Mary of Hungary
Patron of Distinction

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Abstract
The study explores numerous artistic projects supported by the sister of Emperor Charles V, Mary of Hungary, to glorify her brother's reign, arguing that without her active intervention, much of the Habsburg dynastic heritage in art, created during this vital mid-sixteenth-century period by leading artists from both sides of the Alps, would never have existed. These projects included elaborate tapestry series and patronage of major artists in painting (Titian) and sculpture (the Leoni). She also hosted lavish entertainments at her palace in Binche when Charles V and his Spanish heir, Prince Philip, visited in 1549.

Keywords: Mary of Hungary, Emperor Charles V, Binche Palace, tapestry, court portraits, Titian, Leone Leoni

Mary of Hungary (1505 – 1558) was one of the most notable and accomplished female regents of her day. Certainly, the sixteenth century advanced numerous noblewomen from leading dynastic families into roles of rulership as queens or regents. In England, both Mary Tudor (the first wife of Philip II) and Elizabeth I became queens, the latter as a sole ruler, while Mary, Queen of Scots, became Elizabeth's rival or nemesis.[1] In France, beset by the Wars of Religion, the widow Catherine de Medici emerged as an enduring regent.[2] But no region received more rule by women members of the Habsburg dynasty than the Netherlands.

The sequence of Habsburg women regents of the Low Countries began with Margaret of Austria (1480 – 1530), daughter of Emperor Maximilian I), Duchess of Savoy, who was designated regent in 1507 and governed from her court in Mechelen.[3] Crucially, Margaret of Austria, who was childless, raised her nephew Charles, Maximilian's oldest grandson, who succeeded him as Emperor Charles V. Among her remarkable accomplishments was nego-

[1] QUILLIGAN, M.: *When Women Ruled the World. Making the Renaissance in Europe*. New York 2021, heads a vast bibliography. For the wide issue in the century, see JORDAN, C.: *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models*. Ithaca, NY 1990.

[2] QUILLIGAN 2021 (see in note 1), pp. 185 – 223; FRIEDA, L.: *Catherine de Medici: Renaissance Queen of France*. New York 2003; FFOLLIOTT, S.: Catherine de Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow. In: *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*. Eds.: FERGUSON, M. – QUILLIGAN, M. – VICKERS, N. Chicago 1986, pp. 227 – 241.

[3] Definitive studies of Margaret of Austria feature the work of EICHBERGER, D.: *Leben mit Kunst, Wirken durch Kunst: Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich*. Turnhout 2002; EICHBERGER, D.: A culture Centre in Southern Netherlands: The court of Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480 – 1530) in Mechelen. In: *Princes and Princely Culture 1450 – 1650*. Ed.: GOSMAN, M. Leiden 2003, pp. 239 – 258; also *Women of Distinction. Margaret of York/Margareta of Austria*. Ed.: EICHBERGER, D. Exh. cat. Mechelen 2005.

tiating the 1529 Treaty of Cambrai, also known as the Ladies' Peace, transacted between Charles V and his nemesis, King Francis I (1494 – 1547), through his mother, Louise of Savoy. Although Margaret of Austria employed Bernard van Orley as a court artist for numerous tapestry designs and paintings, her principal legacy as an art patron remains the massive tomb project at the royal monastery she established in Brou. The marble figures, carved by Conrad Meit, display recumbent effigies and *transis* (decomposing dead body remains) that depict both Margaret and her late husband, Philibert II, Duke of Savoy.[4]

On the death of Margaret of Austria, Emperor Charles V appointed his sister, Mary, known to history as Mary of Hungary, as regent of the Netherlands in 1531.[5] As the wife of Hungarian King Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia, following the dynastic double wedding at the Congress of Vienna in 1515, Mary of Hungary was widowed in 1526 and remained unmarried. She thus acquired an agency she never relinquished. After helping her brother Ferdinand succeed her late husband as the region's elected king, she served for a quarter-century as a loyal regent of the Netherlands for her emperor-brother, following her aunt Margaret of Austria in that role. Mary's court in the ducal palace of Coudenberg in Brussels became the site of her patronage and pageantry, along with her palace at Binche (see below). Her term as regent on behalf of her brother lasted until she joined him in abdicating in 1555, after which both enjoyed a brief final retirement in Spain: Charles V at the Spanish monastery of Yuste, Mary at Cigales near Valladolid, where she died in 1558.[6]

Mary of Hungary's Regency Politics and Religion

During his decades as emperor, Charles himself was largely preoccupied with a formal coronation in Italy, as well as with ongoing wars—a Mediterranean crusading expedition to Tunis, an ongoing military feud with France, and, crucially, an internecine battle with German Protestant rulers within the Empire.[7] Meanwhile, Mary of Hungary maintained political equilibrium in the Low Countries, including the continuation of her brother's efforts at administrative centralization, except for a noteworthy uprising against imperial taxation in Ghent in 1537 – 1539, which Charles cruelly suppressed in 1540. Because Mary was a widow and, like the Virgin Queen Elizabeth I in England, never (re)married, she was able to assert her leadership unencumbered by contemporary prejudices about women's inferiority or weakness relative to men.[8]

The Venetian ambassador to France, Andrea Navagero, wrote: "Queen Mary is governor gene-

[4] Meit also carved miniature boxwood portraits of the royal couple. *Conrad Meit. Bildhauer der Renaissance.* Ed.: EIKELMANN, R. Exh. cat. Munich 2006, pp. 40 – 50 for Brou, pp. 96 – 107, Nos. 8 – 10 for the boxwood portraits. On Van Orley, see *Bernard van Orley.* Eds.: BÜCKEN, V. – DE MEÛTER, I. Exh. cat. Brussels 2019.

[5] For the sequence of Habsburg female regents across the sixteenth century, see EICHBERGER, D.: Options and Choices. New Insights into the Most 'Important' 16th-Century Habsburg Women. In: *Beiträge zur Repräsentation der Casa de Austria. Frühneuzeit-Info*, Vol. 1, 2024, pp. 1 – 12, emphasizing the various role of these Habsburg women; *Women. The Art of Power. Three Women from the House of Habsburg.* Eds.: HAAG, S. – EICHBERGER, D. – JORDAN GSCHWEND, A. Exh. cat. Innsbruck 2018; also *Moeders des vaderlands. De vrouwen die de Nederlanden vormden.* Eds.: DEEN, F. – HUYSMAN, I. Amsterdam – Antwerp 2024; esp. VERCAMMEN, I.: Maria van Hongarije. In: Ibidem, pp. 124 – 140.

[6] *Maria van Hongarije 1505 – 1558*. Eds.: Van den BOOGERT, B. – KERKHOFF, J. Exh. cat. Utrecht – 's-Hertogenbosch 1993, the source of much of this historical section, esp. SPRUYT, B. J.: Verdacht van Lutherse sympathieën. In: Ibidem, pp. 87 – 103; FRIES, W.: Maria, Regentes over de Nederlanden, 1531 – 1555. In: Ibidem, pp. 118 – 126; and KERKHOFF, J.: Hof en hofcultuur. In: Ibidem, pp. 162 – 174. Also DUVERGER, J.: Marie de Hongrie, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, et la Renaissance. In: *Actes du 22e Congres International d'Histoire de l'Art.* Ed.: RÓSZA, G. Budapest 1972, Vol. II, pp. 715 – 726. More specifically on patronage, see *Mary of Hungary: Renaissance Patron and Collector. Gender, Art and Culture.* Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. Turnhout 2020, esp. her own essay on the historiography therein – Mary of Hungary, Patron and Collector, from Political to Cultural History: The State of the Question, pp. 79 – 95.

[7] Most recently PARKER, G.: *Emperor. A New Life of Charles V.* New Haven 2021.

