Mary of Hungary and Titian

Charles HOPE

Abstract
When Mary of Hungary died in 1558, she owned twenty-four paintings believed to be by Titian, making her collection by that artist the second largest at the time. Little is known about how she acquired them. This study examines these paintings (most of which have been destroyed), her particular role in relation to them, and Titian's arrangement with Mary.

Keywords: Mary of Hungary, Titian, collection, portraits, copies, replicas, Habsburgs, patrons

When Mary of Hungary died at Cigales on 18 October 1558 her possessions in Spain included no less than twenty-four paintings said to be by Titian, making her collection of his works the second largest then in existence, surpassed only by that of the Gonzaga in Mantua.[1] By far the greater part of this collection consisted of portraits, of which there were twenty, almost all of them showing members of the Habsburg family. Mary is known to have once owned at least one other portrait by Titian, of the future Philip II, which was sent to Mary Tudor from Flanders in 1553, not long before their marriage in the following year.[2] At that time, Mary of Hungary had asked that the portrait be returned to her, but there is no record of its later presence in her collection. In addition to the pictures by Titian, she also owned eighteen other paintings in Spain, of which thirteen were portraits, including Van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait, which she had inherited from her aunt, Margaret of Austria, the previous regent of the Netherlands.[3] An inventory of Mary's possessions at Turnhout, where she lived before moving to Spain, includes eighteen other paintings, of which sixteen were portraits, again almost all showing close or distant relatives.[4] All this indicates that Mary's interest in painting was almost entirely limited to portraits of past and present members of the extended Habsburg dynasty.

There are two major problems associated specifically with her paintings by Titian. The first is to identify and date the pictures themselves, most of which have been destroyed, and to outline the circumstances in which they were painted; the second is to define Mary's own role in relation to them. Was she a patron, a collector, or the curator of a group of pictures mostly commissioned by others? All but one of the paintings by Titian in her possession were certainly produced during or not long after his two

[1] PINCHART, A.: Tableaux et sculptures de Marie d'Autriche, reine douairière de Hongrie. In: *Revue universelle des arts*, Vol. 3, 1856, pp. 139 – 141; CHECA CREMADES, F.: *Los inventarios de Carlos V y la familia imperial*, Vol. 3. [Madrid] 2010, pp. 2913f; HOPE, C.: *Titian: Sources and Documents*. London 2023, pp. 1310 – 1313. For a general discussion see Van den BOOGERT, B. C.: Mary of Hungary as patron of the arts. In: CHECA CREMADES 2010 (see in this note), pp. 2807 – 2822 (also in Spanish, pp. 2791 – 2806).

[2] HOPE 2023 (see in note 1), pp. 1172 – 1175.

[3] CHECA CREMADES 2010 (see in note 1), pp. 2484 (Margaret) and 2914 (Mary); also in PINCHART 1856 (see in note 1), p. 141.

[4] Ibidem, pp. 130f. For the complete inventory see CHECA CREMADES 2010 (see in note 1), pp. 2823 – 2836.

visits to Augsburg, the first in 1548 and the second in 1550 – 1551, and probably the remaining one also dated from that period. Mary herself was in Augsburg for part of both the artist's visits.[5] The first one was at the invitation of her brother Charles V, and the second in response to a request by Charles's son Philip.[6] Both of these patrons rewarded, or promised to reward, Titian very generously, as did Charles's brother, Ferdinand, the future Holy Roman Emperor, for whom he worked during the same period, whereas there is no evidence that he ever received any payment from Mary. In order to determine what arrangements Titian might have made with her, it is necessary to understand his relationship with Charles, Philip, and Ferdinand.

