Militia and Architecture in the Library of Queen Mary of Hungary

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Abstract
This article analyzes in detail the readings of Mary of Hungary, governor-general of the Low Countries, on military matters and architecture. It reconstructs the process of formation and development of her library, in which the queen assembled an unusual and still little-studied collection of books on war, fortification, and architecture—a remarkable achievement for a woman of her time, but understandable given her responsibility for the region's territorial defense. The study portrays her not only as a woman merely interested in these matters but also as someone capable of integrating readings, works of art, architecture, courtly festivities, and iconographic programs into a cohesive display of power.

Keywords: Mary of Hungary, Book history, Architecture, War, Low Countries, 16th century

Mary of Hungary (1505 – 1558), sister of Emperor Charles V and governor-general of the Low Countries for twenty-four years (1531 – 1555), was one of the most influential art collectors and cultural patrons of the European Renaissance. Her artistic collections were never conceived as mere accumulations of works of exceptional aesthetic value, but rather as strategic instruments of political representation and dynastic power. Within her collections, military themes—from equestrian portraits of victorious commanders to commemorative tapestries of military campaigns and sculptures evoking the Roman imperial tradition—occupied a central place, with the purpose of projecting a particular image of the Habsburg House as the defender of Christendom and guarantor of imperial order. In parallel, as regent, Mary developed an extensive architectural program, constructing or transforming several buildings for use as private residences at Binche, Turnhout, and Mariemont, where Renaissance refinement was combined with defensive considerations, reflecting the permanent geopolitical threats that characterized the governance of the Low Countries during the sixteenth century.

In the case of Mary of Hungary, the design of these closely interrelated projects of political propaganda and architectural patronage was supported not only by the counsel of well-qualified advisors, but also by an extensive library—either her own or received in usufruct from her aunt Margaret—in which she could find ideas and models to apply. The present study examines the queen's readings on architecture and military affairs, with the aim not only of better understanding the political, architectural, and military ideas that informed her engagement with the military architecture of the period but also of exploring the interrelationship between those readings, her architectural projects, her artistic collections, and her patronage, demonstrating how these three dimensions were integrated into a cohesive strategy of representing imperial power to deal with the military and political challenges of her time.[1]

[1] Van den BOOGERT, B.: Macht en Pracht. Het mecenaat van Maria van Hongarije. In: *Maria van Hongarije 1505 – 1558: koningin tussen keizers en kunstenaars*. Eds.: Van den BOOGERT, B. – KERKHOFF, J. Zwolle 1993, pp. 269 – 301; Van den BOOGERT, B.: María de Hungría, mecenas de

Context: External Threats during the Governorship of Mary of Hungary

Mary of Hungary assumed the office of governor of the Low Countries in 1531, after the death of her aunt, Margaret of Austria. Her appointment responded to Emperor Charles V's need to have a trusted individual governing a territory crucial to his hegemony in Europe. This decision proved to be well-founded. During the twenty-four years of her governorship (1531 – 1555), the Low Countries faced multiple military and religious threats. These threats originated primarily from two fronts: French expansion under the Valois dynasty and Ottoman pressure in central Europe and the Mediterranean. As might be expected, the French threat constituted the most immediate concern for the new governor, as it had also been for her predecessor. During the reigns of Francis I (1515 – 1547) and Henry II (1547 – 1559), France maintained a policy of almost constant confrontation with Charles V, both in pursuit of European hegemony and in an effort to safeguard French territories from the geopolitical encirclement in which they found themselves, surrounded by lands under imperial sovereignty or control. This rivalry materialized in a series of recurrent wars, compelling Mary to maintain constant vigilance along the Low Countries' borders with France and to invest significant resources in their fortifications, particularly those adjoining French territory. Yet the state of frontier tension and the pervasive sense of imminent invasion were not new to Mary. She had already experienced them during her years as queen consort of Hungary (1521 – 1526). The invasion of Hungary by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent and the death of her husband, King Louis II Jagiellon, at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 marked the beginning of the Ottoman occupation of a substantial portion of the kingdom. This tragedy served as a deeply personal reminder for Mary, as the widowed queen of Hungary, of the vulnerability of the empire and of Christendom in the face of their enemies. Her interest in military architecture was rooted in that experience, as well as in the desire to prevent a comparable defeat of the Low Countries by France.

The program of military and civil construction promoted by Mary of Hungary during her governorship of the Low Countries has been extensively studied. Therefore, it suffices to recall that the civil and military constructions promoted under her government were characterized by an original synthesis, oscillating between the aesthetic refinement of the Italian Renaissance palace and the functional demands of territorial defense. In addition, there were three principal palatial architectural projects undertaken during her governorship: Binche, Turnhout, and Mariemont. The most recent historiography on Mary of Hungary has emphasized the strategic use of architecture, festivities, and the printed image as instruments of political propaganda, underscoring the role of her residences at Binche and Mariemont as stages for Renaissance "state-spectacles."[2] Binche Palace was conceived as a direct architectural rival to the château of Fontainebleau, the French royal residence visited by Charles V in 1539. The destruction of Binche Palace by French troops in 1554 represented not merely an architectural loss but an act of political aggression that violated the material symbol of Mary's authority in the Low Countries.[3] There is no doubt that, as an architect in the service of Mary of Hungary, Jacques Du Broeucq contributed to shaping a Habsburg courtly image grounded in Renaissance modernity: residences that articulated dynastic prestige, humanist culture, and territorial

las artes. In: *Los inventarios de Carlos V y la familia imperial*. Eds.: CHECA CREMADES, F. – GONZÁLEZ GARCÍA, J. L. Madrid 2010, Vol. 3, pp. 2791 – 2822; Van den BOOGERT, B.: Mary of Hungary as a patron of the arts. In: Ibidem, Vol. 3, pp. 2807 – 2822.

[2] PIZARRO GÓMEZ, F. J.: *Arte y espectáculo en los viajes de Felipe II (1542 – 1592)*. Madrid 1999; DOCQUIER, G. – FEDERINOV, G. (eds.): *Marie de Hongrie. Politique et culture sous la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas*. Mariemont 2009; CARRASCO FERRER, M.: Mitos cortesanos y mitos políticos en los palacios de María de Hungría. In: *Museo Imperial. El coleccionismo artístico de los Austrias en el siglo XVI*. Ed.: CHECA CREMADES, F. Madrid 2013. pp. 175 – 202.

[3] KAVALER, E. M.: Jacques du Broeucq and Northern Perspectives on the Antique Mode. In: *Netherlandish Sculpture of the Sixteenth Century. A Recovery* [Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 2017, No. 67], pp. 10 – 45; CUPPERI, W.: Sculptures et jardins dans le palais "a l'antique" de Binche: un programme iconographique précis? In: DOCQUIER – FEDERINOV 2009 (see in note 2), pp. 174 – 188.

control, as Krista de Jonge has discussed in several studies.[4]

Mary's Library: An Example of Habsburg Female Bibliophilia

Beyond the works of art that she assembled—paintings, sculptures, and tapestries—the library of the widowed queen of Hungary constituted a significant element in the elaboration of her cultural image, her patronage, and her understanding of political power. Mary's library also served a broader political function: it demonstrated her adherence to the humanist values of the Renaissance and her capacity to act as a patron of learning and culture.[5]

In previous studies, several stages were distinguished in the evolution of the queen's bibliophilia. In the first stage, Mary, educated by her aunt Margaret, proved to be a worthy heir to the collecting tradition her aunt had developed, with a keen interest in assembling rich and ancient late-medieval codices. Upon the archduchess's death, Mary received her magnificent library in usufruct, a circumstance that reinforced the continuity between the bibliophilic pursuits of both princesses. In a second stage, between 1531 and 1554, Charles V's sister, as governor of the Low Countries, became the patron of a vigorous courtly humanism, initially associated with the ideas of Erasmus, which would contribute to the development of Mary's markedly personal reading preferences (poetry, natural history, theology). In 1555, a third stage in the widowed queen's bibliophilia began, characterized by the desire to assemble a significant collection of French printed books to accompany her into retirement in Spain. Mary decided that the Burgundian books and codices should remain in the Low Countries as a dynastic asset, and resolved to travel to Spain with a library that was easy to transport and to read, one that would occupy her leisure hours. These new books joined others that the sovereign had already received or purchased in preceding years (and which she had not left at Turnhout). In Castile, she continued to acquire new books, including some from her physician Daniel Vlierden in 1557. Their identification and location in *Regia Bibliotheca* (2005) made it possible to reconstruct one of the great female royal libraries of the period, complementing the holdings already known and preserved in Brussels and Paris.

Mary's Readings on Military Affairs and Architecture

The present study specifically addresses the books on military affairs and architecture owned by Mary, with the aim of establishing her knowledge in both fields. De Jonge and Cupperi have noted that the architectural tastes of Mary's court were more Vitruvian than Serlian.[6] Can this be confirmed through the books she possessed? During the sixteenth century, it was not unusual for European rulers to display a keen interest in both subjects, and in military architecture in particular. Francesco Maria Feltrio della Rovere (1490 – 1538), duke of Urbino and Sora, was called "the Prince Engineer" on account of his knowledge of the art of fortification. Likewise, the

[4] DE JONGE, K.: Las empresas arquitectónicas del Emperador y de su corte en los Países Bajos. In: *Carolus*. Ed. CHECA CREMADES, F. Madrid 2000, pp. 36 – 53; DE JONGE, K.: Marie de Hongrie, maître d'ouvrage (1531 – 1555), et la Renaissance dans les anciens Pays-Bas. In: DOCQUIER – FEDERINOV 2009 (see in note 2), pp. 124 – 140.

[5] The contents of the queen's library have been studied successively, partially by Debae, and more comprehensively by Lemaire and by the present author: DEBAE, M.: *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche: essai de reconstitution d'après l'inventaire de 1523 – 1524*. Louvain – Paris 1995 ; LEMAIRE, C.: De librije van Maria van Hongarije. In: *Maria van Hongarije 1505 – 1558: koningin tussen keizers en kunstenaars*. Eds.: KERKHOFF, J. – Van den BOOGERT, B.: Zwolle 1993, pp. 179 – 188; GONZALO SÁNCHEZ-MOLERO, J. L.: La biblioteca de María de Hungría en España: Corte, Humanismo e Inquisición. In: *España y las 17 provincias de los Países Bajos: una revisión historiográfica (siglos XVI – XVIII)*. Eds.: CRESPO SOLANA, A. – HERRERO SÁNCHEZ, M.: Córdoba 2002, Vol. 2, pp. 731 – 766; GONZALO SÁNCHEZ-MOLERO, J. L.: *Regia Bibliotheca. El libro en la corte española de Carlos V*. Mérida 2005, 2 vols.; and GONZALO SÁNCHEZ-MOLERO, J. L.: La biblioteca de María de Hungría y la bibliofilia de Felipe II. In: DOCQUIER – FEDERINOV 2009 (see in note 2), pp. 156 – 173.

