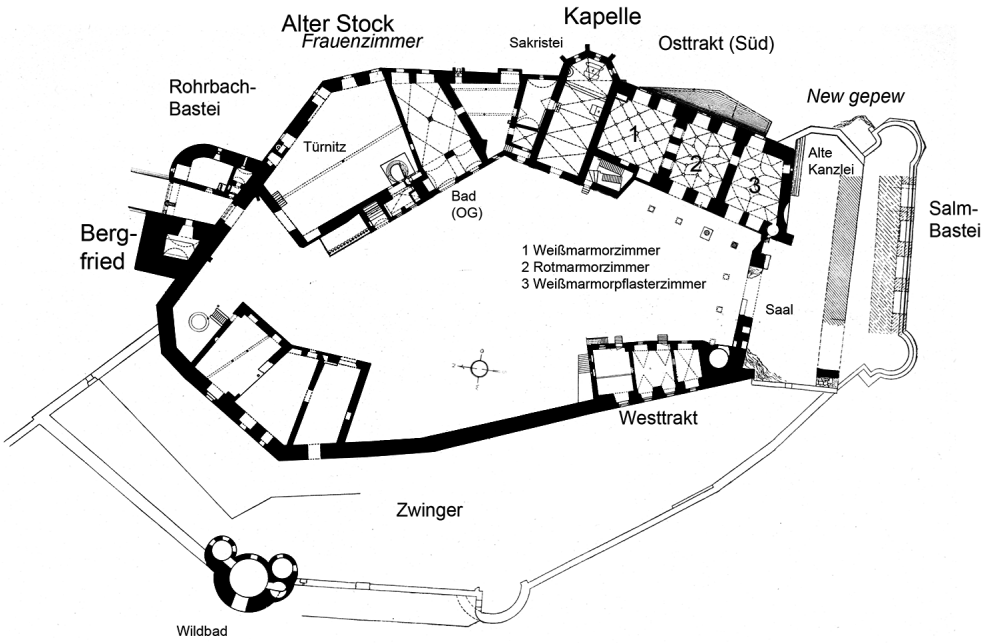

Fig. 3 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, plan of the ground floor with the labelling of the spatial entities as attested by the documents.

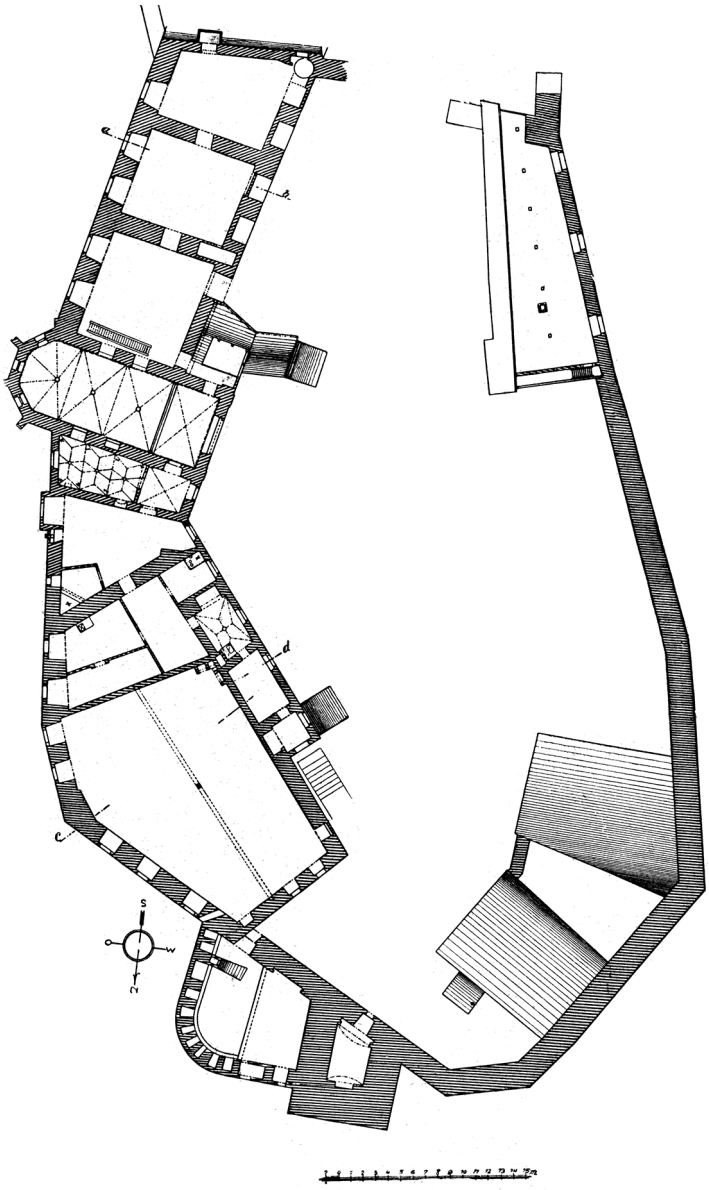

Fig. 4 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, plan of the first floor.

The Chronology of the Building

Firstly, we need to establish what we actually know about Neuburg castle. In a contract drawn up on 2 February 1529, Niklas Count of Salm states that he had engaged Wolf Huber – a painter active in Passau and a representative of the so-called Danube School – as architect at Schloss Neuburg and that he wished to employ Huber's services in matters of architecture, painting and other areas.[4] The patron, Niklas of Salm, can be identified with the son of the eponymous, more famous general involved in the capture of François Ier at the Battle of Pavia in 1525 who some years later defended Vienna against the Ottoman Turks. The younger Niklas was born in 1503, accompanied

his father to Pavia and was invested with the fief of Neuburg in 1528.[5] He immediately embarked on the castle's renovation, which proceeded apace, as attested by the date 1531 mentioned in a surviving fragment of mural decoration (fig. 5).[6] Further sources document that, by 1532, building work was already greatly advanced, although in 1538 it was still incomplete.[7] After the death of his first wife, the marriage with a Hungarian lady in 1540 may have brought alternative interests. In 1543, Salm was temporarily imprisoned, whereupon Neuburg was confiscated by Queen Anna of Hungary and Bohemia, wife of Ferdinand I. The palace was only restored to Salm in 1547.[8] No major changes were made after this point, allowing us to narrow down the main period of remodelling to the decade between 1528 and 1539. In the eighteenth century, the castle passed into the custodianship of the Bishop of Passau and, following secularization, into private hands. In 1810, the South wing was destroyed by fire (figs. 1–3). In 1881, parts of the interior decoration were sold off and, by 1908, the palace faced the threat of demolition. Finally, the decision to renovate and partially restore the lost interiors was taken; the result consists in the palace we see today.[9]

Fig. 5 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, fragments of a pilaster strip, probably from a door jamb, dated '1531', photomontage.

Disposition

Seen from a bird's-eye view (figs. 1 and 3), Schloss Neuburg presents itself as a complex that consists of an outer bailey and a main fortress, situated on an elevated position on the western bank of the River Inn. Surviving from the main fortress on the eastern side are an ample older structure, in 1545 called 'allt stokh',[10] the chapel, and – adjoining it to the South – the section of the East wing remodelled under Salm. A two-storey loggia formerly ran along the courtyard façade of the East and the South wing, which was also renovated and extended by Salm but is no longer extant.[11] Only a few parts of the West wing, used as a service building, still survive. The ruins of a bathhouse built around 1530 can be found in the outer enclosure on the west side.

Layout and Interior Decoration

Salm focused his attention on the parts of the castle complex, offering the best views 'gegen dem Yn', i.e. towards the river valley. At his behest, the existing compact structure of two storeys running south from the chapel was decorated and furnished in a sumptuous manner.[12] An inventory of 1674 describes the first room on the ground floor as a 'herrliches und cosstbahrs gewölbtes zimer, umb und umb mit weiss schön märmelstein' (White Marble Chamber), the second as a 'herrliches zimer von rotten marmelstain' (Red Marble Chamber), and the third as a 'mit weissem märmel gepflastertes zimer' (Chamber of the White Marble Pavement).[13] Of the wall panelling and its architectural framework in the White Marble Chamber, only a few sections of terracotta plinth moulding survive (figs. 6 and 7).

Fig. 6 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, White Marble Chamber, seen from the North East, photo of c.1920, focussing on the portal leading to the Red Marble Chamber. On the shelves are terracotta fragments of the interior decoration assembled by Groeschel.

Fig. 7 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, White Marble Chamber, northern bay of the eastern side, remains of terracotta moulding *in situ*.

The Red Marble Chamber still preserves a number of its original vault ribs and consoles (fig. 9). Its wall decoration, however, was reconstructed based on scholarly discoveries of the early twentieth century (figs. 8, 14–15).[14] A double stove originally heated these first two rooms, with the White Marble Chamber having its own additional fireplace. In the smaller, unheated Chamber of the White Marble Pavement, the groins of the vault start and finish with stuccoed consoles. On the walls, sections of the original painted decoration datable to Salm's days were uncovered beneath eighteenth-century murals (fig. 10).[15] In addition to those elements still *in situ* and to a great number of significant fragments preserved in Schloss Neuburg, a group of twelve important terracotta fragments from the original decorative scheme are housed at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich (fig. 11),[16] while others have been incorporated into the decoration of the Neues Schloss in Büdesheim, Hessen (figs. 12–13, 16).[17]

Fig. 8 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Red Marble Chamber, wide-angle photo of the present state with the wall decoration reconstructed, seen from the South East.

Fig. 9 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Red Marble Chamber, ribbed vaulting of c.1531 *in situ*.

Fig. 10 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Chamber of the White Marble Pavement, northern side with stucco consoles *in situ*, in the right bay fragments of mural decoration datable to c.1531.

Fig. 11 Group of terracotta fragments from Schloss Neuburg am Inn, transferred to the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München in c.1920.

Fig. 12 Group of terracotta fragments from Schloss Neuburg am Inn, probably the principal parts of the collection purchased by Gabriel von Seidl in 1884 and installed in the Neues Schloss in Büdesheim.

Fig. 13 Neues Schloss Büdesheim, chimneypiece with fourteen terracotta reliefs from Schloss Neuburg am Inn, present state.

Preservation and Reconstruction

Our understanding of the terracotta decoration of Schloss Neuburg is closely connected to the reconstruction of the Red Marble Chamber (figs. 8, 14–15), even though this decoration reproduces only some of the extant terracotta fragments, mostly those today preserved in Munich. In the decorative scheme reconstructed under Groeschel, based on the surviving material evidence, the red marble panels are set within an architectural framework, employing the formal vocabulary of the North-Italian Renaissance. Slender half columns, each decorated with vines and topped by a ram's-head capital, emerge from pilaster strips with a relief decor against a blue ground. They stand on delicate pedestals and are crowned with a three-part entablature. The reliefs are partly limed and partly gilded, so that the fired clay is accentuated by the colours of blue, white and gold. There is no structural relationship between the division of the walls and the decoration of the vault. The portals and the decorative mouldings above them were probably introduced in the

Baroque era.[18] While the measurements, rhythm and architectural elements may be confidently reconstructed based on material evidence, the original motifs of the figural frieze in the Red Marble Chamber remain a matter of conjecture. In the reconstruction, the frieze features a central vase flanked by two male figures wielding clubs (fig. 15). In addition, Groeschel already knew two battle scenes and two children's bacchanals.[19] Examples of all four scenes have survived in Büdesheim (fig. 13). However, while the border surrounding the two men with clubs makes it clear that they belong together, the same cannot be said for the bacchanals and battle scenes, each of which represents a self-contained composition and requires its own frame. The question of their original functional context must, therefore, remain open. The same is true of the group of fragments dated to 1531, i.e. of a vertical ornamental panel, which may have belonged to the original doorjamb between the Red and White Marble Rooms (fig. 5).[20] Despite these uncertainties, we can assume, based on the plinth mouldings surviving *in situ* in the White Marble Chamber (fig. 7), that the decor in both rooms was structured in a similar manner and that the marble panels in the White Marble Chamber appeared within an architectural framework of terracotta elements.

Fig. 14 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Red Marble Chamber, wall panelling reconstructed, present state.

Fig. 15 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Red Marble Chamber, detail of the reconstructed wall panelling and terracotta decoration: the pilaster strips with protruding half columns are crowned with ram's-head capitals, the frieze is decorated with a vase flanked by men swinging clubs, present state.

Print Sources

An analysis of the overall concept of the decorative scheme has to consider the genesis of the architectural and figural details. Some of the print sources for the reliefs were identified by Philipp M. Halm in the 1920s.[21] The relief with the club-swinging men follows an engraving by Master IB, identified with Georg Pencz, as does the children's bacchanal with the grape press;[22] the two battle scenes instead follow two engravings by Hans Sebald Beham that illustrate the story of Achilles (figs. 16 and 17).[23] An ornamental engraving by the monogrammist IG, active between 1522 and 1531, served as model for one of the pilaster strips.[24] In the case of the vertical ornamental panel dated to 1531 (fig. 5), the closest possible association seems to be a woodcut by Hans Weiditz.[25] However obvious the Italianate character of the formal vocabulary employed in Schloss Neuburg's terracotta decorations may have been, it is thus equally clear that the visual sources, as far as these can be established, had been produced by German artists within the previous decade.

Fig. 16 Terracotta relief of Achilles fighting Hector, from Schloss Neuburg am Inn, at present incorporated in the chimneypiece of the Neues Schloss Büdesheim.

Fig. 17 Hans Sebald Beham, Achilles fighting Hector, engraving, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

Levels of Cultural Transfer

The Italianate style was undoubtedly chosen on the initiative of the patron. In 1525, as already mentioned, Salm took part in the North Italian campaign against François Ier, which was characterized by lengthy encampments and periods of waiting in the region between Trento and Pavia.[26] This may have given Salm the opportunity to get to know Italian architectural ceramics, which had seen a great upsurge in popularity around 1500.[27] These ceramics may subsequently have provided the inspiration for his Neuburg project. It seems that Salm did not recruit artisans from Italy, however, or at least not at first, since – as Halm already recognized – the transformation of the printed sources into sculptural reliefs can be attributed, on stylistic grounds, to German artists.[28] Striking similarities to the Danube School point towards a collaboration between Wolf Huber and Master IP,[29] so that the result consisted of a conceptually innovative solution, inspired by the patron's impressions of North-Italian art and ingeniously interpreted by local artists. 'Ein

newe fatzon', as Dürer summed up the goal of ambitious patrons wanting to create something brand-new and unique in his *Underweysung der Messung*.[30]

True enough, such a putative limitation on German masters appears to be contradicted by a documentary source informing us that in 1538 Italian brick-makers were summoned from Neuburg am Inn to Landshut.[31] Given the stylistic homogeneity and the prominent 1531 date of the surviving Neuburg terracotta decoration, however, it is unlikely that these Italian experts had a hand in its production. It is more probable that they worked as stucco plasterers,[32] particularly in view of the fact that the stucco consoles in Neuburg's Chamber of the White Marble Pavement differ from the rest of the interior decoration in terms of their material, form and style (figs. 10 and 18). The quality of their sculptural modelling is inferior to that of the terracotta consoles, as becomes obvious from a comparison of the ram's heads. At the same time, these stucco consoles exhibit references to a more mature, Cinquecento repertoire of grotesque motifs that are absent in the terracotta decoration. This raises the question of whether we are not looking here at a second – and in this case, more direct – level of reception of the Italian Renaissance.

Such a second level of reception is historically plausible if we consider that, in 1536, Niklas, Count of Salm, once again spent several months in Lombardy as part of a military campaign, namely when Ferdinand I sent troops to Northern Italy during the Habsburg-Valois conflict over the Duchy of Milan.[33] Salm's itinerary is only partly known, but we are well-informed that he paid a visit to the Palazzo Te outside Mantua shortly before Christmas 1536. There, Salm proved himself an enthusiastic patron of architecture and expressed his regret at having just missed Giulio Romano, who had left Mantua that very same day.[34]

The presence of Italian masters at Neuburg in 1538 can perhaps be explained against this backdrop: the overwhelming impression that Mantua made upon Salm, possibly combined with his private realization that the Neuburg interiors of 1531 were in fact somewhat behind the times, may have prompted him to bring in artists directly from Italy. He may as well have been spurred on by his rivalry with Ludwig X of Landshut, who also visited Mantua in 1536 and, consequently, not only radically revised the plans for his own palace but brought in an Italian workforce.[35]

It was, therefore, a question not just of style but also of technology. Bavaria in the 1530s evidently lagged behind her Italian neighbours when it came to the manufacture of stucco decoration to the extent that, in 1533, Count Palatine Ottheinrich contacted the Duke of Mantua with a request for relevant technical information.[36] The fact that Ludwig X studied stucco reliefs during his own trip to Mantua in 1536 and that Mantuan stucco artists were working in Landshut in 1539/40,[37] also supports the idea that stucco decoration – unlike terracotta, which had a long-established tradition in Bavaria – was a medium in which local masters had no experience and which still required Italian expertise. Sources indicate that these Italian masters circulated between courts, with exchanges documented, for example, between Landshut, Neuburg an der Donau and Neuburg am Inn.[38] A further indication that stucco plasterers from Mantua may have

been directly involved on the decoration of the Chamber of the White Marble Pavement is provided, lastly, by the shape of the stucco consoles. Although direct comparison reveals that the Neuburg consoles fall considerably short of the quality of the stucchi in the Palazzo Te, it is evident that they all drew upon the same repertoire of forms (figs. 18 and 19).[39]

Fig. 18 Schloss Neuburg am Inn, Chamber of the White Marble Pavement, stucco console with girl's head *in situ*.

Fig. 19 Mantua, Palazzo Te, Camerino a Crociera, stucco console with girl's head.

Ambition and Reception

To summarize these findings: at Neuburg am Inn one encounters diverse strategies deployed by the same patron within just a few years to take up the artistic language of the Italian Renaissance: largely independent adaptation as well as, subsequently, direct import. The initial strategy of independent adaptation is characterized by oddities and misunderstandings. The terracotta frames are a case in point: Salm transferred an architectural decoration that, in Lombardy, he would have witnessed primarily on the exterior façades of palaces, to the interior decorative scheme of his formal reception rooms.[40] In these same rooms, Salm also made use of marble panelling, which in Italy was primarily reserved for sacred interiors, whereas in secular settings at best 'marmo finto' would be found (fig. 20).[41] One notable exception was the 'Studio de' marmori fini' created in 1506 for Alfonso d'Este in Ferrara, whose luxurious marble-clad walls probably caused a stir even in their own day.[42] It is true that we can deduce, from theoretical treatises on architecture and from ancient texts, that marble-panelled walls were a regular feature of the imperial palaces of antiquity.[43] Nevertheless, how could Count Salm justify creating such a decoration? Only on the grounds that the rooms served a very specific function.

Fig. 20 Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Magno Palazzo, Camera del Signor, wall painting simulating marble revetments.

Function

From the comparison between the description of 1545 with the earliest inventories, printed sources and ground plans, it emerges that the three vaulted rooms on the ground floor of the southern part of the East wing were not originally conceived as a 'sala terrena' or even as garden rooms, as Wilfried Hartleb proposed.[44] Rather, they were structured as a suite of two rooms heated by a double stove (White and Red Marble Chamber) plus a third room without heating (Chamber of the White Marble Pavement). The latter gives access onto a balcony and on the side of the courtyard it is connected, via a spiral staircase inside the wall, with the room above, which is described in the inventories as a bedchamber. Adjacent to this wood-panelled bedchamber on the first floor were two stove-heated spaces: an audience room and a dining room.[45] The South wing, which is now gone and of which no ground plans survive, contained – as far as it can be reconstructed with the help of surviving inventories – one apartment and one hall per storey. In this case, the ground floor also appears to have been vaulted: a terracotta console that still survives *in situ* probably belonged to the hall.[46]

As to the rooms in the southern part of the East wing, the first question to ask is whether the functions of the rooms on the ground floor can be reconstructed in analogy to those on the floor above them, i.e. whether they can be assumed to follow the same sequence of dining room, audience-cum-living room and bedchamber? In terms of their disposition, access and size as well as in terms of the distribution of their heating systems, the answer is in the affirmative (figs. 3 and 4). As far as their location at ground level on the courtyard side is concerned, we would generally expect to find rooms of such lavish and sumptuous decoration on the piano nobile. Salm appears to have ignored this tradition. Perhaps it seemed of minor importance given the elevated position of the castle high above the River Inn and the restriction of the newly renovated wings to two storeys.

If we accept the hypothesis of a functional analogy, the question then arises as to the use for which such a luxury apartment might have been intended. There is essentially only one conceivable answer: to receive visitors of the very highest rank, either royalty or members of the imperial family.[47] From Salm's perspective, such visits were greatly to be desired and would have seemed entirely within the realm of possibility. Were the royal couple to pay a visit to Neuburg, they could have been accommodated in the 'schönesten und gelegnisten zymer', the 'finest and best-situated rooms' reserved by Anna of Hungary for herself when the castle was confiscated in 1545.[48] During an occasional sojourn, the king or emperor would have found accommodation in the marble rooms, while his consort would have occupied the three-room apartment on the floor above. Their two bedchambers would have been connected by the small spiral staircase.[49]

Intention

Whatever the verdicts on this conclusion, this highly abbreviated analysis of the interior decoration and functional structure of Schloss Neuburg am Inn reveals the owner's ambition to create an architectural complex that was innovative in its appearance, comfort and furnishing. The aim seems to have been not so much the patron's own pleasure but the satisfaction of guests of the highest rank. As a court official, whose prominent position was already assured by the high standing of his father, and as a man extremely ambitious in his own right, Count Niklas of Salm may well have seen his enfeoffment with Neuburg in 1528 as an obligation. He was to maintain and improve the fabric of the castle complex and to prepare it for the reception of royal visitors. Together with its convenient and attractive location between the royal residences of Innsbruck, Vienna and Prague, the task of creating a guest apartment for the sovereign himself offers the most likely justification for the exorbitant cost of the marble rooms. The choice of colour scheme may also have been tailored to the expected royal guest: red and white were an allusion to the coat of arms of the house of Habsburg. From the point of view of their iconography, representations of Hercules, and the battle scenes – probably based on Statius – showing Achilles fighting Hector (fig. 16) and of the Greeks fighting the Trojans, may be considered entirely appropriate for a guest apartment readied for Ferdinand I.[50] This would make it all the more explicable why Queen Anna should have reserved, apparently as a matter of course, the 'schönesten und gelegnisten zymer' during the palace's temporary confiscation. But although the ambitious Salm did everything in his power, there is no evidence that either Ferdinand or Anna ever visited Schloss Neuburg am Inn.

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Illustrations

Fig. 1 aerial photo, Klaus Leidorf, Buch am Erlbach.

Figs. 2, 6 photo of c.1910 and photo of c.1920 Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, München.

Fig. 3 Nicole Riegel, Bonn.

Figs. 4, 11, 12 Groeschel 1924, p. 37, fig. 44, p. 115, fig. 155, p. 49, fig. 56.

Figs. 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18 Georg Satzinger, Bonn.

Fig. 8 wide-angle photo, Georg Thuringer, Passau.

Figs. 13, 16 Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Hessen, Wiesbaden.

Fig. 17 Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.

Fig. 19 Belluzzi 1998, II, p. 504, fig. 940.

Fig. 20 Camerlengo/Chini 2006, p. 289.

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[1] The present chapter is conceived as a synopsis of a more detailed study on the building complex recently published in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*. For further evidence and documentation, see Riegel 2012, pp. 102–205.

[2] Riegel 2012, pp. 112–14.

[3] Groeschel 1924.

[4] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, HA Familienakten K 15, Kon. 1, Neuburg am Inn 1544–1547, ff. 277r–v, edited in Riegel 2012, pp. 199–200. For Huber see Winzinger 1979.

[5] Riegel 2012, pp. 105–06, n. 13.

[6] First mentioned in Mader 1920, p. 182.

[7] In October 1532, Count Palatine Ottheinrich, after visiting the castle of Neuburg am Inn, commented in his diary: '[ich] besach das schloß undt die gebew, wirdt ein schön haus [...]', see Rott 1912, p. 143. In 1537/38 two experts in brick and (probably) plaster work engaged at Neuburg am Inn were called to Landshut: Staatsarchiv Landshut, Kurbayern Hofkammer, Ämterrechnungen Rentmeisteramt Landshut, Nr. 1020 (1537), published in Riegel 2012, p. 109, n. 18.

[8] Klaempfl 1865, pp. 92–95.

[9] Groeschel 1924, pp. 49–50, 77. Hartleb 2012, pp. 185–211. Riegel 2012, pp. 112–14.

[10] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, HA Familienakten K 15, Kon. 1, Neuburg am Inn 1544–1547, ff. 143r–v, published in Riegel 2012, pp. 194–95.

[11] In a letter dated to January 1546, the South wing is called 'new gepew'. In the same passage the adjacent 'althanen' is mentioned: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, HA Familienakten K 15, Kon. 1, Neuburg am Inn 1544–1547, f. 280r, published in Riegel 2012, pp. 198–99.

[12] Riegel 2012, pp. 121–26.

[13] Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Hochstift Passau, Literalien 380, Urbar 1674, ff. 3v–4r, published in Riegel 2012, p. 202. In the present article the word 'zimer' used in the document is translated as 'chamber' regardless of whether it is unheated, heated by a stove or by a fireplace.

[14] Groeschel 1924, pp. 76–79.

[15] Groeschel 1924, p. 54; Hartleb 2012, pp. 87–89.

[16] Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München, Inv. 15/115–15/126. Inv. 11/112. Inv. 12/57 (lost).

[17] See Riegel 2012, pp. 148–51 and passim.

[18] Riegel 2012, p. 123 and n. 75.

[19] Groeschel 1924, pp. 77, 95.

[20] Groeschel 1924, p. 99. See also Riegel 2012, pp. 154–55.

[21] Groeschel 1924, pp. 114–25.

[22] *The Illustrated Bartsch* XVI, p. 78, cat. nr. 35 (311) (Bacchanal) and p. 81, cat. nr. 45 (315) (Tritons).

[23] *The Illustrated Bartsch* XV, p. 62, cat. nr. 68 (142) (Achilles and Hector) and p. 63, cat. nr. 69 (143) (Greeks and Trojans); see Riegel 2012, pp. 157–8, p. 170, figs. 92–3.

[24] Berliner and Egger 1981, I, pp. 50–51, cat. nr. 343; see Riegel 2012, p. 156, figs. 72–3, p. 160.

[25] Joannes Boemus, *Repertorium librorum trium Joannis Boemi de omium gentium ritibus*, 1520; see Riegel 2012, p. 153, fig. 68, as well as the variant in Warncke 1979, II, p. 19, cat. nr. 72.

[26] The mission for Pavia doc. in Newald 1879, p. 112; for the itinerary of the troops see Steinböck 1977, pp. 40–44.

[27] See Bandera 1997. Albertini Ottolenghi and Basso 2013.

[28] Groeschel 1924, p. 120.

[29] Reisinger-Weber 2007, pp. 201–03. Hartleb 2012, p. 67. Riegel 2012, pp. 162–66.

[30] Dürer 1525 (1966), p. 82: 'dann gewonlich alle die etwas newes bauwen wöllen, wolten auch geren ein newe fatzon darzü haben, die for nye gesehen wer'.

[31] See note 7.

[32] There is coeval documentary evidence that terracotta experts, for example Zaccaria Zacchi who was active in Trento on behalf of Cardinal Bernardo Cles, worked in terracotta and plaster at the same time. See Gabrielli 2004, p. 178, n. 92.

[33] Hafner 1927.

[34] Ferrari 1992, I, p. 710; for further discussion see Riegel 2012, pp. 168–70.

[35] See Endemann 1998.

[36] Ottheinrich's letter is published in Ferrari 1992, I, pp. 570–71.

[37] Sarzi 1984/85, pp. 136, 140 (n. 34), 150 and 163 (n. 82).

[38] Diemer 1998, p. 209. See also above, n. 7.

[39] Riegel 2012, pp. 166–77. Mantuan decoration is amply documented in Belluzzi 1998.

[40] One might think of the façades of the Palazzo Mozzanica in Lodi or the Palazzo Beccaria in Pavia; see Riegel 2012, pp. 166–67, figs. 87–88. However, Salm acted in line with a contemporary European fashion of terracotta decoration: Hampton Court and the Château Madrid are the most prominent examples. See further documentation in Riegel 2012, pp. 181–82.

[41] As an example for veritable marble panelling in sacred interiors might serve the church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Venice. Other examples in Riegel 2012, p. 184, n. 280. 'Marmo finto', i.e. painted wall decoration simulating marble revetments, was not only used in Roman palaces of the Renaissance, but also in Trento: Concurrently with Neuburg am Inn, in 1531, Cardinal Bernardo Cles had painted his bedchamber in the Magno Palazzo of the Castello del Buonconsiglio with a 'marmo finto' decoration. See Camerlengo/Chini 2006, p. 288.

[42] Sarchi 2012, pp. 89–91.

[43] See the discussion of this issue in Riegel 2012, pp. 183–85.

[44] Hartleb 2012, p. 80.

[45] Riegel 2012, pp. 137–38.

[46] Riegel 2012, pp. 126–28, 139–46; the terracotta console is illustrated in figs. 28–29.

[47] The tradition of the guest apartment is discussed in Hoppe 2006. For further evidence on the occasional ground floor position of guest apartments, see Riegel 2012, p. 138, n. 140. The enlargement of the older two-room-apartment type corresponds an increasing diversification in the function and layout of princely palaces in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; see De Jonge 2010.

[48] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, HA Familienakten K 15, Kon. 1, Neuburg am Inn 1544–1547, f. 108r, published in Riegel 2012, p. 193.

[49] For the possibilities of coordinating apartments for male and female use, see Hoppe 2014.

[50] Riegel 2012, pp. 185–86.

Holbein's *Whitehall Mural* for Henry VIII:

Spacing a Place for the King

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In 1529, Henry VIII (1491–1547) acquired York Place, a magnificent London residence located directly by the river Thames, in the wake of the political downfall of the estate's previous owner, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey.[1] The surrender of the cardinal's property to the Crown coincided with Henry's increasing interest in architecture during the late 1520s, and the king – presumably influenced by his mistress and later second wife Anne Boleyn – immediately embarked on plans for large-scale alterations to the palace to match his own personal and official requirements.[2] The Venetian ambassador commented on the king's activities in one of his reports of 1531 that:

> his Majesty is now staying at Greenwich, and often comes to Westminster, having designed [*designato*, sic!] new lodgings there, and a park adjoining York House, which belonged to the late Cardinal Wolsey. The plan [*designo,* sic!] is on so large a scale that many hundreds of houses will be levelled.[3]

The ambassador was by no means exaggerating the extent of the project. Over the next few years, dozens of properties near the former episcopal see were demolished to make room for the royal palace.[4] By 1534, the complex not only consisted of the hugely enlarged and altered former lodgings of Cardinal Wolsey but also of a vast recreational area, including four tennis courts, two bowling alleys, a cockpit, a pheasant-yard and a tiltyard with a gallery for spectators.[5] In 1536, York Place was declared the principal residence of the King of England by an Act of Parliament and was named 'Kynges Paleys at Westminster', but it was then (and still is) usually referred to as Whitehall Palace (fig. 1).[6]

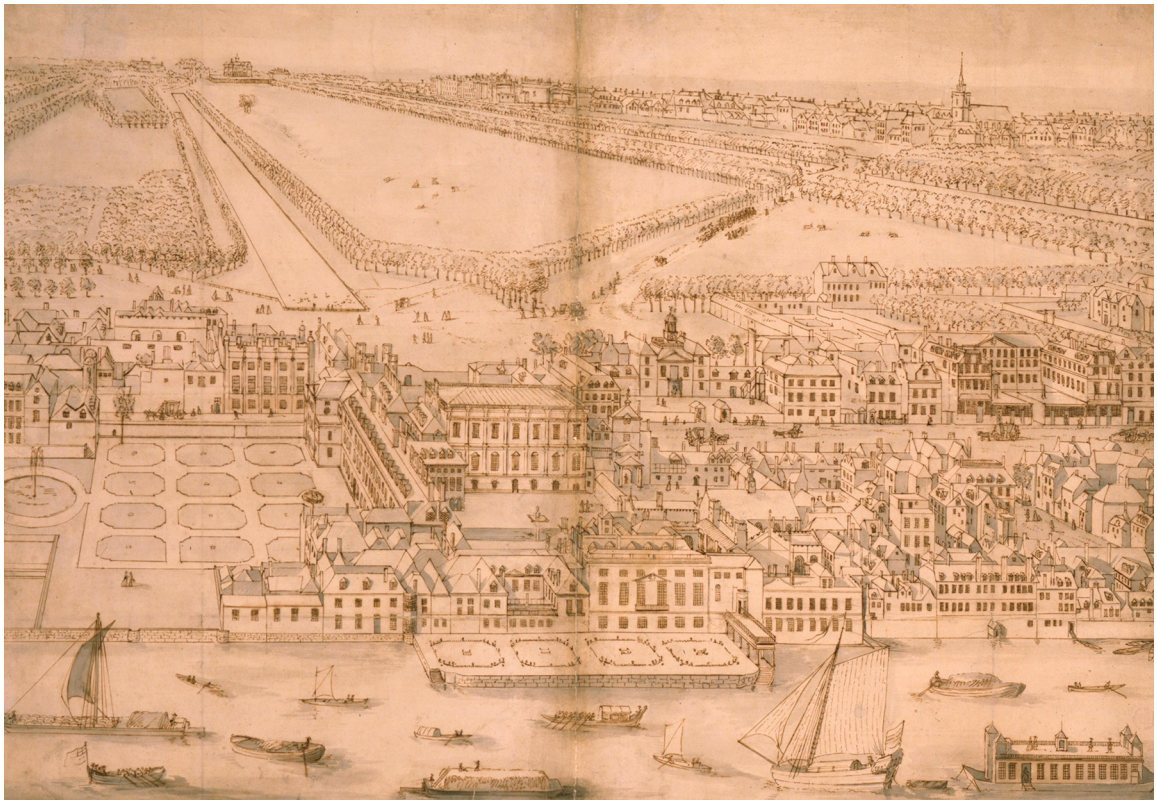

Fig. 1 Leonard Knyff, *Aerial View of Whitehall*, London, c. 1695–1697.