At the time of Charles's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in Bologna in 1530, he rejected a proposal for Titian to paint his portrait; but he apparently changed his mind not long before he left Italy after seeing the artist's portrait of Federico Gonzaga, duke of Mantua.[7] On his next visit to Bologna, in early 1533, the emperor was indeed painted by Titian. As we know from surviving copies, the portrait showed him wearing armour and holding a sword.[8] Charles was so delighted with the picture that, after returning to Spain, he not only gave Titian a very generous fee but also granted him a patent of nobility, in which he stressed his outstanding ability, inevitably comparing him with Apelles, the one artist by whom Alexander the Great wished to be portrayed.[9] Titian then resisted the Emperor's request to come to Spain, but met him again in 1536 at Asti, on his next visit to Italy.[10] By this time, Charles had given Titian a privilege in Naples which, in theory (but not in practice), provided a regular income.[11] It was probably at Asti that Titian decided to send Charles's wife, Isabella of Portugal, an altarpiece depicting the Annunciation, which had been rejected on grounds of cost by its original patrons in Venice. As a reward for this initiative, Charles then provided a benefice in Milan for Titian's elder son and granted the painter an annual pension in that city.[12] The two men next met in Milan in August 1541, and once more in Busseto, near Parma, in 1543.[13] On that occasion, Charles lent Titian a small portrait of his now deceased wife, on the basis of which the artist made two larger ones. The first was finished in 1545, together with a *Venus*, which Titian said he would bring with him when he next met the emperor. He sent the completed portrait of Isabella later that year, at the same time offering to make any changes to it should Charles require this.[14]

Titian left Venice for Augsburg early in 1548, taking two pictures for Charles, the *Venus* promised in 1545 (which no longer survives) and a *Christ* painted on stone (now in the Prado, Madrid).[15] At that time, according to Pietro Aretino, some people believed that Titian would never again work for other patrons.[16] After his arrival, he was given rooms easily accessible to the emperor, and the close and frequent contact between the two men was a source

[5] Mary left Augsburg on 13 March 1548, having arrived on 23 November 1547 [HOPE 2023 (see in note 1), p. 1311, n. 3]. She was again there from 1 January to 7 April 1551, apart from a brief visit to Munich between 30 March and 3 April (Ibidem). Titian himself was in Augsburg from January or February to 16 September 1548 (Ibidem, pp. 887, 890, 927) and from early November 1550 to late May 1551 (Ibidem, pp. 1064, 1087f).

[6] Ibidem, pp. 872, 1042.

[7] Ibidem, p. 482.

[8] Ibidem, pp. 245 – 248, 345, 349 – 351. The attribution to Titian of *Charles V with a dog* (Madrid, Prado) is not convincing. See Ibidem, pp. 349 – 351.

[9] Ibidem, pp. 349, 358 – 362.

[10] Ibidem, pp. 374, 412, 416f, 429, 461f, 562.

[11] Ibidem, pp. 479f.

[12] Ibidem, pp. 475f, 479, n. 5, 582f, 631f.

[13] Ibidem, pp. 629, 631, n. 1, 685, 694.

[14] Ibidem, p. 822.

[15] Ibidem, pp. 806, 822, 886, 922 – 924. The *Venus* may have resembled the *Venus and Cupid* in the Uffizi. – HOPE, C.: Problems of Interpretation in Titian's Erotic Paintings. In: *Tiziano e Venezia. Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 1976*. Vicenza 1980, pp. 120 – 123. See also HOPE 2023 (see in note 1), p. 1162, n. 12.

[16] Ibidem, p. 889.



Fig. 1: Titian: Equestrian portrait of Charles V, 1548, oil on canvas, 283×335 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Inv. No. P000410. Photo: Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado

of comment.[17] There can be no doubt, therefore, that Titian was in Augsburg working specifically for Charles and that other tasks he undertook there were presumably with the emperor's approval. It is thus not surprising that at this period Charles doubled the pension previously granted to him in Milan. and on his departure gave him a very substantial cash payment.[18]

Many of the pictures listed in Mary's inventory can be associated with the 1548 visit, although some of them were not the originals. Thus, her portrait of Archduke Maximilian was presumably a replica of one sent in April of that year to the archduke's future wife in Spain; and that of Emanuele Filiberto, the nephew of Charles's late wife, was likewise a replica, of a painting sent to his father at Vercelli in August 1548.[19] Both Charles himself and Mary owned versions of a three-quarter-length portrait of the Emperor painted at Augsburg during that period, showing him in armour and holding a baton. It seems reasonable to assume that the one recorded in Charles's own post-mortem inventory was the original and that Mary's was a replica.[20] Several other versions are also mentioned in documents of the

[17] Ibidem, pp. 893f.