[6] DE JONGE, K.: Anticse wercken: Architecture in the Antique Manner 1500 – 1530. In: *Unity and Discontinuity: Architecture in the Low Countries 1400 – 1600*. Eds.: DE JONGE, K. – OTTENHEYM, K. Turnhout 2007, pp. 21 – 40; CUPPERI 2009 (see in note 3), p. 180, n. 23.

skill of King John III of Portugal (1502 – 1557) in drawing plans of fortifications was widely praised in his time, earning him the admiration of Francisco de Monzón. This interest was shared with his cousin and brother-in-law, Emperor Charles V, whose engagement with military construction was praised by Pedro Luis Escrivá (c. 1490 – c. 1540), one of his foremost architects.[7] In his *Apología* (1538), Escrivá affirmed that the monarch was "expertissimo" in this matter, an assessment corroborated by historians Ludovico Dolce and Francesco Sansovino.[8] Paradoxically, though, among the books of the Emperor Charles there are almost no treatises on military architecture. The inventory of his possessions at Yuste lists only a "large parchment book with many drawings and patterns of various things," together with four paintings of fortifications.[9] Since there is no doubt that he had an interest in the subject, this absence can only be interpreted as evidence of his limited inclination toward reading and his preference for knowledge acquired through practical experience.

An examination of the contents of Mary's library reveals that during the sixteenth century a substantial body of works on fortification and defense was published, inspired in large measure by the evolution of military engineering in response to the new capabilities of gunpowder artillery. There were many excellent books available to readers. What is surprising in this case is that the owner of these books was a woman, not a soldier, an engineer, or an architect. Although the inventories of her library have not survived in their entirety, the available documentation confirms that Mary possessed technical works relating to fortifications, the design of modern fortresses, and military tactics—areas of growing importance during the sixteenth century as artillery technology was revolutionizing military architecture. Among her books are copies of Albrecht Dürer's works on architecture, geometry, and painting; the classical architectural treatises by Serlio and Vitruvius; the discourses by Niccolò Machiavelli on war (in the French version published in 1544); and works on military affairs and the art of war by Claude Cottereau, Gabriel du Preau, Guillaume de Bellay, the Baron de Fourquevaux, Guillaume du Choul, Giovanni Battista Zanchi, and François de la Treille, among others.

Excluded for discussion here are works on this list about history and mathematics, which were numerous. While books in the former category inevitably narrated the most celebrated military campaigns of antiquity, and those in the latter undoubtedly contained content applicable to military affairs or architecture, their exclusion is justified by the fact that these works were not published specifically as treatises *de re militari* or on architecture. However, certain literary works have been included, such as the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and the French editions of the *Amadís de Gaula*. These are not, strictly speaking, architectural treatises, yet their illustrations provided contemporary readers with a clear set of aesthetic models through descriptions and illustrations of architectural elements from antiquity. The group of books selected for study here—twenty-five titles—is remarkable for its size and variety. It is evident that such reading material was not in keeping with the canonical reading practices prescribed for women of the period. The difference lies in the fact that she was the governor of the Low Countries. As such, she was required to be closely acquainted with the most important innovations in European military thought and to possess direct knowledge of military affairs, poliorcetics, and cartography—three closely interrelated disciplines. Because Mary was excluded by her gender from the battlefield, yet responsible for the defense of the Low Countries, books served her as a necessary source of information (though not the sole or primary one) for making decisions on these matters. Having experienced the bitter loss of Hungary in 1526, and during her more than

[7] COBOS GUERRA, F.: Pedro Luis Escrivá y el primer tratado de fortificación moderna. Nápoles 1538. In: *Ingenieros del Renacimiento*. Eds.: CÁMARA MUÑOZ, A. – REVUELTA POL, B. Madrid 2014, pp. 25 – 52.

[8] HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, C. J.: Introducción. Saber y poder. La arquitectura militar en el reinado de Carlos V. In: *Las fortificaciones de Carlos V*. Ed. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, C. J. Madrid 2000, pp. 63 – 64.

[9] GONZALO SÁNCHEZ-MOLERO, J. L.: La biblioteca postrimera de Carlos V en España: las lecturas del emperador. In: *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, Vol. 60, 2000, No. 206, pp. 911 – 943.



Fig. 1: Mary of Hungary reading books on military architecture in her library. Re-creation generated by the author using A.I. tools

two decades as governor, Mary wished to remain informed about the most recent innovations in military architecture in order to strengthen the defenses of the Low Countries against successive French invasions (Fig. 1).

In principle, the contents of Mary's library may serve as a useful indicator of the circulation of these ideas within the Habsburg government during the reign of Charles V. A more detailed analysis of the acquisition of these books, however, enables some revision to previously held assumptions. First and foremost, it is essential to note that the majority of the books on military affairs and architecture that Mary possessed at her death in Spain were purchased in the final years of her governorship, around 1555 – 1556, by which time they were of no practical utility for her political duties as governor of the Low Countries.[10] Despite the "disappointment" of discovering that most of these books were acquired late in her life, her collection is considerably more extensive than those possessed by other figures of the period—and not merely in comparison with her brother, the Emperor Charles.

With an understanding of these historical circumstances surrounding the formation of her library, it is necessary to follow the thread of her life in order to comprehend how, in chronological order, she accumulated the literature on the two subjects addressed here: military affairs and military architecture. Regarding the books she may have read during her youth, under the tutelage of her aunt Margaret and her grandfather Maximilian, no documentary evidence survives to shed light on this question. Only

[10] GONZALO 2005 (see in note 5), Vol. I, pp. 430 – 436.

her interest in the new religious ideas—first those of Erasmus, and subsequently those of Luther—is attested in various sources, which the contents of her library do not contradict. During her years as queen consort of Hungary, the celebrated library assembled by Matthias Corvinus was at her disposal, but it is doubtful that books on military matters were of interest to her at that time.[11]

After the death of Margaret of Austria in 1530, Mary of Hungary inherited many artefacts from her collections. Could Mary have had access, through her aunt's library and that of the former Dukes of Burgundy, to other works on military affairs and architecture? Her collection contained numerous chronicles narrating the innumerable wars of antiquity and the Middle Ages, but these texts cannot be considered works dedicated to expounding the rules of war and military architecture. Nor does it seem appropriate to suggest that these gaps were filled by the chivalric romances of the Arthurian and Franco-Netherlandish tradition—such as the *Lancelot du Lac* or the *Le Saint Graal*—with which both the Burgundian library and that of Margaret of Austria were amply stocked. As for works on architecture, that rich yet antiquated book collection contains no trace of the classical treatise of Vitruvius, nor of fundamental Renaissance works such as those of Leon Battista Alberti. It is well known that the dissemination of Vitruvius's work in France and Burgundy during the fifteenth century was very limited. Following its rediscovery in 1414 by Poggio Bracciolini at the Abbey of Saint Gall, the work of Vitruvius circulated in the Franco-Burgundian sphere only through Latin manuscripts arriving from Italy. There is no evidence of printed editions in French until the publication of Jean Martin's translation in 1547.

Through the digital humanities project *Books of Duchesses: Mapping Women Book Owners in Francophone Europe, 1350 – 1550*,[12] it is possible to trace the existence of many of the volumes that belonged to Margaret and Mary, although the results from a search for books of a military character are very sparse. Mary might perhaps have read (had she had the inclination) a manuscript volume containing the aforementioned *Arbre des batailles*, together with a *Livre des faits d'arme et de chevalerie* and the *Ordonnance de Philippe le Bel* (KBR, MS 9009 – 9011), or a copy of *L'Art de chevalerie* (KBR, MS 11046)—but little else. In reality, during the final centuries of the late Middle Ages, only two works had treated the art of war in any depth: the *Arbre des batailles* by Honoré de Bonnet, and the *Bellifortis* by Konrad Keyser. Both works drew on the text of a Roman author, Flavius Vegetius, specifically his *De re militari*. It is known that both works enjoyed the particular favor of Charles V. Throughout his life, he was a devoted reader of the *Arbre*, a printed copy of which (Paris, 1527) he invariably kept in his possession—a volume now preserved in the Laurenziana, Florence.[13] Bound in leather with gilt tooling, its folios still bear the traces of wear characteristic of prolonged and repeated reading. It is not difficult to imagine the emperor returning again and again to this small volume, whether on his travels, in his palace, or during military campaigns. The monarch deposited this book at the castle of Simancas around 1542 – 1543, together with a French manuscript by Vegetius ("Another handwritten book on paper in French called Bejeçio de re militare, beginning on the first folio with 'sensuit' and on the last with 'tur siourss,' bound in paper boards, covered in black"). It is likewise known that an illuminated manuscript copy of the *Bellifortis* was presented in Castile to the young Prince Philip, son of Charles V, around 1538. This appears to have been a gift from the duke of Arschot, Philippe de Croÿ, upon his

[11] BUZEK, V.: Strangers in their own country. King Louis II (Jagiello) and Mary of Hunagry's Stay in Bohemia at the turn of 1522 – 1523. In: *Mary of Hungary. The Queen and her court*. Ed.: RÉTHELYI, O. Budapest 2005, pp. 63 – 69; RÉTHELYI, O.: *Mary of Hungary in Court Context (1521 – 1531)*. Budapest 2010; KUBINYI, A.: The Court of Queen of Hungary and Politics between 1521 and 1526. In: *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and Her Court 1521 – 1531*. Eds.: RÉTHELYI, O. – ROMHÁNYI, B. – SPEKNER, E. – VÉGH, A. Budapest 2005, pp. 13 – 25.

[12] In https://booksofduchesses.com/. See KAPLAN, S. C. – WATSON, S. W.: Books of Duchesses: Mapping Women Book Owners in Francophone Europe, 1350 – 1550: Initial Findings. In: *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 2020, No. 23, pp. 27 – 59; KAPLAN, S. C.: *Women's Libraries in Late Medieval Bourbonnais, Burgundy, and France: A Family Affair*. Liverpool 2022.