By this time, Whitehall had become and was to remain one of the largest and most extravagant palaces in Europe. When the Moravian nobleman Baron Waldstein visited Whitehall in July 1600, he wrote:

> we then went on into the nearby palace, the royal residence known as Whitehall, i.e. White Hall. It is truly majestic, bounded on the one side by a park which adjoins another palace which is called St. James's, and on the other side by the Thames, and it is a place which fills one with wonder, not so much because of its great size as because of the magnificence of its bed chambers and living rooms which are furnished with the most gorgeous splendour.[7]

Unfortunately, only little of the palace's splendour survived the fire of January 1698, when only Inigo Jones's Banqueting House (1619–1622) remained untouched.[8] Thus, historical research on the Henrician layout of Whitehall has to rely mostly on archaeological findings and on documentary evidence such as eyewitness reports or the palace's inventory.

The *Whitehall Mural*

A small oil painting by the Flemish artist Remigius van Leemput, commissioned by Charles II (1630–1685) in 1667 (fig. 2) constitutes one of the most important pieces of documentary evidence. It

depicts the so-called *Whitehall Mural* by Hans Holbein the Younger, a monumental wall painting designed for the king's lodgings in the palace, and shows Henry VIII with his third wife Jane Seymour (1509–1537) and with his parents Henry VII (1457–1509) and Elizabeth of York (1465–1503).

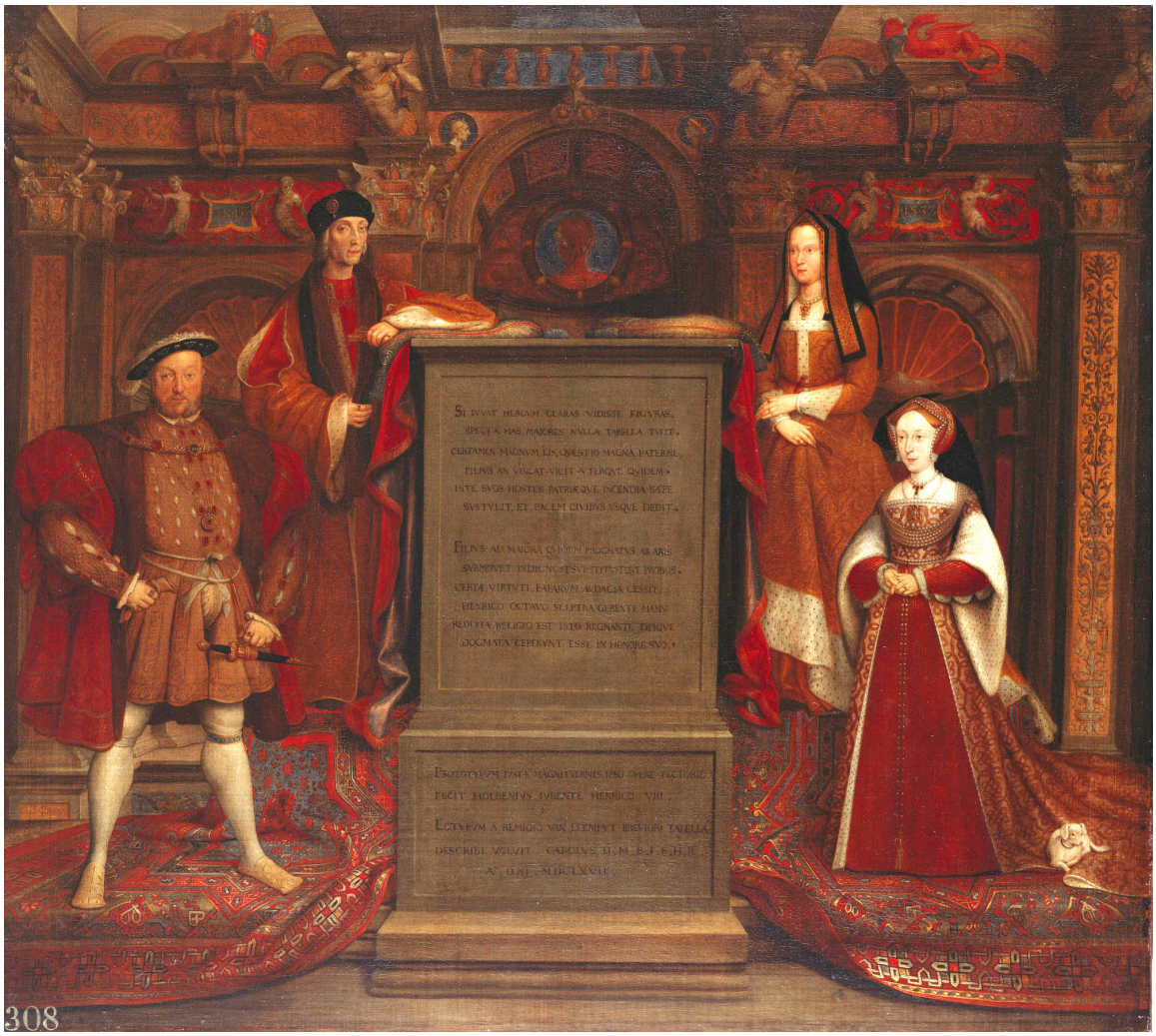

Fig. 2 Remigius van Leemput, *Copy of the Whitehall Mural*, London, 1667.

Against a backdrop of palatial architecture, the royal family stands on two tiers of a low pedestal to the left and right of an altar-like block of stone, which bears a Latin inscription. The lower part of the inscription gives an account of the date and content of the copy and explains that the original had been designed by Holbein on a much larger scale. Charles II is mentioned as having commissioned the copy and Remigius van Leemput is credited as the executing artist.[9] The translated upper part of the inscription reads as follows:

> If it pleases you to see the illustrious images of heroes
> Look on these: no picture ever bore greater.
> The great debate, competition and great question is
> Whether father or son is the victor. For both indeed were supreme.
> The former often overcame his enemies and the conflagrations of his country,
> and finally brought peace to its citizens.
> The son, born indeed for greater things,
> removed the unworthy from their altars and replaced them by upright men.
> The arrogance of the Popes has yielded to unerring virtue
> And while Henry VIII holds the scepter in his hand
> religion is restored and during his reign
> the doctrines of God have begun to be held in his honour.[10]

The authenticity of the copy and its relation with the original layout of the Holbein painting have been the subject of intense debate over the past decades. In the first extensive analysis of the original mural and of van Leemput's copy, Roy Strong argued that van Leemput had added the plinth and its inscription as a replacement for a piece of furnishing, around which he suspected the mural to have been created.[11] His thesis was partially based upon a description by Charles Patin who had visited Whitehall in 1671 and had commented on a portrait of Henry VIII 'and the princes, his children' on the 'gable of the window' ('*sur le pignon de la croisée*').[12] But, as Susan Foister rightly claimed in her 1981 PhD thesis, Patin could not have been talking about the *Whitehall Mural*, which shows Henry with his parents and not with his children. His account can be much more plausibly connected to a portrait of Henry VIII with the princes Mary, Edward and Elizabeth, now part of the Royal Collection (fig. 3).[13]

Fig. 3 British School, *Henry and his Children*, London, c.1545.

The strongest evidence in favour of the plinth's and the inscription's presence in Holbein's original composition is, however, the already-mentioned diary of Baron Waldstein. He described a room

in Queen Elizabeth's lodgings where 'Henry VII and VIII and their wives are painted',[14] followed by a transcription corresponding almost exactly to the text in van Leemput's copy.[15] The accuracy of the overall layout of the copy can – apart from the verses on the plinth – be further sustained by comparing it to the only surviving source from the hand of Hans Holbein the Younger himself, the *Whitehall Mural Cartoon* (fig. 4). The ink and watercolour drawing shows Henry VIII and his father Henry VII in the same pose and setting as depicted by van Leemput. The cartoon was used to transfer Holbein's design onto the plaster, as indicated by the prick marks along the outlines of the drawing.[16] Its size (258 x 137 cm), therefore, corresponds to the actual proportions of the wall painting, which – based on these measurements – can be estimated to have been about 270 cm in height and 360 cm in width.[17] There are, however, two significant differences between the copy by van Leemput and the Holbein cartoon.

Fig. 4 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Cartoon for the Whitehall Mural*, London, 1536–1537 (National Portrait Gallery).

Fig. 5 British School, *Portrait of Henry VIII copied from the Mural*, Petworth House, c. 1543–1547.

One difference is that in the seventeenth-century reproduction, the fields on the frieze above the niches that originally contained Henry's and Jane's initials H and I connected by a so called 'lover's knot' had been replaced by the letters 'AN.DO' on the left and by the date 1537 on the right. This detail is widely accepted as a clue towards establishing the precise date of the mural's completion: Holbein probably started the preparations for the painting after Henry's and Jane's marriage in May 1536 – most likely in the winter or spring of 1537, when the queen was pregnant with Henry's only legitimate male heir, Edward VI. Therefore, the change to the original design could be interpreted

as a commemoration of Jane's death during childbirth in October 1537.[18] The second difference is equally significant – both for the mural's interpretation and for its historical impact. Holbein's preparatory drawing shows Henry VIII in the iconic pose now inextricably linked with the famous Tudor king: legs wide apart and arms akimbo, his expansive bodily presence is further emphasized by his bulky costume with the prominent codpiece.[19] Henry holds a glove in one hand, while the other one rests on the chain of his dagger. The king's virile physical appearance is in stark contrast to that of his father who is portrayed as a slender, elderly man almost too small for his voluminous robes. And, while Henry VII gazes out of the painting as if lost in thought, his son looks directly out of the mural in three-quarter profile as if targeting the audience. As a result, Henry VIII appears to be physically and mentally superior to his father as well as to the beholder of the portrait. In the copy, however, this impression is accentuated even further, since the king turns fully to the spectator. His stance, therefore, not only differs from that of his father but also from that of both queens who are depicted in almost identical poses with folded hands and with their eyes and faces turned to the right in the direction of their respective husbands.[20] Finally, given that all known contemporary portraits of Henry VIII that were copied from the mural, for example the one in Petworth House (fig. 5), correspond to van Leemput's version in this particular detail,[21] van Leemput's depiction most certainly seems to reflect the final layout of Holbein's design accurately.

The emphasis of the sovereign's physical appearance is also consistent with the text on the plinth that praises Henry VIII as superior to his father, while it nonetheless acknowledges the latter's major accomplishments as king. As a result, the *Whitehall Mural* has been interpreted primarily – and in my view appropriately – as a commission intended to promote the Tudor dynasty, its genealogy and succession.[22] In addition, as regards this function, it was obviously meant to be more than just a family portrait. After all, despite the fact that three other people are part of the composition, the painting distinctly focuses on Henry VIII, who is shown as the victorious and virile ruler of the English kingdom and its church now independent of papal authority.[23] What seems to clash with the idea that Henry VIII's *persona* and body are the explicit focal point of the painting is the fact that his image is quite obviously *not* in the centre of the composition – an aspect that has dominated the extended debate over the accuracy of van Leemput's copy. Initially it led Roy Strong to believe that the central position of the plinth had not been part of the mural's original design. Holbein's decision to place an object in the centre of a painting rather than the main portrait is, of course, not unprecedented in his *oeuvre*: his famous *Ambassadors* immediately spring to mind.[24] However, in the context of royal portraiture, the composition is indeed highly unusual and its obvious lack of balance seems to be further enhanced by the architectural setting of the scene. A central arch accompanied by two slightly lower shell-vaulted niches on either side dominates the richly decorated interior in the background of the mural. The niches are framed by four Corinthian pilasters that support a richly ornamented frieze and, above it, carry a ceiling architecture that seems to open up to clear blue skies. As Stephanie Buck has pointed out, the tripartite pattern was most likely an allusion to a triumphal arch or gate of honour and intended to be read in comparison with representative royal architecture such as the famous *Gate of Honour* for Maximilian I (fig. 6).[25]

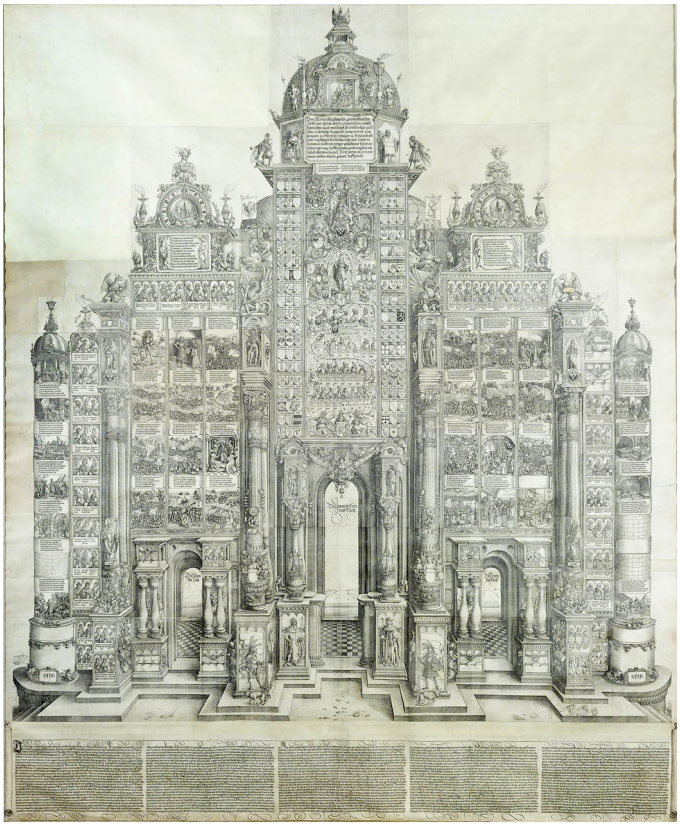

Fig. 6 Albrecht Dürer/Albrecht Altdorfer, *Gate of Honour for Maximilian I*, 1515–1517.

Characteristic of both a triumphal gate and a gate of honour is the hierarchical emphasis on the central axis and therefore on the central arch, which in Holbein's composition is placed directly behind – and above – the inscription on the plinth. This peculiar accentuation of the non-figural centre of the painting along with Holbein's substitution of Henry's three-quarter profile documented in the cartoon by the fully-frontal version shown in van Leemput's copy sparked speculation about the mural's having been specifically intended to interact with elements outside its pictorial space. Thurley and Lloyd assume – rightly in my view – that Holbein's work was 'a display of magnificence', which created an imposing backdrop for the king's actual physical presence – in particular if we imagine him in front of the mural's centre – and thereby it expanded 'the real presence of the ruler into a supernatural one'.[26] Within this context, they also mention a much-quoted reference to the *Whitehall Mural* in Karel van Mander's *Het Schilder-Boeck* (1604) to underline the intimidating effect that the king's portrait, and in particular his posture and his direct gaze, must have had on its beholder.[27] However, to interpret van Mander's Dutch phrase '*dat een yeder wie't siet verschrickt*'[28] as proof that contemporary spectators felt 'abashed and annihilated'[29] in front of Henry VIII's portrait is, as Tatiana String only recently clarified, a misinterpretation. She notes that van Mander was referring to the *topos* of Apelles and that his wording in this passage was influenced by Vasari's *Lives*. The astonishment he describes, String maintains, was actually caused by the realism and artistry of Holbein's painting, not by the *persona* of the king himself.[30]

If one puts the citation into context by reading the complete paragraph in *Het Schilder-Boeck,*[31] one reveals its actual and no less interesting subject: the *trompe-l'oeil*-effect of the mural, which – and this aspect will be relevant for my argument later on – applied to Henry and to the royal family as well as to the painting's architectural setting.[32] As Kent Rawlinson observed, the highly unusual interior in which the Tudor kings and their wives are depicted 'has received surprisingly little attention, although in many respects it defines the character and the composition of the entire image'.[33] Its design was clearly inspired by and, in part, very closely derived from Donato Bramante's *Interior of a Ruined Church or Temple,*[34] which – in the version of a print by Bernardo Prevedari (fig. 7) – might also have been part of Henry's extensive art collection.[35] The architecture in the background of the *Whitehall Mural* with its elaborated symbolism of laurel-adorned emperors' heads, heraldic animals of the Tudor coat of arms and the sophisticated ornamentation must indeed, as Rawlinson suggests, be understood as an architecturally encoded metaphor complementing the message conveyed by the inscription on the plinth and by the group portrait of the family. Holbein's composition hence orchestrates Henry as a ruler with all the 'refined virtues of [a] truly Renaissance prince'[36] – intellectual and physical strength as well as a classical cultural and military education – and this statement was very probably made in competition with contemporary European leaders and patrons of the arts such as Francis I or Charles V.[37]

Fig. 7 Bernardo Prevedari, Print after *Bramante's Interior of a Ruined Church or Temple*, Milan, 1481.

However, as Roy Strong had remarked in his very first study of the *Whitehall Mural*, apart from its meaningful allusions to antiquity, the painting's spatial setting also directly corresponds to the interior decoration of Whitehall Palace. The frieze with mermaids and mermen, for example, was probably derived from the design of the actual panelling – remnants of the same or comparable ornamentation can still be found in the so-called Wolsey Closet in Hampton Court (fig. 8).[38] Considering this facet and keeping in mind the painting's *trompe-l'oeil* effect in connection with the assumption that its overall layout was at least to some extent devised to interact with elements outside its pictorial space, I would like to open up Rawlinson's argument. In my view, the spatial setting of the *Whitehall Mural* is a major key to understanding its message. However, this spatial setting was fundamentally defined by elements both within and outside the painting itself. Consequently, in order to analyze the meaning of the space depicted in the mural, it is essential to incorporate a meticulous analysis of the space for which it was commissioned and in which it was intended to be displayed.

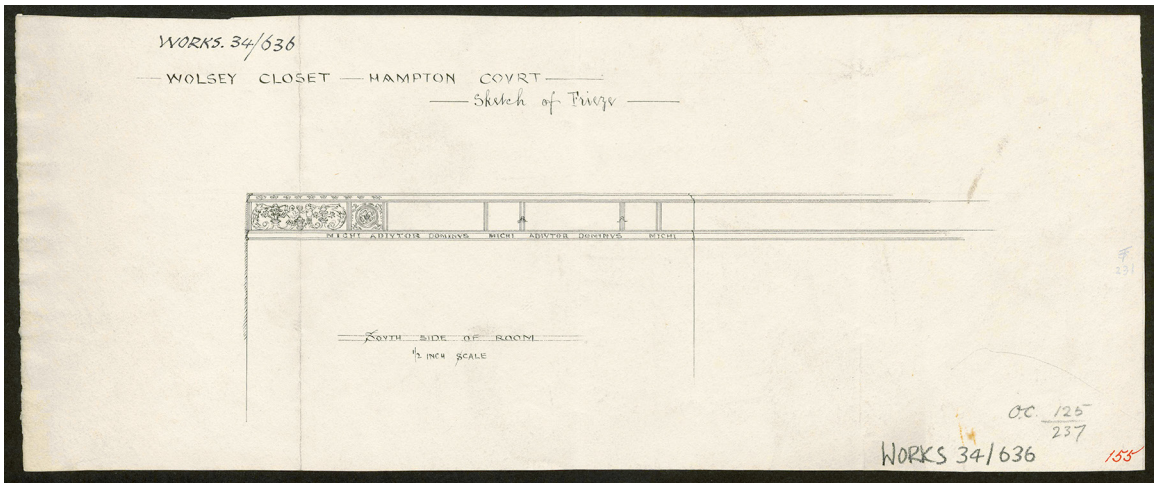

Fig. 8 Sketch of the frieze at the so-called Wolsey Closet at Hampton Court, 1889.

The King's Privy Chamber

Unfortunately, the only source that mentions the exact location of the *Whitehall Mural* within the layout of the royal apartments is over a hundred years younger than the painting itself. John Evelyn reports in his diary on 11 February 1656:

> I ventured to go to Whitehall, where of many years I had not been, and found it very glorious and well furnished, as far as I could safely go, and was glad to find they had not much defaced that rare peace of Henry 7th & Henry 8th &c done on the walles of the King's privy chamber.[39]

Simon Thurley's extensive research on the architectural history of Whitehall Palace and of the royal apartments has determined that 'the King's privy chamber' of Evelyn's time corresponds indeed to the king's privy chamber during the Tudor period; its function and denomination did not change until the palace went up in flames in 1698.[40] To understand the impact of this finding – namely that Henry had obviously commissioned the mural for this particular room – the arrangement of the royal apartments in Whitehall needs some clarification.

In April 1531 – in the same year in which the Venetian ambassador reported on the king's impressive new building site at York Place – the first foundations for the new royal residence at Whitehall were excavated.[41] The palace's layout – which, according to the ambassador's statement, had been planned by Henry VIII himself – contained several significant modifications compared to the traditional English royal accommodation. As Simon Thurley points out, the layout introduced at Whitehall palace was 'highly innovative and was not only to provide the model for the remaining sixteen years of Henry VIII's reign, but one which was to last well into the eighteenth century'.[42] Here, for the very first time and probably in imitation of Francis I's project in Fontainebleau, the king abandoned the traditional donjon structure in which representative and private rooms were positioned on top of each other.[43] Instead, he kept the succession of these so-called 'outward' and 'inward' chambers on one level and he significantly increased their size and number. Under the reign of his father Henry VII, the suite of the king's apartments had consisted of the guard or watching chamber where the sovereign's palace guard was stationed to protect his lodgings, of the presence chamber accommodating the throne and canopy and of the privy chamber that was connected directly with the king's bedchamber.[44] Having adopted this layout in the early years of his reign, Henry VIII used the enlarged building site at Whitehall to separate his privy chamber and his bedchamber by the insertion of four additional rooms. Behind the bedchamber, five rooms and a gallery were added (fig. 9).[45]

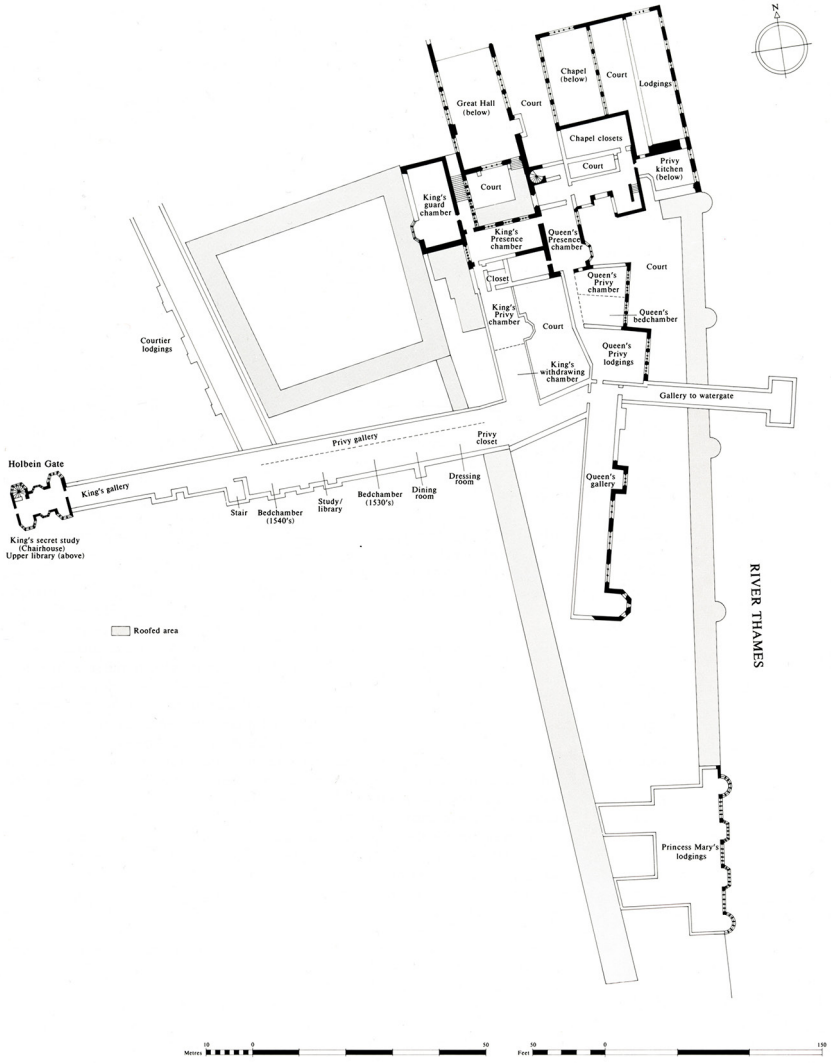

Fig. 9 Reconstruction of the first-floor plan of Whitehall Palace in 1547.

Only little sustainable information about size and décor of the Whitehall privy chamber can be gleaned from the remaining archaeological and documentary evidence, but there are estimates that it was about 7 m wide.[46] The Duke of Saxe-Weimar categorized it as 'small', but noted that it was elegantly furbished with paintings and tapestries.[47] Around the same time that Holbein must have started work on his mural, Niccoló Bellin da Modena – who had previously been employed as a stucco plasterer at Fontainebleau – received his first payment for the refitting of fireplaces in Henry's palaces.[48] Since there was definitely a fireplace in the privy chamber, we can assume that its redecoration was one of Modena's first tasks.[49] Within this context, it is an interesting coincidence that one of the four surviving interior designs initially attributed to Modena, an elaborate chimneypiece (fig. 10), has since been convincingly credited to Holbein.[50]

Fig. 10 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Design for a Chimneypiece*, London, c. 1538–1540.

Since it is plausible that the Italian plasterer and the German painter were working simultaneously on the decorations of the privy chamber, maybe Holbein's drawing of the chimneypiece is a clue to the fact that they even worked together to some extent. Further information on the chamber's actual layout may be gained from yet another drawing, depicting Henry VIII and his courtiers in a room that likely functioned as privy chamber (fig. 11).

Fig. 11 School of Hans Holbein the Younger, *Henry VIII in his Privy Chamber*. London, c.1548.

The drawing was probably based on a sketch by Holbein,[51] but certainly does not portray the privy chamber in Whitehall, since neither the bay window on its southern side nor the mural itself actually appear in the drawing. However, the interior scene in which Henry is attended by his courtiers shows a rather plain cupboard on which vases and porcelain vessels are placed. The so-called Eltham Ordinances – the regulations for the royal household documented in writing at Eltham in 1526 – mention that usually a cupboard was placed in the privy chamber,[52] which means that the Whitehall privy chamber was most likely equipped with one as well. In any case, we can assume that a luxurious selection of tapestries and panelling, an elaborate fireplace, a narrow cupboard and – in accordance with Holbein's drawing – a table and chair were part of the privy chamber's furnishings at Whitehall. The matter of the canopy is, however, less clear: although Henry is depicted in the mentioned drawing as seated under a lavishly decorated baldachin in front of the cloth of estate, evidence shows that this particular piece of furbishing was normally the most essential part of the presence chamber.[53] The so-called 'chair of estate' – the throne on a raised

dais under the canopy and in front of the cloth of estate – represented an object of high symbolic value and is frequently mentioned as such in contemporary sources.[54] The chair, for example, was not to be touched or approached too closely; courtiers had to take off their hats and bow in front of it at all times – even when the throne was unoccupied and the king was not present in the room.[55] Thus, a canopy was probably not part of the privy chamber's permanent decoration,[56] but it is possible to imagine one being added occasionally when the room had to be adapted to a more representative function. The *Whitehall Mural* itself must have been positioned on the southern wall of the room, opposite the entrance from the small gallery next to the closet and immediately facing those entering the chamber.[57] Since it was narrower than the wall for which it was commissioned and there had to be a passageway or a door leading to the adjacent withdrawing chamber, the mural was probably surrounded by panelling and/or tapestry, under or behind of which the passage to the rear inward chambers was located.

The Space of the Privy Chamber

It becomes apparent that to support a constitutive reconstruction of Henry VIII's privy chamber, these rather fragmentary, material-oriented archaeological and art-historical findings are illustrative but not sufficient. I would, therefore, like to add the intended audience of the painting to my considerations of the *Whitehall Mural's* spatial setting. The question for whom the painting was created has always been part of its scholarly analysis. Roy Strong, for instance, presumed that it was a key element of iconic Tudor propaganda,[58] a statement dismissed by Lloyd and Thurley based on the fact that the mural's position within the king's lodgings only permitted access to a restricted and selected few.[59] In addition, Rawlinson and String noted that in terms of communication, the painting with its allusive and ambitious iconography was distinctly directed at and only comprehensible for a highly sophisticated audience.[60] I would like to underpin their findings by arguing that the painting's target audience as well as the interior decoration of the privy chamber and the location of the mural within the royal lodgings at Whitehall was an integral part of its spatial setting. My suggestion is based on an understanding of space that is opposed to the concept of space as container as proposed for example by Newton, but rather defines its nature as relative and subject-oriented. I will, therefore, analyze the spatial setting of the *Whitehall Mural* applying Martina Löw's concept of a sociology of space. According to Löw – whose systematic approach takes into account the works of both spatial and social theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault and Anthony Giddens – space is the relational order of potentially moving objects, which she denotes as *bodies* ('Körper').[61] These bodies are the constituent elements of space and can be separated into the categories of *living entities* and *social goods*.[62] *Social goods* are defined as either being primarily material (for example tables, chairs, architecture or any other object that in one way or another has a 'materialised' existence within our world), or as primarily symbolic, which is the case for songs, values, traditions, regulations, ideas, etc. The latter may take a defined form through writing in legislative texts or treatises but they also exist without a concrete materiality. Löw uses the term 'primarily' to emphasize the fact that social goods can

never be exclusively material or symbolic; for her, they always exhibit both components, but in most cases, one of the two is dominant.[63] This dichotomy becomes evident if we use Löw's example of the chair, which she comprehensibly defines as a primarily material social good.[64] However, if we consider the abovementioned characteristics of Henry's 'chair of estate', we must also categorize it as a symbolic social good in equal measure. During the reign of the Tudor kings, its symbolic impact may have superseded its material properties, since its conceptual meaning may have defined it even more closely than its physical existence. Apart from primarily material and primarily symbolic social goods, space is also determined by *living entities*, that is, in the case of the mural in question, by human beings.[65] Space according to Löw is, therefore, 'constituted' by the relational order of people and social goods in which the movement of the elements is probably at some point involved. However, there is no space unless its bodies actively connect, which happens by means of two essential processes that Löw names *spacing* and *synthesis*.[66] She defines *spacing* as situating or positioning people and social goods and, therefore, as creation of the relational order between the elements or bodies of spatial constitution. Hence, it refers to both the act of positioning as well as the movement towards the next position. In the already cited report of the Duke of Najera's visit to Whitehall written by his secretary Pedro de Gante (see note 54), the positioning of guards in the watching chamber and the installation of the chair of estate in the presence chamber are to be interpreted as the result of an act of spacing: they significantly define the space of the chambers in which they are situated. De Gante accordingly characterizes the chambers he traverses by the social goods, or respectively the living entities, that play the most important role in their constitution and, therefore, most significantly define their spatial relevance in his eyes. The movement of Don Rodrigo de Mendoza and Tello de Guzman alongside their courtiers through the succession of 'outward' chambers and the fact that only Mendoza and Guzman are allowed to proceed into the 'inward' chambers by entering Henry VIII's privy chamber must also be understood as an act of spacing: the regulation of movement and the positioning of the Duke of Najera and his courtiers determines their role in the constitution of a space of which the king himself is a constitutive element. In this case, we discuss highly ritualized acts of spacing: positioning and movement are regulated as part of a ceremonial orchestration. In addition to positioning and movement, *spacing* also describes the act of rendering ensembles of goods and people recognizable as a distinctive space by using primarily symbolic markings.[67] When remodelling York Place, Henry turned Wolsey's pre-existing buildings and his newly constructed apartments into an architectural ensemble that was definitely in his possession. Even though he preserved a considerable portion of the original architecture and furnishings – for example, he continued to use Wolsey's guard chamber in its original layout and function[68] – he eliminated every symbolic reference to their previous owner, replacing it with symbolic markings of his own. In the case of the guard chamber, he installed a (subsequently gilded) coat of arms supported by a stone dragon.[69] These – deliberate or non-deliberate – acts of spacing and the resulting relational order of people and social goods were to be experienced, as becomes evident in the report about the visit of the Duke of Najera. This experience is defined by Löw as the process of *synthesis*.[70] Synthesis describes the act of connecting people and social goods into forming a space

through ideation, perception or recall. The two latter processes can be observed in the case of Pedro de Gante who first perceives the constitution of space during his visit at the court of Henry VIII, then recalls it and even materializes it in writing. We, to the contrary, have to use our imagination to synthesize the space described by de Gante as a virtual space in our minds to get the idea. Thus the constitution of *space* according to Löw takes place by the relational ordering of *people* and *social goods* through the process of *spacing* – that is by the positioning and marking of goods and people – and of *synthesizing* – i.e. by perceiving, recalling or envisioning the order of the elements as a particular space. Another crucial element of Löw's approach is the distinction between *space* and *place*.[71] While *spaces* can exist virtually, for example in someone's memory or even in his or her imagination, the term *place* refers to an area with a distinct geographic location that can be clearly identified and delineated and which most likely has been named. In fact, a distinctive name is a fundamental characteristic of a place, since it enhances its symbolical quality.[72] Within this context, Löw quotes Albert Einstein, who likewise defined a place as a 'small portion of the earth's surface identified by name'.[73] If spaces are not virtually constituted – i.e. remembered or imagined – but perceived, they need to be constituted in places. In this case, the relationally ordered people and goods as well as the place(s) are not perceived separately but rather synthesized as one spatial entity by the beholder. Depending on cultural, psychological, topological, social or historical conditions, the same elements within the same place may be perceived as diverse spaces by different beholders. The moment one adds the factor of time, an indefinite number of spaces may be constituted in one place, induced by the fact that the constitutive elements of space – including at least the beholder – are bound to change. This can be illustrated by the above-mentioned report of John Evelyn in which he describes the *Whitehall Mural* as part of the king's privy chamber. His account has long been dismissed as proof of the actual position of the painting within the layout of Henry's lodgings because the term 'privy chamber' was known as a term that did not necessarily denote one particular place but rather referred to a specific space that could exist in several places – for example in diverse palaces – and even change its geographical position within one palace depending on particular circumstances. Even now, despite the fact we know that the 'king's privy chamber' was situated in the same place from the remodelling of the royal lodgings by Henry in 1531 to the fire of 1698, it is clear that the space of the privy chamber must have changed continuously after and even during Henry's reign. In what follows, I will show that it did change fundamentally.