[18] Ibidem, pp. 908 – 910, 925.

[19] Ibidem, pp. 894, 917.

[20] For the original, see Ibidem, pp. 911, n. 3, 1264, 1309.



Fig. 2: Titian: Elector John Frederick of Saxony, ca. 1551, oil on canvas, 103.5 cm × 83 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. 100. Photo: KHM-Museumsverband

period.[21] By contrast, only one version of the famous equestrian portrait of Charles (now in the Prado) is recorded and is listed among Mary's paintings at Cigales (Fig. 1). This, too, was painted in Augsburg in 1548 and was sent to the emperor, who was then in Brussels, in or soon after September of that year.[22]

There were four other portraits of which only one version is recorded, showing individuals present in Augsburg in 1548 but not during Titian's second visit—of Christina of Denmark and her sister Dorothea; Maria Jacobäa, dowager duchess of Bavaria; and Maurice of Saxony.[23] The portrait of John Frederick of Saxony, who had been defeated by Charles V at Mühlberg in 1547, and who was shown in armour with a wound visible on his head, presumably also dated from this period, whereas a second portrait of him in civilian clothes and without a wound must have been painted during Titian's second visit to Augsburg, given that John Frederick was there on both occasions (Fig. 2). The portrait of Mary of Hungary herself could well have been painted during his first visit, although it is possible that it dates from the second. All of these portraits were listed in Mary's inventory, but of course, it is impossible to be sure that only one version of each was produced. Also painted in Augsburg in 1548 was a portrait of Charles's brother Ferdinand. This was completed by 19 June, when an order was issued in Innsbruck to permit Titian and his brother to export timber of a certain value in payment for it.[24] The portrait recorded in Mary's inventory was presumably a replica of the original owned by Ferdinand, but it is not known when it was painted.

On his way back to Venice in September 1548, Titian stopped in Innsbruck to begin portraits of Ferdinand's children, obviously excluding Maximilian and Anna, duchess of Bavaria, both of whose portraits been painted in Augsburg.[25] Mary's inventory includes entries relating to five of the other children—that is, the Archduke Ferdinand and four of his sisters. It is likely that the original portrait of Anna, like that of Maximilian, belonged to her father. Some portraits by Titian of King Ferdinand and members of his family were in Innsbruck in 1574, but it is unclear how many there were.[26] However, it seems certain that most or probably all of those owned by Mary were replicas. An indication of when these entered her collection is provided by two documents from 1553. On 28 August Mary wrote to Francisco de Vargas, the imperial ambassador in

[21] Other versions are recorded as painted for Charles's son Philip, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Ferrante Gonzaga, Princess Joanna of Portugal and possibly Giacomo Pirovano. See Ibidem, ad indicem.

[22] Ibidem, pp. 896f, 924, 926.

[23] Ibidem, 1311, n. 4 (Christina), n. 5 (Maria Jakobäa), n. 8 (Maurice).

[24] Ibidem, pp. 911f.

[25] The statement in Ibidem, p. 934, n. 4, that the portrait of Anna was painted in Munich is a mistake. Anna arrived in Augsburg on 23 November 1547 and was almost certainly still there on 31 May 1548. Ibidem, p. 1312, n. 11.

[26] Ibidem, pp. 2405f.