[13] GONZALO 2005 (see in note 5), Vol. II, pp. 216 – 217, No. 7.

dispatch to the Spanish court by Mary of Hungary as an imperial envoy.[14]

Within this shared dynastic reading culture, it is unsurprising that Mary of Hungary possessed not only comparable works but volumes by the very same authors. When she died at Cigales, her executors recorded in her library a large-format manuscript copy of the *Arbre des batailles* by Honoré de Bonnet. It is described in the inventory of 1558 as "Another large book with boards covered in blue velvet with gilt clasps, handles, and corner-pieces, written by hand on parchment in French, entitled the Herbor de las batallas." This copy has been lost, most probably in the fire that destroyed the library of El Escorial in 1671.[15] The fact that it was among the few works that Mary chose to take with her to Spain (perhaps drawn from the ancient Burgundian ducal library) attests to its particular significance for her. She also possessed a volume of Flavius Vegetius's *De re militari*, described in the inventory of her possessions in 1558 as "Item, Vegetius De re militari, in boards, very old." This was not a manuscript but an incunable folio edition, which the later inventories of the libraries of Philip II and El Escorial dated to 1484.[16]

It appears to have been bound together with a copy of Julius Caesar's *Commentarii*, which may mean that the date 1484 refers to the latter work rather than to Vegetius. Searches in incunable catalogues such as ISTC, BNE, and other bibliographic databases yield no record of a printed edition of either work at that date and place. The first printing of Vegetius's *De re militari* was produced by Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus de Leempt in Utrecht, around 1473 – 1474, in folio. This edition, without illustrations, was followed by another, entitled *Epithomia rei militaris*, also in folio, published by Nicolaus Götz in Cologne.[17] No French edition from the subsequent years is known to exist. A Paris edition of Julius Caesar's *Commentarii* did appear in 1486; however, *Les commentaires de Iulius Cesar*, in the French translation of Robertus Gaguinus, was printed by Antoine Caillaut (attribution) for Antoine Vérard, in folio (ISTC, No. ic00027500). Was this the volume held by Mary of Hungary, bound together with a copy of the Bruges edition cited above? The loss of both volumes in the Escorial fire of 1671 prevents any definitive conclusion, although the hypothesis remains a reasonable one.

In any case, the fact that both volumes—one a manuscript, the other an incunable—dated from the fifteenth century reveals both their antiquity and their connection to the reading traditions of the Burgundian court. That Charles V, his son Philip, and Mary all read the same or comparable works, of similar provenance, demonstrates that she participated in a shared dynastic reading culture that identified the works of Bonnet and Keyser, together with the French translation of Vegetius, as the foundational texts of the "Habsburg-Burgundian" tradition of military writing. Regarding the latter, it should be recalled that a French translation of Flavius Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris* (or *De re militari*) was dedicated to Duke Charles the Bold by an anonymous translator.[18]

This would help explain Mary's interest in retaining, during her Spanish retirement, a copy of the translation dedicated to her maternal great-grandfather. By that time, her library already contained more modern printed editions of that work, yet her reluctance to part with this manuscript copy reveals a personal attachment, as well as suggesting the possibility that both works—Bonnet's *Arbre des batailles* and Vegetius's *De re militari*—were her earliest readings on these subjects.

When Mary was appointed by her brother as governor of the Low Countries in 1531, military tactics and the science of siege warfare were no longer guided by the same principles as they had been half a century earlier. As is well known, warfare in Europe underwent a profound transition between 1470 and

[14] GONZALO SÁNCHEZ-MOLERO, J. L.: *Felipe II. La educación de un "felicísimo príncipe" (1527 – 1545)*. Madrid 2013, pp. 414 – 420.

[15] GONZALO 2005 (see in note 5), Vol. II, p. 267, No. 44.

[16] Ibidem, p. 403, No. 321.

[17] ALLMAND, C.: Vegetius in print. In: *The De Re Militari of Vegetius. The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages*. Ed.: ALLMAND, C. Cambridge 2011, pp. 239 – 248.

[18] MEYER, P.: Les anciens traducteurs français de Végèce et en particulier Jean de Vignai. In: *Romania*, Vol. 25, 1896, No. 99, pp. 401 – 423; CRUZ VERGARI, E. de la.: Les barbari de l'*Epitoma rei militaris* de Végèce dans les traductions médiévales en langue d'oïl. In: *Çédille: Revista de Estudios Franceses*, 2024, No. 25, pp. 315 – 357.

1530, evolving from medieval models dominated by heavy cavalry and traditional siege techniques toward strategies and tactics based on the confrontation of mixed infantry formations and the use of firearms and artillery. Field artillery, moreover, had become an indispensable weapon, against whose impact medieval fortifications proved highly vulnerable. It was in this context that the *trace italienne*, with its low, angled bastions, emerged as the dominant model of defensive architecture. In short, by around 1530, the European battlefield had left behind the tactics of the late Middle Ages and entered an entirely new stage of warfare, in which the combined deployment of artillery and arquebus fire, together with a series of organizational innovations, had already redefined the art of war.[19]

Mary's reading habits adapted both to the broader European military context and to the demands of her role as governor. As Van den Heuvel and Roosens have explained, the defensive construction program in the Low Countries during her governorship was planned with considerable care.[20] Charles V accorded high priority to this program of fortifications in the Low Countries, and his sister consequently devoted considerable time to such matters, with particular attention to improving the defenses of the regions bordering France. It is known that Mary expanded her library very gradually.

Lievin Aelgoet, known as Panagathus, a humanist and bibliophile who served the queen as secretary and master of the pages, habitually acquired books for her.[21] However, as Panagathus was not an expert in so specific and technical a field as military affairs and architecture, it is probable that Mary preferred to seek counsel from a courtier of her highest confidence: Philippe de Croÿ (d. 1549), duke of Aarschot. Croÿ had distinguished himself in the Italian campaigns of 1521 – 1526 and in the capture of Tournai, a strategically significant fortress. As lieutenant-governor and captain-general of Hainaut from 1537, he was charged with the defense of its border territories with France, promoting improvements to castles and town walls to adapt them to the emerging capabilities of artillery. Aarschot was indeed instrumental in the introduction of the *trace italienne* model in the Low Countries. Upon his death in 1549, Queen Mary acquired several volumes from his library at auction.[22]

No less important for Mary's formation in military and architectural matters was her close contact with the architects and engineers who served under her authority and that of Charles V in the Low Countries. Among these, mention should be made of Jacopo Seghizzi (known as Frate da Modena), Donato Buoni (also known as Bono), Giovanni Maria Olgiati, and, above all, Jacques Du Broeucq. Pieter Martens has drawn attention to the close relationship between the governor and these architects, who accompanied the queen on successive inspection visits to the fortification works undertaken under her auspices.[23] The first of these engineers, Jacopo Seghizzi (c. 1484 – 1565), arrived from Italy in 1534, commissioned by the emperor to inspect and modernize the defenses of the southern frontier.[24] A native of Modena, Seghizzi had distinguished himself as a captain and engineer in the context of the Italian Wars. His inspection tour was carried out in the company of Jehan the Artesian, Captain Georges Dubois, and a painter, Jehan Provost. Upon receipt of his reports, Duke Philippe de Croÿ and Mary of Hungary charged him with the reform of the fortifications of Bouchain, Avesnes, and Le Quesnoy, where he introduced the concept of

[19] See ROBERTS, M.: *The Military Revolution, 1560 – 1660: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered before the Queen's University of Belfast*. Belfast 1956; ELTIS, D.: *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe*. London 1998; PARKER, G.: *La Revolución Militar: Las innovaciones militares y el apogeo del Occidente (1500 – 1800)*. Madrid 2002; ROGERS, C. J. (ed.).: *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe*. Boulder 1995.

[20] MARTENS, P.: Superviser le territoire frontalier. Les voyages d'inspection des gouverneurs des Pays-Bas sous Charles Quint. In: *SEMEN. Revue de sciences sociales*, 2019, No. 52, pp. 7 – 28.

[21] FINOT, J.: *Inventaire sommaire des Archives de Lille*. Lille 1892, Série B, Hôtel des souverains, B 3358, fol. 246r.

[22] GONZALO 2005 (see in note 5), Vol. I, pp. 388 – 390.

[23] MARTENS 2019 (see in note 20).

[24] Van den HEUVEL, C. – ROOSENS, B.: Los Países Bajos. Las fortificaciones y la coronación en la defensa del imperio de Carlos V. In: HERNANDO 2000 (see in note 8), p. 583.

bastioned fortification to the Low Countries. Around 1545, Seghizzi returned to Italy, where he directed the reconstruction of the city walls of Lucca.[25]

By this time, Seghizzi had already been succeeded in the defensive works of the Low Countries by another Italian architect and engineer, Donato Buoni Pellizuoli (c. 1500 – 1556), who was responsible for the comprehensive modernization of the Netherlandish fortifications. A native of Bergamo, he arrived in the Low Countries around 1539 – 1540. His appointment was formalized at Thionville on January 8, 1540. Charles V initially charged him with the construction of the citadel of Ghent, following the suppression of that city's revolt, as well as with the inspection of the defenses of the strongholds of Hainaut and Artois. His activities subsequently extended to various repair works at Stenay, Middelburg, and Utrecht. He later undertook the bastioned modernization of the walls of Antwerp and of the fortresses of Mariembourg (1542 – 1546) and Rammekens (1547). As is well known, the first of these two fortresses was named in honor of Mary of Hungary, who ordered its construction between 1542 and 1546 in response to the fortified towns that another Italian engineer, Girolamo Marini, had built for France at Vitry-le-François, Villefranche--sur-Meuse, and Rocroi.[26]

Buoni died in 1552 and was succeeded by Giovanni Maria Olgiati (1494 – 1557), a Milanese military engineer who had previously served Venice and the Sforza in the fortification of Corfu, Famagusta, and Alessandria in Piedmont, before entering imperial service in the Duchy of Milan. In 1553, at the request of Mary of Hungary, Charles V ordered Olgiati to conduct a comprehensive inspection of the fortifications of the Low Countries with a view to proposing systematic reforms. The mission was carried out that same year, in close collaboration with Sebastian van Noyen, an engineer and architect from Utrecht. Recent scholarship by Pieter Martens has demonstrated that this tour marked a decisive moment in the full assimilation of Italian-style fortification and provided the Brussels government with a systematic overview of the frontier defenses, effectively transforming the Low Countries into a European "laboratory" of innovation in military architecture and urban planning. Although no evidence has been found that these Italian engineers supplied the sovereign with books on military affairs or architecture, Mary's library did contain several manuscripts of Italian provenance, most notably an album of drawings of Trajan's Column in Rome. At the time of her death in Spain, this volume was described in an inventory of 1558 as "two bundles of papers with paintings said to be of the Column of Trajan." It was not housed with her books but rather with several herbaria of the Indies and her map collection.[27]

The reason for including this collection of drawings in the catalogue of the queen's books on military affairs and architecture is principally the following: those relief carvings reproduced in considerable detail the equipment and operations of the Roman legions during the second century. This record is generally identified with an extant miscellaneous album of drawings and prints, containing a series of images reproducing in sequence the helical reliefs of the column, now preserved in the Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial under the shelfmark 28-II-15. These drawings, however, appear to be more closely related to the edition of Alfonso Chacón's *Historia utriusque belli Dacici* (Rome, 1576), the illustrations of which were produced by Venetian painter Girolamo Muziano. Dated, therefore, to the second half of the sixteenth century and to the Roman milieu of the 1560s – 1570s, a reproduction of the reliefs of Trajan's Column appearing in Marys library several decades earlier is of considerable significance.