As has already been noted, during the time of Henry VII, the privy chamber had been directly connected to the sovereign's bedroom and functioned as a predominantly private space where the king would retire from official business and work or dine alone.[74] The interior would therefore have been quite modest. Although we can assume that there was also a chair, a writing table or lectern, a fireplace and even tapestries, this furniture was probably more functional than representative. A fundamental part of this interior would have been – even if not permanently so – the eponymous privy or stool, which was under the care of the so-called groom of the stool who merely held the rank of a gentleman. Apart from the king, only six further grooms – some-

times of even lower rank – had access to the room.[75] Under Henry VIII, the post of the groom of the stool still included cleaning and other menial duties, which meant that no high-ranking men applied for the post. This changed in 1515 when Francis I came to power in France and rearranged the positions of his courtiers. During his early reign, the title 'gentilhomme de la chambre' was established and immediately associated with a very respectable and intimate position among the king's entourage. The English court adopted and translated the title on the occasion of Francis's visit to England in 1518. Henry's courtiers had to be appointed to a comparable status in order to be paired with their French peers for ceremonial purposes; thereby the 'gentlemen of the privy chamber' were instituted.[76] The change of rank went hand in hand with a development described by David Starkey as the 'rise of the privy chamber', [77] during which this initially private retreat was increasingly opened to members of the court who thereby gained considerable administrative, ceremonial and representative influence. According to the *Eltham Ordinances* of 1526, instead of the six grooms listed under the groom of the stool, there were now six gentlemen of the privy chamber, four grooms, two ushers, a page and a barber who were allowed access to this formerly most private royal refuge. By 1530 – during the construction of the new and expanded lodgings at Whitehall – the number of people with right of access had increased to twenty and by 1539 to twenty-eight.[78] In addition to these still very select members of the court, even foreign ambassadors – if only those of the highest rank – were sometimes received by the king inside his privy chamber. Such a reception is, for example, documented for 18 April 1536 when the imperial ambassador Chapuys visited Henry at Greenwich. Chapuys was received outside the presence chamber and, after having been acknowledged by the king who then went to dine with Anne Boleyn in her lodgings, remained seated in the presence chamber to eat with 'all the principal men of the court'. Subsequently, as Chapuys wrote, Henry, 'in passing by where I was made me the same caress as in the morning, and, taking me by the hand, led me into his [privy] chamber, whither only the Chancellor and Cromwell followed. He took me apart to a window' to discuss the current international situation.[79] As we can gather from these reports, even after the layout of the royal apartment had changed and became increasingly accessible to the members of the court, the privy chamber was still used and perceived as a predominantly private space to which only a very select few obtained access. De Gante's disappointed reaction when he was denied access to this chamber and Chapuys' description of his reception illustrate the high degree of intimacy associated with it. Passing the privy chamber's threshold was obviously synthesized as passing into another, hierarchically more distinguished space, which was constituted and hence defined by an exclusive propinquity to the king's physical presence. As Starkey astutely sums up, this very 'nearness – intimacy – was the key to the Privy Chamber's importance'.[80] In contrast to his father's custom, Henry VIII kept his courtiers and political allies close, both in a figurative and in a literal sense. However, this intimacy – in which spatial proximity played an integral part – could be a mixed blessing. The king, wishing to expand his power and to secure his dynastic succession, had put himself in an extremely difficult diplomatic position when he banned his first wife Catherine of Aragon, proceeded to marry Anne Boleyn and, subsequently, declared himself head of the Church of England by the Act of Supremacy in 1534. While Henry struggled to keep the upper hand in

diverse resulting diplomatic and military conflicts during the following years, factions distributed throughout the country and even at court fought over power and influence, each of them pursuing their own religious, political and personal agenda. In 1536 – the year the *Whitehall Mural* was commissioned – this contest reached its climax when Anne Boleyn miscarried and those members of the privy chamber who had supported the now deceased Catherine of Aragon saw their chance to replace the queen with Jane Seymour.[81] They conspired with their former adversary Cromwell, who thereupon helped Henry in his plot against Anne. This plot resulted in the well-known accusations of adultery, incest and high treason that ultimately led to the queen's execution on 2 May 1536. Two days prior to her beheading, her brother George Boleyn, gentleman of the privy chamber, Henry Norris, groom of the stool, and three other members of the privy chamber had already been executed, charged as Anne's alleged lovers and as conspirators against the Crown.[82]

Conclusion: The Commissioning of the Whitehall Mural as an Act of Spacing

In sum, I would like to propose the commission of the *Whitehall Mural* just a few months after these events and during one of the most dangerous military uprisings of Henry's reign – the so-called 'Pilgrimage of Grace' [83] – to be interpreted as a deliberate and purposeful act of spacing with the intention to alter the constitution of space inside the privy chamber at Whitehall Palace. By having named those members of the court most intimately connected to him 'gentlemen of the privy chamber' and by simultaneously giving them a considerable amount of political influence and power during the earlier years of his reign, the king had raised them closer to his own rank and thus 'rendered' the space of his privy chamber into their place to be in and to be synthesized with. Consequently, whenever the relationship between the sovereign and his courtiers turned sour, there was no other space within the palace where Henry would have been more exposed to the proximity of potential enemies and in which he was so often severely outnumbered. The installation of the mural, however, added numerous elements to the constitution of space within the privy chamber that changed the room's spatial setting in his favour.

First of all, it duplicated the body of the king by means of his portrait. Thus, it added the sovereign's presence permanently to the constitution of the privy chamber's space, but not on a symbolical level – like the 'chair of estate' in the presence chamber – but rather through his illusionistic but naturalistic likeness. Similarly, the portraits of Jane Seymour and of Henry's parents in their life-like and deceptive quality as described by van Mander might with hindsight be interpreted as a substitute for their actual physical presence; they could thereby be integrated into the constitution of space in the function of actual human beings. The painting's composition, especially the design of its architectural setting, clearly marked – as outlined above – a distinctive and definite place for the king outside its pictorial space. When Henry was actually present in the privy chamber and was – as is likely – positioned in front of the mural, Holbein's elaborate iconography with all its symbolic and illusionistic qualities would indeed have served as a kind of backdrop[84] that intensified the physical presence of the sovereign and, thus, his spatial impact within the privy chamber. In his absence, however, the non-figural centre of the painting illustrated the

spatial void caused by the lack of the sovereign's physique for which the plinth alone could not function as a surrogate. To the contrary, its dominating position in the middle of the triumphant composition and the verses in praise of the sovereign's grandeur rather explicitly pointed out that Henry was *not* there. This impression still lingers in the mural's small-scale copy and remains perceivable even for the contemporary beholder; a fact that prompted the above-mentioned debate about the accuracy of van Leemput's account of Holbein's work.

Beyond the fact that the *Whitehall Mural* enhanced Henry's presence and definitely marked his place within the privy chamber, it first and foremost created its own virtual space and added it to the room's actual space. By repeating in an illusionistic way architectural elements of the chamber's interior such as the panelling while simultaneously integrating them into an improbable imaginary architecture that is open to the skies, Holbein created a spatial hybridity within the painting. This hybridity between real and fantastic architecture made it possible to link the virtual, utopian space inside the painting – which was constituted by the members of the royal family as a timeless triumphal entity and created a place of power and authority, which never existed as such in the real world – with the actual space inside the privy chamber. This enabled Henry to be synthesized by the beholder as part of the mural's pictorial space while at the same time every other person present would have been excluded as a constituent of this same space. The mural thus established two hierarchically tiered spaces, 'rendering' one of them exclusively as Henry's own and thereby creating two different spaces in one place. The space within the painting was, much more than that of the privy chamber, strictly off limits: only members of the royal family – in fact, only members of the royal Tudor family descending from the four people depicted in the painting – could be allowed access, which decidedly eliminated Henry's daughters Mary and Elizabeth. The only descendant fit to take the king's place in the context of the mural would in fact have been Edward; since he was the only child of Henry and Jane, he represented Henry's only legitimate male heir within the iconology of the painting. Remigius van Leemput obviously thought along the same lines when he created another copy of the *Whitehall Mural* in which he placed a portrait of Edward directly in front of the plinth (fig. 12).

Fig. 12 Remigius van Leemput, *Copy of the Whitehall Mural with Edward VI*, Petworth House, 1669.

In conclusion, I suggest that one of the main functions of the *Whitehall Mural* – apart from its clear function as a triumphal orchestration of the king as well as a celebration of the Tudor dynasty – was to generate a shift in the privy chamber's spatial hierarchy in Henry VIII's favour. It meant to create both a select place and a distinctly rendered space in which only the king was a constituent element. Holbein's painting can therefore be read as an expression of Henry's desire for a more distant relationship with his courtiers – in particular with the gentlemen of the privy chamber. This wish is reflected even more explicitly in Henry's subsequent acts of spacing at Whitehall Palace: as Simon Thurley has established for the years after 1540, the king – as a consequence of his privy lodgings being frequented by more and more courtiers – did in fact 'retreat once more, this time into a newly set up and extended secret lodgings' during the last decade of his reign since his privy lodgings were 'hardly "privy" any longer'.[85] Consequently, I question the argument suggested by Lloyd and Thurley that

> perhaps because of the power of the mural that in the 1540s there appears to have been a gradual opening up of the privy chamber at Whitehall. The room was increasingly used in preference to the presence chamber for important court occasions, and Henry began to adopt rooms in the privy gallery beyond as his private domain.[86]

Rather than being the cause of this process of opening up a private space, I would argue that Holbein's monumental wall painting was a deliberate and intentional reaction to it, marking one of Henry's steps towards a spatial retreat from his court within Whitehall Palace.

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Illustrations

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[1] For an extensive and meticulously referenced building history, for archaeological details and historical background, see Thurley 1993; Thurley 1999 and Thurley 2008.

[2] Thurley 1993, pp. 48–51. Thurley 1999, p. 39. Thurley 2008, p. 25.

[3] See Thurley 1999, p. 37. Thurley cites the *Calendar of Letters, Documents and State Papers relating to Negotiations between England and Spain preserved in the Archives at Simancas and elsewhere*, ed. Bergenroth, de Goyangos, Mattingly and Tyler 1862–1965 for the years 1527–1533, nr. 664. Insertions in brackets are by Thurley.

[4] Thurley 1999, p. 37.

[5] Thurley 1993, p. 54.

[6] Thurley 1993, p. 54.

[7] Waldstein 1981, p. 43; see also Thurley 1999, p. 48.

[8] See Thurley 1999, pp. 82–90.

[9] PROTOTYPUM IUSTAE MAGNITUDINIS IPSO OPERE TECTORIO/FECIT HOLBENIUS IUBENTE HENRICO VIII./ ECTYPUM A REMIGIO VAN LEEMPUT BREVIORI TABELLA/DESCRIBI VOLVIT CAROLUS II: M.B.F.E.H.R. A°DNI MDCLXVII.

[10] Translation in Foister et al. 2006, p. 94.

[11] Strong 1967, pp. 49–50.

[12] Strong 1967, p. 50. Strong's translation is based on Patin's *Quatre Rélations Historiques*, 1673, pp. 211–12.

[13] Foister 1981. For an overview of the subject see Buck 1997, pp. 104–06.

[14] Waldstein 1981, p. 57: 'In another room Henry VII and VIII and their wives are painted. […] The following lines can be read here: *Si iuvat Heroum claras vidisse figuras, Specta has: maiores nulla tabella tulit. Certamen magnum, lis, quaestio magna: paterne Filius an vincat, vicit uterque quidem? Ipse suos hostes patriyeque incendia soepe Sustulit, et pacem civibus usque dedit; Filius ad maiora quidem prognatus, ab aulis Submovet indignos, sustituitque probos. Verte virtuti Paparum audacia cessit, Henrico octavo sceptra gerente manu. Reddita rilligio est isto regnante, Delque Dogmata ceperunt esse in honore suo.'* See also Thurley 1999, p. 48 and Buck 1997, p. 105.

[15] Buck 1997, p. 120.

[16] For a detailed account of the cartoon, see Buck 1997, pp. 109–19.

[17] Thurley 1993, p. 211.

[18] Foister 2004, pp. 183–90. See also Buck 1997, pp. 189–90 and Brooke 2003, p. 29.

[19] See, for example, Brooke 2003, p. 9 and Sharpe 2009, p. 136. Roy Strong rightly linked Henry's posture to the *St. George* by Donatello (c.1420, executed for the exterior of Orsanmichele in Florence) and to several other works of Italian Renaissance sculpture which represent 'knightly triumph'; Strong 1967, 42.

[20] This change of design has also been the subject of some debate; see, for example, Buck 1997, pp. 193–95; Foister et al. 2006, p. 94 and Brooke 2003, pp. 32–35.

[21] For extensive research on the portrait's history of reception and on its copies, see Brooke and Crombie 2003.

[22] Foister 2004, pp. 182–84. Sharpe 2009, pp. 135–37. String 2008, pp. 29–39.

[23] Sharpe 2009, p. 136 and Brooke 2003, pp. 30–34.

[24] Buck 1997, pp. 167–78.

[25] Buck 1997, pp. 192–93.

[26] Lloyd and Thurley 1990, p. 29.

[27] Xanthe Brooke comes to the same conclusion; see Brooke 2003. p. 34.

[28] Van Mander 1969, f. 222r.

[29] Lloyd and Thurley 1990, p. 29. Strong 1967, p. 39 first mentions the translation in this context.

[30] String 2013, pp. 134–35.

[31] '*Aengaende de wercken van Holbeen voor den Coningh ghedaen, hy heeft seer uytnemende ghemaeckt t'conterfeytsel van den Coning Henrick de achste ten voeten uyt, so groot als t'leven, soo gheheel levendigh, dat een yeder wie't siet verschrickt: want het schijnt dat het leeft, en datmen t'hooft en alle de leden natuerlijck siet bewegen en roeren. Dit is noch te sien te Withal, een werck dat zijn Meester prijst, en ghetuyght eenen anderen Apelles te zijn gheweest'*. [Concerning the works Holbein created for the king, he made a very extraordinary portrait of King Henry the Eighth, ten feet high, life-sized, so entirely animate that everyone looking at it is startled: because it seems to be alive, and that you can see the head and limbs move and stir naturally. It can still be seen at Whitehall, a work praising its master and testifying on him having been a second Apelles]; van Mander 1969, f. 222r. Translated from the Dutch by the author, a similar translation can be found in String 2013, p. 135.

[32] Foister and Rawlinson also pointed out the likely illusionistic effect of the mural in combination with the rest of the – maybe even complementarily designed – interior. See Foister 2004, pp. 181–82; Rawlinson 2013, p. 106.

[33] Rawlinson 2013, p. 106.

[34] Rawlinson 2013, p. 107. Rawlinson remarks that Ganz had first recognized Holbein's use of Bramante's design in 1950. He also disagrees that 'the setting is more than "closely copied" from it' [as Starkey and Grosvenor 2007 suggested]; rather he suggests that Holbein 'selectively quotes from and completely recasts Bramante's design'.

[35] Rawlinson 2013, pp. 108–09.

[36] Sharpe 2009, p. 136.

[37] See also Buck 1997, pp. 192–93.

[38] Strong 1967, p. 50–52. Foister 2004, p. 180.

[39] *The Diary of John Evel*yn, 11 February 1656 is partly quoted in Thurley 1999, p. 48.

[40] Thurley 1999. He documents his findings on p. 48.

[41] Regarding the architectural history of Whitehall Palace, I have mainly drawn on Thurley 1993 and Thurley 1999.

[42] Thurley 1993, p. 136.

[43] Thurley 1993, p. 53.

[44] Starkey 1987, pp. 73–74. Thurley 1993, pp. 135–43. Buck 1997, pp. 107–08.

[45] Thurley 1993, p. 136 and plan 13.

[46] Thurley 1999, p. 49.

[47] Foister 2004, p. 180.

[48] Foister 2004, p. 181. Thurley 1993, p. 107. Thurley quotes a letter from John Wallop to Henry VIII in which he describes Francis I's gallery in Fontainebleau as 'all antique of suche stuff as the said modon maketh your majesties chemenyes'.

[49] Foister 2004, p. 181.

[50] Foister 2004, p. 180.

[51] Rowlands 1993, I, p. 177.

[52] *Ordinances*, p. 157 (Cap. 67).

[53] Brooke 2003, p. 26. Starkey 1987, p. 73.

[54] Thurley, for example, quotes the report of the Duke of Najera's visit to Henry VIII at Whitehall in 1544: 'Before the Duke arrived at the King's chamber he passed through three saloons, hung with tapestry, in the second of which [the watching chamber] were stationed in order on either side the King's bodyguard, dressed in habits of red, and holding halberds. In the third saloon [the presence chamber] were nobles, knights and gentlemen, and here was a canopy made of rich figured brocade, with a chair of the same material [...] here the brother of the Queen and other noblemen entertained the Duke for a quarter of an hour until it was announced that we should enter the chamber of the King [the privy chamber]. Don Rodrigo de Mendoza and Tello de Guzman entered with him and no one else, nor did they permit us even to see the King.' Thurley 1993, pp. 127–28. Explanatory brackets by Thurley.

[55] Thurley 1993, p. 122, cites: 'no manner of whatsoever degree he be of so hardye to come nighe the kings chayre nor stand under the clothe of estate.'; see also Brooke 2003, p. 26.

[56] Foister 2004, p. 180.

[57] Thurley 1999, p. 49.

[58] Strong 1967, p. 44

[59] Lloyd and Thurley 1990, p. 29.

[60] String 2008, pp. 29–30. Rawlinson 2013, p. 107.

[61] Löw 2001, p. 152. See also Löw 2008, which is the English-language summary of her theories. I adopt her translations for the terminology used in this essay.

[62] Löw 2001, pp. 153–57.

[63] Löw 2001, p. 153.

[64] Löw 2001, p. 153.

[65] Löw 2001, pp. 153–54.

[66] Löw 2001, pp. 158–61.

[67] Löw 2001, p. 158.

[68] Thurley 1999, p. 47.

[69] Thurley 1999, p. 47.

[70] Löw 2001, p. 159.

[71] Löw 2001, pp. 198–203.

[72] Löw 2001, p. 199.

[73] Löw 2008, p. 42.

[74] Buck 1997, p. 108.

[75] As David Starkey describes it: 'The servants of the privy chamber (the groom of the stool and half a dozen other grooms) were of distinctly lower status than the king, different from the premier valet and the valets in France or the sommelier de corps and his servants in Burgundy. This model granted more privacy, like the similar circumstances in the household of the Italian princelings, and therefore was also a way to establish and keep distance'. Starkey 1987, p. 74.

[76] See Starkey 1987, pp. 81–82.

[77] Starkey 1987, 1977.

[78] Thurley 1993, p. 137.

[79] Thurley 1993, p. 127, brackets by Thurley.

[80] Starkey 1987, p. 71. By the term 'Privy Chamber', Starkey is mainly referring to the members of the Privy Chamber, not to the chamber itself.

[81] The motivations and correlations of the Boleyn Affair are of course still a matter of debate. In my account, I draw on David Starkey's analysis; see Starkey 1987, pp. 110–15.

[82] Francis Weston (gentleman of the privy chamber), William Brereton (groom of the privy chamber) and Mark Smeaton (groom of the privy chamber).

[83] To a certain extent, this uprising can also be interpreted as a result of the ongoing intrigues at court. In its aftermath three further gentlemen of the privy chamber were executed, namely Edward Neville (gentleman of the privy chamber), Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter (gentleman of the privy chamber) and Nicholas Carew (gentleman of the privy chamber and knight of the garter); see Starkey 1987. p. 112.

[84] As was proposed by Lloyd and Thurley 1990, p. 29.

[85] Thurley 1993, pp. 137–38. Comparable observations can also be made for Hampton Court, see Thurley 1993, pp. 51–56, in particular p. 52.

[86] Lloyd and Thurley 1990, p. 29.

Mary Stuart's Inner Chamber at Holyrood:

An Embodiment of Power

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In August 1561, Mary Queen of Scots sailed to Scotland to assume her personal reign, following the death of her husband François II (fig. 1). She had become Scotland's monarch within a week of her birth in December 1542, with the sudden death of her father James V.[1] Amidst fears of possible kidnap by England, she was sent to France in 1548.[2] There, she was brought up at the Valois court, as the betrothed of the dauphin. Treated as 'our very own daughter', Henri II specified that Mary should be given precedence over all of his children apart from the dauphin, in recognition of her crowned status (fig. 2).[3] In 1554, it was determined that she and the dauphin should officially travel with the court during its frequent progresses,[4] thus completing her courtly education for becoming future dauphiness of France. Already, her maternal uncle Cardinal Charles de Guise-Lorraine oversaw her statecraft training to serve as Stewart monarch.[5] In addition, the many hours Henri II spent in conversation with the young Mary would have also shaped her education and her understanding of monarchy.

Fig. 1 Atelier of François Clouet, 'Double Portrait of François II and Mary Stuart in Coronation Dress', Miniature in the *Hours of Catherine de Médici*, N. a. lat. 82 f. 154v, 1559, watercolour on vellum, 10 x 6.8 cm.

Fig. 2 François Clouet, *Portrait of Mary Stuart*, 1555, drawing on paper, 31.4 x 21.4 cm, Wrocław, National Ossoliński Institute, inv. 8695.

Mary and François were married on 24 April 1558 at Notre Dame Cathedral. Just over a year later, she became queen of France upon Henri II's death in July 1559 (fig. 3). Yet, before the end of that year, Scottish noble magnates overthrew her regent (and mother), Marie de Guise-Lorraine, and then ran Scotland as a semi-republic. Many Scots considered that Mary was unlikely ever to return from France to govern Scotland. Styling themselves 'the State of Scotland', these rebels even undertook treaty negotiations with England.[6] Then, in December 1560, François II died. Barely eighteen, Mary decided to return to Scotland and rule in her own name.

Fig. 3 *The Arms of Mary Stuart*, c.1559, drawing on paper, 30 x 18 cm, Ms. Anglais 129.

Arriving back in Scotland, Mary quickly had to gain control of her kingdom and of her subjects' obedience and loyalty. As Queen of Scots, Mary's title reflected the fact that the Stewarts were a *primus-inter-pares* dynasty: she would have to rule her over-mighty magnates as a first-among-equals sovereign. Modern historiography is mixed in its appreciation of the success of Mary's personal reign. Jenny Wormald deemed it a failure,[7] though more recent works point to Mary's successes. John Guy praises her for 'holding together a fairly unstable kingdom' for as long as she did and highlights the 'theatre of power' that she created.[8] Overall, Michael Lynch praises her political and religious policies.[9] He also challenges any critics to answer why a majority of the nobles, most of whom had rebelled against her regent, then fought for Mary during the civil war years following her forced abdication in 1567.[10] In fact, as some indication of the strength of the sustained support for Mary, the civil war (1567–1573) continued for as long as had lasted her personal reign before then.

This chapter sets out how Mary employed particular aspects of Valois palace planning, furnishing and court ceremonial as possible solutions for the great challenges she faced on her return to Scotland. It will explore how she utilized 'architecture as politics', having Holyrood serve as an embodiment of power to herald her sovereign authority as the Queen of Scots (fig. 4). It will consider why she drew upon Holyrood's ancient representations, as a way to establish her personal reign immediately and effectively. The chapter will also examine why she made changes to established room usage at Holyrood and look at the opportunities this afforded her: the expression of her monarchical power in Holyrood's inner chamber and its processional route through the outer chamber. For this use of architecture as politics, the royal interior and its ceremonial spaces presented great scope for portrayal of the monarchical image and for the projection of sovereign authority. Investigating her use of interior space, this chapter will present how Mary created her Holyrood inner chamber to be the setting for the performance of ceremonial ritual. Finally, it will analyse how she fashioned this room and the particular furnishings deployed for the portrayal of her image as Stewart monarch.

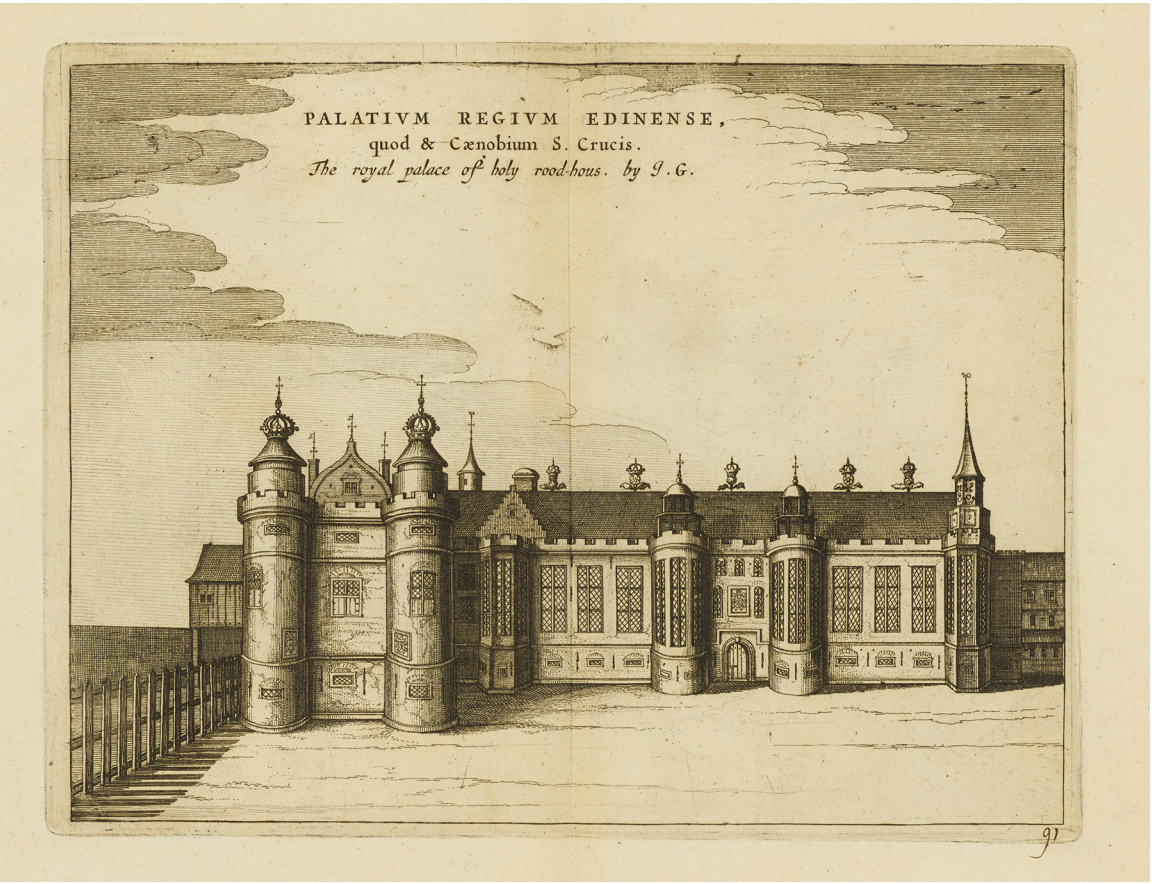


Fig. 4 James Gordon Rothiemay, 'West front of Holyrood Palace' from *La Galérie Agréable du Monde*, 1729.

Holyrood Palace as a 'Stewart Dynastic Emblem'

James IV chose the site of the Augustinian abbey, with its important twelfth-century origins, to build his new palace for Edinburgh as capital (fig. 5). Work began at the time of preparations for the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between Scotland and England, the terms of which arranged the marriage of James IV with Henry VII's elder daughter Margaret.[11] Built as the Stewart dynastic emblem, the palace thus came to symbolize this wedding's union of the recently created Tudor dynasty with the more ancient house of Stewart. Founded in 1371, the Stewarts were Europe's second oldest dynasty. However, Holyrood Palace was only built at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

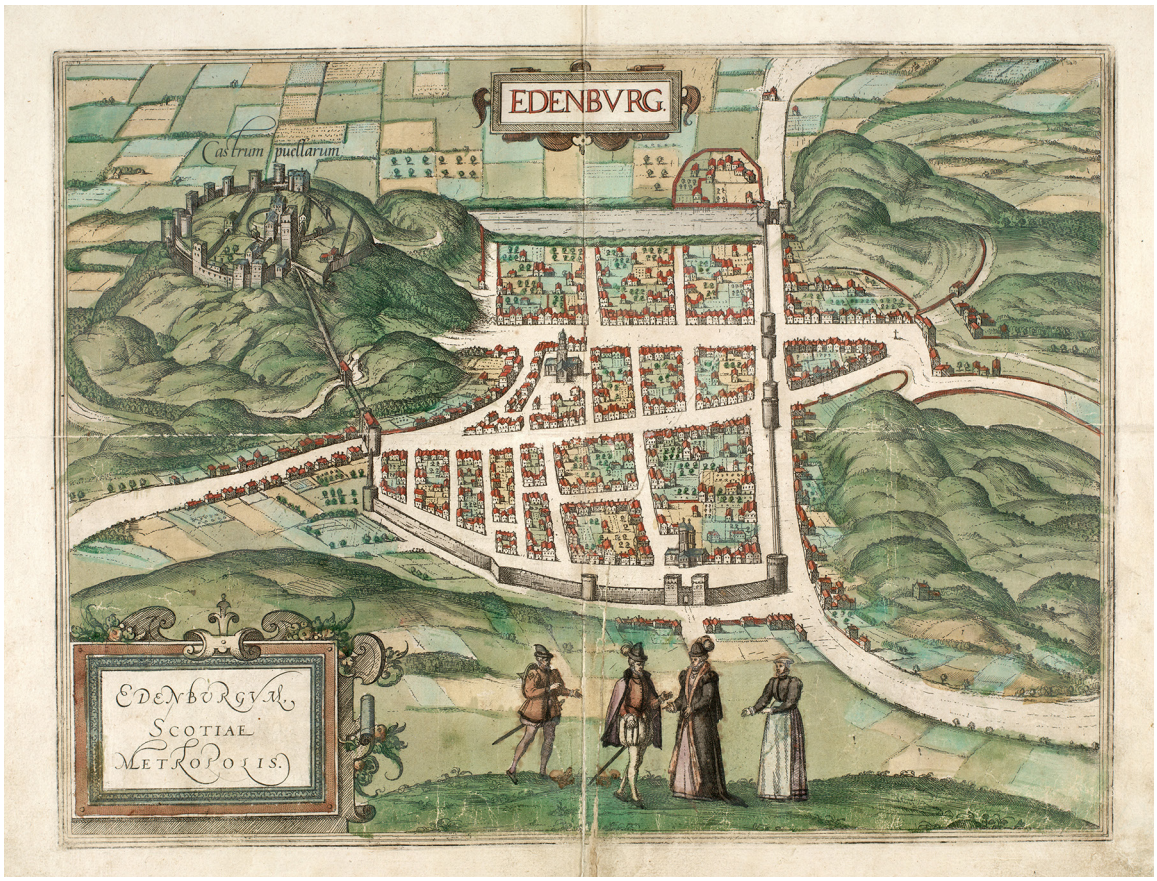


Fig. 5 Georg Braun & Franz Hogenberg, 1582, *Edenburgum, Scotiae Metropolis*, EMS.s.653.