Venice, "We have made an agreement with Titian that he will have painted and copied certain images and figures, some of which he has provided to us."[27] A notable feature of this passage is that Mary evidently recognised that at least some of the paintings involved would not be entirely autograph. She went on to say that Titian had reported that eight pictures were ready—namely, a *Tantalus* and seven portraits of the children of Ferdinand—adding that she was also expecting to receive some other pictures from him and enclosing a list of works still outstanding, which unfortunately does not survive. In his reply of 4 October Vargas stated that of the pictures Titian had undertaken to paint in April 1551, shortly before Mary's departure from Augsburg, the first four had been sent to her some time ago. The artist was now sending the *Magdalen* and four portraits of the daughters of Ferdinand. He also raised the possibility of sending a portrait of the Archduchess Catherine. Apart from the *Tantalus*, which he would finish as soon as he could and which had been delayed by work on certain pictures for Charles V, Titian had done everything that Mary had requested.[28] In fact, as we know from Vargas's letter, Titian had painted portraits of seven of Ferdinand's children. Since only seven portraits of the children were recorded in Mary's post-mortem inventory, it seems evident that he did not also provide a portrait of Catherine. Those portraits showed archdukes Maximilian and Ferdinand, Anna and four of her sisters—most probably Magdalena, Eleonora, Margareta, and Barbara, who were the next oldest, apart from Catherine.[29] As discussed above, Titian had painted Maximilian in Augsburg in 1548, when Ferdinand was not there; and Titian was hoping to make a portrait of Ferdinand in Venice in November 1549, but he had been in Mantua then and returned directly to Innsbruck. However, he was in Augsburg at least from mid-December 1550 until February 1551, and it is likely that Titian painted him during that period.[30] The artist had gone to Augsburg on that occasion at the invitation of Philip, rather than of Charles, and was generously rewarded by him.[31]

Just because the paintings mentioned by Vargas had been ordered shortly before Mary's departure from Augsburg in 1551, it should not be assumed that she alone was responsible for asking for these pictures. It is just as likely that the decision regarding at least some of them was made by Charles V, or by Charles and Mary together. Charles remained in southern Germany and Austria during the following year, whereas Mary returned to her permanent residence in Brussels, so that was the obvious place to send the pictures. It is also important to recall that there is no evidence that Mary ever paid Titian for anything. He was in the service of Charles V, and presumably the production of these pictures was regarded as part of his responsibility to the emperor. In this context, it is interesting that on 31 May 1553 Charles wrote to Francisco de Vargas from Brussels, asking whether Titian had completed some portraits that he had undertaken to produce when he left Augsburg. In his reply, Vargas only referred to religious works for the emperor and his sister Mary.[32] The exchange nonetheless indicates that Charles was aware that Titian had agreed to provide some portraits for her. Another important point is that Mary was expecting to receive seven portraits of

[27] Ibidem, pp. 1158f: 'Nous avons faict convenir avec Tician de nous faire paindre et pourtraire certaines ymages et figures, desquelles il nous a fourny aucunes.'

[28] Ibidem, p. 1165.

[29] Ibidem, p. 1313, n. 18. Titian probably never saw Maria, Duchess of Cleves, the oldest surviving daughter apart from Anna.

[30] See Ibidem, pp. 1012f; and GACHARD, L. P.: *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, Vol. 2. Brussels 1874, pp. 440, 454. It is not certain that Archduke Ferdinand was in Innsbruck when Titian passed through there in October 1550 [HOPE 2023 (see in note 1), pp. 1058f]. It is unclear how Titian was paid for the portraits of King Ferdinand's children. For the portrait of Ferdinand himself he was supposed to receive timber to the value of 300 *gulden* (Ibidem, pp. 911f). In February 1550 the value of this concession was increased to 500 *gulden* (Ibidem, pp. 1081f), but whether this sum included the full fee for the portraits of the children cannot be established.

[31] Ibidem, pp. 1042, 1084 – 1086. In a letter to Aretino of 11 November 1550 from Augsburg (Ibidem, p. 1064) Titian referred in passing to pictures which he had brought to Charles, but since this letter is known only through the text published in the *Lettere scritte al signor Pietro Aretino* (Venice 1551), the text, which is highly flattering to Aretino, may have been extensively edited, so little reliance can be placed on the accuracy of this comment.