[8] About Elizabeth's assumption of royal male authority, see LEVIN, C.: *The Heart and Stomach of a King. Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power.* Philadelphia 2013.

ral of all of those countries; a woman who is so much like a man, because she oversees the things of war and of these, of fortresses and all of the things of the state, she states her opinion ... She is not appreciated by the people there, who see it as something strange to be ruled by a woman." Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme, described her as a "sagacious Amazon, a female soldier that ruled like a man," particularly noting that she had participated in battle against the French. These comparisons to Judith and to an Amazon were reiterated in Bishop François Richardot's obituary for Mary (published in 1559). Citing biblical female leaders and heroines, he insisted that some women were capable of governing, if God granted them such abilities, as he had Deborah, Esther, and Judith. He praised Mary for her learning, chastity, and prudence, and stated that she was equal to her brother in her ability to rule. He continued, lauding her perpetual widowhood and her decision to wear her widow's weeds for the rest of her life, framing it as a sacrifice for the state. He goes on to praise her abilities to defend the state and to manage law, order, and the armed forces. Richardot specifically compared her military abilities to those of an Amazon, and he expressly described her "diligence and virtue" as "more than virile." Horatio Fusco Monfloreo d'Arimini, in his treatise on widowhood, *La vedova del Fusco* (1570), cited Mary as an example of a woman who overcame her femaleness, suppressing it and surpassing it so that she could be an effective ruler, "and with a warrior spirit... like an old soldier" who disavows "female activities."[9] A recently discovered 1553 biography by a favorite courtier, Alessandro Nogarola, praises Mary's political sagacity as regent while also representing the cultural life of her court.[10] He notes from personal conversation her pride in her dynastic lineage and her delight in hunting.

In her busy role as regent over the Low Countries, Mary of Hungary is sandwiched between Margaret of Austria and her namesake successor, Margaret of Parma (1522 – 1586), the illegitimate daughter of Charles V, who served as Philip II's regent from Brussels during the turbulent years of an incipient Dutch revolt from 1559 to her resignation in 1567.[11] Before Margaret of Parma departed for Italy in 1533, Mary had also served as her guardian. This concerted effort by Mary on behalf of the Habsburg dynasty provided personal political continuity in the Low Countries and strong support for both her brothers, Emperor Charles V and King Ferdinand I of Hungary, Charles's eventual successor.

Acceding to the role of regent at age twenty-five, Mary ruled at the behest of Charles V with guiding support from the three central advisory agencies, as reorganized by Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (d. 1550): first and foremost, the Council of State, staffed with nobility, headed by jurist Jean Carondelet, and charged with maintaining peace and security; the Secret Council of civic jurists to enforce the laws; and the Council of Finances. As was the case with both Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V, finances were a constant worry, but Mary won praise for taking a considerable interest in financial affairs, especially in imperial wars and the construction of fortresses[12] (see an essay by José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero in this volume).

Prior to a series of bankruptcies declared by Philip II in 1557, 1575, and 1596, the region enjoyed considerable economic prosperity in both industrial production and trade. Mary also successfully secured free shipping for the region. Antwerp, the largest city in the Low Countries, emerged as the financial capital of Europe, a true world market, enjoying a population boom. Charles V often turned to loans from German international bankers in the city. Meanwhile, price infla-

[9] All these citations were gathered by HELMSTUTLER DI DIO, K.: Mary of Hungary, Female Rulership, and Portraits by the Leoni. In: GARCÍA PÉREZ 2020 (see in note 6), pp. 121 – 122. The author is deeply grateful for Professor Di Dio's considerable generous assistance with her work.

[10] JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: Alessandro Nogarola's Rediscovered Vita of Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands. In: GARCÍA PÉREZ 2020 (see in note 6), pp. 59 – 75, esp. pp. 71 – 72.

[11] *Margaret Duchess of Parma. The Emperor's Daughter between Power and Image*. Ed.: LICHTERT, K. Exh. cat. Oudenaarde 2024.

[12] DOYLE, D.: The Sinews of Habsburgs Governance in the Sixteenth Century: Mary of Hungary and Political Patronage. In: *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 31, 2000, pp. 349 – 360; GORTER-VAN ROVEN, L.: *Maria van Hongarije regents der Nederlanden. Een politieke analyse op basis van haar regentenschap-ordonnaties en haar correpondentie met Karel V*. Hilversum 1995.

tion resulted from massive imports of silver and other metals from both the Americas and Central Europe.

The Ghent uprising began as a protest against taxation, raised to withstand a French invasion in spring 1537 (despite the 1529 Ladies' Peace). In its defense, the city of Ghent turned to its historic privileges, confirmed by the Burgundian duke Charles the Bold and his daughter Mary of Burgundy in 1477. At that moment, a rise in import trade limited local linen production, and, increasingly, the inflated local prices imposed hardships on the working class and small craftspeople. Mary, however, defended the tax, citing cooperation from other regions and claims that the complaints emerged from a minority. She proposed a settlement in the Secret Council of the Great Council of Mechelen, but the city refused. In January 1538, Mary had summoned Charles V on behalf of "la conservation de son autorité et de la bonne obéissance de ses sujets (preservation of his authority and good obedience of his subjects)," and she challenged him to decide whether "Votre Majesté soit maistre ou varlet (Your Majesty, be master or servant)." In July 1539, the city openly rebelled against its own magistrate, but the emperor's arrival ended the conflict. In 1540, when he entered Ghent with his forces, he imposed the Concessio Carolina, which nullified the city's juridical independence and privileges, also limiting the political influence of local guilds. Charles forced the city to pay a penalty fine and all back taxes, and he demanded the construction of a new "Spanish" fortification (1540 – 1545) as a local garrison. He even forced rebel leaders to wear nooses around their necks, and he destroyed the city's bells at the town hall, which had been used to summon resistance. Ghent's submission served as a punitive example to all other cities in the Low Countries, strengthening Mary's role in imposing imperial authority still further in the region, especially over local governors.

Mary's stay in Augsburg from October 1547 to April 1548 resulted from Charles V's 1547 victory over the Protestant Schmalkaldic League at the Battle of Mühlberg. That led to a peace treaty as well as to the 1549 Pragmatic Sanction, which consolidated the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands into a single administrative territory, bound to the Spanish Habsburg monarchy, while retaining the varied local laws and customs within the region. In this process, a culminating act of state centralization, Mary was advised by jurist Viglius van Aytta (1507 – 1577), a member of the Secret Council. She also played an instrumental role in mediating the major political compromise on imperial succession in Augsburg in spring 1551. Under that agreement, Charles's brother would serve as Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I, followed by his son Maximilian (II), while Charles's son Philip II would assume the kingship of Spain and its territories. Once more, Mary's dedication to the Habsburg dynasty and its peaceful succession was tested but successfully upheld.

Although her personal sympathy for religious reform clashed with Charles V's Catholic orthodoxy, Mary still enforced his own stern Catholic guidelines in the region, while promoting his authority as emperor. She had contacts with both Erasmus and Luther before becoming regent in 1531, and her chaplain, in the Netherlands, Johannes Henckel (d. 1539), corresponded with Erasmus. At the behest of Henckel, Erasmus himself dedicated his *De vidua Christiana* (*On the Christian Widow*; 1529) to her, in which he praises Christian widows of the past, biblical and classical, for their virtues, but singles out Mary of Hungary for her model piety and emotional control, "the most saintly and prudent woman of his day."[13] She acknowledged in letters to her sceptical brother Ferdinand that she had read Luther's books. Indeed, one reason Augsburg was selected as the site of an imperial Diet in 1530 to pursue a potential reconciliation between Lutherans and Catholics might have been Mary's apparent sympathies. She even asked Luther whether one could distinguish private sympathies from public conformity.

But as regent, Mary held the line at a time when Charles considered the Protestants of Hungary to be heretics, after he had issued stern warnings in the form of posters and administered harsh public

[13] TOLBERT ROBERTS, J.: Introduction to *On the Christian Widow*. In: *Spiritualia. Collected Works of Erasmus*. Vol. 66. Ed.: O'MALLEY, J. Toronto 1988; SPRUYT 1993 (see in note 6), pp. 87 – 117; esp. p. 109, No. 86. Luther dedicated a 1526 volume about psalms of consolation to the newly widowed "Queen of Hungary." – Ibidem, p. 109, No. 85. Ferdinand then wrote to her asking for an explanation of this seeming heresy.

religious punishments for dissent during the 1520s. She issued similar edicts in 1531, 1540, and 1550. Her persecutions for heresy extended to radicals, both Anabaptists and "Loïsts," followers of Looi de Schaliedecker (also known as Eligius Pruystinck), who was burned at the stake in 1544. As for Mary's personal religious inclinations, no documentation exists, though her later chaplain, Pierre Alexandre (d. 1563), was accused of heresy in 1542 and allowed to escape imprisonment, likely through her secret intervention. All indications suggest that she was thoughtful, informed, and an independent thinker about religious matters, a supporter of several Christian humanists, but neither extreme in her reception of reforming ideas nor bound uncritically to Catholic orthodoxy, much like Erasmus himself. When Charles V abdicated in 1555, he hoped that Mary would continue as his regent, but her own abdication letter includes among her reason for retiring that this was a period with respect neither for God nor for rulers, a time of heretical and rebellious spirit. She stated that she could no longer fulfill her lifelong obligation, "mon debvoir tant envers Dieu qu'envers mon prince (my duty both towards God and towards my prince)."[14]