Having the contemporary name of 'the palice beside the Abbay of the Holy Croce',[12] Holyrood Palace served to link the Stewart dynasty even further back to the eleventh-century origins of the Canmore dynasty, from whom it directly descended. The palace's contemporary name underscored its link to the Augustinian abbey, established in 1128 by David I (fig. 6). The Canmore dynasty had been founded by his parents, Malcolm III and St. Margaret of Wessex. Thus, tradition connected the Stewarts to the pre-Conquest Anglo-Saxon kings, since Margaret was the great-

niece of Edward the Confessor (d.1066).[13] Thereby the ancestry of the house of Stewart pre-dated both England's Plantagenet line and the 1066 Norman Conquest.

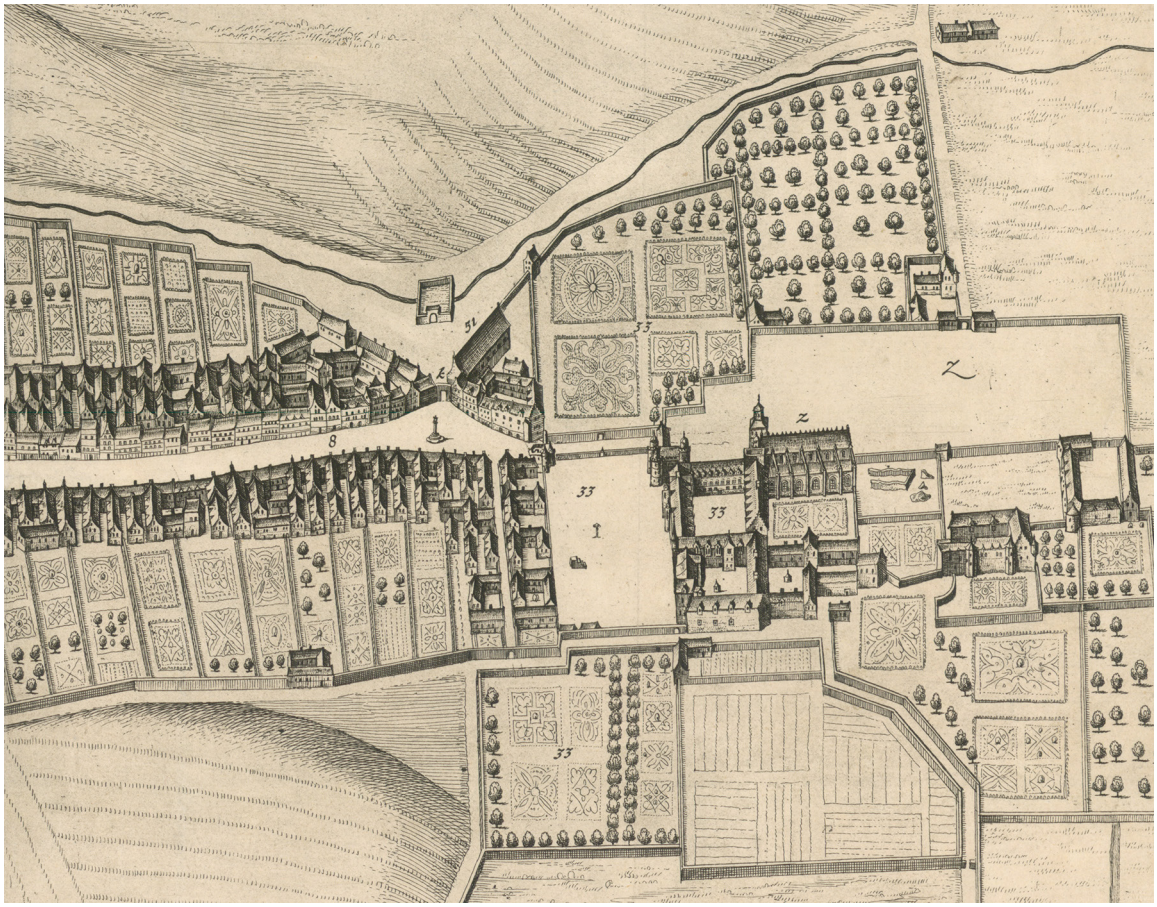


Fig. 6 James Gordon Rothiemay, *Bird's Eye View of Holyrood Palace from the South*, c.1647.

The royal lodgings that James IV created for his new Holyrood Palace followed the traditional Stewart arrangement, which comprised three principal rooms. This sequence of rooms consisted of the king's hall, the great chamber (or presence chamber) and the bedchamber, which was the innermost room within the public suite of the palace.[14] Previously, in 1364, when commissioning new royal accommodation at the Old Louvre upon his succession, Charles V created what was then a new type of royal lodgings for monarch and consort. Charles designed these new lodgings to facilitate ceremonial and to project the majesty and power of Valois monarchs.[15] Charles V's configuration of three principal rooms was also followed by other European dynasties such as the Tudors and Habsburgs. There is some evidence to suggest that the Stewarts may also have followed Charles V's prototype of three principal rooms from the early decades after the foundation of the Stewart dynasty.[16]

By the late fifteenth century, the number of rooms in royal lodgings for many dynasties began to increase from this original configuration of three principal rooms and continued to in-

crease even further over the course of the sixteenth century. They included adaptations for spatiality and ceremonial.[17] However, the Stewarts built and re-fashioned their palaces in this same three-room configuration during the sixteenth century.[18] There is evidence for such continuation in James V's building programme at Linlithgow Palace that was carried out in the mid-1530s. Construction began in 1539 for James's new palace at Stirling Castle, which continued this traditional Stewart three-room configuration. James V's Stirling Palace would be the last royal building work for the sixteenth century, apart from James VI's Chapel Royal, which was built at Stirling in 1594.[19]

Mary's Reinstatement of Holyrood as the Stewart Dynastic Emblem

When Mary returned to Scotland on 19 August 1561, that date marked the first time that Holyrood housed the Stewart monarch in two decades. Though becoming Scotland's monarch within a week of her birth in December 1542, Mary instead resided at her birthplace, Linlithgow Palace. On becoming Regent of Scotland in January 1543, the Earl of Arran took up residence at Holyrood.[20] Later that year, fearing threat of English kidnap, Mary and her mother moved to the greater safety of Stirling Castle.[21] In an attempt to annex Scotland by repeated invasions in the decade following James V's death, English armed forces inflicted considerable damage in May 1544 to Holyrood's palace, abbey and to the Stewart mausoleum (fig. 7).[22]

Fig. 7 Richard Lee, *Edinburgh as Depicted in the So-called Spy Map*, c.1544, Cotton Augustus I.ii, f. 56.

After that time, contemporary sources make no further mention of James V's state rooms of the west wing; neither do they attest to the extent of damage to the palace that resulted from the conflagration of the attack.[23] The thick stonewalls of the palace's great tower might have withstood better the substantial damage by fire, particularly on the upper floors. Therefore, after seizing the regency from Arran in 1554, Marie de Guise-Lorraine then returned to reside on the tower's second floor in the lodgings she had previously occupied as queen consort.[24]

By March 1560, Queen Marie fled from Holyrood, having been overthrown as Regent of Scotland by rebel magnates in October 1559.[25] No longer a royal residence, Holyrood's status as the Stewart dynastic emblem was further diluted since, at times, Arran would occupy Holyrood Palace, claiming his rights as second person of the realm through his distant Stewart descent. Indeed, if Arran coveted the crown for himself, his residence at Holyrood may have advantageously highlighted his Stewart blood. One of his earliest occupations was in April 1560 during the rebels' siege of Leith, the seaport town outside Edinburgh. In a further subversion of the former status of Stewart sovereignty, the English spy Thomas Randolph also moved into Holyrood during that time. Writing dispatches from Holyrood to Elizabeth I's chief minister William Cecil, Randolph reported on the rebels' progress against the overthrown Stewart Regent, Marie de Guise-Lorraine.[26]

Though built by James IV as the Stewart dynastic emblem, in less than forty years Holyrood had lost all its crowned residents. Moreover, the west wing's disappearance from contemporary accounts strongly suggests that the English army's 1544 torching put an end to James V's state rooms. By 1560, Holyrood would become the headquarters for rebel activity and for English intelligence. Accommodated at Holyrood, rebels would behave as rulers over a quasi-republic, when they entered into treaty negotiations with England as 'the State of Scotland'.[27]

On her 19 August 1561 arrival in Scotland, Mary had to seize control without delay and attain the obedience and loyalty of these rebel magnates. She immediately established Holyrood to serve as her personal residence and the seat of her court and government. Significantly, she filled her first days back in Scotland with a programme that underscored her strategic reinstatement of Holyrood in its governmental role and as the Stewart dynastic emblem. Within her first week, Mary conducted audiences on state matters at Holyrood. There, she gave audience to Thomas Randolph, in his new role as Elizabeth I's ambassador, and even to the Calvinist religious reformer, John Knox, whom Mary sharply rebuked about his radical views that subjects had no need to obey a female monarch.[28] By the first week of September, she also had formed her Privy Council, deliberately choosing those same Privy Council members who had overthrown her mother and had run Scotland as a semi-republic.[29] To symbolize her right to rule, Mary used the monumentality and *memoriae* of Holyrood as the embodiment of her power as the Stewart monarch (fig. 8).

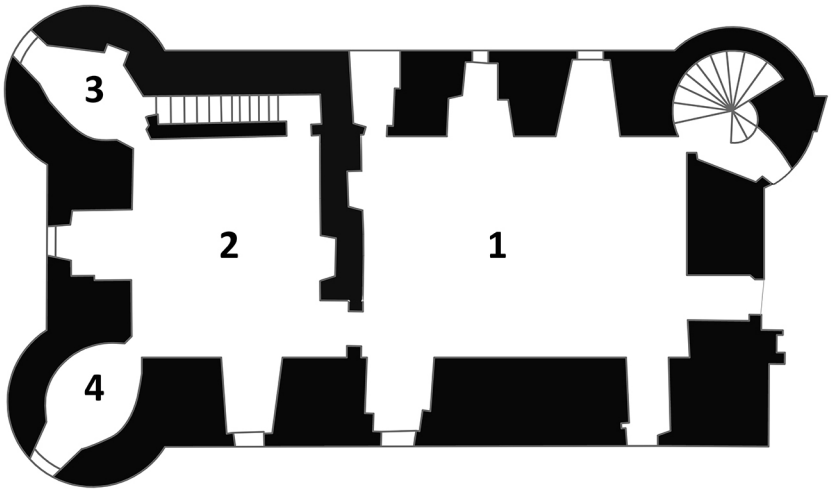
Fig. 8 Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh in its present state, photo: Greg Balfour Evans.

Mary's Holyrood: Room Planning and Ceremonial Space

Contemporary sources help with the modern day re-construction of the planning and room use in Mary's Holyrood lodgings. Scrutiny of dispatches by Thomas Randolph provides an interpretation of Mary's actual room usage at Holyrood. In his diplomatic writings to Elizabeth I's chief minister, William Cecil, occasional snippets act as clues for the particular roles Mary had each of these Holyrood rooms perform. Randolph mentioned several meetings taking place in Mary's bedchamber during which he was present. His dispatches show that she used this room both as an audience chamber and as the room in which she held her *conseils* with chief advisors,[30] thereby confirming that she introduced such Valois practice in Scotland. When writing about the December 1562 audience granted him at Holyrood, John Knox also stated that this audience took place in Mary's bedchamber.[31] In the early modern period, physical proximity to the monarch was much sought after and, therefore, Mary's invitation to this innermost room bestowed the greatest honour on the person received therein.

Mary understood the Valois' ceremonial use of the monarch's bedchamber.[32] When she had arrived in France in 1548, Henri II arranged for her to live at the palace of St. Germain-en-Laye. In recognition of her crowned status, Henri allowed Mary to occupy the apartment directly above his own lodgings that were situated on the west wing's second floor.[33] Her St. Germain rooms were laid out identically, if marginally smaller, to those of the king immediately below. As a

result, Mary would have observed at first hand the important role performed by the Valois monarch's bedchamber. The close reading of Randolph's dispatches thus allows for the comparison of Mary's Holyrood lodgings with those she had occupied at the Valois court up to the time of her marriage to the dauphin. Indeed, the room distribution of her St. Germain lodgings was also similar to her Holyrood lodgings (fig. 9).[34]



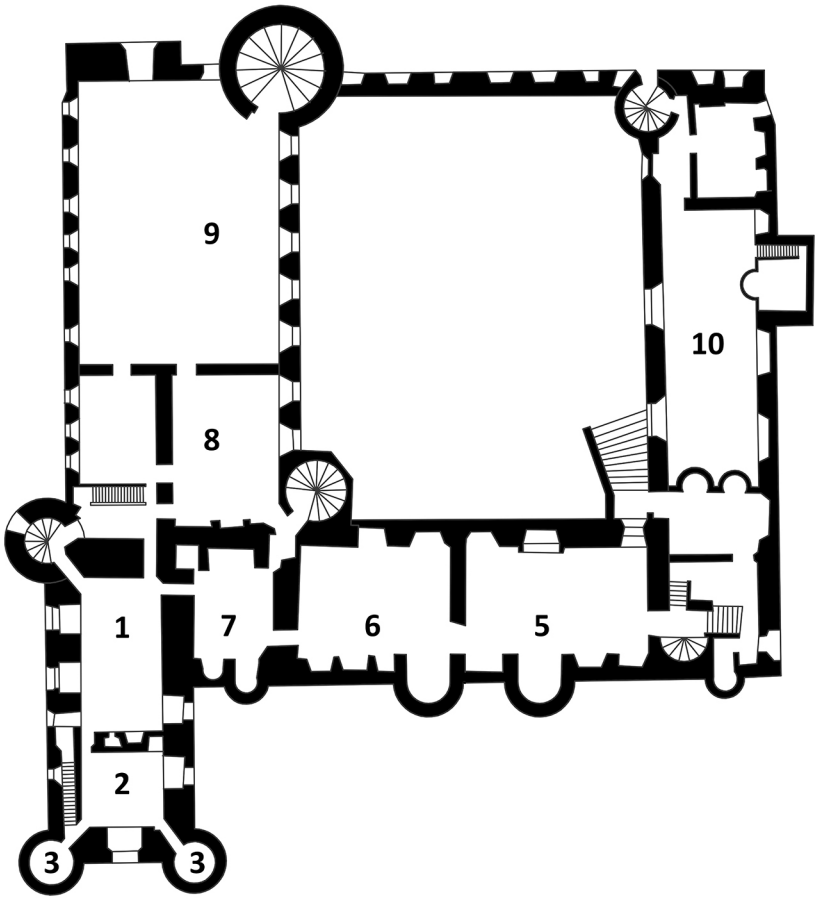
1. Outer chamber, *salle*
2. Inner chamber, bedchamber
3. Cabinet
4. Garderobe (dressing room)

Fig. 9 *Plan of Mary's Apartments on the Second Floor of the Great Tower at Holyrood Palace, 2016 [1663].*

The monarch's bedchamber symbolized his daily life, with the room's bed of estate representing his daily arising and retiring.[35] Of all the rooms in royal palaces, this room constituted the greatest physical representation of the monarch's power and the palace's innermost *sanctum*. Mary chose this room to serve as her audience chamber and as the setting for the ritual of counsel when privy councillors came for consultation. Simon Thurley emphasizes that an important function of this room was to house the monarch's bed of estate and, as Hugh Murray Bailey underscores, the monarch's bed of estate equated to a throne in this period.[36] Accordingly, by moving the location of her Holyrood audience chamber, Mary incorporated these important monarchical forms of representation into her audience chamber as the embodiment of her power and right to rule.

The traditional location of the Stewart audience chamber had been the room immediately preceding the monarch's bedchamber (fig. 10).[37] This change of location for her audience chamber provided Mary with further opportunities to present the embodiment of her monarchical power. Within her Holyrood bedchamber, she was able to create a special ceremonial space, which became the most sacred spot within the monarch's innermost *sanctum*. Contemporary

source material shows that Mary imitated the Valois' power-enhancing arrangement of furniture of estate in her Holyrood bedchamber. Accordingly, she brought together the important symbols of power, i.e. fireplace, bed of estate and chair of estate, to create an appropriate composition as backdrop for her audience (fig. 11). With the help of cloth-of-gold segments placed on the floor around her bed, she designated this sacrosanct area within her bedchamber.[38]



1. Tower outer chamber
2. Tower inner chamber
3. Corner Turrets
5. Outer chamber, west wing (Guard/King's Hall)
6. Mid-chamber, west wing (Presence Chamber)
7. Inner chamber, west wing (Wardobe)
8. North Chamber
9. Council Chamber
10. Chapel

Fig. 10 *Plan of James V's State Apartments on the First Floor of the Palace Block at Holyrood, 2016 [1663].*

Fig. 11 After George M. Greig, *Queen Mary's Bedchamber*, 1862–63, lithograph.

Mary's Holyrood bedchamber constituted the culmination of the processional route within the palace. By changing her Holyrood room usage, Mary also altered the processional route that led to her audience chamber, thereby providing further opportunities to present the physical reminders of her monarchical power. Monique Chatenet identifies markers along such a processional route and emphasizes that, not merely being an architectural or furnishing element, each of these markers constituted a representation of monarchical authority.[39] By increasing the bedchamber's role and extending the processional route, Mary further heightened the honour for those being received in this sacrosanct room at Holyrood. Along the processional route, Mary's honoured guest would mount the 'great turngreis' stairs up to the second floor and then pass through the doorway leading to her royal lodgings, before entering the outer chamber or *salle*. The processional route through this outer chamber was punctuated with further architectural and furnishing markers. Positioned at the room's far end, the fireplace symbolized the monarch's authority. Overhanging the fireplace was Mary's cloth of state; as an additional symbol of authority, her chair of estate was placed in front of the fireplace.[40]

This outer chamber served as the setting for Mary's daily dining in public and her frequent courtly evenings of dancing, dice and cards at which large numbers of courtiers would be present (fig. 12).[41] Mary's Holyrood changes allowed this room to perform an additional important role: her outer chamber also served as her Stewart portrait gallery, further embodying her dynastic

credentials on this important processional route.[42] Portrayed on the ceiling was the Stewart dynasty's unbroken and undisputed line of succession. Panels depicted the monograms of James I through to James V and their respective consorts, with each monogram surmounted by the closed imperial Stewart crown. Shortly before Mary's marriage to the future François II, ceiling panels had been added to display the monograms and arms of Henri II and of the dauphin, along with a central lozenge with the arms of the house of Guise-Lorraine, Mary's maternal line.[43]

Fig. 12 *Mary Queen of Scots*, sixteenth century, after an engraving by Franz Huys, NPG D13137.

This magnificent ceiling crowned the room, both literally and figuratively. On the ceiling, the imperial crown surmounting each Stewart monarch reiterated Mary's own status as the anointed Stewart monarch. On their processional way to her bedchamber for audience, those honoured guests must first pass under this ceiling, thus performing yet another figurative genuflection to the Stewart monarch in acknowledgement of her right to rule. While the guest received great honour by the invitation into her Holyrood bedchamber, he in return had to offer respect to the Queen of Scots and to acknowledge her monarchical status, at repeated intervals, as he traversed this processional route. Under the Stewart portrait gallery in Holyrood's outer chamber, he was obliged to acknowledge the Stewart monarch's ancient and unbroken dynastic lineage as a further sign of her power. By embodying power in space, iconography and furnishing, Mary deliberately created a setting in which ceremonial and protocol allowed her, as a female *primus-inter-pares* monarch, to receive counsel and to honour chosen subjects or diplomats without compromising

her authority. In such surroundings, she could flatter courtiers and make herself accessible while maintaining a regal dignity.

Fashioning Mary's Holyrood Bedchamber

When Mary sailed from France, her flotilla to Scotland included more than a dozen cargo vessels laden with Valois furnishings.[44] A dowry settlement made shortly before her 1558 marriage to the dauphin provided that, if he should pre-decease her, Mary would be entitled to furnishings befitting a Queen of France (fig. 13).[45] At that time, it would seem almost unimaginable that the future François II would die less than three years later in December 1560, aged only sixteen.

When the cargo of Mary's Valois dowry furnishings was unpacked at Holyrood in November 1561, an inventory was taken that listed almost 200 items, with many of these having multiple sets.[46] Significantly, this November inventory shows that her selection reflected the monarchical policy she would set for her personal reign. Fourteen beds of estate and dozens upon dozens of tapestries with classical themes were packed alongside costumes for masques that were decorated with more than fifty metres of gold fringe.[47] In addition, this inventory listed great quantities of luxurious fabric, fringes and other ornamentation that were brought to Scotland, providing a well-stocked haberdashery for Holyrood's workrooms.[48] To carry out her many decorative campaigns, Mary also brought Valois artisans as part of her household to Scotland.[49] These Valois resources provided the necessary foundation for the manifestation of her embodiment of power.

Fig. 13 François Clouet, *Portrait of Mary Queen of Scots*, 1558, miniature on vellum, 8.3 x 5.7 cm.

Sixteenth-century Stewart inventories were not arranged by room unfortunately, but instead by furnishing category. However, a comparative study of the Scottish treasurer's accounts provides essential information including details of the specific pieces of furniture placed in Mary's Holyrood bedchamber. It also reveals that, throughout her personal reign, the colour palette used for decorative furnishings was always restricted to one of four particular colours.[50] Whenever a buffet of estate's ornamental cover ('burdclaith' or 'tapis de buffet') and chair of estate were made, a set of complementary seating furniture was also produced. All these pieces were made in the same colour, either in crimson, purple, black or green velvet.[51] The specific colour chosen related to a particular bed of estate, with the colour of velvet echoing the principal colour in the bed's hangings.[52] Such consistency, both for specific furniture and for the colour of velvet, indicates a methodical system for Mary's numerous decorative projects that were carried out over the course of her personal reign.

Having multiple sets of furniture in velvet of the same colour scheme allowed Mary to have furniture remain *in situ* at principal Stewart palaces. Even during the later years of the sixteenth century, furniture and tapestries would be constantly moved from palace to palace in reflection of a court's peripatetic nature.[53] However, Mary seems not to have followed this European practice. A study of the itinerary during her personal reign shows that visits by queen and court to the other principal Stewart palaces followed a restricted travel schedule, in comparison to those set out for other sixteenth-century Stewart monarchs.[54] The large number of her crimson velvet beds of estate strongly suggests that it was Mary's intention to have some furniture of estate and other furnishings remain permanently at principal palaces. Several marginal notes to the November 1561 inventory further confirm such a plan, such as the 'In Striueling' notation for 'crammosie veluot of heich cullour pafmendt [sic] with gold' bed of estate and its accompanying bright crimson velvet furnishings with gold lace and fringe.[55]

Convenience and savings in transport costs were not the only reason for such a practice. A comparison with a 1542 inventory of Valois furnishings held permanently at the Louvre,[56] can shed further light on the motives behind Mary's decorative projects. Sophie Schneebalg-Perelman stresses that particular furnishings listed on this 1542 inventory were meant to remain at the Louvre and she also points out that François I and the court were no longer in constant movement by that time ('le roi […] jusqu'ici nomade'). She further highlights that the furnishings listed in this inventory were created in deluxe fabrics with lavish embroidery and, most importantly, they were designed in a single colour and type of ornamentation. As in the case of Mary's sets of furnishings created in a single colour, the 1542 inventory shows groups of furniture of estate which maintained the same unity of colour and ornamentation, such as the entry for 'la chambre de veloux verd'.[57]

In addition, Schneebalg-Perelman underscores that many of the sets of furniture of estate included in this 1542 inventory had been made for special dynastic events. They might then be brought out again, for future state occasions of great dynastic importance.[58] Following a similar

pattern, Mary had decorative works carried out in Holyrood's workrooms in readiness for her marriage to her cousin, Lord Darnley, in July 1565.[59] Of great dynastic significance, Darnley was a grandson of Margaret Tudor, as well as being a Lennox Stewart through his descent from James II's eldest daughter Mary.[60] This marriage thus created double Stewart-Tudor lines for Mary's children and their descendants. Following the June 1566 birth of Prince James, Mary undertook a substantial decorative campaign ahead of the prince's December 1566 baptism celebrations,[61] taking full advantage of the opportunity to make a dynastic statement.

Conclusion

Mary drew upon Valois practice to find solutions for some of the enormous difficulties she faced on her return to rule over Scotland. Importantly, she deployed the resources of her Valois dowry furnishings and French court artisans to fashion her surroundings so that they embodied her power, reinforced her status as monarch and impressed upon advisors, diplomats and favoured courtiers how gracious the queen was to grant them an intimate audience in the innermost sanctum of her residence.

The great number of beds of estate Mary selected from Valois wardrobes was a clear indication of plans already underway, even before leaving France, to create a power centre in her Holyrood bedchamber. On her arrival in Scotland, she immediately set about rearranging Holyrood's room usage. She moved the audience chamber to the bedchamber and, thereby, changed the traditional Stewart location.[62] The arrangement of this room and the Valois beds of estate created a powerful backdrop for her Holyrood bedchamber, visually asserting her right to rule. The power centre of Mary's bedchamber was essential in gaining the involvement of rebel magnates to serve in her government and, thus, in gaining their obedience as loyal Crown servants. Rather than meeting solely in the council chamber on the first floor, advisors and other Privy Council members would come upstairs to consult in the monarch's bedchamber. In addition, as part of her monarchical policy to achieve amity with England, Mary included the English ambassador Thomas Randolph in her bedchamber *conseils* on a regular basis. All these aims were achieved by the creation of her new Valois style audience chamber. Mary successfully reinstated Holyrood as the Stewart dynastic emblem, having it immediately serve as her official residence and as the seat of her government and court. The substantial support Mary received from former rebels during the civil war years is some indication that her strategy to employ Valois elements and ceremonial practice in Scotland met with success, despite those former rebels' resentment of all things French.

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NLS, *Balcarres Papers*, Adv. MS, 33.6.2.

Online Publications

Barrow, Geoffrey Wallis Steuart, 'Malcolm III (d. 1093)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, Jan 2008 URL: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17859 (revised 23 Feb 2017), XXXVI, pp. 279–81.

Illustrations

Figs. 1 and 3 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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[1] James V died on 14 December 1542. The September 1543 coronation of Mary Queen of Scots took place in the Stewart Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle.

[2] For this period of increased English efforts to resurrect its old claims of overlordship over Scotland, see Merriman 2000, pp. 39–48.

[3] For an early example, see Teulet 1852, I, p. 234.

[4] For instance, see the appropriate letters from the Balcarres papers published in Wood 1923–25, II, pp. 137–38.

[5] Teulet 1852, I, p. 234. For an assessment of the quality of her political tutelage under the Cardinal de Guise-Lorraine, see also Loughlin 1991, 100, n. 214.

[6] Knox, 1735, edited by Keith 1844, II, p. 35.

[7] Wormald 1991, pp. 102–28.

[8] Guy 2004, pp. 10, 11, 180.

[9] For an assessment of Mary's personal reign, see Lynch 1991, pp. 210–18.

[10] Lynch 1988, pp. 7–8.

[11] Though the *Treasurer's Accounts* (TA) indicate a desire for work to begin as early as October 1501, it did not begin until the following autumn. See Dunbar 1998, pp. 56–57.

[12] 'Rood' or 'rude' was the Scottish term to denote the crucifixion cross of Christ, especially in the mediaeval period. See *TA* documents published in Dickson 1877, II, p. 498.

[13] For Malcolm III and the Canmore dynasty, see Barrow 2004, XXXVI, pp. 279–81.

[14] Drawing upon the account of the 1503 wedding celebrations at Holyrood written by the English herald, John Dunbar concludes that James IV built Holyrood in a courtyard configuration with three contiguous rooms; see Leland 1770, IV, in particular pp. 292–95, and Dunbar 1999, p. 142.

[15] For the planning of Charles V's new lodgings, see Whiteley 1994, pp. 47–63 and Whiteley 2014, p. 11. Prior to the later sixteenth century, 'lodgings' ('logis') was the term used rather than 'state apartments'.

[16] Dunbar's study of extant resources about palace planning shows some example of this three-room configuration, even at early Stewart palaces; see Dunbar 1999, in particular pp. 7–8, 83–87. In fact, a fair amount of political and cultural exchange with France took place at the time of the Stewart dynasty's 1371 founding: for example, a Scottish delegation was sent to France to renew the 1295 'Auld Alliance' with France. This renewed treaty was then signed by Charles V in June 1371; see Bonner 2002, pp. 13–14.

[17] For the substantial increase in room numbers at Tudor lodgings during Henry VIII's reign, see Thurley 1993, p. 136. Baillie 1967 covers the pre-Baroque period, despite the article's title.

[18] For James V's new work at Stirling, Wormald 2000, pp. 43–48 stated: '[W]hat was innovative […] was its layout of rooms. The entrance led directly into the guard, presence, bedchamber. […] James V designed his palace not for ease of access to the king but *inaccessibility*' [emphasis added]. Spangler 2009, pp. 49–62 based much of his article on Wormald and repeated the list and sequence of three rooms, further noting that this planning was 'innovative' and constituted a 'more controlled layout' and 'changed ceremonial'; […] 'James's new palace block design shifted away from the "easy-access" palace layout of his father's and grandfather's building.' John Dunbar's lifelong work on Stewart palaces culminated in his substantial 1999 publication. Unfortunately, Wormald's assessment did not include any mention of Dunbar's work; this omission was then repeated in Spangler's article. Though stating that design of James V's Stirling 'shifted away from the ''easy-access'' layout' of palaces of James IV and earlier Stewarts, this assessment overlooks the long Stewart tradition of this three-room configuration of the king's hall, great chamber, inner chamber (or bedchamber). See Wormald, 2000, pp. 43–48; Spangler 2009, pp. 49–62.

[19] For these three rooms, the *Accounts of the Masters of Works for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles* (*MWA*) regularly used this terminology: outer, mid and inner chamber; see Paton etc. 1967–1982, I, pp. 115–131, 227–228; II, p. 84 and pp. 239, 256, 259–274 and Dunbar 1999, pp. 13 and 51.

[20] The respective documents from the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (*APS*), pp. 411–12.

[21] Under the 1543 Greenwich treaties, Henry VIII's son Edward would marry Mary. However, the Scots feared that she would be quickly removed to England, despite treaty provisions guaranteeing that she be allowed to remain in Scotland until 1554. Mary and her mother moved to Stirling Castle in July 1543: *TA*, published in Dickson 1877, VIII, p. xlii.

[22] See the respective *Letters and Papers* from the reign of Henry VIII (*LP*) published in Brewer, 1920: May 1544, pp. 6–19, 296–310. For a political assessment of this period of 'rough wooing' and English attempts to claim suzerainty over Scotland (dating from the Scottish Wars of Independence and reignited during Edward I's reign), see Merriman 2000.

[23] The provision of a new door and lock for the tower in July 1544 is the only mention of any work at Holyrood for this period in the treasurer's accounts published in Dickson 1877, VIII, p. 305. No other repairs at Holyrood Palace are listed in the MWA records (published in Paton etc. 1967–1982), which are not completely preserved for the period 1543–1590.

[24] Payments were made in 1554 to purchase lead for the tower's new roof, since its previous lead cover had been stripped off by the English during earlier invasions. Beginning in 1554, minor works were carried out to enable use of the Abbey and of the Chapel Royal within the palace, some at Marie de Guise's personal expense. Expenditure mentioned for Holyrood in early 1558 could refer to the outer chamber's ceiling and to the depiction of the arms of Henri II and the dauphin, along with those of Marie de Guise Lorraine. See *TA* published in Dickson 1877, X, pp. 409–10.

[25] *TA* published in Dickson 1877, XI, p. 5.

[26] *CSP* Scot published in Bain etc. 1898–1969, I, pp. 354–57. At that time, Randolph used the code name 'Barnabie' for his intelligence work.

[27] Knox, 1735, published in Keith 1844, II, p. 35.

[28] *CSP* Scot published in Bain etc. 1898–1969, I, pp. 550–58. Knox 1949, II, pp. 13–19.

[29] See the documents of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (*RPC*): first series 1545–1625, published by Burton and Masson 1877–1898, I, pp. 157–58. See also Johnson, forthcoming.

[30] In Randolph's role as English resident ambassador to Scotland, Mary sometimes invited him to be present at her audiences with visiting foreign ambassadors, in addition to the frequent audiences she granted him concerning English matters. At times, she would also invite him to be present during consultative meetings with some of her Privy Council advisors. See also Adams 2002, p. 38.

[31] Knox 1949, II, p. 43. By tradition, the outer chamber of Mary's Holyrood lodgings has been designated as her audience chamber in guidebooks and visitors' accounts since the nineteenth century.

[32] Tommaseo 1838, I, pp. 512–13. Chatenet 2002, pp. 114–15, 120, 122.

[33] *FC* published in Wood 1923–1925, II, pp. 24–27.