Ferdinand's children, and her inventory lists exactly that number. However, Titian had already painted portraits of two of the children in Augsburg in 1548; and in Innsbruck, on his way back to Venice, he began portraits of the others. At that time, he also began a portrait of the Archduchess Catherine, later queen of Poland, which became the property of her first husband, the duke of Mantua.[33] Thus, the idea of Mary assembling as large a collection as possible of Titian's portraits of members of the imperial family seems to have dated from his second visit to Augsburg, in 1550 – 1551, not his first, because she did not instruct him to produce replicas of the portraits of Ferdinand's children in 1548. However, already in that year, Charles had invited Titian to Flanders, presumably to paint more portraits for him, rather than for Mary. In the event, the artist instead chose to go from Augsburg to Venice.[34]

Only four other portraits by Titian known to have been owned by Mary remain to be discussed: two of these were of Philip, one showing him in armour and the other in a fur-lined coat; one was of John Frederick of Saxony; and the fourth was of the duke of Alba. The armour portrait of Philip was a replica of the original painted in Milan in early 1549 (now in the Prado). It was taken to Augsburg by Titian in 1550 and completed there in some haste, in the first months of 1551.[35] Whether the idea of Titian providing such a portrait for Mary came from her, Philip, or even Charles V cannot now be established. The portrait of Philip in a coat, which was sent to Mary Tudor in 1553, must date from the artist's second visit to Augsburg, since it showed him as he looked in 1550.[36] Various versions have survived.[37] The portrait of John Frederick (the second of two in Mary's collection) must have been painted in Augsburg in 1551, as explained above, whereas the other, showing him in armour, must date from 1548. Finally, the portrait of Alba, Charles and Mary's leading general during this period, was probably painted in 1549, but it is not by any means clear exactly what it looked like or what the status of Mary's version was.[38] Equally, it is not known whether the picture was a gift from Alba or a commission from Charles or Mary, although the first alternative seems the more likely.

There are only five other recorded works by Titian owned by Mary: three mythologies for her palace at Binche, which was constructed between 1545 and 1549 and destroyed by fire in 1554, and *Noli me tangere* and *Venus and Psyche*, both of which appear in the post-mortem inventory. Two of the mythologies at Binche were already seen shortly before 21 June 1549 by Antoine Granvelle, who called them "infernal punishments" ("pene infernali"), specifying that they were by Titian.[39] Describing the visit by Philip to Binche in August 1549, Calvete de Estrella mentioned three paintings without naming the artist. One of these cannot have been by Titian, since his version of this mythology was still in Venice in August 1553.[40] A *Tantalus* by Michael Coxcie is recorded in Mary's post-mortem inventory, so this was presumably the one mentioned by Calvete. It is possible that Coxcie was asked to provide his *Tantalus* because the one by Titian was not ready in time for Philip's visit. Calvete called the other two pictures *Prometheus* and *Sisyphus*, but the first must in fact have depicted Tityus, the subject reported by Lodovico Dolce, who was well informed about Titian's works during this period.[41] Calvete's mistake is easy to understand, since both Prometheus and Tityus were chained to a mountain and had their liver eaten by an eagle or vulture. Titian's *Tityus* and *Sisyphus* (both now in the Prado) must be the pictures called *Ixion* and *Tantalus* in the post-mortem inventory, when they were described as old and damaged, and were said to have been at Binche. Since none of the other paintings in the inventory were given this provenance, it would seem that most of them were

[32] Ibidem, pp. 1155 – 1157.

[33] Ibidem, pp. 928f, 947f, 954.

[34] Ibidem, p. 945.

[35] Ibidem, pp. 974, 979f, 1087.

[36] Ibidem, p. 1172.

[37] Ibidem, pp. 980, 1170 – 1175.

[38] Ibidem, pp. 982 – 985.

[39] Ibidem, p. 994.

[40] Ibidem, pp. 1158f, 1165.