What was the provenance of those "two bundles of papers with paintings said to be of the Column of Trajan"? Given their Italian origin—the monument depicted is, at the very least, situated in Rome—there is a possibility that they were a gift from one of the Italian engineers who served under Mary. Yet there is another possibility: Between 1508 and 1509, Philip of Burgundy (1464 – 1524), illegitimate son

[25] BRAGARD, P.: *Dictionnaire Biographique des Ingénieurs des fortifications. Pays-Bas espagnols, Principauté de Liège, Franche-Comté, 1504 – 1713*. Namur 2011.

[26] DUBOST, J-F. : *La France italianne, XVIe – XVII siècle*. Paris 1997, pp. 91 – 92.

[27] GONZALO 2005 (see in note 5), Vol. II, p. 247, No. 12.

of Duke Philip the Good, was dispatched to Rome as ambassador by Margaret of Austria. He was accompanied on this journey by Jan Gossaert (c. 1478 – 1532), who took advantage of the trip to draw statues and monuments, becoming the first Flemish artist to document ancient Roman and Italian art directly. This experience exerted a lasting influence on Gossaert's subsequent work, and he is regarded as one of the first to introduce Renaissance art into the Low Countries.[28] In Rome, Gossaert may have encountered the work of Bolognese painter Jacopo Ripanda (d. 1516), one of the foremost exponents of antiquarian painting in the early Roman Cinquecento. As Bull has demonstrated, Ripanda's drawings clearly influenced Gossaert.[29] Coincidentally, Ripanda had shortly beforehand produced a complete and direct copy of the reliefs of Trajan's Column, using a scaffold of his own invention; Farinella proposes 1506 as the date when it was executed.[30]

This hypothesis rests not only on the use of the drawings in the pictorial cycle of the palace of Cardinal Santoro (1505 – 1507), but also on a reference by Raffaele Maffei, who in his *Commentarii Urbani* (1506) praised the "Traiani columne picturas" drawn by Ripanda. His original drawings have not survived, although a series of folios with images taken from the reliefs of Trajan's Column, copied by a close collaborator of Ripanda, has been preserved.[31] Since Philip of Burgundy and Gossaert were in Rome just two years later, and it is known that the ambassador himself instructed his painter to copy the principal antiquities of the city, it is possible that the drawings in Mary's possession were a copy of Ripanda's originals, obtained or executed by Gossaert himself, and that after the death of Philip of Burgundy they passed into the queen's ownership. On its origin and identification, no speculation will be offered here. The queen's inventories of 1558 and 1559 likewise record the existence of a book of large parchment folios containing certain architectural drawings: "Many patterns, on paper, of architecture;" "Another large book, large format and few folios, in parchment, also with architectural figures drawn by hand;" and (among various portraits of family members, illuminated parchments, and paintings of animals) "a model for making baths on paper, painted inside in gold and colors with the instruction written in Italian script."[32]

Unfortunately, beyond these references, no concrete evidence has yet been found to confirm that the Italian architects mentioned above presented the sovereign with works of their own hand on the subject of architecture. To find a comparable instance of such gifts in the case of Mary of Hungary, one must look to her fellow Netherlandish compatriot, Jacques Du Broeucq (c. 1505 – 1584). Dubrœucq is regarded as a key figure in the transition to the Renaissance in the southern Low Countries. His work is characterized by a masterly assimilation of the Italian style, acquired during his travels to Rome, where he came into contact with artists such as Ghiberti and Sansovino. Du Broeucq served Charles V's sister as both sculptor and architect, contributing to the design of several buildings, including Binche Palace (1545 – 1549), conceived as a rival to the French royal château of Fontainebleau, and the pavilion of Mariemont, construction of which began in 1547.[33]

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[28] BALIS, A.: Jan (Jennin) Gossaert genaamd Mabuse. In: *Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508 – 1608. Kunstenaars uit de Nederlanden en het Prinsbisdom Luik te Rome tijdens de Renaissance*. Brussels – Ghent 1995, pp. 210 – 215; SILVER, L.: Figure nude, histoire et poesie: Gossaert and the Renaissance Nude in the Netherlands. In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisches Jaarboek*, 1986, No. XXVI, pp. 1 – 40.

[29] BULL, D.: Jan Gossaert and Jacopo Ripanda on the Capitoline. In: *Simiolus. Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 34, 2009 – 2010, No. 2, pp. 89 – 94.

[30] FARINELLA, V.: *Archeologia e pittura a Roma tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento. Il caso di Jacopo Ripanda*. Torino 1992; FARINELLA, V.: Dipingere 'in latino', a Roma, da Ripanda a Raffaello. In: H*orti Hesperidum. Studi di storia del collezionismo e della storiografia semestrale: La Roma di Raffaele Riario tra XV e XVI secolo. Cultura antiquaria e cantieri decorativi*. Ed.: PEZZUTO, L. Roma 2017, Vol. 1, pp. 87 – 94.

[31] FARINELLA 1992 (see in note 30), pp. 124 – 132.

[32] CHECA CREMADES 2010 (see in note 1), Vol. III, pp. 2923, 2925 and 2897.

[33] HEDICKE, R.: *Jacques Dubrœucq de Mons*. Brussels 1911; DE JONGE, K.: Binche et Mariemont: le palais et le pavillon de chasse de Marie de Hongrie. In: *Jacques du Brœucq de Mons (1505 – 1584). Maître artiste de l'empereur Charles Quint*. Exh. cat. Mons 2005, pp. 77 – 85; DE JONGE, K.: Mariemont, Mary of Hungary's hunting pavilion. In: *Revue de l'Art*, Vol. 149, 2005, pp. 45 – 57.

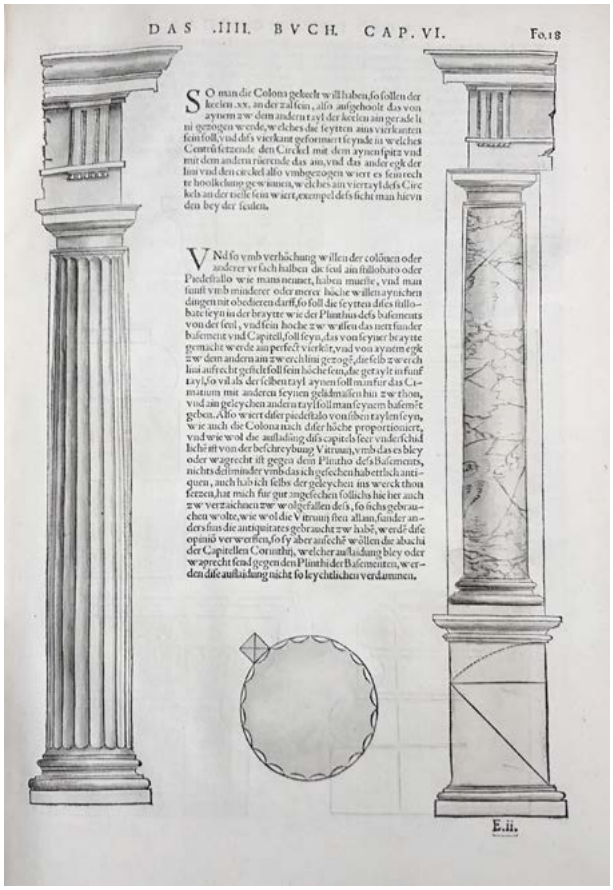


Fig. 2: Sebastiano Serlio: Die gemaynen Reglen von der Architecture (Antwerp, c. 1542 – 1543). Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, fol. 14-I-16. Photo: Patrimonio Nacional

Du Broeucq's style has been analyzed primarily through his work on Mary's palaces rather than through the treatises of architect-theorists such as Sebastiano Serlio (1475 – 1554) or Andrea Palladio (1508 – 1580).[34] Most of Du Broeucq's biographers and scholars, from Hedicke onward, have tended to characterize him as a privileged mediator between Italian architectural theory and the representational requirements of the Habsburg court, drawing principally on the treatises of Serlio,[35] who is fundamental to understanding the internationalization of Renaissance architecture. His series of treatises, the *Tutti gli libri d'architettura*, published in Venice beginning in 1537, introduced a systematic method of proportionality and typology of the classical orders—Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite—which became canonical throughout Europe.

Although no written treatise by Du Broeucq is known to exist, the profound influence of Serlio's style on his work strongly suggests that it was he who advised the queen on the acquisition and reading of certain architectural treatises published between 1539 and 1550 in Antwerp and Paris. The imprints and bindings of the volumes in Mary's library clearly indicate that these books were acquired almost at the moment of their publication; one of them, with its woodcut illustrations delicately colored in grisaille, must have been a presentation copy given to Mary. All of them were present in her library at the time of her death in 1558: from Sebastiano Serlio, a German edition, *Die Gemayner Reglen von der Architectvr vber die fvnf manieren der gebv* (Antwerp, 1542); and from the same author, two copies of his works in Italian and French, *Il primo libro d'Architettura di Sabastiano Serlio bolognese. Le premier liure d'Architecture de Sebastian Serlio bolognois*, and *Il secondo libro di perspettiva* (Paris, Iehan Barbe, 1545).