[34] For the comparative floorplans, see Chatenet 2002, pp. 143–144 and 213 (fig. 102). Chatenet identifies the location of Mary's lodging from her extensive study of glazier accounts for St. Germain: Chatenet 2002, p. 213 (fig. 102). Chatenet 1988, pp. 24–25, and p. 30, n. 39. Mylne 1893, opposite p. 148. Chatenet 2002, p. 213 (fig. 102). At both palaces, these lodgings comprised two principal rooms and two smaller rooms. Similarly, the cabinet was located in a corner turret leading off the bedchamber at both palaces. The *garderobe's* internal placement at St. Germain was the only difference to its turret placement at Holyrood.

[35] Thurley 1993, p. 136. Chatenet 2002, pp. 113–15.

[36] Thurley 1993, p. 140. Baillie 1967. For a comparative with Henry VIII's privy chamber, see Lang's chapter in this publication.

[37] For sketches of room layouts (and names of rooms) at the principal Stewart palaces, see Dunbar 1999, pp. 13, 51, 60.

[38] Robertson, 1863, p. 58.

[39] Chatenet 2009, p. 198.

[40] Emphasizing her status as Queen Dowager of France, Mary's black velvet Valois cloth of estate was hung in her *salle* at Holyrood; see Robertson 1863, pp. 29, 170 and 177–78.

[41] For example, see documents of *CSP* Scot published in Bain 1898–1969, II, p. 88.

[42] For a comparative discussion of portrait galleries, see Ersek's chapter in this publication.

[43] A possible reference may be found in the documents of *TA*, published in Dickson 1877, X, pp. 409–10.

[44] For example, see *CSP* Scot, published in Bain 1898–1969, I, p. 547.

[45] Documents of *APS*, published in Thomson and Innes 1814–1875, II, p. 512.

[46] Robertson 1863, pp. 28–48.

[47] Robertson 1863, pp. 185–87.

[48] Robertson 1863, pp. 42–45.

[49] NLS, *Balcarres Papers*, Adv. MS, 33.6.2, f.3v.

[50] Robertson 1863, pp. 153–56, 167–68.

[51] In spring 1565, for example, green velvet was used for a 'burdclaith' and 'grete chair'. Likewise, two chairs were also made in green velvet in summer 1565; see Robertson 1863, pp. 153–56.

[52] These spring 1565 furnishings were made at the same time as the decorative work carried out to Mary's green velvet bed; see Robertson 1863, pp. 153, 156.

[53] During the sixteenth century, the Scottish treasurer's accounts were filled with transport costs and, by the later years of James V's reign, these sizable costs constituted a monthly cost category for the treasurer's accounts, (see documents of the TA, published by Dickson 1877–, volumes VIII and IX). For the peripatetic nature of the Tudor court, see Thurley 1993, pp. 67–83. For the Valois court, see Knecht 2008, pp. 40–47; Chatenet 2002, pp. 15–21; Solnon 1987, pp. 52–78 .

[54] The visits by Mary and her court to other palaces were few in number and lasted only for short periods of time; see Fleming 1897, pp. 515–43.

[55] For example, Robertson 1863, pp. 32–35.

[56] Schneebalg-Perelman 1971, pp. 253–304.

[57] Schneebalg-Perelman 1971, pp. 264–88, in particular pp. 254–57, 271–72, 279 and 284.

[58] Schneebalg-Perelman 1971, pp. 255–56.

[59] Robertson 1863, pp. 153 and 156.

[60] See the *Scots Peerage* (*SP*) published in Balfour Paul 1904–1914, V, pp. 353–54.

[61] For example, Robertson 1863, p. 165.

[62] By contrast, the location for Marie de Guise Lorraine's audience chamber was Holyrood's outer chamber – the room, which immediately preceded the inner chamber in Holyrood's great tower.

The Court of the Sun God Revisited:

Interiors of the Royal Villa in Wilanów in their Cultural and Political Context

Franciszek Skibiński (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland)

The King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jan III Sobieski, victor over the army of Ottoman Turks besieging Vienna in 1683, was an accomplished patron of art and architecture and well aware of the importance of princely display for the exercise of rule. As a European monarch, he was obliged to follow the accepted path of royal representation, embodied by court architecture. His main architectural undertaking was the creation of the *villa nova*, or Wilanów, a typical *villa suburbana* that overlooked the vast and picturesque marchlands along the banks of the Vistula river a few miles south of Warsaw (fig. 1).

Fig. 1 Wilanów, the *corps de logis* with the King's Gallery and adjacent tower.

Constructed between 1677 and 1696 as a result of three consecutive building campaigns,[1] the initial manor of 1677–80 was considerably enlarged in the 1680s and given its final shape in 1692–96 through the addition of a second storey. The key advisor to the king, who was also responsible for much of the design, was the *dilettante* architect of Italian descent, Agostino Locci.[2] At the height of Sobieski's struggles in the 1680s, the villa consisted of a main *corps de logis* with corner pavilions and was flanked by two galleries topped by towers. The ground floor was divided into symmetrically arranged apartments, one for the king and the other for the queen, connected by a vestibule located in the central axis. As was typical for contemporary court interiors, each apartment consisted of two larger rooms, i.e. an antechamber and a chamber, followed by a cabinet and a *garderobe*, the latter located in a corner pavilion facing the garden.

The elaborate decorative programme of the villa was based on mythological and allegorical imagery and served the aims of royal self-expression, propagating the vision of a new Golden Age as well as making allusions to the more immediate political aims pursued by the king. The present chapter intends to re-examine the messages embedded in the interior decoration of the villa in conjunction with its functional setting in an attempt to arrive at a better understanding of the way they interacted with ceremonial space. At the same time, it will look at the intended audience as well as at the possible means of communication that allowed for the wider dissemination of these messages. The aim is an understanding of the role played by courtly display within the complex cultural and political contexts of late-seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania.

The Veiled Message

Exterior and interior decoration of the villa constituted a vast compound of images focused on the *persona* of the king and on his immediate family, in particular on the queen.[3] In the literature, it is discussed as a temple of virtue, power and beauty, an edifice symbolizing the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a monument commemorating Jan III's achievements and, finally, as a Temple to Agriculture in the sense of the villa as a humanist institution, subordinated to Apollo's power.[4]

Far from wishing to deny these conclusions, which can easily be distinguished within the decorative programme provided by the consecutive images, I intend to single out the respective narratives, and thus to reveal the links between the villa's elaborate decoration and the more immediate challenges faced by Sobieski.[5]

The royal villa in Wilanów constitutes, in fact, a unique display of the king's ambitious political agenda during a period when his real importance was under threat. The overall programme, rendered through a variety of media, involved several narratives with a special focus on the royal couple. Presented within a confined architectural space, these narratives were closely interrelated, thereby creating a complex, yet coherent setting for the courtly display. Above all, the king was presented as the defender of the kingdom and the queen as a giver of new life, both metaphorically and as mother of princely children. Since it stressed the prosperity and abundance

that resulted from their wise rule, this message was underpinned by numerous references to Agriculture, derived from mythology as well as from ancient Roman literature, in particular Virgil's widely appreciated *Georgica*. A second narrative, gradually unveiled, revealed the dynastic ambitions pursued by the royal couple, providing an immediate explanation for the allegories of rebirth and fertility.

Fig. 2 Wilanów, façade of the King's Gallery.

How was this message delivered within the ceremonial route? Approaching the main building, the visitor was confronted with a display of the king's martial glory and the queen's caring attention to the country, depicted on gallery walls facing the present-day *cour d'honneur* (fig. 2). By presenting for example a triumphal scene in Roman costume and an image of Hercules sculpted in bas-relief, the programme designed for the façade of the King's Gallery stressed his martial prowess and many victories. The corresponding façade of the Queen's Gallery instead emphasized her feminine virtues through a number of allegorical and mythological depictions, including statues of Magnanimitas and Pudicitia as well as bas-reliefs perhaps derived from Ovid's *Fasti*.[6] Differentiation based on gender had a great significance for the entire programme of the villa; it went far beyond the simple distinction between the apartments. In Wilanów it was meant to demonstrate the unity of the royal couple, with king and queen complementing each other and being equally important for the well-being of the kingdom. Such unity would eventually lead to a new Golden Age under the rule of their progeny – as was gradually revealed in the interiors.[7]

Upon entering the *corps de logis* a visitor found himself in a large vestibule, leading to the two antechambers (fig. 3). This room may also be interpreted as the *wielka sień* (great hall), typical for the residential architecture in Poland-Lithuania, in which the host customarily received his guests.[8] Its decorative programme comprised allegories of the Four Elements as well as that of Day - Apollo - and Night represented in the ceiling painting and referring to the divine order of the universe that supports the king's rule. Despite its generic character, it may have appealed to the lower ranks of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility (*szlachta*), since we learn from a pamphlet circulating in 1685 that one of the leaders of the opposition, Krzysztof Grzymułtowski, had likened the many calamities caused by the elements to the king's fall from divine grace.[9]

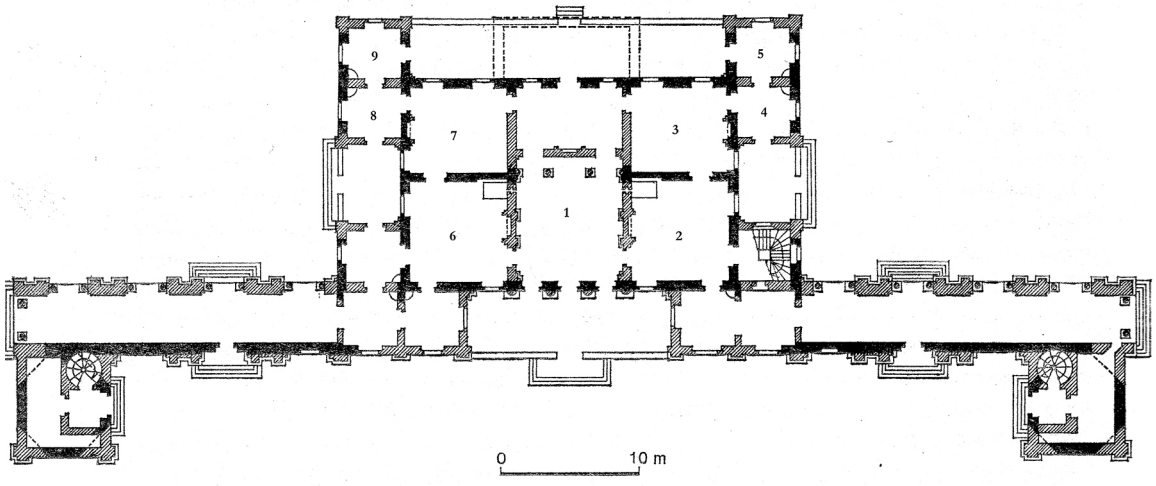

Fig. 3 Wilanów, groundplan. 1 – Vestibule, 2 – King's Antechamber, 3 – King's Chamber, 4 – King's Cabinet, 5 – King's Garderobe, 6 – Queen's Antechamber, 7 – Queen's Chamber, 8 – Queen's Cabinet, 9 – Queen's Garderobe.

The multi-layered narrative was further illustrated within the central part of the ceremonial route, i.e. in the antechambers and chambers of both apartments, as well as in the corner *garderobes* facing the garden. In each room, a ceiling painting displayed the vision of monarchy promoted by the king, in the guise of mythology.[10] These paintings delivered parallel and closely interrelated narratives with a special focus on the king and his spouse, displayed in both apartments and progressively revealed to the visitor. The message became increasingly more explicit: while in the antechambers and chambers the royal couple was represented by several *personae* from mythology, their true identity was revealed in the decoration of the *garderobe*s.

Since it is nearly impossible to examine such complex programmatic compositions in every detail, in what follows the focus shall be on the messages most relevant for the political aims pursued by the king. The ceiling in the King's Antechamber, an allegory of winter, presented the monarch in the guise of Aeolus restraining the winds. As convincingly, suggested by scholars in the past, this narrative may have symbolized the king's attempts to control the powerful yet disobedient members of the nobility.[11] According to interpreters of classical mythology, the god of winds indeed stood for reason and for the capacity to quell disorder.[12]

Fig. 4 Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski, *Allegory of Summer*, Wilanów, the King's Chamber, 1680s.

The allegory of Summer in the King's Chamber, featuring Apollo and Aurora – or Astrea - as well as Demeter and King Triptolemus, reveals instead the positive results of rational rule (fig. 4). The latter episode, which illustrates the invention of agriculture, played a particularly important role in the overall narrative.[13] Firstly, it referred to peace and prosperity achieved under the rule of the royal couple after the rebellious magnates were fully restrained (the theme depicted in the antechamber). The result envisaged would be a new Golden Age, understood here in the guise of agriculture. By putting agronomy at the centre of the narrative, the programme addressed above all the nobility (*szlachta*) that was devoted to country life and profited from a successful trade in the products of the earth. Sobieski is presented explicitly in a painting that once decorated the King's Garderobe and which depicts him as a Roman emperor venerated by Virtues and by a personification of Polonia.[14]

The respective depictions in the Queen's Apartment expressed, above all, the idea of new life, of rebirth and harvest. The ceiling with a representation of autumn in the Queen's Antechamber featured Vertumnus and Pomona, who were both associated with abundance that was presented here as the result of the union of the royal couple.[15] The idea of rebirth was further explored in the Queen's Chamber, by means of her depiction in the guise of mythological Flora. Although the new life bestowed upon humanity by the mythological *persona* of the queen may be interpreted in a generic sense, in this particular case it seems to have referred to a very particular occasion, namely to the birth of the royal heir. Indeed, the dynastic narrative hidden behind a mythological costume in the public part of the Queen's Apartment is finally revealed in her *garderobe*. There, the ceiling painting presents the queen as Aurora, announcing the dawn of a new era, and surrounded by her royal descendants, above all by the king's oldest son and heir, Jakub Sobieski (fig. 5).

Fig. 5 Jan Reisner(?), The Queen as Aurora with her Children, Wilanów, the Queen's Garderobe, 1680s.

Located in the most private part of the apartment, this depiction seems indeed to cap the entire decorative programme of the villa and to reveal the true meaning of the other threads of the narrative. As reported by the French ambassador, François de Bethune, the king started his dynastic initiatives immediately after his election and pursued them after the victory at Vienna in 1683.[16] Indeed, securing the succession for his son appears to be the most constant element of his political agenda.[17] It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the dynastic narrative was given a prominent place within the decorative programme of the villa. Created at the height of Sobieski's ultimately unsuccessful struggle to arrange for a smooth transition of power, this programme expressed the idea of 'perennis felicitas' (eternal happiness) as the motto of the royal house, to use a formula introduced by the court during a fiercely disputed parliamentary resolution presented in 1688–1689.[18] Nonetheless, the king's dynastic plans triggered a furious backlash on the side of the opposition, supported by most foreign powers and by many among the nobility. Therefore, to present such a dynastic message openly within the public part of the apartment would have been too provocative in the existing political atmosphere. As may be expected, in its general outline, the dynastic programme found a great number of analogies in the courts of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Europe. What is important, though, is the way in which a standard set of dynastic images usually displayed by European princes was converted and encoded to accommodate the unique situation of an elective monarchy.[19]

Apart from the mentioned narrative programme, its implementation as well as the furnishings and decorative objects displayed within the villa served the purpose of princely self-representation.[20] The symbolic sequence of the ceremonial route was underpinned by the increasing splendour of the interior decoration. For instance, the decoration of the vaults in the antechambers was frescoed, whereas that in the chambers consisted of *stucco* reliefs (fig. 6). As attested by the accounts of visitors as well as by the surviving inventories, the relatively small interior of the villa was filled to bursting point with a variety of luxury items, including furniture, paintings and precious objects of the goldsmith's art as well as with several pieces of armour. An anonymous Frenchman visiting Wilanów in 1688 noticed the lavishness of its furnishings, thus revealing their relative importance within the entire ensemble.[21] Many of these were put on display on the occasion of visits paid by distinguished guests, such as the papal nuncio, who was received by the king in the summer of 1690.[22] Otherwise, they were probably kept in the gallery towers that were labelled as treasuries in the correspondence between the king and his architect.[23]

Fig. 6 Wilanów, The Queen's Chamber with preserved fragments of the original sculpted decoration of the vault and the ceiling painting.

The splendour of the furnishings gradually increased along with the decoration of the interiors, culminating in the Royal Chamber and thus in the principal room of the ceremonial route. In the centre, there was a lavishly decorated bed-of-state with elaborate wood-carvings and covered with a canopy. The display of numerous pieces of luxurious armour, alluding to the king's martial glory, was recorded by Giovanni Battista Faggiuoli in his diary.[24] Perhaps some of the scimitars may have been loot from the king's victory at Vienna and presented a real panoply taken from the defeated enemy.[25] A similar message may have been expressed by other luxury items, such as an elaborately carved golden tray decorated with a depiction of the battle of Vienna.[26] Other furnishings included two Florentine tables decorated with *intarsiae* of *pietre dure* as well as a small French table with a matching set of chairs.

As for the pictorial decoration, the central place at the head of the bed-of-state was given to a depiction of St. Mary.[27] Thus, the bed-of-state not only stressed the dignity of the monarch, but also served as framework for a religious painting, attesting to the king's piety and to his commitment to the Church. A number of additional paintings, mostly of religious subjects, was displayed on the walls. Even though they do not seem to have been part of the overall programmatic narrative described above, it is likely that several of these paintings nonetheless served princely self-expression. For instance, the highest-prized painting presented in the King's Chamber depicted *Moses leading the Jews out of Egypt* and may have alluded to his chosen *persona* as the saviour of his people.[28] Therefore, the diverse furnishings displayed within the main ceremonial space, as far as they alluded to the king's martial glory, to his piety and to his other virtues, may also have been intended as a complimentary commentary on the main narrative.

As I have tried to argue, the elaborate programme of the interior decoration gradually revealed to a visitor a specific message consistent with the political agenda pursued by the king in conjunction with the furnishings and with the diverse decorative objects displayed in the villa, which defined its symbolic expression of royal magnificence. The question of the intended audience of this message and of how the message was communicated, remains to be addressed. Discussing the 'material culture' of early modern courts, John Adamson observed that 'there remains an important distinction to be made between a generalized intention of conveying meanings that relate to the exercise of rule and the deliberately opinion-forming objectives of propaganda'.[29] In the unique political situation of late seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania, however, it was vital for the king to affirm his status across and beyond his dominion.[30] What is more, he had to balance diverse and sometimes contradictory ideals, while designing his residences.

The King and his Magnates

Throughout his reign, King Jan Sobieski struggled with a powerful opposition headed by the increasingly independent members of the uppermost strata of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility.[31] These magnates held the highest offices, they were affluent and well acquainted with foreign powers, in particular with the Habsburg and Hohenzollern courts, and they dominated the lesser nobility, thus effectively reducing the royal authority and rule. Among their leaders were Kazimierz Sapieha and his brother Benedykt, both influential in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Great Crown Marshall Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, another leader of the opposition, was a highly cultivated patron of the arts and of architecture and one of the most important writers of the Polish Baroque. While the king retained his status as symbol of the state, his real power diminished to the point, where it gradually became the norm that *lèse majesté* remained unpunished.[32]

The political and social position of the magnates found its reflection in architecture, since they built grandiose residences for themselves complemented by private villas, or *belvederes* as they are called in a number of sources, which in their opulence exceeded by far the traditional wooden manors of the *szlachta*. A participation in the villa culture seems to have been an impor-

tant element of the consciously formulated status of 'great men', to use a term introduced by the already mentioned Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski.[33] The construction of such ensembles and the luxury associated with them was part of a carefully performed strategy aimed at affirming the social position of their owners as individuals as well as members of a particular social stratum.

Fig. 7 Interior of the Lubomirski bathhouse pavilion in Ujazdów before 1689.

Splendid yet isolated villas and *belvederes* also played an important role in the political exchange to be performed at the highest level, as exemplified by the activities of Lubomirski. Evidence of his wide-ranging patronage is provided by the remains of a bathhouse pavilion constructed for him in the gardens of the Ujazdów estate near Warsaw, in accordance with a design provided by the accomplished Dutch architect then active in Poland-Lithuania, Tilman van Gameren (fig. 7).[34] To visiting foreigners, including distinguished diplomats, the building formed part of a truly royal ensemble. While accompanying the papal nuncio, the already mentioned Giovanni Battista Faggiuoli enjoyed the many wonders of Ujazdów, describing it as 'a noble place, suitable for a king rather than an aristocrat, more than one would expect of a great Polish lord'.[35] In this way, the owner of a luxurious architectural ensemble, an influential and immensely wealthy member of the uppermost strata of the nobility could present himself to the foreign courts – with whom he often plotted against the king – as well as to his fellow magnates and to the *szlachta* in general as equal to the monarch.[36] The political context of such architectural ensembles is further illustrated by a manuscript entitled *Kopia pewnego listu*, which was one of the numerous pamphlets published by

the opposition during the stormy *Sejm* of 1688/89. Its anonymous author purported that one of the reasons for the king's alleged enmity towards Lubomirski was his envy of the Ujazdów estate that adjoined Wilanów.[37]

In this context, the construction of a new suburban villa may be interpreted as an attempt to fend off challenges to the king's social and political position and hence to his ultimate authority. His participation in the villa culture confirmed Sobieski's position among the country's elite, while the magnificence of his residence placed him above his opponents. A French traveller who visited Wilanów before the villa was extended in the 1680s emphasised the importance of princely display. To his taste, this humble abode was entirely inappropriate for a king, reminding him rather of the country houses of the wealthy Parisian bourgeoisie.[38] Aware of such criticism, Sobieski eventually enlarged his villa and introduced a number of architectural elements that underpinned his unique position and referred to the internationally recognized models of court architecture.

Perhaps the most important indicator of the villa's royal prestige were the galleries, a unique feature in contemporaneous Poland-Lithuania.[39] As already observed by Wojciech Fijałkowski, they 'emphasized the particular significance of Wilanów as a seat of power and a symbol of state.'[40] Positioned within the private part of the apartments, they evoke the French tradition of court architecture, in which galleries located at the very end of the ceremonial route played a vital role in the layout of numerous courtly residences.[41] Probably originating in the fourteenth-century Valois residences, this tradition finds its continuation in the seventeenth century, for instance in the Palais du Luxembourg, one of the possible models for Sobieski.[42] Indeed, during his stay in Paris he admired, among other palaces, the Palais du Luxembourg and the Palais des Tuileries as well as the Louvre and the Palais Royal, where he particularly esteemed the 'painted galleries' and 'beautiful royal apartments'.[43] The Palais du Luxemburg may have served as a particularly appealing model for Sobieski, not least because of the way the strictly symmetrical layout along with the decorative programme focused on the *persona* of the queen.[44] With a gallery adjacent to each of the two symmetrically arranged apartments within the central *corps de logis*, the layout of the Wilanów villa refers to the architectural tradition going back to some of the designs published by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau.[45] It is also reminiscent of the Ter Nieuburg in Rijswijk, built in 1630–34, in accordance with a plan sent from France and derived from the layout of the Palais du Luxembourg.[46] There is also a similarity in function, since both Wilanów and Ter Nieuburg were private residences without extensive accommodation for members of the court (fig. 8).[47]

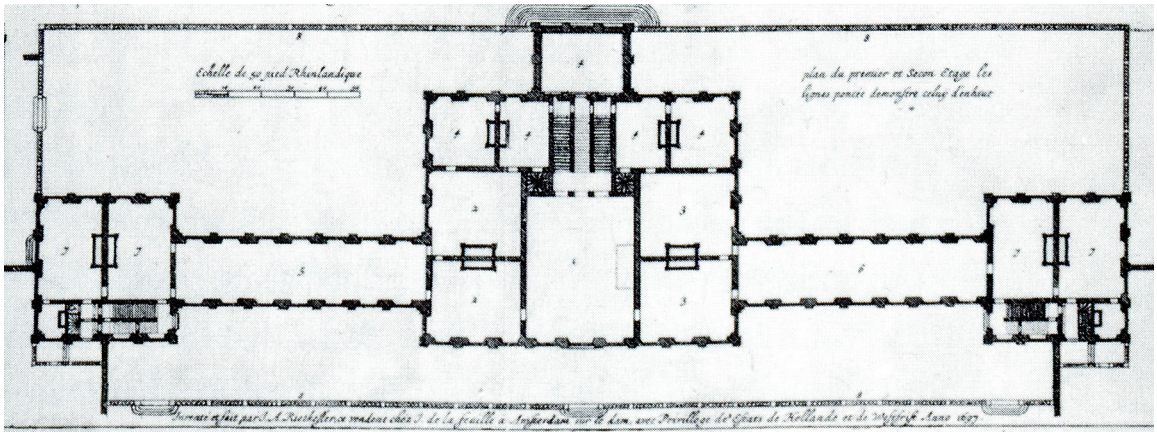

Fig. 8 Huis Ter Nieuburg in Rijswijk, 1630–1634, ground plan after an engraving by A. Rietkesseler, 1697.

Nonetheless, Wilanów is hardly a mere repetition of French models, for the king and his chief advisor looked in other directions, above all to Italy. Locci relied on diverse Roman models, such as the Capitoline buildings by Michelangelo, which he mentioned in his correspondence with the king.[48] He must have also been familiar with diverse villa ensembles in and near Rome, such as Villa Doria Pamphili.[49] The Polish king as well as a number of European rulers, such as his son-in-law Max Emanuel von Wittelsbach, thus illustrated the complicated affiliations of an independent European court, located at the crossroads of diverse political and cultural influences. In their court architecture, they referred to specific spatial arrangements to allude to their relationship with the European superpowers, in particular the house of Bourbon or the Habsburgs.[50] As an independent ruler in need of political allies elsewhere in Europe, Sobieski had to choose between several possibilities, which was not an easy thing to do, given his rather precarious position.[51]

Wilanów and the Sarmatians

It was not enough for the king, however, to distinguish himself from the magnates and to reaffirm his own position in Europe. Lavish residences generated their own political perils, since the general public in Poland-Lithuania tended to treat extravagant display with suspicion. While the country house of a noble family was portrayed as an embodiment of all virtues, villas, *belvederes* and *lustgartens* of the 'great' were often considered excessive, even a sign of corruption.[52] For instance, in a short poem titled *Belvedere* Wacław Potocki, a major Polish poet active during the reign of Sobieski, advised fellow noblemen to avoid the lavish *belvedere*s in the vicinity of Warsaw and Cracow.[53]

Throughout his reign, however, Sobieski sought the support of the members of the *szlachta*, seeing them as a political counterbalance to the predominantly hostile magnates.[54] Therefore, he did what he could to interweave his origins in the world of the Sarmatian culture with his newly acquired royal position to make them both part of his personal iconography.[55] As early as in a print that depicted his triumphal entry to Cracow during the coronation ceremony, which was executed

by his court printmaker Romeyn de Hooghe, he presented an allegory of *Agricultura Restituta*.[56] In Wilanów as well he tried to join royal display to a message likely to appeal to the *szlachta*. The part of the programmatic narrative that focused on agriculture alluded to the king's Sarmatian origins and to the respective values endorsed by him and thus regarded as having been specifically aimed at this societal group.[57]

It is, therefore, hardly surprising that motives pertaining to agriculture and associated with fertility, abundance and harvesting, such as the above-mentioned depictions of Demeter and Triptolemus or of Vertumnus and Pomona, constituted an important element of the overall programme of the newly erected villa, appearing in the key parts of the ceremonial order.[58] The image of Apollo depicted in the vestibule may be interpreted in this context as following, for instance, Vincenzo Cartari's interpretation of pagan mythology.[59] Apart from the ceiling paintings, the main rooms of the two apartments were also furnished with small wall paintings depicting various agricultural themes and inspired by Vergil's *Georgica*. The complex allegories of the Four Seasons on the ceilings in tandem with matching images of the practice of agriculture expressed ideas of prosperity, continuity and harmony and, therefore, offered a narrative illustrating the arrival of a new Golden Age. The narrative was woven into the literary tradition introduced to the Commonwealth by sixteenth-century humanist writings that drew on the widely appreciated works by Horace, Vergil and by other classical authors.[60]

The glorification of agriculture and of the rural life that would provide the appropriate seat for a new Golden Age announced in the overall programme of the Wilanów villa was not a simple repetition of the generic iconography employed elsewhere in Europe. Rather, it was a message already deeply embedded in the local cultural and political context and could be used as part of the royal propaganda. John Adamson convincingly challenged a 'propagandist' interpretation of the court's material culture, stressing its limited audience on the one hand and a different set of values predominant at Ancien Régime courts on the other.[61] However, while interior decoration of courtly residences conveyed, above all, generic meanings that related to the exercise of rule, to use Adamson's phrase, a more immediate purpose of such a decoration should not be disregarded. While it is true that princely display in the early modern period was not meant to appeal to popular opinion, in the political situation of seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania it was most important to enhance the royal reputation outside the elite. Immensely proud of their long-enjoyed liberty and political empowerment, Polish-Lithuanian *szlachta* provided a fundamental part of the political system and, at least theoretically, decided about taxes and other key issues.

Nonetheless, the question of how a visual narrative with a limited impact might possibly reach the wider public and in particular the members of the middle strata of the nobility who were not regular visitors in the villa, needs to be addressed. While there is no hard evidence, our present-day knowledge about the exchange of information in seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania allows a hypothetical reconstruction of the possible ways of dissemination of such knowledge. Important to remember in this case is the decentralization, or multi-centricity of late seven-

teenth-century Poland-Lithuania on the one hand and the importance of oral communication in the exchange of information on the other.[62]

Surviving evidence indicates that the king often received his guests in Wilanów. As reported by the Frenchmen Gaspard de Tende, he usually dined with the queen and with his distinguished visitors.[63] The diary kept by Kazimierz Sarnecki, who spent several years at the court, reveals that these guests were recruited from the senatorial class. For instance, on one occasion, Sobieski received the Voivodes of Podlasie and Chełmno, on another the Castellans of Vilnius, Kiev and Kamieniec.[64] In addition, the king apparently devoted much attention to communication, providing guided tours of Wilanów to his guests and describing the decorative programme in great detail. A revealing evidence in this regard is provided by a description of the Wilanów galleries dating from the early 1690s. According to the anonymous author, he was shown around by the king in person who explained the mythological narrative.[65] Hypothetically at least, apart from oral accounts, manuscripts of a similar content may have circulated among a wider public, very similar to the political pamphlets published to influence the opinions of the *szlachta*.[66]

Thus, even though it was impossible for the king to invite every single nobleman, he did receive favourably disposed members of the elite that would afterwards spread his message among the nobility. Research on the means of social communication in early modern Poland-Lithuania indicates that the opinions of the nobility in the provinces were shaped mainly by the magnates and other people in power.[67] Royal officers, such as castellans, were certainly among them. Familiar with the royal residence, such guests were able to spread the word among the *szlachta* in their respective provinces. Their influence must have been underpinned by the fact that many among the royal supporters recruited from the middle strata of the *szlachta*, and thus exactly from the group the king tried to influence.[68] Thus, within the predominantly oral culture, the visitors' verbal (or hand-written) accounts concerning the king and his residence would perhaps enhance his political position.

Conclusion

The royal villa constructed for King Jan Sobieski in Wilanów served to assert his position within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as well as on the European stage. The decorative programme of the interiors carried a very specific message consistent with the political agenda pursued by the monarch. It also conveyed the idea of stability and abundance, a new Golden Age that would be shared under the divinely ordained rule of the king. At the same time, it emphasized the importance of continuity and alluded to the dynastic plans of the royal court. In designing this programme, however, Sobieski had to strike a balance between diverse, sometimes contradictory ideals, and to take into account his position as an elected monarch. Unlike his European counterparts, who could freely display dynastic imagery, he had to enter into a subtle dialogue with his subjects. Therefore, a highly controversial dynastic message was delivered gradually, with the identity of the royal couple being hidden for much of the main part of the ceremonial route, only

to be revealed in their most private rooms. As I tried to argue, King Jan Sobieski attempted to appeal to members of the diverse strata of Polish-Lithuanian society, namely to the magnates and to the *szlachta*, who were both hostile towards his dynastic plans. Apart from that, he had to adhere to a royal ceremonial required of a European monarch. Thus, Sobieski had to present both a royal and an aristocratic, architectural and decorative programme, while he appealed to the wider Polish-Lithuanian nobility.

Evidently, with its limited audience and veiled meanings this courtly display was not the primary propaganda tool. Nonetheless, it allowed for something less straightforward, yet equally important: a political meta-discourse and a spectacle of magnificence that set the king firmly apart from the opposition leaders by presenting royal authority as part of a divine and universal order. This spectacle, if not the straightforward political message, would have been further disseminated by royal guests drawn from the country's elite who shaped popular opinion across the vast lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

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Illustrations

Figs. 1–3 author.

Figs. 4–6 courtesy of the Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów.

Fig. 7 courtesy of RESTAURO Sp. zoo Toruń (photo Andrzej Skowroński).

Fig. 8 courtesy of Konrad Ottenheym.

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[1] On the history of Wilanów see, among others: Starzyński 1933; Czołowski 1937; Fijałkowski 1977; Fijałkowski 1997 and Arciszewska 2006.

[2] On Locci see, for example, Starzyński 1933 and Osiecka-Samsonowicz 2015.