Fig. 1: Albrecht Dürer: The Double Wedding in Vienna: Maximilian discusses the marriages of his (grand)children; from the Triumphal Arch of Emperor Maximilian I series, 1515, woodcut, paper, 17.7 × 15.0 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. No. RP-P-OB-1483. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Portraits of Mary of Hungary

Portraits of Mary of Hungary appeared throughout her reign, as befitted a noblewoman and ruler. The first one shows her as a girl at age ten, given in dynastic marriage by her grandfather, Maximilian I, to Louis II at the Congress of Vienna in 1515. A woodcut depicting that ceremony, titled The Double Wedding in Vienna, was made by Albrecht Dürer for inclusion on Maximilian's enormous, composite Arch of Honor (completed 1518), with all due crowns and coats of arms of the principals (Fig. 1).[15] In addition to Emperor Maximilian I, King Vladislaus II of Hungary and Bohemia and King Sigismund I of Poland, youthful Mary huddles by her future husband on the left, under the protection of her grandfather. Anna Jagiello, who is also depicted, married Ferdinand, who would not succeed to the throne of Hungary until after the death of Louis II in the Battle of Mohács against the Ottoman Turks in 1526, and his sister Mary briefly served as his regent in Hungary until he arrived in the country. As a princess, during her time in Innsbruck with her grandfather before her coronation as Queen of Hungary in 1521, Mary sat for several official royal portraits, chiefly by Hans Maler zu Schwaz (ca. 1480/88 – ca. 1526/29), including the oil painting in Fig. 2 (ca. 1520).

Several images of Mary portray her demonstrating her prowess as an equestrian—a traditional mode of signifying the sitter's confident rule—including her participation in royal hunts.[16] In a series of

[14] Quoted by SPRUYT 1993 (see in note 6), p. 103, the basis of most of this religion section.

[15] SILVER, L.: *Marketing Maximilian. The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor.* Princeton 2008, esp. pp. 8 – 13, 51 – 61, 82 – 94, 107 – 108; SCHAUERTE, T.: *Die Ehrenpforte für Kaiser Maximilian I. Dürer und Altdorfer im Dienst des Herrschers.* Munich 2001.

[16] LIEDTKE, W.: *The Royal Horse and Rider. Painting, Sculpture, and Horsemanship 1500 – 1800.* New York 1989.



Fig. 2: Hans Maler: Portrait of Mary of Hungary, 1520, oil on vellum on panel, 48.5 × 36 cm. Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, London. Photo: Society of Antiquaries of London, UK/Bridgeman Images

hand-colored woodcuts (ca. 1538 – 1553; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, close in style to Cornelis Anthonisz), among images of other rulers, "Madame Mary" appears mounted and dressed in black, bearing a rod of authority below her coat of arms. In a set of tapestries designed by Bernard van Orley (ca. 1492 – 1541/42), *The Hunts of Maximilian* (ca. 1530 – 1533; Musée du Louvre, Paris)—organized as a sequence of months with topographic views and destined for the palace of the imperial court at Brussels—the *April* tapestry shows Mary seen from the back, riding sidesaddle while holding a falcon (Fig. 3).[17] Falconry was a hunt more closely associated in that period with women than with men. Still, Mary's overall abilities in traditional male activities led one contemporary to characterize her as "a shrewd amazon, a female warrior who ruled like a man."[18]

Mary's principal painted portrait in maturity (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fig. 4) is attributed to a follower of Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (ca. 1504 – 1559), the former court painter in Spain to Charles V, who was after 1546 occupied in designing a tapestry series, the *Conquest of Tunis,* for Mary (see below).[19] In this formal portrait, Mary of Hungary appears at half-length against a dark monochrome background, dressed in her formal mourning black, though wearing a wedding ring with sapphires on her left hand.

Milanese sculptor Leone Leoni and his son Pompeo Leoni also enjoyed Mary's patronage, receiving a commission in 1549 for ten life-size bronze statues (executed later) and casts of antiquities.[20] That ensemble was intended to form a dynastic gallery at Binche, after the model of the dynastic ancestors in bronze standing beside the planned tomb of Emperor Maximilian I (now in the Hofkirche, Innsbruck).[21] Her ambition for the family display shows Mary's commitment to maintaining Habsburg domination

[17] BÜKEN – DE MEÛTER 2019 (see in note 4), pp. 194 – 219; CAMPBELL, T. (ed.): *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence.* Exh. cat. New York 2002, pp. 297 – 299, 329 – 338, Nos. 37 – 40. The patron of these tapestries remains uncertain, but the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels appears in the first panel of the sequence, *March.*

[18] LICHTERT 2024 (see in note 11), pp. 80 – 81; the quote is by Pierre de Bourdeille in his *Receuil des Dames*, see HELMSTUTLER DI DIO, K.: „A Woman who is so much like a man": Mary of Hungary, Female Rulership, and Portraits by the Leoni. In: GARCÍA PÉREZ 2020 (see in note 6), pp. 109 – 122.

[19] BAUMAN, G.: *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.* New York 1981, pp. 80 – 81, in damaged condition, transferred to canvas, possibly a copy like many court portraits produced for distribution.

[20] HELMSTUTLER DI DIO 2020 (see in note 18), pp. 109 – 111.

[21] TERJANIAN, P.: *The Last Knight: The Art, Armor, and Ambition of Maximilian I.* Exh. cat. New York 2019, pp. 298 – 299, Nos. 168 – 169; SCHAUERTE, T.: The Emperor Never Dies: Transitory Aspects of the Maximillian *Memoria.* In: *Emperor Maximilian and the Age of Dürer.* Exh. cat. Eds.: MICHEL, E. – STERNATH, M. L. Vienna 2012, pp. 43 – 47, 360 – 363, Nos. 119 – 120; SILVER 2008 (see in note 15), pp. 63 – 76; MADERSBACHER, L.: Das Maximiliansgrabmal. In: *Ruhm und Sinnlichkeit. Innsbrucker Bronzeguss 1500 – 1650. Von Kaiser*



Fig. 3: Bernard van Orley and Jan Tons (Willem Dermoyen, weaver): The Hunts of Maximilian: April – Bird Hunt, ca. 1530 – 1533, tapestry, 455 × 587.5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. No. OA7315. Photo: GrandPalaisRmn (Musée du Louvre)/ Daniel Arnaudet

across Europe, which extended to her personal care for her young ward and eventual successor as regent, Margaret of Parma. Like Maximilian's extensive plans, however, Mary's ensemble was also never realized, because French troops destroyed the palace of Binche in the summer of 1554. However, several of the bronzes, including Leoni's full-length portrait of Mary, were delivered to the Brussels court in 1556.[22]

Leoni's full-length standing portrait of Mary (Prado, Madrid; Fig. 5) was one of the bronze statues commissioned in 1549; but it was begun no earlier than 1553, and is dated 1564 on its base because it followed her into retirement in Spain and was only finished there that year, posthumously, by Pompeo (who had moved to Madrid in order to complete the bronzes). She is shown standing and

Maximilian I bis Erzherzog Ferdinand Karl. Exh. cat. Innsbruck 1996, pp. 124 – 139; EGG, E.: *Die Hofkirche in Innsbruck: Das Grabdenkmal Kaiser Maximilians I. und die silberne Kapelle.* Innsbruck 1969.

[22] HELMSTUTLER DI DIO 2020 (see in note 18), pp. 113 – 118; MARCOS, E.: Los Leoni al servicio de María de Hungría. In: *Leone & Pompeo Leoni.* Ed.: SCHRÖDER, S. Madrid 2012, pp. 56 – 65; Van den BOOGERT – KERKHOFF 1993 (see in note 6), p. 189, No. 132.