The first of these books was printed by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502 – 1550), a key figure in the artistic and propagandistic articulation of the power of Charles V and his sister Mary.[36] Coecke distinguished himself as the publisher of several architectural treatises, ancient and modern, translated into Dutch, French, and German. These publications played a decisive role in the dissemination of Renaissance ideas in northern Europe and contributed to the transition from late Gothic taste to a Renaissance architecture.[37]

[34] DE JONGE, K.: A model court architect: Mary of Hungary and Jacques Du Brœcq (1545 – 1556). In: *Sponsors of the Past: Flemish Art and Patronage, 1500 – 1700*. Eds.: VLIEGHE, H. – Van der STIGHELEN, K. Turnhout 2005, pp. 1 – 15; DE JONGE, K.: A model architect: Jacques du Brœucq (1540 – 1555). In: *Unity and Discontinuity* (see in note 6), Vol. 5, pp. 79 – 86.

[35] VLIEGHE – Van der STIGHELEN 2005 (see in note 34).

[36] CLELAND, E. – AINSWORTH, M. W. – ALSTEENS, S. – ORENSTEIN, N.: *Grand Design. Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry*. Exh. cat. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, October 8, 2014 – January 11, 2015. New York 2014.

[37] DE JONGE, K.: Vitruvius and Serlio: Architectural Treatises in the Low Countries, 1530 – 1620. In: *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Architectural Treatise*. Eds. HART, V. – HICKS, P.

It is known that the relationship between Coecke and Du Brœucq was close. Both entered the service of Charles V under the designation of "artist"—a term that was novel in Netherlandish society. Du Broeucq is referred to in documents as "Jacques l'artiste" and "maistre artiste de l'empereur," while Coecke appears as "artiste de l'empereur." The earliest documents mentioning his new title relate to his activities as an adviser to Mary on the renovation of the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, and in particular to the new staircase at the front of the main wing of the palace. Both artists participated in the construction and decoration of the Binche Palace. Coecke simultaneously translated and published the treatises by Vitruvius and Serlio, disseminating those architectural styles among readers interested in such matters in the Low Countries—clearly connecting their respective artistic output and their intellectual and courtly trajectories.

In 1539, Coecke published in Antwerp a brief treatise entitled *Die inventie der colommen*, printed at his own expense by Gillis Coppens van Diest. Unlike Serlio's folio editions, the *Inventie* was published in a compact and economical format, conceived for daily use by practicing artists. The treatise encompasses a synthesis of Vitruvius and other authors, including Diego de Sagredo and his *Medidas del Romano*, a work that Coecke must have known through its early French translation. From an editorial standpoint, the *Inventie* reveals an intention to segment the market, offering a practical and specialized product aimed at a craftsman readership distinct from the humanist audience.[38]

The publication of *Die inventie der colommen* coincided with the printing of the first Dutch translation of Serlio's *Quarto libro* (*Generale regelen der architecturen*), also published in Antwerp in 1539. This edition of Serlio was addressed to a somewhat broader audience than Coecke's, comprising those with an interest in architecture and humanist thought. Accordingly, its preliminary matter, serving as a brief preface to the reader, included verses in Latin and Dutch composed by Cornelius Grapheus—that is, Cornelis Schryvers, secretary of the city of Antwerp.[39] This Dutch edition has been described as a pirated, or unauthorized, publication. Serlio had published his *Regole generali di architectura* in Venice just two years earlier, yet his name appears only in the colophon of this edition. Serlio would denounce this act of "piracy" in the second Italian edition of his *Quarto libro* (1540). A copy of the *Generale Reglen der Architectvren*, edited by Coecke, was sent to Castile for Prince Philip (the future King Philip II).[40] The date of its dispatch is unknown, but it was already in the possession of Charles V's son and heir by 1545. The hypothesis that it was a gift to the prince is supported by the fact that the volume contains, appended at the end, thirty-two prints of buildings, arches, perspective exercises, chimneys, mirrors, and sepulchres, the last eighteen of which bear handwritten titles in Flemish. How this work came into the prince's hands has not been established, but it would not be surprising if Coecke—one of the few *Schryver* (*maîtres artistes de l'empereur*) had decided to send it to Prince Philip in Castile for use in his education.

However, no copies of these two editions are found in the inventories of Mary's library—but De Jonge has drawn attention to the coincidence between their publication and Coecke's appointment to the coveted position of *artiste de l'empereur* in 1539. In her view, this probably explains why he decided to publish two theoretical texts on architecture in the same year, and may equally account for the haste with which the translation of Serlio's *Libro Quatro* was prepared. Furthermore, in 1540, the queen appointed Coecke as *libraire de son Imperialle Maisté*. His selection

New Haven 1998, pp. 281 – 296; DE JONGE, K.: The First Reception of the Antique. In: *Unity and Discontinuity* (see in note 6), pp. 15 – 87.

[38] KIK, O.: Inherited Geometry: A Socio-Professional Pattern in the Low Countries, 1480 – 1560. In: *Architectural Histories*, Vol. 11, 2024, No. 1, pp. 1 – 24.

[39] SERLIO, S.: *Generale reglen der architectvren op de vyve manieren van edificien: te vveten Thvscana, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia, ende composita, metden exemplen der antiqviteiten die int meeste deel concorderen metde leeringhe van Vitrvvio*. Trans.: COECKE VAN AELST, P. Amberes 1539, fol. A1v.

[40] GONZALO SÁNCHEZ-MOLERO, J. L.: *La "Librería rica" de Felipe II. Estudio histórico y catalogación*. San Lorenzo de El Escorial 1998, p. 795, No. 1459; Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial (RBME), fol. 14-I-14, No. 2.

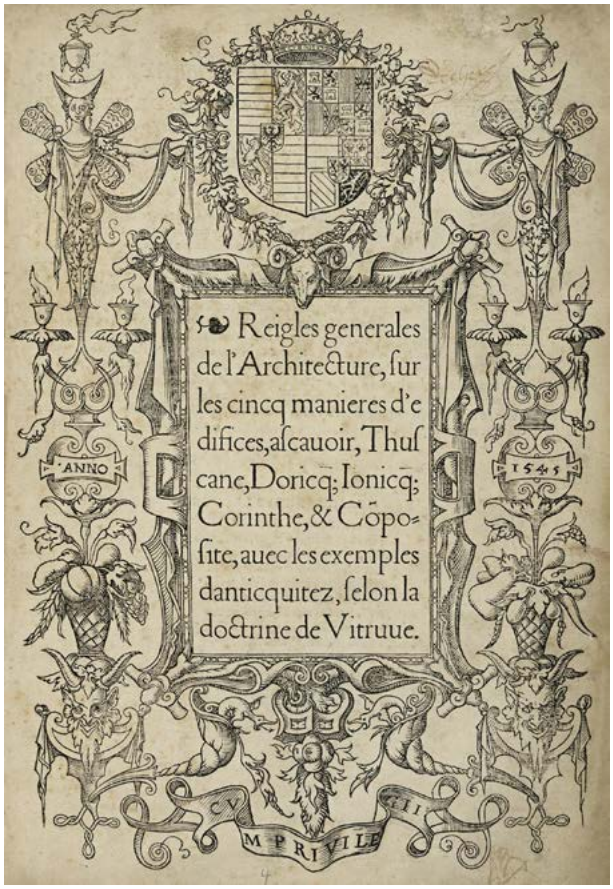


Fig. 3: Sebastiano Serlio: Reigles generales de l'architecture (Antwerp, 1545). Photo: Wikimedia Commons

for this position demonstrates that she was well acquainted with the editorial dimension of her court artist's role in the dissemination of the architectural treatises of Vitruvius and Serlio.

In the years that followed, Coecke embarked upon a more ambitious editorial program, consisting of publishing all five books of Serlio in Dutch, French, and German. The German version appeared around 1542 – 1543, in the translation of Jacob Rechlinger of Augsburg.[41] Dedicated to Ferdinand of Austria (future Holy Roman Emperor and brother of both Charles V and Mary), this edition represented a significant effort to bring Italian Renaissance architectural theory to the German-speaking world, adapting for this purpose the contents of Serlio's *Libro Quarto*. Its woodcut illustrations, faithful to the Venetian original published by Francesco Marcolini (1540), systematized the Vitruvian orders and facilitated their application in actual building projects, while at the same time reflecting a deliberate effort to adapt the visual and conceptual language of Vitruvian classicism to a central European audience. The dedication to Ferdinand represented, moreover, a qualitative advance in Coecke's editorial project. Having been attached to imperial service since 1539 – 1540 as artist and librarian to Charles V, Coecke no longer conceived these editions to satisfy the demand of a heterogeneous readership comprising craftsmen, artists, merchants, and humanists, but directed them instead toward an exclusively courtly, indeed royal, readership. It is known in this regard that Mary received a copy of *Die gemayner reglen von der Architectur über die fünf maniern der Gebäu, zu wissen, Thoscana, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia, und Composita*—and not just any copy. The volume she brought with her to Spain is preserved in the Royal Library of El Escorial (RBME, 14-I-16), having passed by inheritance to Philip II. Bound in embossed leather with a roll of candelieri and medallions in the Flemish style, it possesses a distinctive feature: all of its woodcut illustrations were delicately colored in grisaille, imitating the natural appearance of stone, marble, and jasper. This is in all probability a presentation copy, given to the queen by Coecke himself.

In 1545, he published a new French version of Serlio's *Libro Quatro*, entitled *Reigles generales de l'architecture*, which he dedicated to Mary, replacing Ferdinand of Austria's coat of arms with hers on the title page.[42] Since two books by Serlio that the queen lent to the *licenciado* Juan de Arce have been lost, it is possible that one of them was a copy of this edition. Coecke died in 1550, but in the preceding years, he had been one of the most prominent

[41] SERLIO, S.: *Die gemaynen Reglen von der Architecture vber die funf Manieren der Gebäu: zu vvissen, Thoscana, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia, vnd Composita: mit den Exemplen der Antiquitaten so durch den merern Tayl sich mit der Leer Vitruvii vergleychen*. Trans.: COECKE VAN AELST, P. Antwerp c. 1542 – 1543, RBME, fol. 14-I-16.