[3] See, among others: Karpowicz 1969; Fijałkowski 1977; Wiliński 1977; Karpowicz 1986; Fijałkowski 1997 and Fijałkowski 2009.

[4] Fijałkowski 2009, p. 106.

[5] See also Arciszewska 2006.

[6] Fijałkowski 2009, p. 109.

[7] Compare with Arciszewska 2006, pp. 114–16.

[8] *Krótka nauka*, p. 59 and pp. 67–70.

[9] Czarniecka 2009, pp. 132–33.

[10] Karpowicz 1974, pp. 59–85.

[11] Fijałkowski 1997, p. 77.

[12] Ricciardus 1591, fols. 24–24v.

[13] Fijałkowski 1977, p. 64.

[14] Unfortunately, very little is known about the original furnishings of the King's Garderobe, which were thoroughly remodelled in the eighteenth century. According to a late eighteen-century description, the pla-

fond painting which had by then been already removed, formerly corresponded to the painting still surviving in situ in the Queen's Garderobe, see: Malinowska & Mieleszko 1984, p. 22 and Fijałkowski 1997, p. 88.

[15] Arciszewska 2006, p. 114 and Fijałkowski 2009, p. 115.

[16] Kriegseisen 1995, p. 88.

[17] See, for instance, Czarniecka 2009 and Skrzypietz 2011.

[18] Czarniecka 2009, pp. 212–13.

[19] See also Arciszewska 2006, p. 105.

[20] Fijałkowski 1977, p. 28.

[21] Fijałkowski 1977, p. 14.

[22] Fijałkowski 1977, pp. 24–25.

[23] Starzyński 1933, pp. 20–23.

[24] Fijałkowski 1977, p. 24.

[25] Sobieski kept most of the trophies in his ancestral seat of Żółkiew, see Żygulski 1978. The Vienna trophies were also displayed by the other commanders of the allied forces, for example by Maximilian Emmanuel in Schleissheim and by Ludwig Wilhelm in Karlsruhe.

[26] Fijałkowski 2015, p. 26.

[27] Fijałkowski 1977, p. 24.

[28] Fijałkowski 1977, p. 24.

[29] Adamson 2000, p. 34.

[30] On the diverse aspects of the king's propaganda see, for example, Czarniecka 2009 and Fijałkowski 2015.

[31] See, for instance: Czapliński 1955; Czapliński 1961; Czapliński 1966; Kersten 1974; Olszewski 1985; Wrede 1989; Augustyniak 1990; Olszewski 2002, pp. 21–35 and Opaliński 2007.

[32] See, for instance: Augustyniak 1990, pp. 103–19.

[33] Lubomirski, passim; see also Karpiński 1995; on the Lubomirski family, see Przyboś 1992.

[34] Mossakowski 2012, pp. 90–109.

[35] Mossakowski 2012, p. 100.

[36] On the royal ambitions of the Polish-Lithuanian magnates in the period following Sobieski's death see, in particular, Bernatowicz 2011.

[37] Czarniecka 2009, p. 192.

[38] Fijałkowski 1997, pp. 12–13.

[39] On the building history of galleries, see Starzyński 1933, pp. 20–23.

[40] Fijałkowski 2009, p. 112; he associates the Wilanów galleries with palaces on the Capitoline Hill.

[41] Fijałkowski 1977, p. 47; on French galleries see, in particular, Prinz 1970; Guillaume 1993; Chatenet 2002 and Guillaume 2010.

[42] Guillaume 2010. Galetti 2012.

[43] Targosz 1985, pp. 70–71.

[44] See Galetti 2012, pp. 141–51.

[45] Androuet du Cerceau 1559, pl. XXXII; on the importance of Du Cerceaus' designs for the Palais du Luxemburg see Galetti 2012, pp. 175–78.

[46] Unity 2007, p. 198.

[47] Unity 2007, p. 196.

[48] Starzyński 1933, pp. 45–46, 86.

[49] See, among others: Miłobędzki 1980, p. 401; Fijałkowski 2009, p. 106 and Woldt 2011, p. 407.

[50] Krems 2010; see also Ottenheym and Johannsen 2015, p. 16.

[51] See also Arciszewska 2006, p. 106. On the political situation of Poland-Lithuania at that time see, among others: Piwarski 1933; Piwarski 1957 and Wójcik 1960. On the king's propaganda see, among others, Fijałkowski 2015.

[52] See, for instance: Karpiński 1983, pp. 93–102; Kochan 2010 and Otwinowska 1980.

[53] Potocki 1992, pp. 209–12; see also Ślękowa 2010.

[54] See, for instance: Piwarski 1933, pp. 85–110; Czerniecka 2009 and Skrzypietz 2011.

[55] Wiliński 1977. Arciszewska 2006. Woldt 2011, p. 406.

[56] Wiliński 1977, p. 71.

[57] Woldt 2011, p. 414.

[58] See, for instance, Wiliński 1977; Karpowicz 1986, pp. 89–92 and Wiliński 1989.

[59] Wiliński 1977, pp. 74–75.

[60] Karpiński 1983, pp. 148 and 150–53.

[61] Adamson 2000, p. 34.

[62] See, for instance, Mączak 2003 and Maliszewski 2001.

[63] Tende 2013, p. 270.

[64] Sarnecki 2004, pp. 59–60.

[65] See Sokołowski 1898 and Fijałkowski 1977, p. 47.

[66] As to the former, see Fijałkowski 2014, as to the latter, see Czarniecka 2009.

[67] Maliszewski 2001, pp. 35–37. Choińska-Mika 2002, pp. 205–32. Mączak 2003, pp. 185–91.

[68] See, for instance, Augustyniak 1990, p. 232.

Aristocratic Interiors of the Kaisersaal Type from the Mid-seventeenth Century in the Kingdom of Hungary:

A Case of Habsburg Imperial Iconography in the *Lange Saal* of the Pálffy Residence at Červený Kameň (Slovakia).[1]

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Archival sources as well as the well-preserved pictorial material from the middle of the seventeenth century attest to the presence of numerous portraits of rulers and of members of ruling dynasties in Hungarian aristocratic residences. The inventories show that such depictions were not only displayed in the ceremonial centre of the household, for example in a great hall or a great chamber, as well as in entrance areas or connected spaces, but also in the private rooms of princely apartments and sometimes even in the *oratorio*.[2]

Representative Spaces in Baroque Residences with a Royal Iconography: Historical Labels

Within this context, the focus of this chapter is on the highly representative rooms of the *Kaisersaal* type. There is no such concept to be found in the contemporary official terminology that denotes this kind of room-type as a specific part of palace architecture. Nonetheless, this kind of hall presented a specific royal iconographic programme, which illustrated the idea of a genealogical-dynastic succession of the Holy Roman Emperors (*Kaiser*) as the legitimate successors of the ancient Emperors (*Caesars*). Thanks to this majestic decoration – either in the form of large portrait paintings affixed to the walls, of sculpted busts, of paintings with historical themes or later also allegorical frescoes – a residence was adequately prepared for a potential imperial visit.[3]

The direct formal and ideological model for interiors of a *Kaisersaal* type space in aristocratic residences of the Habsburg territories was the so-called *Reichsaal*, a feasting hall typical for the residences of German princes.[4] The cycle of rulers of the Holy Roman Empire displayed in there went back to dynasties far before the Habsburgs, it often harked back to classical antiquity: in these cases the hall was called *Römer Saal*,[5] *Römischer Saal*,[6] and also *Imperatorensaal*.[7] It was exactly this ancient imperial iconography – generally in a grouping of twelve according to Suetonius – that quickly gained popularity in the Central-European aristocratic milieu.[8] It may be found

as well in the residences of the Hungarian aristocracy, regardless of their religious confession or political opinion. As an example, Count Franciscus (Ferenc) Nádasdy presented a dozen portraits of pagan emperors (*heidnische Kayser)* in a vestibule next to the staircase on the *piano nobile* of his palace in Pottendorf.[9] Similarly, in a connecting area in front of one of the public chambers at Trenčín castle, there were thirteen pictures (*obrazov*) of ancient kings (*starodavnych kralov*).[10]

Key Decorative Themes in Habsburg Territories

In general, two key decorative themes prevailed in the Central-European Habsburg territories: either they were related to a celebration of the Habsburg imperial family or they followed the idea of national patriotism.[11] Due to the mentioned variations in the political programmes, there was a relatively broad range of labels applied to this kind of state room: for example, in his new residence in Bratislava the Count Palatine Paulus (Pál) Pálffy had a *Fürstenzimmer* installed with twenty-five unspecified portrait busts.[12] Besides them, he also included at least one of the electors' portraits from the well-known series by Frans Luyckx.[13] According to a 1678 Slovak-language inventory of Trenčín Castle, in the Illésházy´s *Hercegház* (here: ceremonial hall) as many as nine imperial or royal effigies and four portraits of empresses were displayed.[14] Count Franciscus Nádasdy also had a feasting hall (named the *Chászár Háza*)[15] built for his Pottendorf residence; nevertheless, he presented a fifteen-piece portrait collection of Holy Roman emperors of the Habsburg dynasty in the second room leading from the official dining-room into the study room.[16] Another ten old, imperial Habsburg portraits were displayed in front of the Great Hall (*große Saal*).[17] In general, the difference between this type of Saal or Zimmer lies in their respective use: while the first label denoted an impressive ceremonial hall, the second described a more intimate but, nonetheless, luxuriously furnished space intended as accommodation for the most prominent visitors.[18] In any case, at the time the most spectacular halls of a *Kaisersaal* type with painted or sculpted portraits of emperors or kings were presented in Czech and Moravian castles, such as Bučovice, Velké Meziříčí, Moravská Třebová and Český Krumlov.[19]

It may seem logical that the creation of the first iconographic type of such a decoration was perceived at the time as a manifestation of absolute political loyalty; therefore, in most territories then belonging to the Habsburgs the imperial iconography was transformed into the celebration of local kings. In Austria, it found expression in sets depicting local princes (*Landesfürsten*).[20] Similarly, in Bohemia, it brought to light extended portrait cycles of their own territorial princes, kings and of legendary ancestors of the Czech tribe. To the most extensive collection of this kind in Bohemia belonged a sixty-piece portrait set of Czech princes, kings and alleged ancestors of the Czech people up to the time of Leopold I's rule, which Count Slawata installed in the so called *Pěkný sál* (Nice Hall) of the family residence in Jindřichův Hradec around the middle of the seventeenth century.[21] In Hungary the mixed iconography of legendary dukes and historical kings was significantly influenced by the publication of *Mausoleum Regni Apostolici Regum et Ducum* (Nuremberg 1664), the cost of which was borne by the already-mentioned Count Franciscus Nádasdy.[22] One of the first people to respond to this new type of iconographical programme during the seventeenth

century, was young Count Christoph (Kristóf) Batthyány:, his set of large-format painted portraits of the Hungarian dukes and kings constituted a monumental supplement to the portrait gallery of the family's manor house in Rohoncz (Rechnitz in the Austrian Burgenland).[23] By the end of the seventeenth century and then again at the beginning of the eighteenth century – and therefore in a period of several anti-Habsburg uprisings – in some residences of a politically rebellious Hungarian aristocracy prints, drawings and watercolour representations of Transylvanian kings and princes descending from Johann (János) Zápolya were exhibited temporarily and with considerable caution. In these cases, the collection usually consisted of small paintings designed and created with a strong provincial flavour.[24]

Nonetheless, the straightforward iconographical programme of Habsburg celebration as the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation arrived in the Central-European Habsburg territories only very gradually. One of the first well-known examples from the Austrian aristocratic milieu was the so-called Österreicher Saal at Windhaag castle, the interiors of which were recorded and published in print by Matthäus Merian the Younger in 1656.[25] During the 1650s and 60s, Prince Václav Eusebius Lobkovicz alone presented the purely imperial iconography of this period in Bohemia. Unfortunately, only a torso has survived from the former decoration of the hall in the Lobkovicz palace on the Hradčany.[26] The only famous example of Habsburg imperial iconography in the kingdom of Hungary, part of which extended into today´s Slovakia, is a collection of sixteen limestone busts of the Habsburgs as Holy Roman-German kings and emperors.[27]

The Imperial Habsburg Iconography of the *Lange Saal* at the Pálffy Residence of Červený Kameň in Slovakia

In the context of the figurative arts in the former kingdom of Hungary, this collection of limestone busts represents a unique monument of the early-baroque production of sculpture. And yet, until recently, they have been barely mentioned in Slovakian art-historical literature, neither has there been a single serious attempt of iconographical analysis and interpretation of particular busts in Hungary.[28] The busts are highly idealized and, in many cases, no direct iconographical source can be found. The arrangement of the busts in their correct order is another significant problem, since only a few of them are numbered. The interpretation of the busts as 'a cycle [....] of Roman-German emperors from Charlemagne to their own days', [29] is one of the main reasons why so far there has been no successful identification of particular busts. Indeed, these sixteen busts exclusively represent members of the Habsburg dynasty, who – with the exception of two – held either the title of the king of Rome, or of a Holy Roman emperor. The context of the acquisition of the collection is also very intriguing and constitutes an authentic testimony of the complicated socio-political situation in relation to the succession to the imperial office, at the time of the busts' creation.

Count Nicolaus (Miklós) IV Pálffy (1619?–1679) commissioned the busts during the second half of the year 1654 for the niches of the Hall of the Staircase (*Langer Saal*) on the *piano nobile* of his residence at Červený Kameň (*Pibersburg, Bibersburg, Vöröskő*) in today's Slovakia. At

present, the busts are still *in situ*. We know from the Pálffy accounting records that their executing artist was the mason David Weiss from Wiener Neustadt, who in the first days of December 1654 delivered a balustrade with the statue of Pallas Athena (worth 288 florins) as well as the already-mentioned sixteen busts, for which he received a payment of 320 florins.[30] Therefore, each bust was valued at the sum of c.21 florins.

Count Nicolaus IV Pálffy was an ambitious, educated and liberal-minded Hungarian nobleman, who married the lady-in-waiting Countess Maria Eleonora Harrach (1623–1693) in 1649. Through this marriage alliance, he gained a close family relationship with the three most influential aristocratic families at the Viennese court of the second quarter of the seventeenth century: the Harrachs, Waldsteins and Eggenbergs. Moreover, the dowager empress Eleonora Gonzaga herself was the godmother and sponsor of Pálffy´s wife.[31] Approximately five years after the wedding, Pálffy started with the reconstruction of his inherited family residence: firstly, in 1654, he ordered the rebuilding of the magnificent staircase, including the mentioned *Lange Saal* on the *piano nobile* (fig. 1). However, such modification of the ceremonial space was meant to preserve the historical state from the time of his famous grandfather, Baron Nicolaus II Pálffy (1552–1600), the first Pálffy owner of the castle. In the years 1655–1659, Nicolaus IV Pálffy focused on the embellishment of the *Sala Terrena*,[32] which is considered one of the most beautiful early-Baroque spaces of this type in Central Europe as well as of the castle chapel and almost all the other public and private rooms on the *piano nobile*. The vestibule leading to the Long Hall above the ceremonial staircase should have fulfilled the criteria of an imperial hall and of a gallery. While it is possible to call it a 'gallery' in the sense of room function, it remains to be asked, if it did not also contain features of a family portrait gallery besides the expected royal portraits.[33]

In the eyes of the visitors, Pálffy´s loyalty towards the imperial house was expressly illustrated by the iconographical programme of the sculptural decoration, which underlined the multi-generational success of the Habsburg dynasty as well as the meaning of a tradition of imperial authority, which stretched back to antiquity.[34] For this purpose, the artist combined different iconographical sources. For the figures of Rudolf I to Maximilian II, David Weiss followed the engravings from the representative five-piece genealogy *Imagines gentis Austriacae,* created by Francesco Terzio between the years 1558 and 1573.[35] However, Weiss very likely changed the iconography at the request of his patron and conceived the busts of this *Kaisergalerie* in an *all'antica* way. The visual inspiration for this purpose was based on the popular iconography of the twelve ancient Caesars according to Suetonius, which was developed by artists such as Jan van der Straet, called Stradano, or by Antonio Tempesta at the turn from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century.[36] The Pálffy collection of the Habsburg Holy Roman kings and emperors refers, therefore, formally to the ancient Roman Caesars mainly because of the choice of sculpted portrait busts as well as of the draped *paludamenta* worn over one shoulder. Perhaps the most Romanizing element is the ancient way of coronation of all Habsburg portrait busts 'according to Stradano' with a simple laurel wreath in tandem with their consistent (and therefore historically not acceptable) wearing of the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The Habsburg rulers from Rudolf

II onwards, who were obviously not included in Terzio´s *Imagines,* can be identified quite easily on the basis of their numerous painted and printed portraits, especially from the well-published Habsburg portrait collections at Innsbruck and Vienna.

Fig. 1 Ceremonial staircase and the *Lange Saal* in the Červený Kameň Castle (Slovakia); View of the limestone busts displayed in niches.

Fig. 2 David Weiss from Wiener Neustadt, *Albrecht I, Habsburg King of the Romans*, 1654, limestone, SNM-Múzeum Červený Kameň, photo after restoration.

Fig. 3 Francesco Terzio and Gaspare Oselli, *Albertus I*, in *Avstriacae Gentis imaginvm pars [...]*. 1 (1569), f. 15, copperplate, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf.

The set of the Červený Kameň busts begins with the first king of the Romans from the Habsburg dynasty.[37] Rudolf I was crowned in 1273 (d. 1291) and was followed by Albrecht I (1298–1308; figs. 2 and 3) and by Friedrich called the Handsome (1314–1330), who used the title of king of the Romans together with Louis IV of Bavaria. Albrecht II (1438–1439), approximately one hundred years later, became the next Habsburg king of the Romans for the last two years of his life. In 1440, he was succeeded by Friedrich IV, who eventually was elected emperor (1452–1493) under the name of Friedrich III. Albrecht's and Friedrich's busts are the first in the cycle to present the 'portrait' of a Habsburg sovereign. The golden era of Habsburg rule as part of the history of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation is represented in the Červený Kameň Castle´s *Lange Saal* by the busts of the emperors in office during the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth centuries. The cycle of busts starts with Maximilian I (king of the Romans 1486, emperor 1508–1519; figs. 4 and 5), who was succeeded by Charles V (king of the Romans 1519, emperor 1520–1556, d. 1558; figs. 6 and 7), Ferdinand I (king of the Romans 1531, emperor 1558–1564), Maximilian II (king of the Romans 1562, emperor 1564–1576), Rudolf II (king of the Romans 1575, emperor 1576–1612), Matthias (king of the Romans and emperor 1612–1619), Ferdinand II (king of the Romans and emperor 1619–1637; figs. 9 and 10) and finally by Ferdinand III (king of the Romans 1636, emperor 1637–1657; fig. 11). The remaining three busts attest to the difficult socio-political situation during the second half of the year, while Weiss carried out Pálffy´s order. At the beginning of July 1654 the heir to the throne, Ferdinand IV (fig. 12), for whom his ageing father had been able to secure the Czech (1646), the Hungarian (1647) and the Roman-German crowns (1653), suddenly died. The preparations for the individual coronations of a new heir, in theory the emperor´s younger son who was at the time the barely fourteen-year-old Leopold, was quite easily achieved in the Hungarian (1655) and Czech kingdoms (1656). Nonetheless, Leopold won these crowns long after the busts in the Lange Saal at Červený Kameň had been commissioned. Emperor Ferdinand III died, when Leopold was not yet of a legal age to succeed to the title of Holy Roman emperor, so his claims as a possible Habsburg successor were hampered by complicated international diplomatic negotiations with the imperial electors, as well as with France and Sweden who were in favour of Elector Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria. Until Leopold's eighteenth birthday in June 1658, Leopold William served as regent in lieu of his nephew.[38] Count Nicolaus IV Pálffy, therefore, probably commissioned 'for reasons of the archduke's regency' also the bust of Archduke Leopold William (d. 1662; fig. 13), who served as military governor in Flanders. The interregnum lasted for fifteen months after the death of Ferdinand IV, when Leopold finally won the eagerly desired election as emperor (July 1658). The last bust of a Habsburg displayed in the Pálffy collection is, therefore, the still uncrowned Archduke Leopold (fig. 14).

Fig. 4 David Weiss, *Maximilian I Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor*, 1654, limestone, SNM-Múzeum Červený Kameň.

Fig. 5 Francesco Terzio and Gaspare Oselli, *Maximilianus I*, in *Avstriacae Gentis imaginvm pars* [...]. 1 (1569), f. 6, copperplate, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf.

Fig. 6 David Weiss, *Charles V Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor*, 1654, Limestone, SNM-Múzeum Červený Kameň.

Fig. 7 Francesco Terzio and Gaspare Oselli, *Carolus V*, in *Avstriacae Gentis imaginvm pars* [...]. 1 (1569), f. 4, copperplate, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf.

Fig. 8 David Weiss, *Maximilian II Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor*, 1654, Limestone, SNM-Múzeum Červený Kameň.

Figs. 9 and 10 David Weiss, *Ferdinand II Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor*, 1654, limestone, SNM-Múzeum Červený Kameň. Photo before (9) and after (10) restoration.

Fig. 11 David Weiss, *Ferdinand III Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor*, 1654, limestone, SNM-Múzeum Červený Kameň.

Fig. 12 David Weiss, *Ferdinand IV Habsburg, King of the Romans*, 1654, limestone, SNM-Múzeum Červený Kameň.

Fig. 13 David Weis, *Archduke Leopold William Habsburg*, 1654, limestone, SNM-Múzeum Červený Kameň.

Fig. 14 David Weiss, *Archduke Leopold Habsburg*, 1654, limestone, SNM-Múzeum Červený Kameň.

The study of artistic style reveals that David Weiss was also the author of nine further busts of Habsburg scions on the outer wall of the former banqueting hall of Castle Kirchschlag in Lower Austria. Nicolaus IV Pálffy inherited this castle from the Puchheim family who were his relatives on his mother´s side in May 1658.[39] But, in fact, Nicolaus IV Pálffy started to order and pay for architectural and artistic works on Castle Kirchschlag ever since 1655.[40] The rather substantial amount of 100 and then a further 200 florins, which Weiss obtained in July 1655 and in March 1657, was paid through the Pálffy accounting office at Červený Kameň.[41] It seems that Weiss created for Nicolaus Pálffy once more a considerable number of statues, not only the statue of a naked Venus for the then just completed, charming *Sala Terrena* in the castle of Červený Kameň (fig. 15). Of course, the iconographical programme, the intention as well as the artistic style of the *Sala Terrena´*s decoration were different from that of the 'official' staircase on the *piano nobile*.

Fig. 15 David Weiss, statue of Venus in the *Sala Terrena* of Červený Kameň Castle, 1654, limestone, SNMMúzeum Červený Kameň.

The Kirchschlag busts portray only a small selection of historical and contemporaneous Habsburgs: these include the first king of the Romans, Rudolf I, as well as the first emperor Friedrich IV (?).[42] Next in line are Charles V and Philip IV as representatives of the Spanish branch of the family. From the Austrian dynasty, Rudolf II, Mathew and Ferdinand III were chosen, in addition to two archdukes: Leopold William and the young Leopold (I). Similarly to the Červený Kameň Castle collection, the sequence ends with busts of the regent, Archduke Leopold William, and of his nephew Leopold who by then was not yet of age (and still not fully accepted) as aspirant to the Holy Roman Emperor´s throne.

Conclusion

From the perspective of contemporaneous politics, Palffy´s decision to present the imperial iconographic programme may have been somewhat unusual. Had he chosen a Hungarian royal iconography, without doubt Leopold I could have been included among its territorial rulers. Nonetheless, it seems that the display of an imperial iconography served at that time as the most powerful political demonstration of loyal aristocrats in support of Leopold, while he was still aspiring to the imperial throne.

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Illustrations

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Figs. 3, 5 and 7 Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg i. Br., H 5367, f. 4,6 and 15; URL: http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/terzi_austri-1/0010; -1/0008 and 1/019 (revised: 12 September 2016).

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[1] This study was supported by the grant KEGA 010TTU-4/2013: *Portrétna maľba 16. a 17. storočia na našom území v stredoeurópskych kontextoch a formovanie sa šľachtických portrétnych galérií* [sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portrait painting in Slovakia within the context of Central Europe and of the formation of princely portrait galleries].

[2] As an example, we may take the case of the Illesházy family of Trenčín. After moving to Dubnica in 1676, they kept two or three portraits of the emperors (and of the Habsburgs as Hungarian kings mainly from the period after the Battle of Mohács, 1526) and on average one portrait of the empress in almost every room of their palace at Trenčín–even in the *oratorio*. See Watzka 1957.

[3] For additional information, see Herbst 1970, pp. 210–21; Polleroß 1985, pp. 23–27; Tacke 2004, pp. 130–32; Kubeš 2005, pp. 236–37.

[4] See Matsche 1997 and Tacke 2004, p. 130.

[5] For example in Polleroß 1999, p. 36.

[6] The term was first used in the *Topographia Windhagiana* (1656/73). See Polleroß 1985, p. 26 and Polleroß 1999, p. 36.

[7] For example, see Tacke 2004, p. 130.

[8] For more information, see Stupperich 1995, pp. 39–58; Eichberg 1998, pp. 117–22 and Tacke 2004, pp. 126–30.

[9] According to Sitte 1908, p. 46.

[10] The inventory was written in Old Slovak. See Watzka 1957, p. 405.

[11] See Kubeš 2005, pp. 230–40; Polleroß 2010.

[12] According to Fidler 1995–1997, fig. on p. 227 (Juvenel).

[13] See Štibraná 2013, pp. 110–11, fig. 63. The portrait of Maximilian Heinrich von Bayern, archbishop of Cologne, is still preserved *in situ*.

[14] Watzka 1957, p. 405.

[15] Buzási 2012, p. 915. Sitte 1908, p. 46 ('*Kayßerzimmer*').

[16] Sitte 1908, p. 38.

[17] Sitte 1908, p. 45.

[18] For example, see Polleroß 1985, pp. 19–27.

[19] Petráň 1995–1997, II/1, p. 298.

[20] Polleroß 2000.

[21] Kubeš 2003, p. 77.

[22] Available at URL: www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenahist/autoren/nadasdy_hist.html (revised: 18 August 2015).

[23] Buzási 1988, pp. 72–73, B. 14-1–6, figs. 50–56.

[24] Cennerné-Wilhelmb 1976.

[25] Polleroß 1999, p. 36.

[26] Kubeš 2005, p. 236.

[27] Published by Štibraná 2013, pp. 149–51, figs. 89–104.

[28] The series of busts is first mentioned by Rusina 1983, p. 44.

[29] See Rusina's catalogue entry in *Barok* 1998, p. 427, cat. nr. 107 (Weiss, *Busty cisárov*, 1654).

[30] Compare to Fidler 1995–1997, IV, p. 248 (Weiss); Fidler 2004, p. 226.

[31] Bastl 2000, chart in the text (without pagination).

[32] Fidler 1994, p. 226.

[33] As observed by Kubeš 2005, p. 237, such an iconographic connection was quite unusual, as we may expect, and he found more examples in Moravia and Silesia than in Bohemia.

[34] As a point of comparison, see Leuschner 2006, p. 10.

[35] Scheicher 1983, pp. 43–89.

[36] Leuschner 2006, pp. 13–21. Stupperich 1995.

[37] The busts are the property of The Slovak National Museum-Museum Červený Kameň (SNM-MČK), Inv. N.: S – 300 to S – 316.

[38] Smíšek 2012, pp. 279–81.

[39] Žudel 1967, p. 66.

[40] As early as in 1655, Pálffy entrusted the imperial court architect, Filibert Luchese, with the project of a façade and with the construction of the ceremonial hall at the castle in Kirchschlag. See URL: www.uibk.ac.at/aia/luchese_filiberto.htm (revised: 20 January 2015). Also, Wanek 1988, pp. 134–51.

[41] Fidler 1995–1997, IV, p. 248 (Weiss).

[42] On URL: www.royaltyguide.nl/countries/austria/kirchschlag/bustenwand.htm (revised: 20 January 2015) the bust of Albrecht I can be found; a bust labelled as an ancestor (Ahnherr) might be Emperor Friedrich IV. See URL: www.vskirchschlag.ac.at/deutsch/001Hofhaus.htm (revised: 20 January 2015).

Vienna, Prague, Paris and Augsburg:

The Provisioning of Interior Decoration in the Ludwigsburg Residence

Ulrike Seeger (Universities of Stuttgart/Marburg, Germany)

The essay addresses the organization and initial stages of the interior decoration at Ludwigsburg Residential Palace in the Duchy of Württemberg. Duke Eberhard Ludwig of Württemberg (r. 1693–1733) ordered the building to be erected from 1704 onwards; he originally intended it as hunting lodge. From c.1711, the duke gradually extended and transformed the complex into a formal residence.[1]

The Political and Economic Situation in South-Western Germany after 1700

The focus of the essay is on the campaign of interior decoration, which was started around 1708 and which lasted in its early phase until the year 1716. This topic is of particular interest, since the three residences that emerged at the south western edge of the Holy Roman Empire after 1700 – Durlach (Margravate of Baden-Durlach), Rastatt (Margravate of Baden-Baden) and Ludwigsburg (Duchy of Württemberg) – were being erected after a very long period of military conflicts. The border regions with France had experienced the effect of the Thirty Years' War followed by the War of the Palatine Succession (1688–97), with Louis XIV's conquest of Alsace (including the free imperial city of Strasbourg) of 1681 in between. The year 1701 would mark the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, part of which was also fought in the German South-West. By the end of the seventeenth century, the territories bordering France were wrecked, economically and otherwise. None of the sovereigns was able to rely on an established staff of architects or court artists. This fact begs the question of how such a building boom of palatial residences – taking off despite a multitude of difficulties around the year 1700 – could have brought forth this high level of quality in architecture and in interior decoration. How was the necessary knowledge about European standards in palace building acquired? In what way and by which means could they be met?

Oberhofmarschall Georg Friedrich von Forstner

After modest beginnings – architecturally as well as in terms of conception – a new basis for the Ludwigsburg enterprise was established in 1707, some three years after laying the foundation stone. From the beginning, the duke's Haushofmeister (major domo), Baron Georg Friedrich von

Forstner, acted as the supervisor of the gardens. While the construction proceeded, the administration became more institutionalized. In January 1707, Forstner was appointed as Baudirektor (director of works). Together with the soon to be created building commission, he was in overall charge of the construction of Ludwigsburg, which he directed and supervised.[2] In addition, by 1708, Forstner held the office of Oberhofmarschall (lord chamberlain) and became thus responsible for the running of the entire court.[3] Georg Friedrich von Forstner (1676–1717), born the same year as Eberhard Ludwig, had accompanied him as his valet (Kammerjunker) on a Grand Tour through Holland, Belgium and England, including a short visit to Paris. Although, so far, researchers have tended to overlook Forstner's role and influence, he was a key figure during the first phase of the construction of Ludwigsburg Palace and of its interior decoration.[4]

Johann Friedrich Nette

In the spring of 1706, only a few months before Forstner was appointed as Baudirektor, Eberhard Ludwig managed to recruit Obristhauptmann (Colonel) Johann Friedrich Nette as his court architect.[5] Nette, who originally had come to Württemberg with the intention to join the army, was discovered as an architect immediately after his arrival in the regiment of General von Sternenfels, Forstner's brother in law.[6] Therefore, Nette's foremost patron became Baudirektor and Oberhofmarschall Georg Friedrich von Forstner.[7] Nette himself had been trained in Berlin, contributing to the construction of Schlüter's Schloss, and in Saxony. Because of his appointment, Ludwigsburg Palace rose above the provincialism of war-torn Württemberg.

In the centre of the residence's engravings (fig. 1) we see the old *corps-de-logis*, which was built in accordance with plans either revised or newly designed by Nette in 1706. In the autumn of 1708, following the completion of the building's structure, the architect travelled to Prague to recruit capable painters, stucco workers and sculptors for the planned interior decoration. We do not know why Nette chose Prague rather than Vienna, the imperial residence, or over southern Bavaria with its many monasteries and a thriving stucco tradition. Yet, from an art historical perspective, some important arguments may be presented in Prague's favour. Since Bohemia, unlike Vienna, was spared the immediate threat of Turkish attacks after the Thirty Years' War, building and decorating activities flourished significantly earlier and more richly than in Vienna. In addition, at the time of Nette's journey a building boom in Vienna, driven by the aristocracy of Austria and of the Hereditary Lands, tied the artists to their wealthy patrons.