Fig. 4: Copy after Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen: Mary (1505 – 1558), Queen of Hungary, oil on wood, 54.6 × 45.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982, Inv. No. 1982. 60. 26. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

dressed plainly as a widow, clasping a prayer book with her hands together, attired in her mourning garments for her late husband. The long ribbons of her headdress, adorned with a cross design at their tips, drape forward like a stole. This full-length, life-sized figure was intended for display in the context of the Habsburg ruling family, as is clear from the inscription on its base: "MARIA – AVSTRIA – REGINA – LUDOVICII – UNGARIAE – REGIS" thus identifying her as Mary of Austria, Queen of King Louis of Hungary—in her full official capacity. Leoni also carved a marble bust portrait of Mary of Hungary, 1555/60 (Prado, Madrid), replicated in bronze in 1555 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).[23] As in the full-length bronze, the regent still wears her widow's weeds. Her marble portrait rests upon a winged seraph above its socle, ornamented with scrollwork, garlands, herms, and sphinxes. For the bronze bust version, the sculptor has animated the figure with a turned head and with lively drapery folds. Those two materials, marble and bronze, are Renaissance revivals of the mediums of ancient Roman sculptures. Pompeo Leoni executed a final, posthumous portrait of Mary within the dynastic tomb monument in the palace-monastery of Philip II, the Escorial.[24] In a group portrait led by a kneeling Charles V and his wife, Isabella of Portugal, Mary appears in the back row, alongside her older sister, Eleanor of Austria (1498 – 1558). Together, they commemorate the Habsburg family of Philip II in the heart of his Spanish royal setting.

Leone Leoni had met Charles V and Mary of Hungary in Brussels in 1549 (as well as in Augsburg in 1551 and again in Brussels in 1556).[25] Charles ennobled him as an imperial knight and commissioned Leoni to produce life-size portraits, busts, and medals for the emperor and Mary of Hungary (on Mary's medals, see the essay by Walter Cupperi in this volume) Leoni's tribute to the emperor and his victory at Mühlberg, *Charles V and Fury*, 1551 – 1555 (Prado, Madrid), is a full-length statue with removable antique armor covering a heroic, classically ideal male body. The conqueror triumphs over a recumbent yet contorted nude male allegory, based on Virgil and representing disorder. Trophies of war—arms, trumpets, and shields—are strewn alongside the figure, on the statue's base.[26]

In addition, Leoni fashioned an *all' antica* bronze bust of Charles V in armor, 1553 (Prado, Madrid),

[23] HELMSTUTLER DI DIO 2020 (see in note 18), pp. 113 – 118; Van den BOOGERT – KERKHOFF 1993 (see in note 6), pp. 344 – 345, No. 244.

[24] HELMSTUTLER DI DIO 2020 (see in note 18), pp. 118 – 120; MARCOS 2012 (see in note 22), pp. 64 – 65; PÉREZ de TUDELA, A.: El cenotafio de Carlos V en la basilica del Escorial. In: SCHRÖDER 2012 (see in note 22), pp. 132 – 148.

[25] HELMSTUTLER DI DIO, K.: *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist at the End of the Renaissance.* Farnham 2011, pp. 7 – 23.

[26] POLLEROSS, F.: *Ubi Caesar ibi Roma est. Römische Kaiser als antike Kunst.* In: POLLEROSS, F.: *Die Repräsentation der Habsburger (1493 – 1806).* Petersberg 2023, pp. 69 – 201; HELMSTUTLER DI DIO, K.: Leone Leoni's Portrait Busts of the Habsburgs and the taste for sculpture in Spain. In: SCHRÖDER 2012 (see in note 22), pp. 46 – 55; ESTELLA, M.: Los Leoni al servicio de María de Hungría. In: Ibidem, pp. 56 – 65.

which sits on an innovative base of an eagle, to signify the apotheosis of the ruler, as well as the bird of Jupiter and Empire. Alongside the base, mounted on dolphins that allude to Charles's naval supremacy, male and female figures support the bust instead of a traditional socle. On the armor breastplate, a figure of the risen Christ signals the emperor's piety and leadership of Christendom. Leoni's marble bust of Charles V, 1553 (Prado, Madrid) retains the armor cladding, now with the Pietà decoration, as it rests on a pair of Michelangelesque nude males, possibly suggesting wartime captives and a stylistic link to Rome.

Royal Festivities at Binche Palace

From August 22 to 31, 1549, the newly erected palace at Binche hosted and entertained three distinguished Habsburg visitors: Emperor Charles V; Crown Prince Philip, his son (and heir as the future King Philip II of Spain); and Eleanor of Austria, the emperor's sister (and wife of the King of France until 1547). Their hostess was Mary of Hungary.

Mary had built her palace at Binche after she received the property as a gift from her emperor brother in 1545 (on the practice of gift-giving and Mary of Hungary see the study of Maxim Hoffman in the present volume). Her designer, Jacques Du Broeucq (1505 – 1584), *maistre artiste de l'Empereur,* was already well known for his sculptures in the fashionable Renaissance style favored by Mary and already fostered in the earlier Mechelen palace of her aunt, Margaret of Austria.[27] Unfortunately, Binche Palace was destroyed in 1554 by French troops, along with Mary's nearby hunting castle, Mariemont.[28] But Binche's festivities and decorations provide vivid evidence of both the Mary's good taste and of her vast collections, particularly of Flemish tapestries, before she retired to Spain in 1555.



Fig. 5: Leone Leoni and Pompeo Leoni: Queen Mary of Hungary, 1553 – 1564, bronze, 175 × 60 × 70 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Inv. No. E000263. Photo: Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado

[27] KAVALER, E. M.: Jacques Du Broeucq and Northern Perspectives on the Antique Mode. In: *Invention: Northern Renaissance Studies in Honor of Molly Faries.* Ed.: CHAPUIS, J. Turnhout 2008, pp. 190 – 207; *Jacques Du Broeucq de Mons (1505 – 1584). Maître artiste de l'empereur Charles Quint.* Exh. cat. Mons 2005, pp. 76 – 109, esp. De JONGE, K.: Le langage architectural de Jacques Du Broeucq. In: Ibidem, pp. 95 – 109; *Jacques Du Broeucq: Sculpteur et architecte de la Renaissance.* Brussels 1985, pp. 177 – 204. In the wake of the Binche festivities, Charles V named Du Broeucq as his *maître artist de l'Empereur* in 1556. For Mechelen, see HITCHCOCK, H.-R.: *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries.* New York 1978.

[28] De JONGE, K.: Mariemont, Mary of Hungary's Hunting Pavilion. In: *Revue de l'Art*, Vol. 149, 2005, pp. 45 – 57.



Fig. 6: Anonymous: The Great Hall of the Binche Palace, ca. 1549, pen and brown ink, gray-brown wash, watercolor, bodycolor, and gold paint on paper, 39.5 × 37.4 cm. The Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels, Inv. No. F 12930. Photo: The Royal Library of Belgium

The occasion for the events at Binche Palace was its role in a triumphal progress, marked by individual civic entries (*joyeuse entrée*; *blijde inkomst*), in accordance with traditional Netherlandish ceremonies that welcomed a new ruler to the cities in the region.[29] Philip enjoyed an especially spectacular 1549 entry to Antwerp, complete with a series of triumphal arches built around the city, an event recorded in a commemorative volume published with woodcut illustrations by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502 – 1550).[30]

Philip's progress was chronicled by his tutor, Juan Christóbal Calvette de Estrella.[31] He tells of Philip's visit to the Great Hall of Binche Palace,[32] vividly describing the hall's setting and decorations in 1549. A colored drawing of the hall depicts it during some festivities (Bibliotheque Royale, Brussels; Fig. 6), showing rows of 'green men' forming a line dance with their lady partners before escorting them from the room, while the guests of honor are sitting beside the massive chimney by Calvete (described above)—from left to right: Eleanor of Austria, Charles V, Mary, and Philip. Calvete's text places them under a canopy decorated with examples of the sin of Pride, with the remaining six Deadly Sins on the opposite wall; and lords and ladies in attendance sitting along the adjacent side wall.

The decorations of the Great Hall are clearly visible in the drawing. On the window wall, above chimney pieces with the medallions of Emperors Hadrian and Julius Caesar, stood wall frescoes, executed by Mary's court painter Michael Coxcie (1499 – 1592), a pupil of Bernard van Orley: *The Flaying of Marsyas*; and *The Contest between Apollo and Marsyas*.[33] In the drawing, the two rivals in that contest are identifiable by their instruments: a viol for the god Apollo and a flute for the satyr Marsyas.