[41] Ibidem, p. 1295. It is interesting that Dolce mentioned the paintings among those for Charles and Philip, without mentioning Mary.



Fig. 3: Alonso Sánchez Coello: Noli me tangere, 1574, oil on canvas, 231 x 224 cm. Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid. Photo: Courtesy of Patrimonio Nacional. Colecciones Reales, 10014705

instead kept in Mary's main residence in Brussels, the palace of Coudenberg, which was destroyed by fire in 1731.[42] From the surviving documentation, it is unclear whether Titian ever finished his *Tantalus* for Mary, a commission that would have become largely irrelevant after the palace of Binche was burnt down in July 1554. On balance, it is likely that he did so, because in Vasari's life of Titian, which is relatively well informed about this period, it is said that he had produced three mythological paintings of this type for her.[43] If that was the case, and if the *Tantalus* reached her, it was probably destroyed in the fire at Binche. If so, Titian's painting would have replaced that by Coxcie, which could explain why the latter canvas survived the fire. The three mythologies are often considered to be Mary's most personal commissions from Titian, although this is not necessarily true. No evidence has come to light that she paid him for them, and the subjects, representing the disagreeable fate of mortals who challenge the gods, have an obvious political significance that most probably reflects the learning of one or more advisers or secretaries. Rulers, after all, seldom devised their own propaganda.

[42] Bernardo de' Medici, the Florentine ambassador to Charles V, reported on 28 August 1549 that there were „infinite" portraits by Titian and others at Binche (Ibidem, p. 1001), but they may have been displayed there at that period because of Philip's visit.

[43] Ibidem, p. 1783. Rather confusingly, Vasari identified the subjects as Prometheus, Sisyphus and Tityus, but that seems to rule the idea that one of the three was *Venus and Psyche*.

The *Magdalen* mentioned by Vargas as about to be sent to Flanders in August 1553 was *Noli me tangere,* recorded in the post-mortem inventory. It was already finished by 30 June of that year.[44] There is a copy by Sánchez Coello of the entire composition at the Escorial; and a fragment of the original, showing the head and shoulders of Christ, is in the Prado (Fig. 3). There is no very compelling reason to suppose that the canvas was commissioned by Mary, who seems to have had a very limited appetite for pictures other than portraits. It is likely that in this instance Titian adopted the same policy as he had done with Charles and Philip—that is, providing them with pictures that had not been commissioned, evidently with the intention of encouraging them to order paintings other than portraits. Thus, in 1545, he promised Charles a *Venus*, which he took to Augsburg in 1548, together with the *Ecce Homo* on stone. Perhaps because of Charles's peripatetic life at this period, it did not lead to further commissions, but Titian nonetheless sent him a *Madonna* in 1554 and another in 1555, both of which the emperor had in his possession at Yuste when he died in 1558.[45] As for Philip, Titian almost certainly began a *Danae* for him (now in the Prado) soon after their first meeting in 1549, taking it to him at Augsburg in 1550.[46] On his return to Italy, Titian sent the prince two large pictures, one mythological and one religious, which for some reason had never been sent to their original patrons.[47] In 1554, at the same time as he sent Charles his *Madonna*, Titian sent Philip another major painting, *Venus and Adonis*, which had evidently been intended for him from the first.[48] By this means, Titian acquired the most enthusiastic and important of all his patrons, whom he continued to serve for the rest of his life. By contrast, no new pictures seem to have been sent to Mary in 1554, and he is not known to have had any contact with her after that time. This is consistent with the fact that in Vasari's account of Titian there is abundant information about his work for Charles V and Philip II, including the statement that he made a portrait of John Frederic of Saxony as a prisoner for Charles.[49] There is also a reference to the portraits of the future emperor, Ferdinand, and those of his sons, but apart from the mythologies, the only comment about Mary is a reference to Titian's portrait of her.[50] Lodovico Dolce, too, had plenty to say about Titian's works for both Charles and Philip, but nothing at all about either Mary or Ferdinand.