[42] SERLIO, S.: *Reigles generales de l'architecture, sur les cincq manieres d'edifices: ascauoir, thuscane, doricq[ue], ioniq[ue], corinthe, & composite, auec les exemples danticquitez, selon la doctrine de Vitruue*. Trans.: COECKE VAN AELST, P. Antwerp 1545; Van den BOOGERT 2010 (see in note 1), Vol. III, pp. 2807 – 2822, quote on p. 2810.

artistic figures at Mary's court. In 1549, for the *Blijde Inkomst*—the solemn entry of Charles V and Prince Philip into the city of Antwerp—it was he who designed the colossal Giant of Antwerp and produced the commemorative prints of the event, a privileged testimony to the use of antiquity, allegory, and visual erudition in the service of Habsburg propaganda. His editions of Serlio continued to be reprinted by his widow. In the *Pictorum aliquot celebrium germaniae inferioris effigies antverpiae of* Domenicus Lampsonius (1572), the accompanying text highlighted his role as translator of Serlio into Dutch and French, and the volume included an image portraying him as a painter, engraved by Johannes Wierix.

After acquiring the editions published by Coecke, Mary sought to obtain further copies of Serlio's treatises (Figs. 2 and 3). The 1558 inventory of her library compiled at her death records"Two large books on architecture with white leather covers, on ancient temples, by the author Sebastian Selo [*sic*]."[43] This reveals her growing interest in the subject, coinciding with the most intensive period of construction—both defensive and palatial—in the Low Countries. Neither volume was ultimately delivered to Philip II, since, as the treasurer Rogier Pattie declared in 1559, they had been lent by the queen to the *licenciado* Arce, who refers to them simply as "two books on architecture." A memorandum of the queen's books from 1559 cites "Two large books, of large format, on architecture, by the author Sebastian Serlo, Italian, in paper boards, red leather with gilt flowers."[44]

The author is the same, although the binding differs, resembling that of books purchased for the queen in 1555 – 1556. Without additional evidence, it is impossible to confirm which editions these were; however, it is probable that they were copies of the edition of Serlio published in two volumes (Books I and II) in Paris by Jean Barbe in 1545, in Italian and French: *Il primo libro d'Architettura di Sabastiano Serlio bolognese / Le premier liure d'Architecture de Sebastian Serlio bolognois, and Il secondo libro di perspettiva*. No other edition in two independent volumes is recorded prior to 1550; indeed, the early translations by Coecke (Antwerp, 1539 – 1542) were published as individual editions, never as paired volumes. This bilingual edition of 1545 published in Paris had been translated by Jean Martin. Dedicated to King Francis I of France, they were presented as a unified work with a shared title page and consecutive pagination, covering geometry in Book I, and perspective (including theatrical scenography) in Book II.[45]

Mary's interest in architecture was further enriched during the period of construction of the palaces of Binche and Mariemont, as well as during the "Felicísimo viaje," the journey undertaken by her nephew Philip to the Low Countries in order to be recognized as heir to Charles V. Queen Mary, who personally supervised the organization of these festivities, had in her library some books on architecture that may have been utilized for this purpose. Of particular relevance is a French edition of the Amadís de Gaula ("Item, another such, the twelve books of Amadis in French"). The printing of this chivalric romance in French was started in 1540 by Denis Janot and continued by Étienne Groulleau.[46] These books are not found in El Escorial, having been sold at auction after the death of Philip II in 1598. Nevertheless, the description of the copy of Book IX as bearing a stamped heart device on the back cover suggests that they were copies of the Parisian edition printed by Jean Longis, whose printer's mark was a heart pierced by an arrow. The first four books of *Amadis* in French were published between 1540 and 1543, with frequent reprints by printers such as Étienne Groulleau. Books V to VIII were printed between 1546 and 1548. The first edition of Book IX (Florisel de Niquée, in the translation by

[43] GONZALO 2005 (see in note 5), Vol. II, p. 393, Nos. 302 – 303.

[44] CHECA CREMADES – GONZÁLEZ 2010 (see in note 1), Vol. III, p. 2925.

[45] CARPO, M.: Jean Martin, traducteur de Serlio, 1545 – 1547. In : *Sebastiano Serlio à Lyon. Architecture et imprimerie*. Ed.: DESWARTEROSA, S. Lyon 2004, pp. 131 – 136; ROSENFELD, M. N.: From Bologna to Venice and Paris: The Evolution and Publication of Sebastiano Serlio's Books I and II, *On Geometry* and *On Perspective*, for Architects. In: *The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished* [Studies in the History of Art, Series 59, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XXXVI], 2003, pp. 281 – 321; VENE, M.: *Bibliographia Serliana. Catalogue des éditions imprimées des livres du traité d'architecture de Sebastiano Serlio (1537 – 1681)*. Paris 2007.

[46] GONZALO 2005 (see in note 5), Vol. I, pp. 350 – 351; Vol. II, p. 386, No. 287.

Gilles Boileau) appeared in 1552, published in Paris in folio format. Mary must have received a copy of one of these two editions before embarking for Spain. Its binding, "in paper boards with gold and other coloured lacings," indicates that it had a French interlaced enamel cover—a highly fashionable decorative style in those years, reserved almost exclusively for presentation copies. The reason for citing these editions of *Amadis* in this context lies in the abundant woodcut images they contain, particularly in the *Amadis de Grèce*. For this reason, their illustrations can be considered in direct relation to the chivalric festivities in Binche, which Mary organized to celebrate the arrival of Prince Philip in the Low Countries in 1549.

This chivalric interpretation of politics shared space in Mary's library with works of very different content and purpose, among them two copies of the *Discourses* of Niccolò Machiavelli, translated into French and printed in Paris (in 1544 and 1548). Years later, when these copies were inherited by her nephew Philip II, they caused some difficulties, as they were works by an author included on the Spanish and the Roman indices of prohibited books. During the 1540s, however, the reading of this work was fairly widespread at the Habsburg court, and Charles V was said to be a great admirer of the author. There was some ambivalence to how Machiavelli's ideas were regarded during that period. On the one hand, his works were received as a technical compendium of maxims on government and war; on the other, as a sign of a "modern" politics, at a time when Machiavellianism was not yet perceived as a threat contrary to the Christian order. The circulation of the Florentine texts at the imperial court was favored, in the first instance, by the early printed dissemination of *Il Principe* and *L'arte della guerra*, which offered a systematic reflection on the acquisition and preservation of states and on the rational organization of armies.

The court of Charles V, permeated by Burgundian humanist culture and by direct experience of the Italian conflicts, constituted a particularly receptive environment for Machiavelli's political writings.[47] Within the emperor's immediate circle, the influence of Machiavelli did not translate into doctrinal adherence, but rather into the selective appropriation of concepts and models of political behavior that emphasized efficacy, the management of wealth, and the centrality of *virtù* in the actions of rulers. It was in the 1540s and 1550s, when the imperial enterprise was confronting its limits in Central Europe and the emperor was beginning to prepare the transmission of power, that the reading of Machiavelli's works acquired particular relevance at his court.[48] In 1552, Juan Lorenzo Ottavanti published in Medina del Campo the Dis*cursos de Nicolao Machiaveli*, dedicated to "Don Philippe, Prince of Spain, our Lord;" the printing privilege granted in 1550 to publish it (a precursor to copyright) quotes Charles V declaring, "Knowing that we, for our recreation, sometimes read a book entitled the Discourses of Nicolao Machiavelli, written in the Tuscan tongue, and that, it being very useful and profitable for any prince, you have translated it . . . and wished to send it to the Most Serene Prince Don Philippe." Although there is no evidence that Charles V read Machiavelli's works with any regularity, it is certain that by 1547 the complete works of the Florentine author had already been purchased for Prince Philip. His tutor, Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, acquired copies of the Italian editions published in Venice by Paolo Manuzio (1540), which included the *Discorsi*, *Il Principe*, together with other minor works, and the *Arte della Guerra*.[49]

These same readings are also found in the library of Mary, his aunt. She possessed two copies of the *Discorsi*, translated into French and published in Paris: one, *Le premier liure des Discours de l'Estat de Paix et de Gverre* (1544), and the other, *Le Second liure des Discours*, with a separate half-title page, *Le Troisiesme liure des discours* (1548). Both copies are preserved in El Escorial with their original Renaissance bindings.[50]

[47] MARAVALL, J. A.: *Maquiavelo y maquiavelismo en España*. Florence 1972, p. 75.

[48] PUIGDOMÈNECH, H.: *Maquiavelo en España*. Madrid 1988.

[49] GONZALO 1998 (see in note 46), Nos. 927 – 930; RBME, 112-VI-41, 112-VI-42 and 112-VI-43.

[50] MACHIAVELLI, N.: *Le premier liure des discours de L'estat de Paix et de Gverre, de Messire Nicolas Macchiavegli, secretaire & citoyen Florentin, sur la premiere decade de Tite Liue, traduict d'Italien en Françoys.* Paris 1544, RBME, fol. 14-IV-30 ; MACHIAVELLI, N.: *Le Second liure des Discours L'estat de Paix et de Gverre, de Messire Nicolas Macchiavel citoyen et secretaire de Florence, sur la premiere decade de Tite Liue: traduit d'Italien en Françoys* [and with

Their covers differ, however, in one respect: while the first is decorated solely with fillets and small branches, the second bears on its boards a heraldic supralibros in the form of a small gilt rhomboid plaquette featuring the arms of Mary of Hungary. This suggests that they were not acquired at the same time. On the front pastedown of *Le premier liure des Disc*ours (1544) there is a manuscript ex libris: "Ce liure est a La Reina"—an annotation missing from the other volume, most probably because the stamping of her royal arms on its covers rendered it superfluous. It is known that Mary's collection of Machiavelli's writings were completed by a copy of his *Arte della guerra*, printed in French, cited in the inventory of her possessions as: "Another book like the aforementioned [bound in red leather], written in French on the art of war, by the author Nicolas Chiabelli."[51]

In *Regia Bibliotheca*, this work was neither identified nor located. It was initially supposed to be a copy of the Parisian edition of 1546, *L'art de la guerre composé par Nicolas Machiauelli. L'estat aussi et charge d'un lieutenant general d'armee par Onosander ancien philosophe Platonique* (Paris, Jean Barbé, 1546, fol.). Upon further examination, the reason for this unsuccessful search has become apparent: the compilers of the queen's inventory made an error. That "art of war by the author Nicolas Chiabelli" was not an exclusive work by Machiavelli, but rather a copy of the miscellaneous volume by Guillaume du Bellay, *Instrvctions sur le faict de la* Guerre (Paris, Luy and Galiot du Pré, 1548, fol.), which included Machiavelli's work along with those of other classical strategists such as Polybius, Vegetius, and Frontinus (RBME, 39-I-21). This volume was acquired in 1555, together with a later edition (Paris, Michel de Vascosan, 1553, 8vo), which the inventory compilers identified as a work of Polybius (RBME, 38-V-66). The confusion is revealed on the front pastedown, where the inventory compilers first wrote "ynstructio de los hechos de la guerra autor polibe," then crossed it out and added in a different hand: "del arte de la guerra nicolas machiabele."