Calvete also mentions paintings in the Great Hall (without naming the painter), which were commissioned by Mary in 1548, during the period when she joined Charles V in Augsburg. Titian spent nine

[29] ARNADE, P.: *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent*. Ithaca 1996; LANDWEHR, J.: *Splendid Ceremonies: State Entries and Royal Funerals in the Low Countries, 1515 – 1791. A Bibliography*. Leiden 1971; ROEDER-BAUMBACH, I.: *Versieringen van blijde inkomsten gebruikt in de zuidelije Nederlanden gedurende de 16e en 17e eeuw*. Antwerp 1943.

[30] CLELAND, E.: *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry*. Exh. cat. New York 2014, pp. 104 – 107, No. 23; KUYPER, W.: *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture into the Netherlands. The* Joyeuse entrée i*nto Antwerp in 1549*. Alphen aan den Rijn 1994; Van den BOOGERT: De triomfen van de Keizer. In: Van den BOOGERT – KERKHOFF 1993 (see in note 6), pp. 220 – 235, with Coecke publications, pp. 248, 251, Nos. 186, 189.

[31] ALVAREZ, V.: *Rélation du beau voyage que fit aux Pays-Bas, en 1548, le prince Philippe d'espagne, notre seigneur* [1551]. Trans.: DOVILLÉE, M. T. Brussels 1964; also CALVETE de ESTRELLA, J. C.: *Les tres-heureux voyage fait par… don Philippe, fils du grand empereur Charles-Quint, depuis l'Espagne jusqu'a ses domains de la Basse-Allemagne*. Brussels 1873 – 1874.

[32] ALVAREZ 1964 (see in note 31), pp. 90 – 110; CALVETE de ESTRELLA (see in note 31), Vol. III, pp. 81 – 153; quoted by VAN dan BOOGERT – KERKHOFF 1993 (see in note 6), pp. 310 – 311, No. 213.

[33] On Coxcie, see JONCKHEERE, K.: *Michiel Coxcie (1490 – 1592) and the Giants of his Age*. Exh. cat. Louvain 2013; esp. PÉREZ de TUDELA, A.: Michael Coxcie, Court Painter. In: Ibidem, pp. 100 – 102.

months with the imperial court, beginning with his 1547 stay in Augsburg (on Mary of Hungary and Titian, see the study of Charles Hope in this volume). His Great Hall canvases portray scenes of torture, based on Ovid: *Tityus* (ca. 1548 – 1549; Prado, Madrid), misidentified by Calvete as *Prometheus*), *Sisyphus* (Prado, Madrid), and *Tantalus* (probably by Coxcie; taken to Spain and lost in the 1734 fire in Madrid's Alcázar).[34] Originally, a fourth punished figure, *Ixion,* was intended to complete the group, but was not presented in time and was completed later, presumably by Coxcie.[35] All these figures, giants known as the *Furias* (evildoers), were punished by the gods, led by Jupiter, for their presumption and sinful offenses (see the essay by Charles Hope in this volume). Tityus had his liver eaten by a vulture, only to regenerate and repeat the painful process. Sisyphus was condemned to roll a rock perpetually up a hill. Tantalus was doomed to constant hunger and thirst while endlessly tempted by unreachable food and drink. This cluster of punishments along with the story about Apollo flaying the arrogant Marsyas, provides visual lessons about the punishment of pride and the consequences of revolt against authority, underscored by a Latin motto on a canopy in the room, "Quanto gravior offense deorum/Tanto nullae adversus eos vires" ("The greater the offense of the gods, the more no power [can be] against them"). This warning held particular local significance during that period, coming in the wake of the recent Protestant political revolt against imperial authority, put down by Charles V at the 1547 Battle of Mühlberg. It also couched a more general warning, addressed to the ongoing religious crusade and territorial ambitions of Charles V's impious nemesis on his Habsburg borders, the Ottoman Turks.[36]

The *Seven Deadly Sins* tapestries in the Great Hall were designed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, ca. 1532 – 1534).[37] Woven in the Brussels workshop of Willem de Pannemaker,[38] the subject is based on medieval theology, building upon Prudentius's *Psychomachia,* the conflict between Virtues and Vices. Coecke's program was provided by a scholar whose descriptive text, already mentioning the tapestries as completed, survives as a manuscript in Madrid's National Library.[39] Each tapestry is presented as a parade procession across a landscape panorama with a female allegory of each Sin on a cart, accompanied by biblical, mythological, and historical figures and a winged Virtue figure, hovering above. Each cart runs over sinners and sends up smoke in its wake. For example, the *Pride* tapestry depicts Sin as a winged woman with a crown above war trophies, riding on a chariot adorned with symbols of power, pulled by an apocalyptic beast with seven heads. At the front of the procession, Vainglory, a mounted young man, carries a banner with a peacock. He is followed by Hannibal; the biblical giant Nimrod, punished for the Tower of Babel; Vashti, the would--be queen of Persia, who rejected her king and was

[34] FALOMIR, M.: *Las Furias. Alegoria politica y desafio artístico.* Exh. cat. Madrid 2014; PUTTFARKEN, T.: *Titian and Tragic Painting: Aristotle's "Poetics" and the Rise of the Modern Artist.* New Haven 2005, pp. 77 – 96; WETHEY, H.: *The Paintings of Titian. III. The Mythological and Historical Paintings.* London 1975, pp. 61 – 62, 156 – 160, No. 19, including the engraving by Giulio Sanuto of the lost *Tantalus*, plate 104; TISCHER, S.: *Tizian und Maria von Ungarn. Die Zyklus der "pene infernali" auf Schloß Binche (1549).* Frankfurt am Main 1994.

[35] WETHEY 1975 (see in note 34), p. 158, No. 4, cites the 1556 inventory of Mary's collection in Spain, which credits Titian only with two canvases and „a painted *Ixion* and the other of *Tantalus*," unnamed as to painter.

[36] PUTTFARKEN 2005 (see in note 34), esp. pp. 93 – 96.

[37] PARK, J.: The Enchantment of Woven Surfaces. The *Seven Deadly Sins* Tapestries and Habsburg Propaganda in Binche, 1549. In: *Charles V, Prince Philip and the Politics of Succession: Imperial Festivities in Mons and Hainault 1549.* Eds.: McGOWAN, M. – SHEWRING, M. Turnhout 2020, pp. 179 – 204. Mary of Hungary acquired the set for Binche in 1544.

[38] BUCHANAN, I.: *Habsburg Tapestries.* Turnhout 2015*,* pp. 212 – 223, No. 9; CLELAND, E.: *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry.* Exh. cat. New York 2014, pp. 186 – 121, Nos. 46 – 53. The first version of the *Seven Deadly Sins* was produced for Henry VIII to decorate Hampton Court and is documented there in 1535. Its lone surviving work from this series, *Avarice,* is in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

[39] STEPPE, J. K.: De 'Zeven Hoofdzonden van Pieter Coecke van Aelst iconografisch verklaard. In: *De blooitijd van de vlaams tapijtkunst.* Eds.: DUVERGER, J. et al. Brussels 1969, pp. 325 – 327. Cited by CLELAND 2014 (see in note 38), pp. 198, 371, No. 46, based on a manuscript before 1533, transcribed between ca. 1546 – 1553.

crushed beneath the chariot; Darius the Mede; and Pompey. Hovering above, Modesty, the mother of Humility, is a young woman crowned with laurels. A cartouche above bears a Latin inscription, which, translated, reads, "Inflated Pride imitates the bellows that are filled with wind. A vain and fictitious body, fed only on air." The account by Calvete describes the Binche sequence as beginning with *Gluttony* (a timely caution amid such courtly feasting) and ending with the ultimate sin, *Pride*, which also appropriately addresses this ruling elite.