Mary's *Venus and Psyche* is lost, but it has been convincingly proposed that the composition is preserved in a small copy by Rubens and Jan Brueghel.[51] The composition, or variations on it, appear in a number of paintings associated with Titian, although only one, the *Blinding of Cupid* (in the Galleria Borghese, Rome), is of impressive quality. It has recently been argued that the invention goes back to the early 1530s and that Charles V may have given Mary's picture to her at that time; but this proposal, which is not supported by any significant evidence, is not very convincing.[52] It seems more likely that Titian gave the picture to Mary, just as he gave others to Charles and Philip. In that case, the most likely date would be 1550, on the assumption that he painted the picture in Venice and took it with him when he returned to Augsburg toward the end of that year.

One last unresolved problem related to Titian and Mary is about an engraving attributed to Cornelis Cort, depicting St Margaret and the dragon. The composition corresponds to that of a painting now in the Prado whose history is unknown before 1638.[53] The print exists in three states. The first includes the

[44] Ibidem, pp. 1156f.

[45] Ibidem, pp. 1206f, 1229, 1263f, 1309.

[46] Ibidem, pp. 1159 – 1161.

[47] Ibidem, pp. 1119 – 1122.

[48] Ibidem, pp. 1159f, 1210f.

[49] Ibidem, pp. 1781f.

[50] Ibidem, pp. 1781f.

[51] JOANNIDES, P.: Titian's *Psyche before Venus*: A Multi-Part Sequence of Paintings by Titian and his Studio in the Light of New Discoveries. In: *Artibus et historiae*, Vol. 45, 2024, No. 90, pp. 115 – 146, and for the copy p. 119, Fig. 5.

[52] Ibidem, p. 119. The claim made there that Charles V was Titian's most important patron in the early 1530 s can only refer to his status, since he is only known to have commissioned one painting from the artist at that period, namely his portrait. It is not clear to me why Joannides dates the invention of this type of commission to the early 1530 s.

[53] HOPE 2023 (see in note 1), pp. 1652f.

name Titian and that of the publisher, Luca Bertelli; the second gives the name of Titian and a notation that the work belonged to Mary of Hungary; while the third—which cannot be earlier than the second half of the seventeenth century because it includes the name of Remondini as publisher—includes the reference to Mary of Hungary and the date 1560. If the attribution to Cort is correct, the engraving can hardly be earlier than about 1565, when he arrived in Venice. It is difficult to see how the date on the third state can have any historical basis, especially as Mary died in 1558, and it seems likely that the inscription on the second state does not deserve to be taken seriously, although the reasons for its inclusion are not clear.

Apart from the fragment of *Noli me tangere,* only four of the pictures owned by Mary seem to have survived: *Tityus* and *Sisyphus* and the equestrian portrait of Charles V (all in the Prado) and the portrait of John Frederick of Saxony (in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). The portrait of him with a wound (also in the Prado) is thought to be an early copy. The vast majority of her portraits were destroyed in 1604 in a fire at the Spanish palace of El Pardo. Apart from those just mentioned, the only ones listed in the Cigales inventory but not at El Pardo were the portraits of the archdukes Maximilian and Ferdinand, but no later record of them has come to light. According to the inventory, Ferdinand was shown bare-headed and wearing armour, which is not very surprising.

Once one examines the surviving evidence in detail, Mary's role in Titian's career seems to have been much less important than might be supposed from the surviving records. At the time of her death, she certainly owned a remarkable number of works said to be by him. These included some original paintings, notably the equestrian portrait; but many of the portraits were replicas in which the personal role of Titian was probably very limited. Moreover, there is very little evidence that Mary herself commissioned any of the paintings which she owned, except perhaps the mythologies for Binche. The absence of any indication that Titian received any kind of financial reward from her, even for the *Venus and Psyche* and *Noli me tangere,* certainly suggests that her role in assembling the works by him in her collection was slight. We should probably see her primarily as a temporary curator of a group of portraits of members of the Habsburg family and some individuals associated with them, most of which were produced by members of the studio rather than by Titian himself.