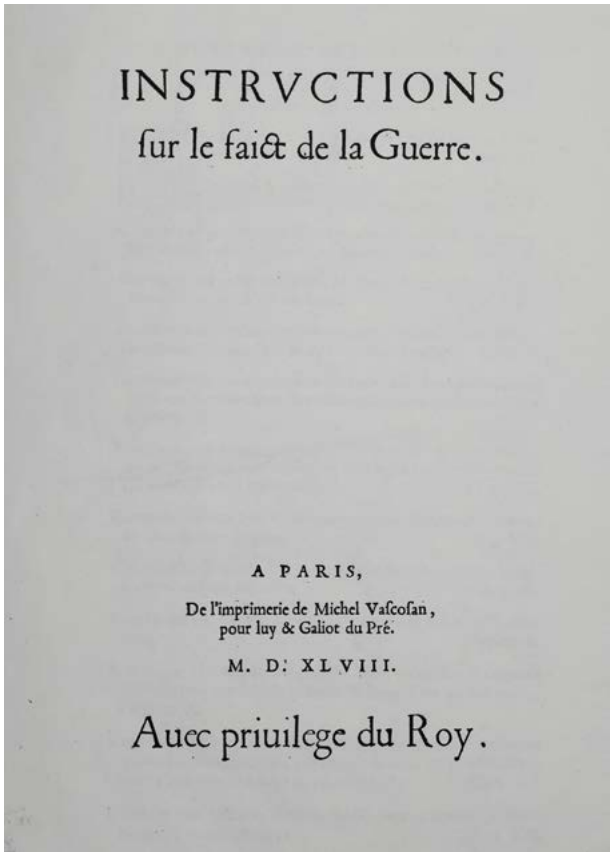
It was in this final year that the number of Mary's books on military affairs and architecture underwent an increase as extraordinary as it was belated. Having resolved to accompany Charles V into his retirement in Spain, together with her sister Eleanor, she ordered the acquisition of a large collection of books printed in French, to occupy her leisure and that of her ladies-in-waiting in Spain. It is probable that she doubted the possibility of obtaining books there in her native language. This "French library" was acquired in Paris and bound there by French craftsmen in a sober style, undoubtedly due to the haste with which both operations—purchase and binding—were carried out. These volumes are readily identifiable both by their imprint—almost all are printed editions published between 1550 and 1556—and by their language, French. Their contents are wide-ranging, encompassing works of theology, spirituality, history, moral philosophy, natural philosophy, poetry, and music.

The queen's inventories and the extant copies allow us to identify the editions that were acquired. These include a copy (already cited above) of Guillaume du Choul's *Discovrs svr la Castrametation et Discipline Militaire des Romains* (Lyon, 1555); two copies of the *Instrvctions svr le faict de la Guerre*, printed in Paris in 1548 and 1553, in folio and octavo respectively; miscellaneous works comprising a vade mecum of texts by Polybius, Frontinus, Vegetius, Cornazano, and Machiavelli; an edition of *Les dovze livres de Robert Valtvrin touchant la discipline Militaire,* by Valturio, translated from Latin into French by Louis Meigret (Paris, 1555); a copy of *Du Deuoir d'un capitaine et chef de guerre* by Claude Cottereau, in the edition published by Gabriel Du Préau (Poitiers, 1548); *La maniere de fortifier villes, chasteavs, et faire avtres lievx fortz by* Giovanni Battista Zanchi, in the French translation by Treille (Lyon, 1556); and, finally, the *Pirothecnia* of Vanoccio Biringuccio, translated from Italian into French (Paris, 1556).

Among these books, two others—miscellaneous works published under the name of Guillaume Du Bellay—stand out, although their authorship has

a separate half-title page: *Le Troisiesme liure des discours de l'estat de paix et de gverre, de messire Nicolas Macchiavel citoyen et secretaire de Florence, sur la premiere decade de Tite Liue: traduit d'Italien en Françoys*]. Paris 1548, RBME, fol. 59-VI-19.

[51] GONZALO 2005 (see in note 5), Vol. II, p. 352, No. 218.


INSTRVCTIONS
ſur le faict de la Guerre.

A PARIS,

De l'imprimerie de Michel Vaſcoſan,
pour luy & Galiot du Pré.

M. D. XL VIII.

Auec priuilege du Roy.

Fig. 4: Guillaume Du Bellay (now attributed to Raymond de Beccarie de Pavie, Baron de Fourquevaux): Instrvctions sur le faict de la Guerre (Paris, 1548). Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, fol. 39-I-21. Photo: Patrimonio Nacional

since been attributed to Raymond de Rouer de Beccarie de Pavie, Baron de Fourquevaux (Fig. 4).[52] His *Instructions sur le faict de la Guerre* offered French-speaking readers in the mid-sixteenth century a compilation of classical and Renaissance texts on military strategy. The 1548 folio edition responded to the onset of the military reforms undertaken by Henry II, who had ascended to the French throne the preceding year.[53] Published by Michel de Vascosan and Galliot du Pré, the work brought together extracts from the *Histories* of Polybius, the *Stratagemata* of Frontinus, the *De re militari* of Vegetius, the treatise of the same title by Cornazano on Italian cavalry tactics, and passages from the *Discorsi* and the *Arte della guerra* by Machiavelli. The author, in his commentary on these texts, and drawing on further examples from Caesar and Suetonius, proposed organizing the army in units of 6,100 men, divided into bands, companies, and squadrons, with particular emphasis on the deployment of pikemen (10/12), arquebusiers, and crossbowmen, in order to counter the formations of the Spanish *tercios*. The 1553 octavo edition was intended to serve as a portable vade mecum for French captains and nobles, in the context of the Italian Wars. That edition retained the original miscellaneous structure but was expanded with new citations and commentary, correcting the 1549 edition in certain respects. It was perhaps these variations that prompted the purchase of two copies of the same work, although this subsequently gave rise to confusion among the compilers of the queen's inventory of possessions, who treated one copy as a work by Polybius and the other as exclusively by Machiavelli.[54]

The same context gave rise to the publication of the *Discovrs svr la Castrametation et Discipline Militaire des Romains*, by Guillaume du Choul (Lyon, 1555). This work examined the layout and fortification of military camps and Roman military discipline, combining classical textual sources with artistic, numismatic, and archaeological evidence.[55] Its author, Lyonnais antiquary Guillaume du Choul (d. 1560), addressed in his treatise how the Romans constructed and organized their camps (*castra*), from the choice of terrain to their internal and external structure. It

[52] See PIETTRE, L. Guillaume du Bellay polumètis. In: *L'Année rabelaisienne*, Vol. 6, 2022, pp. 373 – 392; TETEL, M.: De l'auteur des *Instructions sur le faict de la guerre*. In: *Culture et pouvoir au temps de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance*. Ed.: TERREAUX, L. Geneva – Paris 1978, pp. 271 – 284.

[53] BELLAY, G. [or FOURQUEVAUX, R. de Rouer de Beccarie de Pavie, barón de]: *Du Bellay de la Guerre*. Paris 1548, RBME, fol. 39-I-21.

[54] BELLAY, G. [or FOURQUEVAUX, R. de Rouer de Beccarie de Pavie, barón de]: *Instrvctions svr le faict de la guerre, extraictes des liures de Polybe, Frontin, Vegece, Cornazan, Machiauelle, & plusieurs autres bons autheurs.* Paris 1553, RBME, fol. 38-V-66, No. 8.

[55] CHOUL, G.: *Discovrs svr la castrametation et discipline militaire des romains, escript par Guillaume du Choul, Gentilhomme Lyonnois, Conseiller du Roy, et Baillif des montaignes du Dauphiné. Des bains et antiques exercitations Grecques et Romaines. De la Religion des anciens Romains.* Lyon 1555, RBME, fol. 39-I-32.

was illustrated with 37 full-page woodcut engravings, commissioned from Pierre Eskrich (also known as Pierre Vase). These engravings depict soldiers, typical formations of the Roman army such as the *testudo*, battering rams, catapults, and even propitiatory sacrifices before combat. The volume also included a large fold-out plan of a Roman camp and scenes of cavalry, trumpeters, and the transport of provisions, inspired (as already noted) by Trajan's Column. As sources for his treatise, Du Choul drew on texts by Polybius, Livy, and Vegetius, as well as on his collection of coins and inscriptions.

This trilogy of French military strategy based on classical Roman sources was completed by a copy of *Les dovze livres de Robert Valtvrin touchant la discipline Militaire, by* Roberto Valturio, translated from Latin into French by Louis Meigret (Paris, 1555).[56] Dedicated by its translator to King Henry II of France (Paris, March 28, 1554), this edition presented contemporary readers with an old treatise by Valturio (1405 – 1475), an Italian engineer and writer. Originally dedicated to Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, Valturio's book borrowed from various classical sources, including the texts of Vegetius and Frontinus, and combined them with Renaissance designs and with engravings of ancient and medieval machines and weapons. Its *editio princeps* of Verona (1472) marked a milestone in the illustration of incunabula. The French edition of 1555 was published as a treatise in twelve books, in folio format, with 97 illustrations. The Latin original contained a broad range of military subjects, encompassing the figure of the captain, troop discipline, the organization of the army, strategy, poliorcetics, war machinery, and naval warfare. Meigret's translation inserted this technical repertoire into the French culture of the mid-sixteenth century, a moment when, as mentioned above, military literature was in great demand, understood as an instrument for the rationalization of the art of war and the formation of men-at-arms.