The purpose of the *Seven Deadly Sins* as a theme was moral education, here addressed to a ruling prince. Earlier, similar sets were produced by Brussels weaver Pieter van Aelst for young Charles V, after designs by Van Orley, likely commissioned by the previous regent of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria, Mary's aunt. Allegories of *Moralidades* (ca. 1520) and *Los Honores* (1520s) highlighted princely virtues to provide a visual "Mirror of Princes" within a structure of a procession, similar to this later series of the *Seven Deadly Sins*.[40]

In another lavish setting, fashioned for the occasion at Binche Palace, also recorded in a drawing, Mary created an "Enchanted Salon" (*Camera encantada*; August 30, 1549).[41] She adorned the room with a set of tapestries celebrating Roman military heroism, a seven-part *History of Scipio Africanus,* purchased in 1544, the same year as the *Seven Deadly Sins*.[42] One piece of the *Scipio* series, *The Triumph with Elephants,* was described by Calvete as having been on display within the Enchanted Room. This Scipio series, based on the ancient Roman victory over Carthage, clearly alluded to the prior success of Charles V's expedition to Tunis, for which Mary also commissioned a luxurious twelve-part tapestry cycle (1549 – 1554; see below). The *Scipio* pieces also honored the emperor's would-be crusade in the Mediterranean against the Ottoman navy.

Within the Enchanted Room, Mary emulated the luxury feasts of fifteenth-century Burgundian tradition, which Habsburg emperors adopted. Beneath a painted sky, half day and half night, with lamps for nighttime stars, the seven planets riding chariots formed a frieze, alongside royal coats-of-arms. A baldachin structure on four jasper columns included mechanisms that, accompanied by an artificial storm, lowered tables bearing desserts on crystal dishes, including carved sugar sculptures, candies, and fruits, while releasing almond sweets, orange blossoms, and perfumes into the air.[43] Nearby, a grotto contained table fountains with flowing wine (see Ingrid Ciulisová's essay in the present volume). Decorative life-cast flowers and small animals in silver anticipated later, more bravura, goldsmithing work in Nuremberg for princely collectors by Wenzel Jamnitzer.[44] The royal party of Charles, Mary, Philip, and Eleonore of Austria appear in the drawing along with their party. Although the destruction of the castle at Binche eliminated any vestiges of this remarkable entertainment spectacle, it was always designed to be ephemeral, in a display of princely magnificence.

Activities for Crown Prince Philip at Binche Palace also followed previous patterns. These included chivalric jousting tournaments combined with lavish masquerade feasts, much like those already modeled for other rulers by Emperor Maximilian I, grand-

[40] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), pp. 110 – 123, No. 2; CAMPBELL 2002 (see in note 17), pp. 288 – 290, Fig. 128; DELMARCEL, G.: *Los Honores: Flemish Tapestries for the Emperor Charles V*. Antwerp 2000; *Keizer Karel. Wandtapijten en wapenrustingen uit de Spaanse Koninklijke verzamelingen*. Exh. cat. Brussels 1994, pp. 61 – 80.

[41] Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale Albert I, Prentenkabinet F 12931, plano C. – Van den BOOGERT – KERKHOFF 1993 (see in note 6), pp. 312 – 313, No. 214.

[42] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), pp. 198 – 211, No. 8; *Keizer Karel* 1994 (see in note 40), pp. 97 – 102. Uncharacteristically, the series was designed by an Italian artist, Giulio Romano, and purchased rather than commissioned by Mary of Hungary.

[43] WIERSMA, L.: A Garden of Cast Flowers: The „Enchanted Salon" and the Making of Sculptures for Festivals. In: McGOWAN – SHEWRING 2020 (see in note 37), pp. 205 – 220; BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), p. 80; Van den BOOGERT – KERKHOFF 1993 (see in note 6), pp. 312 – 313. On the general phenomenon of feasting, especially in the Burgundian tradition, NORMORE, C.: *A Feast for the Eyes: Art, Performance, and the Late Medieval Banquet*. Chicago 2015.

[44] BOTT, G. (ed.): *Wenzel Jamnitzer und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst, 1500 – 1700*. Exh. cat. Nuremberg 1985.

father of Charles V.[45] As Margaret McGowen has noted, the presence of costumed masquerades often involved alien figures, such as wild men or Turks, who often play-acted an abduction of the ladies of the court, only to be rescued by heroic knights. Accounts of the ceremonial performances at Binche indicate that masked ladies and gentlemen danced. But as recounted by Calvete, the evening involved a staged performance with a mock battle between men costumed as knights and "savages," who interrupted the scene to abduct the ladies and imprison them briefly in a castle close to Mary's hunting castle of Mariemont. At the emperor's initiative, the castle was besieged, and the "prisoners" were released, followed by a knightly jousting tournament and feast, after which the court moved on to Mons. Within the Renaissance hall architecture by Jacques Du Broeucq, this chivalric performance reveals how much Mary's court culture remained steeped in medieval romances.

Also on display at Binche Palace was another, earlier tapestry set in seven parts (ca. 1528 – 1531), celebrating Charles V's other great military triumph, his 1525 Battle of Pavia. It was presented to the emperor at the States General meeting in March 1531, at the very moment when young Mary of Hungary was enthroned as his regent of the Low Countries, and thus became closely associated with her.[46] The *Pavia* series, woven in Brussels by Willem Dermoyen, was designed by Bernard van Orley, court artist to Margaret of Austria, whose preparatory designs for the works are still extant (Louvre, Paris).[47] If the initiative for these celebratory tapestries for the emperor originated with Margaret of Austria, their presentation continued into the regime of Mary of Hungary and thus did not figure in the 1544 inventories of Charles V.

Mary of Hungary – Patron of Tapestry Series and Titian Canvases

Mary of Hungary should be remembered as one of the greatest of all Habsburg patrons, particularly of the luxury goods of tapestries.[48] Even so, her reach sometimes exceeded her grasp, as both the proposed life-size bronze commission from Leoni and the never completed family portraits by Titian in oil on canvas suggest.

The grandest tapestry commission by Mary, another tribute to a military campaign by Charles V, was the massive twelve-part *Conquest of Tunis* tapestry series, 1549 – 1554, woven by Willem de Pannemaker, whom Mary of Hungary closely supervised. She inspected the original design, based on drawings created on site by an embedded field artist, Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen. She then contracted for the weaving, beginning in 1546, but the final cartoons (preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) were executed by a more experienced tapestry designer, Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502 – 1550), rather than by Vermeyen, who was chiefly known for his portraits, including the likeness of Mary of Hungary.[49] Coecke's figure style is recognizable from his other tapestries; moreover, the costumes of his figures derive from a visit he made to Constantinople and the subsequent pub-

[45] ANGLO, S.: The Tournament at Binche. In: McGOWAN – SHEWRING 2020 (see in note 37), pp. 223 – 241; for armor as a contemporary art form, see CAPWELL, T.: Theatre of War: Armoured Combat at the Festivals of Binche. In: Ibidem, pp. 243 – 320; also McGOWAN, M.: Masquerades at Binche: A New or Traditional Spectacle? In: Ibidem, pp. 321 – 335. For Maximilian imagery of tournaments and masquerades, see KRAUSE, S.: The Freydal Miniatures in Vienna. In: TERJANIAN 2019 (see in note 21), pp. 120 – 129, Nos. 39 – 43; SILVER 2008 (see in note 15), pp. 147 – 159, 184 – 188.

[46] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), pp. 124 – 135, No. 3; CAMPBELL 2002 (see in note 17), pp. 96 – 297, 321 – 328, Nos. 35 – 36; Van den BOOGERT – KERKHOFF 1993 (see in note 6), pp. 291 – 299.

[47] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), pp. 136 – 155, No. 4. Drawings survive in both the Louvre (12) as well as Leiden, Berlin, Washington, Budapest, and Copenhagen. Charles V himself appears in both *March* and *June* tapestries.

[48] GARCÍA PÉREZ 2020 (see in note 6); Van den BOOGERT, C.: Macht en pracht. Het mecenaat van Maria van Hongarije. In: Van den BOOGERT – KERKHOFF 1993 (see in note 6), pp. 269 – 301.

[49] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), pp. 180 – 197, No. 7; BUCHANAN, I.: The Conquest of Tunis. In: CLELAND 2014 (see in note 38), pp. 320 – 335, No. 70; CAMPBELL 2002 (see in note 17), pp. 385 – 391, 428 – 434, No. 50; HORN, H.: *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, Painter of Charles V and his "Conquest of Tunis": Paintings, Etchings, Drawings and Tapestries*. Doornspijk 1989.

lication of his designs as a woodcut frieze, *Customs and Fashions of the Turks.*[50]

Mary's contract with Pannemaker contained very specific requirements: costly materials, including gold and silver threads and silk threads, as well as costly colors; weavers working from dawn to dusk; and a fixed price, subject to a fine for any delays or corrections, plus a bonus for Pannemaker in the form of a pension for his role as supervisor. In 1551, Charles V expressed his keen interest in the project, writing to Mary that he was disappointed not to have been able to view the tapestries yet. But the series was delayed, completed well after the events at Binche.[51] The final piece was delivered in 1553, and the set was presented to King Philip II on the occasion of his marriage to Mary Tudor in 1554.