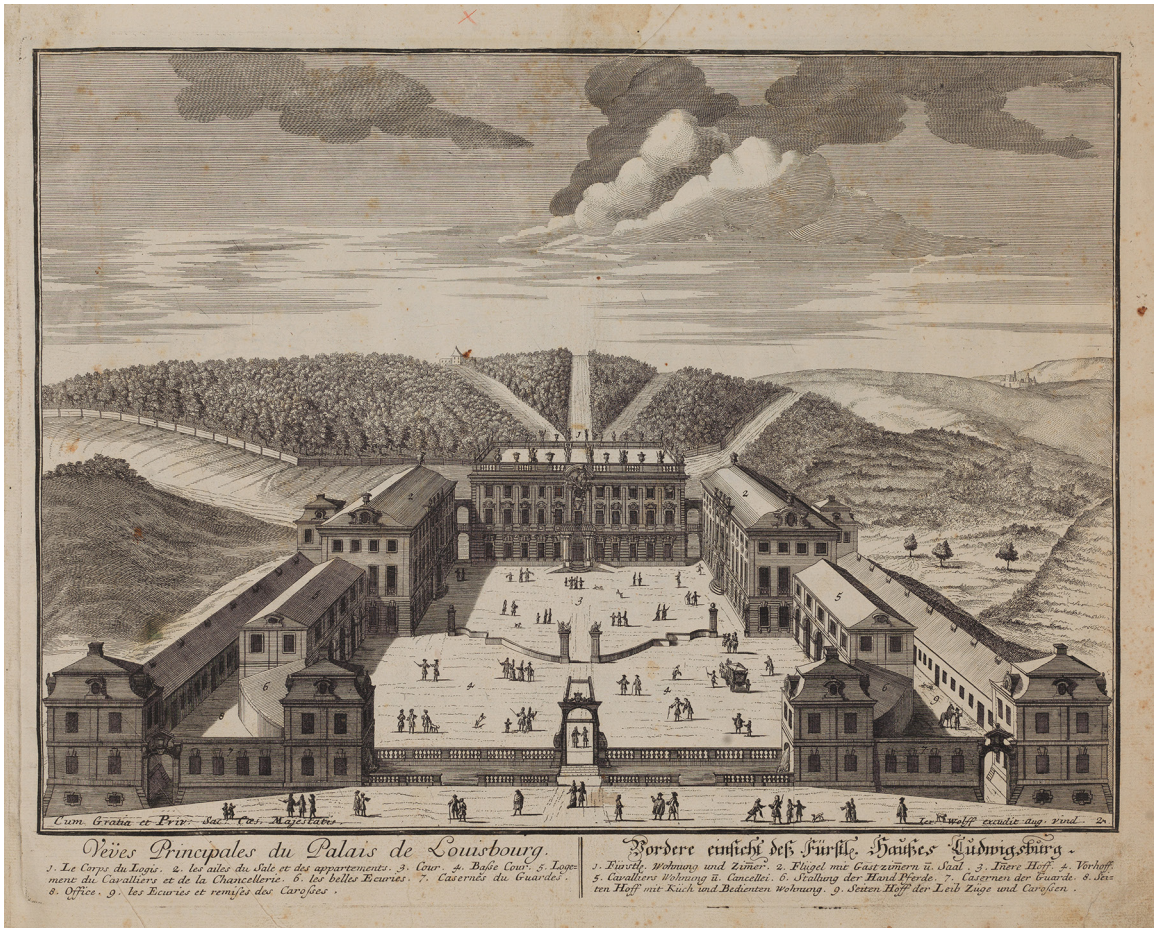

Fig. 1 Johann Friedrich Nette, *View of Ludwigsburg Palace*, 1709–12.

Moreover, the attention of the decision makers at Ludwigsburg may have been directed towards Prague following the example of nearby Rastatt. Due to the Bohemian ancestry of Margravine Sibylla Augusta, born Princess of Saxe-Lauenburg, a large portion of Rastatt's residential palace was executed by artists of Bohemian provenance. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that Nette had his own affinities with the Bohemian capital. During his training, he may well have acquainted himself not only with Brandenburg and Saxony but also with neighbouring Bohemia.[8] Even though geographically closer, the Bavarian monasteries were perhaps neglected in favour of the duke's aspirations to the artistic level appropriate to a prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Therefore, he preferred to draw on cultural and artistic inspirations that included the imperial and royal courts of Vienna, Versailles and Berlin.

Exploratory Travels and Purchases in Paris

While Ludwigsburg awaited the arrival of the Prague artists, Forstner travelled to Paris for just over a month from late March to early May 1709. The fact that he travelled at all and, more im-

portantly, what he purchased there for the Ludwigsburg building project can be gathered from the account books.[9] The enterprise started on 20 March 1709 with the allocation to Forstner of 500 Gulden from the building budget for '*einer pressanten ausgab, Ludwigsburg concernierend*' ('a pressing expense concerning Ludwigsburg'). All further allocations bear a date after Forstner's return in early May 1709. Apparently, Forstner paid some bills on the spot to be reimbursed later; some of the allocations spell this out clearly. Other goods were paid afterwards and transported to Ludwigsburg; the account books would then mention the additional expenditure for postage and shipping. Some of the money is specified as 'Gulden', other sums were paid in French currency, i.e. in *Louis d'Or* and *Louis blancs*. No original bills of Parisian dealers, publishers and architects are preserved; neither are letters by Forstner to his master. Therefore, many illuminating details of this 'journey of provisioning' remain hidden.

It was obviously Forstner's task to familiarize himself with current trends in architecture, gardening and apartment design, and to transfer the acquired knowledge to Ludwigsburg. The bills allow us roughly to reconstruct his course of action. He first turned to Pierre Lepautre who appears in the accounts as '*Architekt Le Pautre zu Paris*' and was paid 200 Gulden for '*allerlei Garten- und Architektur Riss*' (sundry garden and architectural engravings). Through his numerous engravings, Lepautre's father Jean was probably the French designer of ornaments best known in the Holy Roman Empire at the time. Therefore, with Pierre Lepautre (1652–1716), Forstner immediately engaged with the very top level of the Parisian design world. From 1699, Pierre Lepautre had been an important contributor to the *bâtiments du Roi* in his role as designer of ornaments and first of all as royal engraver.[10] From Lepautre, Forster was able to get exactly what was needed in Ludwigsburg at this precise moment of the building's progression: design samples of the highest standard for the interior decoration of the Salon, of the apartments and galleries. Most likely, the Ludwigsburg account entry referring to sundry garden and architectural engravings has to be interpreted as Forstner's not buying original designs but rather copper engravings with sample designs. The term 'Riss' is used in the accounts several times for both original plans as well as engravings. Nonetheless, the word 'allerlei' (sundry) – in connection with the relatively modest sum of 200 Gulden spent – seems to point at the likelihood of sample engravings being purchased by Forstner from Lepautre.[11]

Some of Forstner's Parisian purchases can be reliably identified with engravings in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, the successor to the ducal library (fig. 2). There are several series by Lepautre, of which I reproduce one here. This particularly sumptuous series of seven large-format sheets (measuring around 20 x 30 cm) depicts gallery-type rooms with three bays. Forstner must have been impressed by their opulence and wealth of creativity, since each sheet offered multiple variants of sumptuous interior decoration. Scholars date these images to the period of between 1703 and about 1710.[12] This means that, in April 1709, Forstner acquired what was then considered most up to date in palace design.

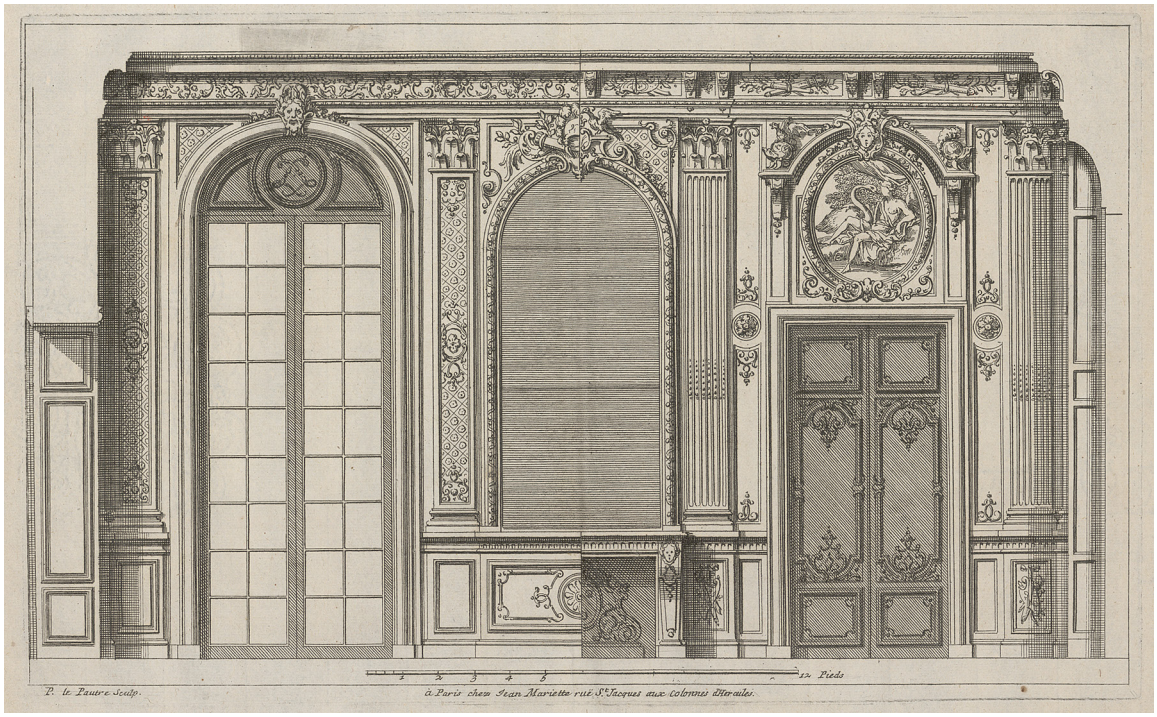

Fig. 2 Pierre Lepautre, *Designs for a Three-Bay-Long Room*, before 1709.

The accounts also mention Lepautre's engravings of garden designs, which were urgently needed to continue with the completion of Ludwigsburg. So far, it has been impossible to locate these engravings either in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek or in any of the other collections with (holdings of) Württemberg ducal provenance. There are several large-format series by Lepautre, which Forstner could have bought in 1709. The innovations of the day in gardening design included trellised pavilions, patterns for parterres and stairways. Forstner also purchased in Paris 'gewisse […] Riss mechanischer und architektonischer Sachen' (certain engravings of mechanical and architectural things), a multi-volume edition of Vitruvius and four pairs of compasses. The mechanical engravings, which I have so far also been unable to locate in the Stuttgart collections, were probably acquired with a view to installing water features at Ludwigsburg. Their proper functioning was very dear to Forstner's heart.

Most engravings of interior decorations in the Landesbibliothek bear the address of the then most important Parisian publisher, Jean Mariette (1660–1742). His premises were in rue Saint Jacques, a street preferred by seventeenth-century engravers, publishers and book dealers, leading from the Île de la Cité to the Sorbonne. Pierre Lepautre lived at the corner of rue Saint Jacques and rue de Foin, and he, like so many others, used Mariette as publisher for his work. Due to a lack of sources, we do not know exactly how Forstner went about his acquisitions of engravings: as mentioned above, the preserved documents prove that he first called at Pierre Lepautre's workshop since he had close links to the *bâtiments du Roi*. Unfortunately, we do not know whether he then directly approached Mariette, the publisher of the subsequent series of engravings, or

if he trusted a well-stocked book dealer. The name Mariette does not appear in the Ludwigsburg accounts. A Parisian book dealer called Charles Nemar, on whom the relevant dictionaries offer no further information, is documented once with respect to additional later orders of books and patterns.

There is proof that, for 228 Gulden, Forstner bought engravings from Mariette's publishing programme: 'Pariser Modellen als Betten, Sessel auch Riß von Caminen und Spiegel' (Parisian models as beds, arm chairs also engravings of chimneys and mirrors). Given a mention of bed hangings – a rarity in books of engravings – this passage in the accounts has to be linked to a series of engravings (of bed hangings) by Nicolas Pineau (fig. 3). Since these patterns of bed hangings are bound in early eighteenth-century brocade from Augsburg it is possible to identify this entire book of engravings – in conjunction with Lepautre's large-scale wall sequences – as the Paris purchase of 1709. In this book, one also finds a series of consoles by Nicolas Pineau (fig. 4) to which, so far, it has not been able to ascribe a date. Consequently, Forstner's purchases help establish an important date *ante quem*. Pineau was only twenty-four years old in 1709 but developed into one of the most significant designers of Régence ornament.

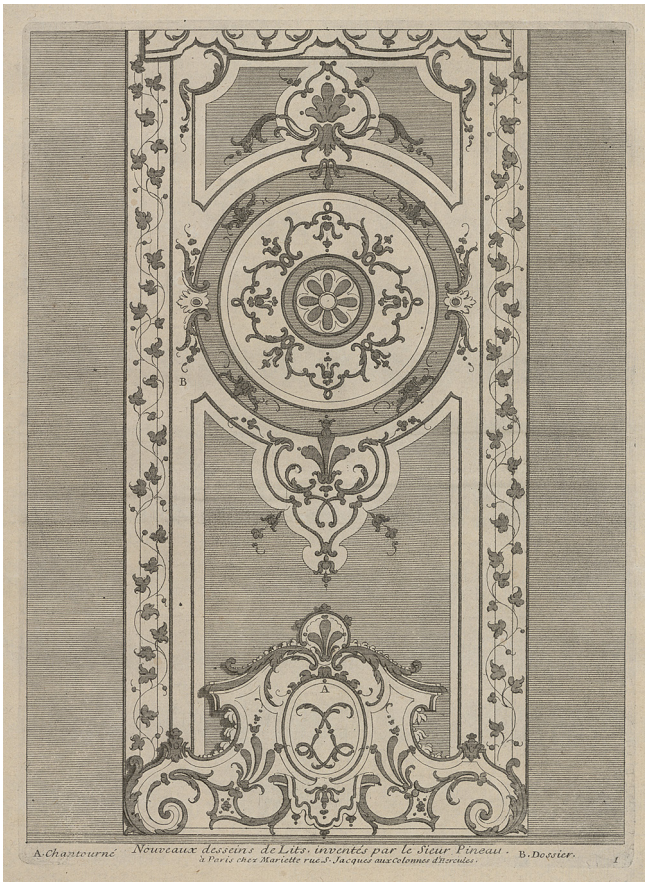

Fig. 3 Nicolas Pineau, *Design for Bed Hangings*, before 1709.

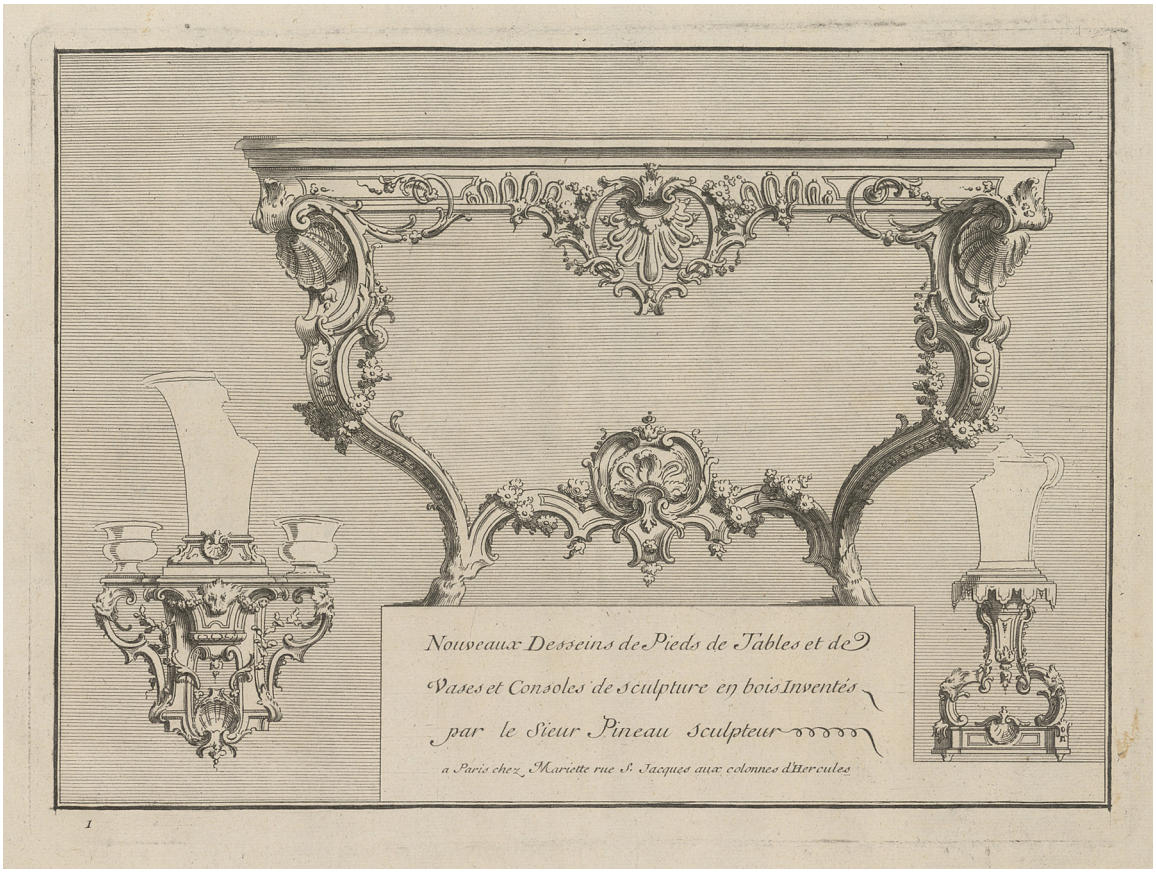

Fig. 4 Nicolas Pineau, *Design for a Console*, before 1709.

Augsburg – Centre of Artisanal Transfer

Another important source for up-to-date French patterns was the relatively nearby city of Augsburg – a centre for publishing and the art of goldsmithing. Nette's journey there is recorded for the summer of 1709, a crucial year for the interior decoration of Ludwigsburg, in which the Prague artists arrived and Forstner went to Paris. In Augsburg, Nette and the publisher Jeremias Wolff arranged the publication of engravings of Ludwigsburg Palace. Wolff's publishing programme also included engravings after Berain. At the Württemberg court, these were bound in early eighteenth-century brocade from Augsburg and Nette might have purchased them in 1709. Moreover, his proven early knowledge of Paul Decker's *Fürstlicher Baumeister*, published as late as in 1711, may well have been facilitated by Wolff, publisher for both Nette and Decker.

It is difficult to explain how the Parisian designs were used. It seems, however, that the northern Italian stucco artists, Donato Giuseppe Frisoni and Tommaso Soldati, who had arrived from Prague, made quite an impression with the help of their skills and that their exceedingly magnificent stucco decorations were very compelling. The ceilings of the eastern ground floor apartment, according to the current state of research, were executed during the very early phase

of their stay in Ludwigsburg (figs. 5 and 6). Frisoni and Soldati did what they could and presented their skills by the use of techniques such as bronze and brass plating.

Fig. 5 Ludwigsburg palace, stucco ceiling on the ground floor, Donato Giuseppe Frisoni, 1709.

Fig. 6 Ludwigsburg palace, stucco ceiling on the ground floor, Tommaso Soldati, 1709.

It seems that at first the Parisian patterns were used in a rather subordinate and, particularly, in a non-figurative context. The purely ornamental ceiling panels of the ground floor passage seem to indicate such a *modus operandi* (fig. 7). Here, traditional motifs such as sweeping trefoil medallions and acanthus were combined unexpectedly with distinctive scrollwork drawn from Jean Berain's engravings. However, in subsequent decorative phases, Frisoni, Soldati and Frisoni's nephew, Riccardo Retti, who later joined them, were able to harmonize convincingly their own repertoire with French motifs. As an example may serve the ceiling fresco of 1715 in the Marmorsaletta (little marble hall), based on the plafond of the Palais Tessin in Stockholm, knowledge of which arrived in Ludwigsburg via an engraving executed by Sébastien Leclerc in Paris.[13]

Fig. 7 Ludwigsburg palace, stucco ceiling in the ground floor vestibule, 1710.

The textiles of Ludwigsburg's old *corps-de-logis* were tapestries and mainly produced in the Duchy. Following the examples of Berlin, Ansbach (Schwabach) and Bayreuth (Erlangen), back in 1698 Eberhard Ludwig had granted privileges to the Huguenot Charles Leonhard Tellier, who had arrived from Schwabach, with a view to establishing a manufacture in Stuttgart. The enterprise flourished due to the duke's many orders. Most of the tapestry cartoons were variations on famous models. For example, a painting by the French artist Claude Simpol, presumably from 1711 and 1712,[14] served as model for one of the four-part series of the Four Seasons.[15] Despite their high quality and their use of French models, in 1715 Eberhard Ludwig decided to send Tellier to Paris to purchase tapestries for nearly 5,000 Gulden.[16]

Non-figurative textiles used in Ludwigsburg, such as borders and fabrics, were purchased from court Jews, who also supplied the electoral court in Mainz. Tailoring and embroidery were carried out in Stuttgart. Some less sumptuous textiles were produced in Neuhausen auf den Fildern, a Catholic enclave near Stuttgart. In either case, it seems that Forstner dictated colours, patterns and materials and checked the results on site.

Conclusions

In this final part, I would like to address Paris's possible function as role model for the interior decoration at Ludwigsburg Palace. My conclusions are mainly based on the intentional acquisition of Parisian models, which I was able to prove for the year 1709 with the help of the Ludwigsburg account books and of the holdings of prints and drawings preserved in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek. When Forstner left for Paris in the spring of 1709, the duke in Ludwigsburg (and presumably Forstner as well) was still uncertain about how good the artisans from Prague might be. It is also possible that Eberhard Ludwig and his Baudirektor Forstner aspired to something quite beyond the usual repertoire of travelling northern-Italian plasterers and stucco artisans. In any case, additional French models were obtained. They served to broaden horizons, to further the general education and, possibly, to offer some inspiration to the artists arriving from Prague. Irrespective of their later use, the original prime motive was to establish an awareness of European standards. The rather hesitant implementation of the engraved Parisian models certainly had something to do with the exceptional quality of the Prague stucco workers. Moreover, the engraved designs of Daniel Marot arrived at Ludwigsburg in the year of 1712 and seem to have been much more to the duke's 'Baroque' taste than the rather sober Parisian models of the bâtiments du Roi. Jean Marot, who had left France in 1685 after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes to go to the Netherlands and then to England, specialized in designing completely furnished rooms, including beds of state, upholstered chairs, clocks and porcelain. Obviously, it was Marot, who provided the high artistic standard that Duke Eberhard Ludwig wished to claim for himself to become accepted by the princes and electors of the Holy Roman Empire as well as by his military idol, Eugene of Savoy.

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Illustrations

Figs. 1–4 photos: Württembergische Landesbibliothek Sch.K.fol. 23 and 983.

Figs. 5–6 photos: Martin Mádl, Institute of Art History, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague.

Fig. 7 photo: author.

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[1] For a detailed overview of the architectural and artistic history of Ludwigsburg Residential Palace, see Fleischhauer 1958 and Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg 2004.

[2] Weiß 1914, p. 36. Merten 2004, p. 12.

[3] Oßwald-Bargende 2000, p. 83. The Oberhofmarschall was the highest-ranking administrator of a princely court. He ran the Hofmarschallamt (Chamberlain's Office) and supervised all economic affairs.

[4] Forstner's role as Baudirektor was first acknowledged in Weiß 1914, p. 36. Forstner as Baudirektor is judged rather negatively by Fleischhauer 1958, p. 175. Allegedly, Forstner encouraged the duke's excessive expenditure for Ludwigsburg, '*ohne jedes Verständnis und ohne menschliches Gefühl für die verheerenden Auswirkungen der in gar keinem Verhältnis zu dem bescheidenen Wohlstand des Landes stehenden ungeheuerlichen Ausgaben für das Bauwesen*' (lacking every understanding and human feeling for the damaging consequences of the monstrous building expenses that bore no relation to the modest prosperity of the country. Transl. by Gerhard Bissell). This essay provides a glimpse into my more substantial, ongoing research into his role; Seeger forthcoming c. 2019–2020.

[5] Reasons for Nette's early arrival in Ludwigsburg in the spring of 1706 are discussed in Seeger c. 2019–2020.

[6] Merten 2004, p. 12.

[7] Weiß 1914, pp. 19–20. Fleischhauer 1958, pp. 174–77.

[8] To alleviate the illness that affected him from 1708 onwards, Nette did not choose one of the Black Forest spas in Württemberg but travelled to Carlsbad in Bohemia (Weiß 1914, p. 21).

[9] Forstner's purchase of French engravings is first mentioned in Fleischhauer 1958, p. 175. Fleischhauer refers to source material without postulating a journey to Paris at this point. For references in the account books, listing purchases of engravings, see Merten 2004, p. 17 with detailed sources.

[10] Préaud 2008, p. 22.

[11] Higher-ranking or artistically more ambitious courts such as that of the elector of Bavaria or the Würzburg Prince Bishop Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn were not satisfied with mere reproductions. Rather, they consulted an architect in Paris to revise their plans (Robert de Cotte) or even hired a French architect outright (Germain Boffrand).

[12] Wilke 2016, cat. no. 162, II, pp. 207–09.

[13] Pozsgai 2004, pp. 83–85.

[14] Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg 2002, pp. 133–35.

[15] It is likely that Tellier was entrusted with the task of finding appropriate models. At least, the way Pierre Mercier's Berlin manufacture usually operated makes one expect such a course of action; Heinz 1995, p. 195.

[16] Fleischhauer 1954, pp. 254–56.

The Model of a Régence Palace Interior:

The Dollhouse Collection *Mon Plaisir* in Arnstadt, Germany (1690–1750)

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Few complete cases of Régence interior decoration have outlasted the changing taste of fashion and successive campaigns of re-decoration to this day. One example still exists, however, in the rather extraordinary medium of the dollhouse collection *Mon Plaisir* in Arnstadt, Germany. The main part of the collection was brought together between 1715 and 1735 and, therefore, follows the Régence style, which reduced the monumental scale of the 'absolute' Baroque before it turned into the *rocaille* ornament of the Rococo. Its dominant stylistic device is floral or geometrical strap work ('Bandelwerk'), that covers walls, the lambris/dado, doors and fire-screens in *Mon Plaisir* (fig. 1). The collection, in general, offers wide possibilities of interpretation as to its various personal and symbolic functions for the court, the collector and the local society.[1] The examination of the constructing principles of the miniature houses, of the interior decorative schemes and of the furnishings allows us to reflect on possible parallels to original full-size decorative schemes and to draw conclusions about the contemporary reception of the French Régence in Germany. Nonetheless, it needs to be clarified what is usually meant by the term 'régence' and what are its stylistic key elements. After a brief introduction to the history and background of the collection, the aesthetic principle and iconography of the scenes, the production of the miniature furniture and of the doll-figurines, this essay will focus on the types of rooms within the miniature palace. It will investigate the defining interior elements, look at the construction of walls and ceilings and at the usage of furniture indoors, before summing up in relation to the theory of 'cultural transfer'.

Fig. 1 *Blue Salon.* The interior decoration contains a double-winged door with strap work ornament and silk wall cover, dado panelling and a white chimneypiece in the background.

The Régence Period in Europe and Key Elements of its Interior Design

The term 'régence' traditionally has two meanings. First of all, the term refers to the decade between the death of Louis XIV of France in 1715 and the succession of Louis XV in 1723 and thus to the period during the regency of Philip of Orleans. Later the term for a short phase in French political history was transferred to denominate a decorative style. The Régence as a style marked the end of the heavy Baroque opulence, both in interior design, ceremonials and behavioural norms at great and small courts in Europe. As mentioned above, technically, the term only applies to seven years but as a decorative fashion, it began around the year 1700 toward the end of Louis XIV's reign- and after the Bourbon wars of succession. The style originated in Paris as a reaction against the official art of the 'absolute' state and was initiated by an elite of urban aristocrats who favoured a more private, yet highly aristocratic taste, the prime aesthetic principle of which followed the idea of grace and gallantry. Régence style as a cultural reaction is the result of the dawning change of the political and social system of the ancient regime. Generally, French and also English decorative systems and furniture take their labels from the ruling monarch during its height of popularity, for example *Louis Seize* or *Queen Anne*. The Régence style was, however, not named after Philip of Orleans who was only acting as stopgap for the next king. The lack of a strong sovereign led to a phase of insecurity as if French society had come to a halt while waiting for the next king to grow up. The Régence also coincided with the early Enlightenment movement

in which the individual was expected to overcome the traditions of societal standing and rank. Just as the political term 'regency' marks non-permanency, the stylistic label carries the connotation of a transitional phase. Interior decoration now established an up-to-then unknown diversity of vocabulary for public and private spheres of the arts at court. With the success of the more private over the stately taste within the French nobility came the dominance of the ornament over Baroque themes and decorations. In Paris, the comparably smaller architectural type of the 'hotel de ville', for example the Hotel d' Assy (1719) and the Hotel de Toulouse with its famous Galerie Dorée (1717–20), became the alternative to the grand palaces of the Baroque. The Régence saw the dawn of fayence and porcelain collections, which would become a social must after the building of the Trianon de Versailles; it saw the fashion of the China-mania among European elites. Chinoiseries flooded the Continent through the services of the East India company, so did furniture covered in shiny and durable lacquer of the K`ang Hsi period after 1680, but such goods were soon produced by European companies as well. Treatises explained the professional furniture makers and also to laymen how to 'Japan' a surface.[2]

Although there is an ongoing interest in the political Régence by historians,[3] hardly any art-historical research has undertaken a systematic approach to the decorative style.[4] 'Régence' for a 'transitional style', is usually applied when talking about the stylistic changes in interior decoration, in furniture, of hairdo and of dresses but it is not usually used as an independent term for an era sandwiched between the Baroque and Rococo.[5] Instead, it is considered a late, peculiar version ('Sonderform') of the Baroque and understood as marking either the end of the Baroque period or to be at the threshold to a new style, the beginning of the Rococo-period. It shares the fate of all transitional phases, since it is neither the one nor the other and, therefore, it cheats spectators and scholars of clear and recognizable patterns. Scholars seem to like the opulent Baroque and the eccentric Rococo at their most developed and with clear-cut characteristics, while interim phases are stylistically blurred, more complex and methodologically difficult to grasp. The Régence appears to emit a refined and delicate atmosphere, almost a reluctance that seems not to attract many scholars these days.

The Interior Design of the Régence Period and Stylistic Elements

It is not easy to extract distinct features of the Régence period exactly for the reason of its intermediate position between Baroque and Rococo. Nonetheless, some defining stylistic criteria of the Régence style can be identified. The Régence is characterized by its unpretentious variety of forms. The period interiors demonstrate an overwhelming importance given to the ornamental form (only exceeded by the Rococo), as a decorative device preserved from the Baroque. Visually, it implies an ongoing metamorphosis, a transition from the figurative to the floral to the material to the ornamental. One key element is the ornamental design of strap work ('Bandornament' or 'Bandelwerk'), which was developed by Bérain and Marot around 1700. In Germany it was widely recognized between 1715 and 1740 and was also used in *Mon Plaisir* (figs. 2a and 2b).[6] It is a complex fusion of the arabesque with acanthus leaves and small straps and exists in a floral and

curved and in a geometrical form. The ornament also includes figural themes and objects that, once applied to wall panels, wainscoting and table tops, were reduced to a mere ornament. The Régence preferred plain pilasters and a soft curvature and it aimed at connecting wall and ceiling zones. Nevertheless, the scheme of arranging walls was still oriented towards a more Baroque axiom of hierarchical order with a rhythmical change between pilaster and wall zone, wainscoting and frieze zone. The ornamentation is organized symmetrically and based on frequent repetition and intentional convergence. Most influential were French and German engravings of ornaments as well as pattern-books, which were reminiscent of the grotesques of the Renaissance. They formed the underlying ideas of the stylistic concept. Preferred colours were gold, white, pastels/ light colours and light patterns. The ornament became the connection between architecture and interior decoration.

Figs. 2a-b *Widows' Salon*. Régence wallpaper and *boudoir*, simple painted Régence ornament on dado/lambris (detail).

Because of the importance of the ornament, the decorative arts became the central media of the new fashion and were considered the highest form of art to overtake all other genres. The style thus spread through the work of decorators, cabinet-makers and bronze-workers such as Robert de Cotte (1656–1735) and Charles Cressent (1685–1768), Jean Bérain the Elder (1640?–1711), the architect and engraver Daniel Marot (1661–1752).[7] Influential were André Charles Boulle (1642–1732)[8] as well as the draughtsman of ornaments Gilles Marie Oppenordt (1672–1742), who designed parts of the interior decoration of the Palais Royal in 1716.[9] Their work impressed contemporaries by marquetry made from ivory, tortoiseshell and metal or with tapestried chairs. Of significant influence, especially on the decoration of furniture and on the fashions of the time were the works of Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) in the years after 1700 as painter of the spirit of the age in the form of the Fête Galante of an enlightened nobility who dreamt of an Arcadian idyll. This idyll is represented in several scenes of the dollhouses (fig. 3). Equally important were the designs of Judocus de Vos's series of 'European' chinoiseries between 1720 and 1730.[10]

Fig. 3 *Ballroom*. The court is dancing: ceiling-high, carved wooden chimneypiece with mirrors, wall-lustres and chandeliers.