Mary of Hungary and Titian

Summary

When she died, Mary of Hungary's collection included twenty-four paintings by Titian, including twenty portraits of members of the Habsburg family and their immediate circle. All these paintings seem to have been produced between 1548 and 1553—that is, during the period when Titian twice visited the imperial court in Augsburg and the court of King Ferdinand in Innsbruck. In these years, he was in close and regular contact with Charles V, his brother Ferdinand, and his son, the future Philip II, all of whom rewarded him generously. By contrast, there is no record that Mary ever paid him anything. It seems that instead of being a major patron of Titian, she was the curator of a collection of portraits assembled on the initiative of Charles. Many of these were replicas of portraits painted for Ferdinand and others, and almost all of them were destroyed by fire at the Spanish palace of El Pardo in 1604. The most significant work to have survived is the famous equestrian portrait of Charles V (now

in the Prado), which was not displayed at El Pardo. Mary also owned three mythological paintings of the punishments of mortals who had defied the gods, which were made for her palace at Binche. Two of these, *Tityus* and *Sisyphus (*also now in the Prado) survived the fire at Binche in 1554, and the fate of the third, *Tantalus*, is not known. Other than these mythologies and the portraits, only two other works by Titian are recorded in her collection: *Venus with Psyche* and *Noli me tangere*. The first is known only through copies, and the second through a copy in the Escorial and a fragment in the Prado. To judge from his conduct with Charles V and Philip, both may have been painted by Titian on his own initiative in the hope of obtaining further commissions. If so, his strategy was not successful.

Mária Uhorská a Tizian

Resumé

Po smrti Márie Uhorskej obsahovala jej zbierka dvadsaťštyri obrazov od Tiziana, vrátane dvadsatich portrétov členov habsburskej rodiny a ich najbližšieho okruhu. Zdá sa, že všetky tieto obrazy vznikli v rokoch 1548 až 1553, teda v období, keď Tizian dvakrát navštívil cisársky dvor v Augsburgu a dvor kráľa Ferdinanda v Innsbrucku. V týchto rokoch bol v úzkom a pravidelnom kontakte s Karolom V., jeho bratom Ferdinandom a jeho synom, budúcim Filipom II., ktorí ho všetci štedro odmenili. Naopak, neexistuje žiadny záznam o tom, že by Mária Tizianovi niekedy niečo zaplatila. Zdá sa, že namiesto toho, aby bola hlavnou patrónkou Tiziana, bola kurátorkou zbierky portrétov zhromaždených z Karlovej iniciatívy. Mnohé z nich boli replikami portrétov namaľovaných pre Ferdinanda a iných, a takmer všetky boli zničené požiarom v španielskom paláci El Pardo v roku 1604. Najvýznamnejším zachovaným dielom je slávny jazdecký portrét Karola V., dnes v Prade, ktorý nebol vystavený v El Parde. Mária vlastnila aj tri mytologické obrazy zobrazujúce tresty smrteľníkov, ktorí vzdorovali bohom, a ktoré boli vytvorené pre jej palác v Binche. Dve z nich, *Tityus* a *Sisyfos*, tiež v Prade, prežili požiar v Binche v roku 1554 a osud tretieho *(Tantalos)* nie je známy. Okrem týchto mytológií a portrétov sú v jej zbierke zaznamenané ďalšie dve diela Tiziana: *Venuša a Psyché* a *Noli me tangere*. Prvé je známe len prostredníctvom kópií a druhé prostredníctvom kópie v Escoriáli a fragmentu v Prade. Súdiac podľa jeho správania voči Karolovi V. a Filipovi, oba obrazy mohol Tizian namaľovať z vlastnej iniciatívy v nádeji, že získa ďalšie zákazky. Ak áno, jeho manéver nebol úspešný.

Charles Hope
The Warburg Institute
e-mail: charles.hope@sas.ac.uk