Complementing the emperor's earlier victory over French forces at the Battle of Pavia, this would-be crusade in the Mediterranean against the navy of the Ottoman Empire in 1535 became Charles V's signal military triumph in his role as the defender of Christendom; but the triumph was short-lived, resulting in little shift of the military balance of power. The emperor appears on horseback in the second tapestry, *The Muster at Barcelona,* as well as in his commanding role within the backgrounds of several other tapestries. All the tapestry borders pay tribute to the emperor with images of the double-headed eagle of the Empire and the personal *impresa* of Charles V, the Pillars of Hercules, and the ambition to go beyond them (*plus ultra*).[52] Across twelve pieces, the conflict unfolds, beginning with a Mediterranean map, oriented as if viewed from its Barcelona starting point, with the original artist, Vermeyen himself, standing proudly beside it in the lower-right corner. Inscriptions explain the battles in Spanish in the upper borders, and in Latin below, indicating that the entire set was addressed to Charles himself for viewing in his Spanish palace. The accuracy of the depiction, particularly of Tunisian topography, is underscored in several scenes by placing Vermeyen within the scene while sketching the action, as in the tapestry *The Looting of Tunis*.

Charles V—despite the model that was set by his grandfather, Maximilian I—was a rather indifferent patron of the arts, even when asserting his rulership, so it was left to Mary of Hungary to fill in for him. Her palaces in Brussels and Binche served as settings for her arranged encounters between the emperor and visual artists, particularly the Italians Leoni and Titian. Mary had already facilitated a personal meeting between Charles V and Titian in Augsburg in August 1547 at the imperial Diet held shortly after Charles's April victory over the rebellious Protestant princes at the Battle of Mühlberg. The meeting with Titian also had lasting consequences for Philip II as king, as he commissioned paintings from that artist, both religious and mythological, throughout his reign.

As discussed above, Mary of Hungary commissioned a themed series of tapestries to decorate the walls at Binche Palace (which depicted or celebrated Charles V as emperor) and at her Brussels Coudenberg Palace (also see the essay by Annemarie Gschwend in the present volume). Because of the costly materials and the time-consuming labor, tapestry remained the most expensive art form of the century, a medium of "art and magnificence" reserved almost exclusively for the ruling classes—another Burgundian tradition from the Low Countries dating back to the previous century.[53]

Mary's inventory from her retirement in Spain lists 38 tapestry series, some of which are now lost. Mary's own chamber at Binche Palace, which she re-

[50] ORENSTEIN, N.: Customs and Fashions of the Turks. In: CLELAND 2014 (see in note 38), pp. 176 – 185, No. 45. General: for monumental print friezes, see SILVER L. – WYCKOFF E. (eds.): *Grand Scale: Monumental Prints in the Age of Dürer and Titian.* Exh. cat. Wellesley, Mass. 2008.

[51] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), pp. 180 – 197, No. 7; BUCHANAN, I.: The Conquest of Tunis. In: CLELAND 2014 (see in note 38), pp. 320 – 335, No. 70; CAMPBELL 2002 (see in note 17), pp. 385 – 391, 428 – 434, No. 50; *Kaizer Karel* 1994 (see in note 40), pp. 89 – 91; HORN 1989 (see in note 49).

[52] ROSENTHAL, E.: *Plus ultra, non plus ultra,* and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 34, 1971, pp. 204 – 228.

[53] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), esp. pp. 75 – 81 for the tapestry collection of Mary of Hungary, who owned 38 sets of tapestries according to her posthumous inventory. For other royal owners, see CAMPBELL, T.: *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court.* New Haven 2007; CAMPBELL 2002 (see in note 17).

linquished for the emperor during his visit, was hung with a set of nine tapestries recently acquired at that time, presumably reflecting the taste of the regent herself: *Vertumnus and Pomona* (ca. 1548; Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon), woven by Willem de Pannemaker after designs attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst.[54] In Ovid's tale, on which the set was based, the god of the seasons, who transforms his appearance across the sequence of scenes, finally woos the wood nymph of fecundity, Pomona, in the guise of an older woman. Finally, after the principal figures have stood apart, separated within all the previous tapestries, Vertumnus resumes his youthful form in the final tapestry, where the pair unite and embrace. These pieces all present recurring images, variations on the theme of garden settings, drawing on Coecke's considerable awareness of classical Italian architecture. He derived this sense of design from writings by Vitruvius and Serlio, whose work he translated into Dutch for publication with woodcuts.[55] The chamber for Eleanor of Austria on the opposite side of the palace also held a large set of eight tapestries, *The History of Tobias,* an apocryphal Old Testament story of divine providence, purchased by Mary in 1547.[56]

Another set of five tapestries on mythic subjects after Ovid, the *Poesia,* was also likely designed by Coecke for Mary during the same period, the late 1540s, and also woven by Pannemaker, but only after he finished the *Conquest of Tunis,* which was given the highest priority in Mary's exacting contract. Though first recorded in the 1556 collection of King Philip II, the *Poesia*, too, was almost surely commissioned, like the *Vertumnus* set, by Mary.[57] Together, these tapestries define her personal taste for Italianate forms and themes, a specialty of Coecke, who used Italian prints as a major source for his narratives. The mythic subjects from Ovid also accord with Titian's *Furias* paintings (*Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus*) and thus fit neatly into the overall decorative scheme for Binche Palace. In particular, the tapestry of the *Flaying of Marsyas* overlaps with Coxcie's murals, especially his huge fresco described by Calvete and visible above the chimney in the contemporary drawing of the Great Hall. The *Poesia* subjects juxtaposed thematic pairs that convey both divine reward (Ganymede, Perseus) and punishment (Marsyas, Icarus) at the pleasure of the ruling gods.[58] In addition, the collective title of the tapestries, *Poesia*, anticipates the six canvases of the Loves of the Gods, delivered by Titian to Philip II as the *Poesie* (1553 – 1562), though only the subject of Perseus Freeing Andromeda overlaps those two series.[59]

Surprisingly, Miguel Falomir has proposed that Mary herself owned the largest collection of Titian canvases, although many, including a *Venus and Psyche,* have been lost.[60] While in Augsburg with Titian, Mary tasked the painter further to produce a portrait gallery of Habsburg dynasty family members and members of the Diet.[61] Most of these paintings from the gallery of notables at the El Pardo palace have been lost. However, some were preserved in copies and had already been recorded in Mary's 1558 inventory.[62]

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[54] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), pp. 224 – 237, No. 10; CLELAND 2014 (see in note 38), pp. 270 – 289, Nos. 64 – 66; CAMPBELL 2002 (see in note 17), pp. 384 – 385, 391, fig. 182; *Keizer Karel* 1994 (see in note 40), pp. 94 – 95.

[55] CLELAND 2014 (see in note 38), pp. 86 – 90, No. 17.

[56] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), p. 79, No. 58. Another *Tobias* tapestry set hung in the chapel.

[57] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), pp. 251 – 249, as *The Fables of Ovid*; CLELAND 2014 (see in note 38), pp. 294 – 303, No. 68.

[58] For a related analysis of the identification of the ruler with absolute authority, see CARROLL, M.: The Erotics of Absolutism: Rubens and the Mystification of Sexual Violence. In: *Representations*, Vol. 25, 1989, pp. 3 – 30.

[59] WIVEL, M. (ed.): *Titian: Love, Desire, Death*. Exh. cat. Boston 2020; TANNER, M.: *Sublime Truth and the Senses: Titian's Poesie for King Philip II of Spain*. Turnhout 2018, with bibliography.

[60] FALOMIR, M.: Titian, Mary of Hungary, and *Venus and Psyche*. In: GARCÍA PÉREZ 2020 (see in note 6), pp. 97 – 108.

[61] JORDAN GSCHWEND, A. – EICHBERGER, D.: A Discerning Agent with a Vision. Queen Mary of Hungary (1505 – 1558). In: HAAG – EICHBERGER – JORDAN GSCHWEND 2018 (see in note 5), p. 44.