Although the style originated in France, it developed into an internationally appreciated courtly taste and was quickly adopted throughout the Holy Roman Empire. Starting in around 1700, it became the dominant and most popular style for interior design and of the applied arts and crafts.[11] The pace of the European-wide reception of the new style depended on the medium to which it was applied. While women's fashions, transferred with the help of wooden mannequins were adopted immediately, interior decoration and furniture underwent a slightly delayed reception.[12] While in Paris modern style had already moved on to Rococo, the Régence had its heyday in Germany. Ambitious projects were undertaken by Wittelsbach patrons in Munich (Amalienburg and Residenztheater) and Cologne (Falkenlust) at the time, while Frederick the Great adopted strap work ornament in Potsdam (Sanssouci). At this point, the floor plans of the French Régence hotel departed from axial symmetry, for example in the case of the Hotel de Matignon in Paris built by

Jean Courtonne in 1722. In the Habsburg Empire Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt's (1668–1745) Oberes Belvedere, built between 1721–1723 in Vienna, went well beyond the usual ornamentation of furniture, interior decoration and ground plans to arrive at the ornamentation of a monumental architecture, which would gain fame by way of Salomon Kleiner's engravings.[13] Outside the princely courts of the high aristocracy, the situation was more diverse. In German rural courts an eclectic combination of modern-style interior decoration and traditional forms developed between 1710 and 1740. If we wish to understand the example of the dollhouse as a mirror of contemporary interiors, we have to take into account that only certain decorative elements of the Régence were adopted for some genres, rather than entire French decorative schemes or complete 'period rooms'.

The Historical Background of the Dollhouse Collection and its Collector

At the age of eighteen, Auguste Dorothea of Schwarzburg, Princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1666–1751) married Count Anton Günther II of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, a small German territory in Thuringia/Germany (fig. 4). To match her social standing among the nobility, the already small territory was divided and Anton Günther became the sole ruler of Schwarzburg-Arnstadt, which held 4,000 inhabitants. The couple resided in Schloss Arnstadt, a four-winged building dating back to the sixteenth century, which had been erected by the only politically important member of the family, Günther XLI (1529–83), who had served three emperors as a successful military and political leader. After his death, no other member of the family rose to more than local importance. Nonetheless, the dynasty belonged to the old nobility of the Holy Roman Empire. They were considered ideal representatives of their status as counts and, although they became Lutheran during the Reformation, always kept on good terms with the emperors in Vienna.[14] Auguste, therefore, married into an old and traditional house, which had neither territory nor political powers. Anton Günther was an intellectual, beset by ill health and unable to walk. As an antiquarian, he spent all his money on collecting coins and medals and kept a lively social circle of poly-historians and numismatists.[15] The social atmosphere at the Arnstadt court must have been more inspiring than one would expect from a place so small, but the childlessness of Auguste marred their happiness. After 15 years of marriage, Auguste increased her expenditure on luxury goods and turned to collecting dolls, most likely as a substitute for failed motherhood, but also because of her upbringing in accordance with ideas of a gendered education that included handicraft for women.[16]

Fig. 4 Portrait-figurine of Augusta Dorothea as widow.

Besides her garden, the collecting of dolls and dollhouses became the central occupation of her life. The earliest accounts of the dollhouse collection began in the 1690s and run as far as the very year of her death in 1751. The collection was steadily enlarged and amounted to 82 scenes in (originally) 17 dollhouse ensembles with over 2,000 miniature pieces and over 400 figurines. The collection was presented in a gallery in her private *maison de la plaisance* called Augustenburg, which had been built around 1710 near Arnstadt. After the death of her husband in 1716, the princess moved to her summer palace, which subsequently became her widow's seat. At times, she employed up to 100 servants who organized and managed a large household and real estate, including the food supply and trade, and which functioned like a small state ruled by her as the dowager. Compared to other aristocratic widows, therefore, she needed and spent a lot of money. Even though both the Brunswick branch and the agnate branch of her marital family tried to find cheaper solutions for her, such as a convent, she insisted on staying in her house and near her old territory.[17] No one objected seriously and, thus, here she lived there for another 35 years until her death.

Upon her death, the collection stayed at her palace for another 16 years, after which it was given to the newly founded orphanage of Arnstadt. *Mon Plaisir* had been visited by local nobility and by the public, while it was still on display in Augustenburg. Formerly part of a cabinet of curiosities it now entered an educational context and served as model on how to run a well-organized household for the orphans and certainly also as a memorial piece of the princess. In the early

nineteenth century, the orphanage was converted into a mental asylum and the dolls' houses were moved to the attic and eventually forgotten. Decades of utter neglect did great harm to the dolls and the houses as the delicate wax heads fell off, the figurines and furniture were dishevelled, pieces were broken and the eighteenth century textiles of walls and clothing as well as the woollen wigs of the dolls were heavily damaged by moth bite. The people of Arnstadt complained about the condition of the collection and appealed to the Prince of Schwarzburg several times for help. It was only due to the intervention of Marie, Princess of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen that the collection is still preserved. On her orders, it was transported to Schloss Gehren where what was left was cleaned, 'repaired' and finally moved to the public museum in Arnstadt where the collection has been on display ever since.[18]

Intentional Eclecticism

Since the entire collection was gathered together over a lifetime of at least sixty years of active collecting, neither the outside nor the internal appearance is homogenous (fig. 5). The houses differ in height, width, depth and in the internal distribution of rooms. They consist of a minimum of three floors up to a maximum of six floors. The cabinets did not stand on table consoles but started at floor level and, in accordance with the numbers of storeys added, went up to a height of almost 3 m. In the historical situation, the cabinets were presented alongside the walls of a gallery (20 m long and 3.5 m wide) and opposite one another. The walls of most cabinets are equipped with doors and the contents of diverse scenes not only related to one another (*church* opposed to *corps de logis*) but the dolls were arranged inside and outside the cabinets and communicated with one another. The impression achieved was that of a lively community of every social status. Some of the cabinets were clearly made in one piece (with all rooms planned together from the start), while others consisted of single modules which were re-arranged. The earlier projects followed a vertical order and a clear internal structure of only one scene per level (fig. 5, see the first four examples in the top row). Cabinets, which display outdoor scenes, such as the *Baroque Garden*, a *Harbour* or a *Deerhunt* were usually made of only two levels. The walls of the wooden cabinets are reduced as much as possible or were substituted by glass panels. In addition, the second level opens the ceiling to a curved half-tondo in imitation of the sky (fig. 5, final examples on top row). The hunting scene even uses a piece of linen imitating landscape as backdrop, which must at the time have been presented in front of a window. Daylight could shine through and give an appropriate impression of nature. The later projects were set out along a horizontal order and presented three to five scenes beside one another. Although some continue a symmetrical distribution of the rooms, others feature asymmetrical layouts (fig. 5, middle row). A possible variation consisted of presenting outdoor scenes at the bottom of a cabinet and indoor scenes on top (fig. 5, bottom right, Royal Mail underneath the salons). As a general rule, it can be said that the scenes were organized following the social order of the estates in the Holy Roman Empire. At the bottom were farmers and craftsmen, the middle level showed the bourgeoisie, while the top level was reserved for the depiction of the aristocracy. A formal exception is presented by the *Church*. It is the

only cabinet, which can be viewed from all sides and it is very nearly a realistic model of a church, whereas all the other houses are based on imagination.

Fig. 5 A heterogeneous impression of a lifelong collecting activity: sixteen of today's twenty-six cabinet cases, attesting to the great variety of sizes and internal structures.
All consoles at the bottom are of modern workmanship.

Scenes of Idealized Court Life

Mon Plaisir depicts a condensed microcosm of early eighteenth-century life in a middle-German residential city. It provides an encyclopaedic, yet personalized portrait of the court of Princess Auguste of Schwarzburg. Besides, it includes important episodes from her own biography. Sixty percent of the scenes represent court-related themes, such as the audience, the salon, the porcelain-chamber, the cabinet of curiosities, the court-painter at work, a court theatre, several bedchambers, masquerades, gambling, music making, dining, reading and hunting (fig. 6). Most relate to occupations dominated by females, although some show the princess with her husband or a group of men smoking and playing billiards in the *Tabakskollegium*, in accordance with the courtly custom of separating men from women after dinner. Most of the other scenes depict all the necessary lines of supply to her court and the crafts exercised at the domain, stables and

buttery, the brewer in his wine and beer cellar, two kitchens, a dressmaker, a carpenter, a wood turner, a weaver and an apothecary. Archival material and the floorplan of her castle show that all facilities depicted in *Mon Plaisir* also existed in her own Maison de Plaisir.[19] The remaining scenes show themes from her life, such as travel, visits at trade fairs and shopping tours. Two very important cabinets refer to her conversion to the Catholic Church in 1715 as forth member of her family (after her niece, father and sister). Her niece had to convert to marry the Habsburg Archduke Charles who eventually became emperor of the HRE in 1711 as Charles VI.[20] Her father had converted shortly before his death for unknown reasons. In the case of her sister Henriette Christine who had given birth to a child as the unmarried abbess of the Lutheran monastery of Gandersheim, the Catholic Church had acted as saviour and helped to camouflage the incident. Henriette thereafter lived in an Ursuline Convent in Roermond (Flanders).[21] Auguste thus had several reasons to convert, even though it led to great difficulties with the Lutheran agnate family. Aunt to the empress, very much obliged to the Roman Catholic Church for the role it played in saving the reputation of the family, as an act of loyalty to her father and hoping for financial support from Vienna, she converted as well. Two scenes illustrate the particular personal importance of this theme: firstly, the depiction of the Ursuline Convent, which most likely came as a gift from the Erfurt Ursulines. Secondly, as mentioned above, the model of a Catholic church, which showed a Corpus Christi procession – one of the highest Catholic ecclesiastical holidays and surely a red rag for the Lutheran Schwarzburg family. So, looking thoroughly at the circumstances and incidents of Auguste's life, one may well consider *Mon Plaisir* as a personal, object-based court-diary.

Fig. 6 *Porcelain Cabinet*.

The Production of Figurines, Houses and Interiors

The cabinets as well as the dolls or better figurines, since they are to be understood as portraits and representations rather than as mere toys, are from diverse stock and differ in size and quality. Today a little over 400 figurines are left; most likely only a quarter of the original amount. The central stock is of high quality and about 20 cm high. A wooden construction for the spine and limbs is padded by layers of textile filling material to form the body (fig. 7). The heads are made of bees' wax and adorned with human or animal hair. While male figurines always have legs and are able to stand on their own feet, most female figurines 'stand' on the hemline of their long skirts stuffed with paper if necessary. Usually they are presented in a sitting position, thereby presenting contemporaneous gendered patterns of behaviour. The faces of the figurines are portraits of the princess herself, of people the princess knew and of subjects of her court and territory. An eighteenth-century eyewitness confirmed the portrait character of the dolls that bore a great likeness to their real counterparts who came from all social spheres.[22] Apart from particular groups of dolls, which clearly originated in other locations, most dolls were produced at court as a collective task and daily occupation of the female household of the princess. Auguste herself certainly knew how to knit, to sew, to embroider and to make bobbin lace, since these were considered virtuous occupations for noble women. She employed a dressmaker and a carpenter in her household and, in addition, was served by skilled maids and by two friars of the Franciscan Capuchin Order after her conversion as her confessors but also for their skill of making waxen heads, a Catholic votive tradition.[23] Both friars left their signatures on parts of the miniatures and their responsibility for the dolls' portrait-heads can be taken for granted. The princess and her court ladies as well as her ladies-in-waiting produced part of the dresses for the figurines, glued original wallpaper or cut-out prints on the walls of the miniature rooms; they added drawings and paintings, decorated tables and varnished furniture. The whole court took part in creating this three-dimensional image of itself and the collective process fostered the identity of the mini-state. Moreover, *Mon Plaisir* served as storage space for 'proper' collectibles such as artefacts made from jade, coins or *memorabilia* and as the recipient of diplomatic presents. The cabinet, which depicts the Ursuline Convent, was proven to have been made at the Erfurt convent and, most likely, was given to the princess as a gift to enhance the relationship.[24] Some objects, such as the miniature furniture, must have been commissioned by the princess from local artisans. In sum, it can be said that the dollhouses are the rather eclectic result of a collective effort made by the entire household in conjunction with the usual collecting activities, very similar to the cabinet of curiosities still prominent at the time.

Fig. 7 Count Anton Günther II dressed in a silk dressing gown, seated in an armchair of red velvet.

The scenes and diverse parts that depict the apartments of the princess and her courtly life are to be taken as *miniaturizations* (not miniature copies or models) of the original interior of her spatial surroundings. In part, original-size wallpaper, most likely leftovers of the original decoration, were re-used to decorate the walls in the miniature ensembles. Still, it is possible that the miniatures show what the princess would have liked her rooms to look like, even though in reality they were quite different. Whether or not – and how strongly – the miniatures resemble the real castle we cannot tell, since both the palace and the *maison de plaisance* were dismantled or destroyed shortly after Auguste's death in the second half of the eighteenth century. Therefore, *Mon Plaisir* very well could have been a fashionable, three-dimensional model-catalogue for up-to-date interior decoration.

Types of Rooms within the Miniature Palace

Among the ensembles, there are four different types of rooms. The first includes rooms for representational purposes, such as a grand parlour and an audience room, the porcelain collection and the cabinet of curiosities. The second category comprises rooms destined for daily life, such as the bedroom, breakfast room and withdrawing room for leisure activities such as handiwork/needlework, reading or music (fig. 8). The third group is defined by its function for specific situations or groups of people such as the lying-in-room for women about to give birth, the nursery for the upbringing of children and, for example, the 'Tabakskollegium' with billiards reserved exclusively

for male use. The fourth category covers all rooms necessary for the supply of the court, which in reality amounted to a large percentage of the entire system but in *Mon Plaisir* is represented as about half the display. Here, all rooms that are necessary for cooking, food supply, storage, clothing, washing, health-care, for stables, for the butcher, as wine cellar and as the living quarters of the staff are included (fig. 9). Since the representation of the rooms in the dollhouses is directed towards its spectator on one side only, the distribution of rooms in *Mon Plaisir* in many cases does not reflect their real situation in the ground plan of a building. Rooms or corridors for maintenance that would have been hidden behind a representative room are shown beside or, more likely, even underneath it in the dollhouse. Thereby, the hierarchy from front to back, from visible to hidden, is translated from the originally horizontal organization to its vertical representation. Thus, the vertical order of rooms, functions and *personae* mirrors the social ordering of spheres. Not to forget, the miniature ignores some features, which were, however, integral parts of the original architecture such as staircases. The defining architectural elements in each room are the numbers and types of windows, the numbers and types of doors and the existence of a chimney, open fireplace or cast-iron stove. The windows, doors and the fireplaces define the social status of a room. All high-class rooms are equipped with a fireplace, the official rooms with a high, carved chimneypiece with a mantelpiece in the centre of a wall, the every-day rooms with a smaller and plainer chimney, sometimes placed in the corner of a room such as the *boudoir* (see fig. 3). All staff and supply rooms have only small tile stoves or metal stoves when considered a 'Stube' (a plain sitting room) and none at all, when serving as 'Kammer' or bedchamber (see fig. 9).

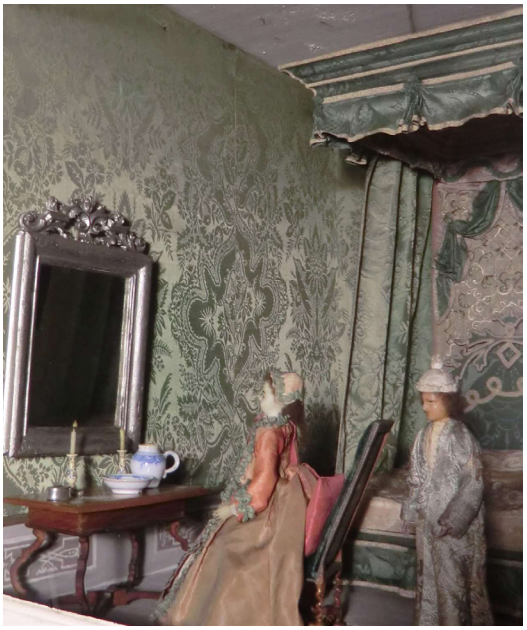

Fig. 8 *Bedroom*. Couple in front of a canopy bed of green and silver silk bed-hangings, wallcoverings (with original-size pattern) and silver mirror.

Fig. 9 *Silver chamber*. Unstructured wall without decoration as standard procedure for merely functional rooms.

The walls follow two structures: The first type is most complex and comprises a pedestal, panelling structured by pilasters and capitals and is completed by a frieze. It is used for representative rooms such as the salon or the porcelain cabinet (see figs. 1 and 6). In the case of the widow's salon, the wall is decorated by coloured prints, displaying ornamental strap work in clearly distinguishable fields glued onto it (fig. 2a). The wainscoting or dado and frieze-zone of the porcelain cabinet in white and gold are made of plaster and wood. The second decorative scheme employs a white or decorated dado of wood or plaster, usually painted at the bottom of each wall, above which wallpaper is attached up to the ceiling. This scheme is the most favoured and most rooms follow it. The blue salon and the green bedroom best illustrate this constructing scheme, as well as the general custom or obligation of interior design to tailor the colours of the furniture to those displayed on the walls (see figs. 1 and 8). The last kind of wall decoration leaves the walls uncoloured and unfurnished, most likely intended in imitation of lime wash, a paint that creates a good air-permeability and that prevents dampness and mould. This scheme was applied to all merely functional rooms such as staff chambers and storage rooms (fig. 9). The wallcoverings either consist of coloured prints, painted images in imitation of tapestries, textile wallpapers or of a decoration in *lacca-povera*-technique in the form of cut-out scenes glued to the wall (figs. 10 a–d). The mere size of the ornament implies that in particular the textiles consist of original wall-furnishings, chair covers or dresses used for a second time (fig. 11).

Most ceilings in *Mon Plaisir* are plain and white. This is most likely due to the fact that the ceilings are barely visible to the spectator. Only with great difficulty and with the technical

support of a spotlight their plainness becomes apparent. Nonetheless, most official rooms have a decorated ceiling. It probably is the result of the maker's wish to visualize the rooms as correctly as possible. Some show an ornamental motif in the centre of the ceiling (usually at the spot where the chandelier is fixed to the ceiling), a complete ornamental decorative pattern (fig. 11) or a completely painted plafond. In reality, the glass chandeliers, once they were lit, produced a lively effect of moving shadows and coloured light beams on the ceiling.

The furniture shown in *Mon Plaisir* is a reflection of the types of furniture popular in the first half of the eighteenth century and of their appropriate usage according to decorum. It consists solely of beds, tables, chairs, cupboards, cabinets, chests, storage furniture, shelfs, firedogs and fire screens, mirrors, guerdons, étagères and candelabra. To each type, there is a clear internal hierarchy and social ranking, tied to its function. The furniture is not homogenous in form, style and ornament; while some pieces still follow Baroque *formulae*, others show Régence ornamentation of floral *or* geometrical kind. This is the consequence not only of the production over the course of a lifetime but also of the cultural habit of either redecorating one separate room or a set of rooms at a time, but not the entire interior of a palace at the same time. In addition, it was possible to use furniture from different periods in one ensemble; even though this custom did not apply to representative rooms, it did not matter for less important rooms.

Figs. 10 a–d Forms of wall decoration: painted imitation of a tapestry; textile wall cover; Roman-style print as wallpaper; Chinese-style motif, cut out and glued to the wall.

Fig. 11 *Offene Tafel*. Gilded-leather wall cover (original size), geometrically ornamented ceiling in imitation of stucco, chandelier and draperies above the doors.

Beds are the most striking and dominant pieces of furniture to occupy a room. Mon Plaisir has a number of bedrooms, yet beds are also part of multifunctional rooms. They range from simple wooden bedframes for maids, daybeds, a very rare example of a folding bed for the housekeeper to keep the cold out in winter (fig. 12), a bunk bed with front lids used for children in the nursery and several examples of four-poster or canopy beds to be used solely by the nobility (fig. 13). Not only was the shape and size of the bed related to its owner's social status, even more important was the kind of wood from which it was made and the skilfulness of the carvings. Most important though, were the textile bed hangings and coverings. The more expensive and elaborate they were, the higher was the social rank the furniture was able to bestow.[25]

Several types of tables survive. Frequent examples of curved gambling tables for three or five players with slots for money or gambling-chips, including a basset or backgammon table, show the importance of all sorts of games for the daily routine at court (fig. 14). Tables for social activities were varieties of a round table top, which rests on a turned pedestal with three to five legs. A very modern gate-leg table served as side-table but could be easily extended by folding down the upper part of the tabletop and was also intended to be used for playing cards. Side tables, dining tables and tea & coffee tables have a regular and symmetrical construction and four

straight balustrade or turned table legs (fig. 15). The tabletops are rectangular or polygonal with marquetry decoration, painted with figural or floral ornaments or with cut-out prints glued to the surface to resemble Boulle designs. The dining tables are amazingly low compared to the chairs and to the positioning of the bodies of the dolls. Since both mirror the cultural habits of the times, we may deduce the fact that the average height of a table was lower than today. The frequent existence of small tables is for the provision of greater comfort and convenience.

The chairs displayed in *Mon Plaisir* follow every contemporaneous form of wingchair, armchair, settee and tabouret and were accompanied by their particular social connotation (see figs. 1, 7 and 8). Some examples of miniature cabinets and chests of drawers represent furniture, which was suitable for representative rooms (figs. 16 and 17). The cupboards are typical cabinets for the collection of gems, drawings and, especially, coins, the great passion of Count Anton Günther II. The cupboard may have contained precious china or Venetian glass vessels for drinking (fig. 18). All show simple inlays of Régence or Baroque floral ornament. Simple chests of drawers are used in non-representative arrangements with the functional purpose of safekeeping of clothes and silverware. Here the aesthetic value was not considered as important as in the official rooms. Cupboards that contained food or perishable goods are plain in appearance apart from those of the apothecary. While there the wall decorations and the textile designs already follow the new fashionable style of the Régence period, the furniture mostly continues in the Baroque style.

Fig. 12 *Chamber of a Lady-in-waiting*. Folding bed.

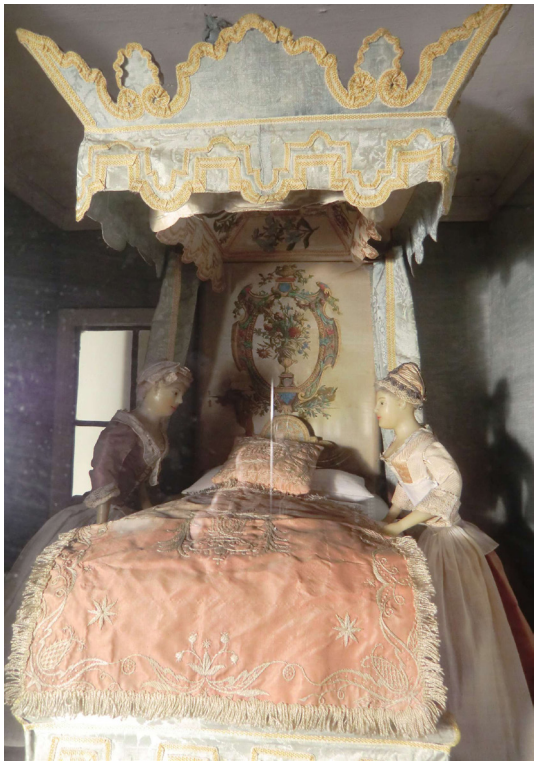

Fig. 13 *Bedroom*. Canopy bed with Régence curvature and embroidery.

Fig. 14 *Salon*. Gambling table.

Fig. 15 Traditional Baroque table-legs.

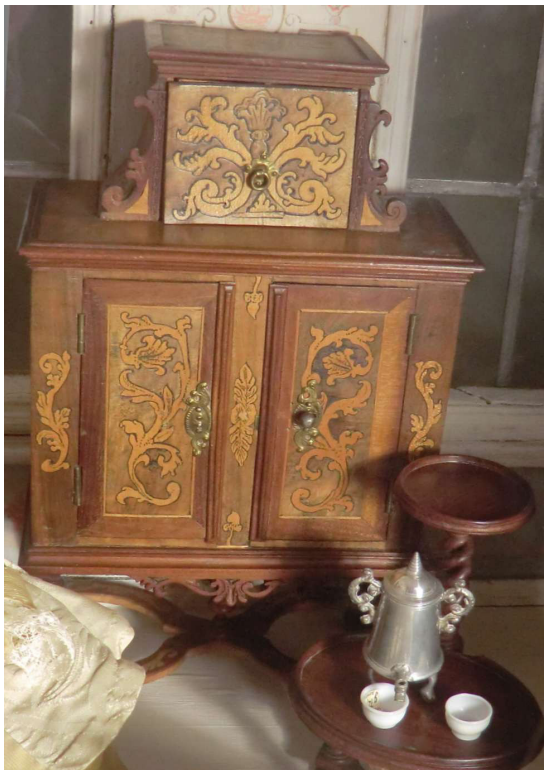

Fig. 16 *Corps de Logis I*. This wooden cabinet is designed for collections of smaller items. It is richly decorated with inlays of floral ornaments, executed symmetrically and produced as mirror image.

Fig. 17 *Corps de Logis I.* Cabinet for numismatic collections, gems or drawings.

Fig. 18 *Widows' Salon*. Cupboard.

Rural Cultural Habits and the Reconsideration of Cultural Transfer

This miniature display clearly still serves as an example of contemporaneous taste and style. Nonetheless, we may ask ourselves how closely the dollhouses resemble original interiors and what can be gained by looking at the miniature version? The deduction of information from a miniature carries some methodological problems. Apart from the wall decoration, all other items are movable and have been moved several times. Today (see figs. 1–18), the furniture is ordered and separated according to likeness and possible former placement. There is no evidence left about how items were placed by the princess during the first half of eighteenth century. Some ensembles are actually misplaced, for the twentieth-century curators did not know or recognize the scenes represented, for example, by the so called 'Offene Tafel' (ceremonial dinner) or by a masquerade. Many miniatures as well as the figurines are lost and have been destroyed. *Mon Plaisir* is neither a precise model nor a minute copy of an original interior. Most likely, the ideas for the wall decoration and representations of rooms were taken from places the princess owned, had inhabited or at least knew from visits. The residence at Arnstadt and her private Schloss Augustenburg, in each of which she spent over 30 years of her life, have long been destroyed.[26] Hardly any information of their former decoration and furniture exists today. Of the palaces of the Guelph dynasty at Wolfenbüttel, where she was born, raised and which she frequently visited as a grown woman (Prinzenpalais Wolfenbüttel, Salzdahlum Palais), only Schloss Wolfenbüttel has survived.[27] Some interior devices such as the principal genres and kinds of furniture and the wainscoting of the *chambre des parades* show similarities to Mon Plaisir.[28] Princess Auguste never explicitly stated her intention to create a model of her own court, but accounts of visitors described it as such. Nevertheless, the similarity of the scenes displayed to the life of the princess as presented by archival sources, very much suggests that she also tried to remodel her world not only in respect to scenic iconography in as much detail as possible. The lack of bills referring to miniatures also suggests the use of leftovers and the production of the miniature furniture at her court carpenter's and wood turner's, both court workshops confirmed by archival sources. Thus, we assume that she willingly miniaturized interiors and furniture examples, which bore some kind of personal relevance or were of aesthetic preference to the princess. The miniature as such is to be considered a result of a translation process that enhanced its meaning not in spite of but because of the small format. It offers a concentrated version of the formal, functional and visual ideas implemented in the original, since the miniaturization needs detailed decision-making and planning and a reduction of the key-elements of form and aesthetics to make it feasible.

While the interior decoration in *Mon Plaisir* is orientated towards a reduced version of the French Régence, the furniture still predominantly follows Baroque symmetry with heavy spiral balustrade legs or s-shaped legs.[29] The interiors of *Mon Plaisir* thus present a fusion of period ideas, styles and, *nota bene*, practices, which followed the fashion of styling an *enfilade* of rooms in one coherent style. At the same time, it was the custom to use the furniture that was handed down in the family or older decorative schemes or textile draperies on the walls. The reason for this re-use might be limited financial resources or simply the economical or maybe emotive idea

of prolonged object usage even if it went against fashion. Today, we would define this behaviour as 'sustainability', but surely the term did not exist at the time. This idea of using an item as long as possible seems very traditional. Moreover, 'fashion', as a term to describe the quick change of decorative styles was not applied to all genres alike and was heavily criticized.[30] While the cut of dresses or of textile patterns started to change more quickly around the year 1700, and at least among the nobility, heavy wooden furniture for example beds or dining tables remained in use, in particular at the smaller courts in more rural areas of the Holy Roman Empire.

The findings of the decorative scheme in *Mon Plaisir* call for a new consideration of the theory of cultural transfer, which has been a popular master-narrative in art-history and cultural history to explain aesthetic changes as a result of cultural hierarchies within Europe. The idea behind this model is the connection between cultural dominance and political status and the implied wish to become alike by imitation of a cultural habit. In part, this model can be shown to have been true. But just as 'absolutism' was not absolute, we will have to differentiate between the so-called 'trickle-down effect' in respect to cultural refinement from France to Germany and to acknowledge that aristocratic country style insisted on traditional and long-lasting forms, ornaments and materials, since tradition formed a core virtue of early modern noble identity. *Mon Plaisir*, matched against the backdrop of original interiors, displays both forms of expression, insisting on tradition and reception of novelties, which formed a hybrid fusion of the old and new. This perception and attitude might be true for small German courts in general and further research is necessary in future.

The Régence period definitely deserves more focused attention. Maybe it ought to be studied with the same academic concentration as Mannerism has been granted in recent decades meanwhile as an independent phase and not merely as a simple transition between the Renaissance and the Baroque. The Régence is viewed as a style, which draws only on certain aspects of the 'maternal-style' and makes them flourish in an absolute form without completely replacing the overall scheme. Although this is true for the Régence, I suggest to refrain from defining it merely as a developmental step towards the Rococo but to consider it as a style, which adheres to its own set of rules and which created an atmosphere very unlike either the Baroque or the Rococo. This consideration seems to be appropriate in particular for those examples in which the Parisian style was not adopted completely but only in part or blended with other stylistic elements due to financial constraints or to a locally diverse taste.[31] After Mannerism, the Régence is the first 'modern', *hybrid* style of pre-modernity.

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Illustrations

Figs. 1–18 *Mon Plaisir*, Arnstadt/Germany, Schlossmuseum. All photos taken by the author with the kind permission of Schlossmuseum Arnstadt.

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[1] See Cremer 2015 for detailed information on the dollhouses.

[2] Stalker/Parker 1688. [Cröker] 1724.

[3] Richardt 2003. Dupilet 2011.

[4] If so, authors only look at specific genres; see, for example, Dennerlein 1981 (on gardens) and Demetrescu 2003 (on furniture).

[5] Osborne 1975, p. 662.

[6] Wagner 2013, p. 40. See the image in Schlagintweit 1991, p. 149; on the historical discussion about decorative elements see Schütte 1986, pp. 134–51. Its principles were implemented as late as 1739 in the wainscoting of the porcelain cabinets of Schloss Ansbach.

[7] Wasmuth 1892. Berain 1703.

[8] Ramond 2011.

[9] Further examples are Jacques Gabriel (1667–1742), Germain Boffrand (1667–1754), Claude Gillot (1673–1722).

[10] Wetzel 1993, p. 380.

[11] Wetzel 1993, p. 381.

[12] Gröber 1928, p. 55 (on mannequins as communicators of fashion). Wittkop-Menardeau 1962, p. 56. From the last quarter of the eighteenth century fashion was quickly distributed by F.J. Bertuch's, *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* published at Weimar between 1786 and 1825.

[13] Kleiner 1731–1740.

[14] Cremer 2012, pp. 111–54.

[15] Schiffner 1985, pp. 5–22.

[16] Multer 1998, pp. 109–13.

[17] Cremer 2015, p. 189.

[18] '"Mon Plaisir" in Arnstadt', *Arnstädter Anzeiger*, 28.10.1930.

[19] Cremer 2015, pp. 205–40.

[20] Hoeck 1845. Körper 1975. Peper 2003. Rill 1992.

[21] Küppers-Braun 2006, pp. 229–44.

[22] Leber 1965, p. 35.

[23] Hillier 1985. Lessmann et al. 2002. Einhorn 2008.

[24] Klein 1999, pp. 7–19.

[25] Cremer 2015, p. 62. In real life, the princess explicitly demanded textile covers of a lesser quality in comparison to her own for her court ladies. Pallach 1987.

[26] Hesse 1841, pp. 169–72.

[27] Grote 1996 and Grote 2005.

[28] Grote 2005, pp. 106–07.

[29] Leber 1965, p. 37. See also Ponte 2000, pp. 90–149 and Griseri 2000, pp. 272–323.

[30] Zedler 1732–1750, XXI, col. 700–12 on fashion. Contemporary criticism: Garve 1792, pp. 116–294.

[31] A fusion of diverse influences from Germany, Austria and France can be observed at the Residenz Würzburg, see Friedrich 2010, p. 18.

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The ten papers collected in this volume were first presented at the PALATIUM colloquium The Interior as an Embodiment of Power—The Image of the Prince and its Spatial Setting (1400–1700), organized by Stephan Hoppe, Krista De Jonge and Stefan Breitling and held in Bamberg in October 2013.
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