[62] WETHEY, H.: *The Paintings of Titian II. The Portraits*. London 1971, pp. 35, 171, 198, 202 – 203, Nos. L-16 (*Emperor Ferdinand I*), L-24, X-65 (*Johann Friedrich*; 1550, copy, Madrid, Prado).



Fig. 7: After Titian: Portrait of Mary of Hungary, Germany, 16th century, oil on canvas. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, Bequest of Émile Peyre, 1905, Inv. No. PE 243. Photo: Les Arts Décoratifs/Jean Tholance

Titian's own portrait of Mary, done in 1548, is preserved in a copy (Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris; Fig. 7).[63] It shows the regent posed obliquely at half-length, wearing a black mantle, white cap, and ermine cape while placed before a column, traditional symbol of strength or of the virtue of Fortitude, which became a standard component of the sixteenth-century formal court portraits, such as Titian's likeness of Prince Philip (Prado, Madrid).[64] Even the contemporary Saxon prisoner, held in captivity after the Battle of Mühlberg, Prince Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, was portrayed in his black armor by Titian, ca. 1548 (Prado, Madrid).[65] Another portrait by Titian's

[63] Van den BOOGERT – KERKHOFF 1993 (see in note 6), p. 329, No. 227.

[64] JENKINS, M.: *The State Portrait: Its Origins and Evolution*. New York 1947, remains a standard survey.

[65] RODRIGUEZ SALDADO, M. J.: Captive in a Portrait Gallery. Titian's Portraits of John Frederick I of Saxony (ca. 1548 and ca. 1551) and the Collection of Mary of Austria, Queen of Hungary. In: *Portraiture, Gender, and Power in Sixteenth-Century Art. Creating and Promoting the Public Image of Early Modern Women*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. New York 2024, pp. 136 – 163; also EICHBERGER, D.: Portrait Galleries for the House of Habsburg in the Low Countries. Margaret of Austria in Mechelen and Mary of Hungary in Brussels. In: Ibidem, pp. 121 – 135, esp. 126 – 133 for the portrait collection of Mary of Hungary.

[66] WETHEY 1971 (see in note 61), pp. 39, 111 – 112, No. 54, a work that remained in the possession of Mary of Hungary in Spain.

own hand, of Johann Friedrich (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) was made during Titian's second Augsburg stay in 1551.[66]

Charles V is best remembered in visual art by his equestrian portrait painted in Augsburg in 1548 by Titian (Prado, Madrid).[67] That image portrays Charles in his role as a commanding eminence in his victory over Protestant forces at the 1547 Battle of Mühlberg. In this portrait, Charles V wears the same battlefield armor as that worn by Prince Johann Friedrich, recently produced in 1545 in Augsburg by Desiderius Colman, and he also carries the same spear as he rides across a landscape that appears to be a sunset (or the dawn of a new age). Once more, the imposing command of a ruler in the saddle, a tradition stretching back to the portrait of Marcus Aurelius at the Capitol in Rome, confers an imperial heritage along with the *miles christianus* of chivalric valor. Charles, with a purposeful forward-facing gaze, wears the crimson sash of his command, echoed to further adorned by a helmet plume and by the caparisoned horse. This portrait, too, was owned by Mary, and it appears in her 1558 posthumous inventory, where it is described as showing him "in the manner in which he went against the rebels."[68] So, once again, it can be surmised that the contact between Titian and the emperor occurred through the regent's direct intervention.[69]

Like her prudent maintenance of Habsburg dominance over the Low Countries under Emperor Charles V, Mary of Hungary also represented his reign in numerous tapestry cycles, paintings, and sculptures. Without her active intervention, much of the Habsburg dynastic heritage in art, created in this vital mid-century period by leading artists from both sides of the Alps, would never have existed. In politics as well as in art patronage, like Margaret of Austria, her aunt and predecessor as regent, Mary of Hungary—to quote Dagmar Eichberger—was truly a "woman of distinction."

Mary of Hungary
Patron of Distinction

Summary

Mary of Hungary (1505 – 1558), the widow of Louis II, King of Hungary, was appointed regent of the Netherlands by her brother, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (King Carlos I of Spain). Her rule over the region (from 1531 to 1555) was marked by support for his ardent Catholic orthodoxy, notwithstanding any personal reservations she might have held amid growing religious unrest. Despite continuous imperial warfare, Mary managed to ensure economic prosperity, marked by the rapid growth of the port city of Antwerp. A signal display of her political acumen was her lavish entertainment spectacle, held at her recently completed palace at Binche in 1549 (designed by Jacques Du Broeucq), when Charles accompanied his heir to the Spanish crown, the future Philip II, during his triumphal

[67] FERINO-PAGDEN, S.: The Portraits of Charles V by Titian. In: *Carolus.* Exh. cat. Ed.: CHECA CREMADES, F. Toledo 2000, pp. 66 – 79.

[68] BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), p. 81, No. 80; STEPPE, J.-K.: Vlaams tapijtwerk van de 16de eeuw in Spaans koninklijk bezit. In: *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger: Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis in der Nederlanden.* Ghent 1968, pp. 761 – 764.

[69] Prado online catalogue entry by FALOMIR, M., https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/emperor-charles-v-at-muhlberg/e7c91aaa-b849-478c-a857-0bb58a6b6729, accessed June 2025.

advent (*joyeuse entrée*) to the region. While those ephemeral festivities and even the palace itself are now lost, contemporary descriptions and images suffice to record the event.

Along with her prudent maintenance of Habsburg dominance over the Netherlands under Emperor Charles V, Mary of Hungary also took charge in representing his reign in numerous visual images—including tapestry cycles (notably the massive *Conquest of Tunis* set, designed by Jan Vermeyen and supervised by Pieter Coecke van Aelst), Habsburg portraits (especially paintings by Titian and bronze sculptures by Leone Leoni)—featuring both Charles V and Mary herself. She was also a major collector of tapestries in her own right, as well as the patron of several court artists, Michael Coxcie prominent among them. Without this active intervention by Mary of Hungary, much of the Habsburg dynastic heritage in art, created during this vital midcentury period by leading artists from both sides of the Alps, would never have existed.

Mária Uhorská
Významná mecenáška

Resumé

Mária Uhorská (1505 – 1558), vdova po uhorskom kráľovi Ľudovítovi II., bola vymenovaná za regentku Nizozemska svojím bratom, cisárom Svätej rímskej ríše, Karolom V. (španielskym kráľom Karolom I.). Jej vláda nad týmto regiónom (od roku 1531 do roku 1555) sa niesla v znamení podpory jeho horlivej katolíckej ortodoxie, napriek akýmkoľvek osobným výhradám, ktoré sama mohla mať uprostred rastúcich náboženských nepokojov. Napriek neustálym imperiálnym vojnám sa Márii podarilo zabezpečiť hospodársku prosperitu tohto regiónu, ktorá sa prejavovala najmä rýchlym rastom prístavného mesta Antverpy. Výrazným prejavom jej politickej bystrosti boli slávnosti, ktoré sa konali v jej nedávno dokončenom paláci v Binche v roku 1549 v čase, keď Karol sprevádzal svojho syna, dediča španielskej koruny, budúceho Filipa II., počas jeho triumfálneho príchodu (*joyeuse entrée*) do krajiny. Hoci tieto slávnosti a dokonca aj samotný palác sa nezachovali, dobové opisy a zachované kresby postačujú na zaznamenanie tejto udalosti. Popri rozvážnom udržiavaní habsburskej nadvlády nad Nizozemskom za cisára Karola V. sa Mária Uhorská ujala aj úlohy zabezpečiť reprezentáciu jeho vlády – vrátane cyklov tapisérií (najmä rozsiahlej série, ktorú navrhol Jan Vermeyen a dohliadal na ňu Pieter Coecke van Aelst), habsburských portrétov (najmä obrazov od Tiziana a bronzových sôch od Leone Leoniho) – na ktorých bol vyobrazený Karol V. ale aj samotná Mária. Mária Uhorská bola tiež významnou zberateľkou tapisérií a patrónkou niekoľkých dvorných umelcov, medzi ktorými vynikal najmä Michael Coxcie. Bez aktívneho vkladu Márie Uhorskej by veľká časť habsburského dynastického umeleckého dedičstva, vytvoreného okolo polovice 16. storočia poprednými umelcami z oboch strán Álp, nikdy neexistovala.

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