Of more immediate relevance was the treatise by Claude Cottereau (1499 – 1550), described in the queen's inventory as "A book with paper boards covered in red leather, written in French, on the offices or customs of a captain of war." Dedicated by Du Préau to François de Vendôme, Prince of Chabanais, the *Deuoir d'un capitaine et chef de guerre* brought to a French-speaking readership for the first time a work originally composed in Latin by Cottereau on the moral, legal, and practical obligations of the captain of war. The work was structured around two core themes: first, the "duty" of the captain and commander; second, combat in the closed field or in a duel. The first section addressed the qualities of command, the captain's obligations toward his prince, troop discipline, prudence in military conduct, and the legitimacy of the exercise of force—central concerns in French Renaissance military treatises. This approach was consistent with the broader meaning of the term "capitaine" in sixteenth-century France, where the captain was not merely a tactical executor but a delegated agent of royal power, responsible for command, the maintenance of order, and accountability for his actions.[57]

In 1555 and 1556, the queen's servants also purchased several books on architecture. Since the mid-1540s, when King Francis I had initiated a broad program of fortifications on the French border with the Low Countries (Vitry-le-François, Villefranche-sur-Meuse, and Rocroi),[58] Mary had been assembling a wide and selective collection of architectural works, especially those by Serlio. The servants therefore saw no need to purchase copies of the latest editions of books by that author, but they did acquire a copy of the French translation of a treatise by Italian military engineer and author Giovanni Battista Zanchi (1515 – 1586), *Del modo di fortificar le città* (Venice, 1554), in the version by François de Treille—a genuine novelty in both its Italian original and its French translation.[59] This work belongs to the tradition of treatises on

[56] VALTURIO, R.: *Les douze liures de Robert Valturin touchant la discipline militaire translatez de langue latine en francoyse par Loys Meigret Lyonnois*. Trans.: MEIGRET, L. Paris 1555, RBME, fol. 39-I-13.

[57] COTTEREAU, C.: *Du deuoir d'un Capitaine et chef de guerre; aussi Du Combat en Camp clos, ou Duel le tout faict Latin par Claude Cotereau; & mis en langue Francoyse par Gabriel du Preau*. Trans.: PRÉAU, G. du. Poitiers 1548, RBME, fol. 29-V-20, No. 8.

[58] DUBOST 1997 (see in note 26), pp. 91 – 92.

[59] ZANCHI, G. B.: *La maniere de fortifier villes, chasteaux et faire autres leux fortz mis en françoys par le Seigneur de Beroil, Françoys de la Treille, Commissaire en l'Artillerie*. Lyon 1556, RBME, fol. 3-II-1, No. 4.

fortification *alla moderna*, which, in the mid-sixteenth century, systematized the geometry of the bastion, the design of polygonal traces, and the articulation of the *dehors* (parapets and bulwarks) in response to the power of siege artillery. Zanchi's treatise dealt with the construction of fortifications from the selection of the site to the design of the enclosed plan, the profile of the earthworks, the arrangement of bastions and bulwarks, and the protection of the weak points of the fortified perimeter. In the French edition of 1556, this content was presented not merely as a theoretical compendium but as a practical manual addressed to engineers, captains, and royal officials.

The queen's servants also purchased a copy of *La Pyrotechnie, ov Art dv Fev*, by Vanoccio Biringuccio (1480 – 1539), in the French translation by Jacques Vincent (Paris, 1556).[60] The first Italian edition had been published in Venice in 1540. In this treatise, Biringuccio, a Sienese expert in metallurgy with experience in mines and mints, compiled his knowledge of mining, the smelting of metals, the casting of artillery and bells, and various military tactics requiring the use of explosives, such as mines and countermines. Published at the height of the renewed Italian Wars, its dissemination in French responded to the growing demand for knowledge about the application of new artillery techniques, the use of explosives, and the smelting of metals. The book consists of ten treatises, illustrated with woodcuts copied from the Venetian edition, reproducing mines, furnaces, apparatus for distillation and the amalgamation of silver, the manufacture of fireworks and bombs, and so on. In a certain sense, Biringuccio's treatise complemented Zanchi's *La maniere de fortifier villes, chasteaux et faire autres leux fortz*. In the latter, advice was given on how to erect fortified defenses resistant to artillery fire and to mines dug beneath their walls; whereas in *La Pyrotechnie* guidance was offered on how to make these siege weapons more effective.

One must nonetheless ask what interest these works held for Queen Mary around 1555. Charles V's abdication was by then nearly a settled matter, communicated by the monarch to his closest family members and courtiers; and the large-scale purchase of books for her retirement in Spain makes clear that the queen had already resolved to relinquish the governance of the Low Countries. In 1555, with tensions persisting (the Truce of Vaucelles between King Henry II of France and King Philip II of Spain would soon be broken), she was perhaps seeking knowledge with which to advise Philip II from her new location in Spain. Mary's interest in these works may be understood as that of a ruler who, even on the point of relinquishing power, continued to interpret the current situation in Europe through the lens of war, history, and reasons of state. Her retirement did not mean her complete disengagement from the Low Countries, for the French threat remained the principal strategic problem for that Habsburg territory. The purchase of these books for her retirement may be regarded not as a sign of intellectual demobilization but as the transfer of a library of government—a library with which to continue advising on military affairs that she had managed diligently for decades.

It must be noted, however, that in addition to books on military architecture, books on civil architecture were also purchased. These might be understood as complementary to the former, yet their purchase was due to different motives: Just as Charles V had had a small palace built for himself at the monastery of Yuste adjoining the Hieronymite cloister, Mary and her sister Eleanor cherished the idea of constructing in Spain another modest residence—a smaller version of Binche Palace and the nearby hunting castle, Mariemont—in which the rooms and gardens would provide settings in which they might reproduce their customary way of life. I believe that it was for this reason that the queen's servants purchased French editions of Vitruvius's *Architectvre ou art de bien bastir* (Paris, 1547; Fig. 5); *L'architectvre et art de bien bastir* by Leon Battista Alberti (Paris, 1553; Fig. 6); the *Hynerotomachie, ov Discours du Songe de Poliphile by* Francesco Colonna (Paris, 1553 – 1554); and the *Discovrs de la religion des Anciens Romains by* Guillaume du Choul (Lyon, 1556). The first of these was a copy of Jean Martin's translation of

[60] BIRINGUCCIO, V.: *La Pyrotechnie, ov Art dv Fev, contenant dix Livres, avsqvels est amplement traicté de toutes sortes et diuersité de minieres, fusions et separations des metaux*:... Trans.: VINCENT, J. Paris 1556, RBME, fol. 15-V-24, No. 4.

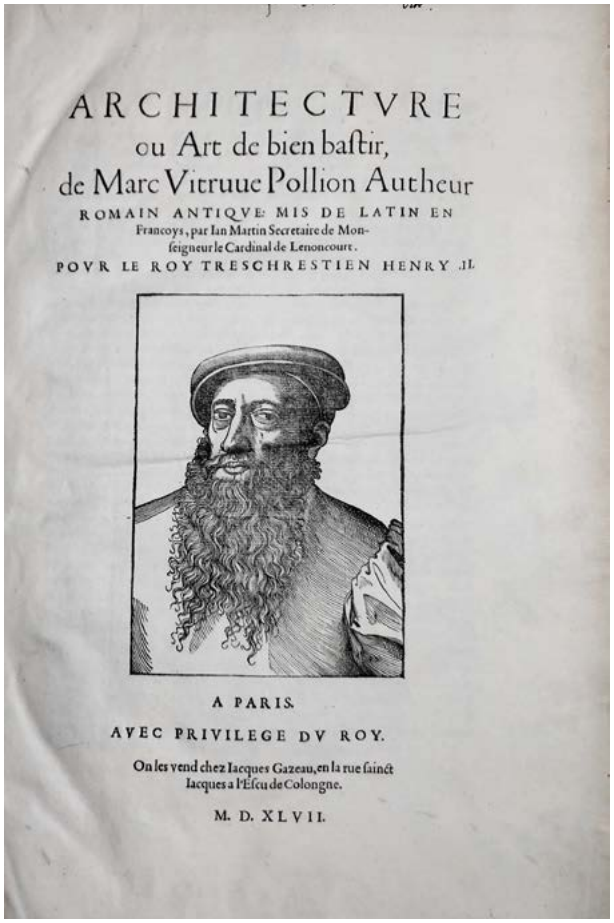


Fig. 5: Vitruvius: Architectvre ou art de bien bastir (Paris, 1547). Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, fol. 14-I-12. Photo: Patrimonio Nacional



Fig. 6: Leon Battista Alberti: L'Architectvre et art de Bien bastir (Paris, 1553). Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, fol. 39-I-1. Photo: Patrimonio Nacional

Vitruvius, printed in 1547, profusely illustrated and dedicated to King Henry II of France.[61]

Of greater interest is the second of these works, which, being the first translation into French of *De re aedificatoria*, constitutes one of the most important documents on the reception of Albertian architecture in France.[62] According to Mario Carpo, the version published by Jean Martin was based principally on the Latin Strasbourg edition (1541), although for Books VIII, IX, and X, he also drew on the illustrated Italian edition by Cosimo Bartoli (1550). One of the most significant features of this book is its graphic apparatus, which transforms the treatise into a considerably more effective source of information, facilitating the comprehension of geometric notions, orders, constructive elements, and spatial arrangements that in the Latin original were more abstract. For although Alberti's treatise

[61] VITRUVIUS POLLIO, M.: *Architectvre ou art de bien bastir, de Marc Vitruue Pollion autheur romain antiqve: mis de latin en francoys, par Ian Martin secretaire de monseigneur le Cardinal de Lenoncourt. Povr le roy treschrestien Henry II*. Trans.: MARTIN, J. Paris 1547, RBME, fol. 14-I-12.

[62] ALBERTI, L. B.: *L'Architectvre et art de Bien bastir du seigneur Leon Baptiste Albert, gentilhomme florentin, diuisée en dix liures, Traduicts de Latin en François, par deffunct Ian Martin, Parisien, nagueres Secretaire du Reuerendissime Cardinal de Lenoncourt*. Trans.: MARTIN, J. Paris 1553, RBME, fol. 39-I-1.

was by then as celebrated as it was outdated, the 1553 edition sought to bring it up to date through images and textual adjustments, and to introduce it into the same intellectual milieu that had disseminated Serlio and Vitruvius in France.

The copy of the *Discovrs de la religion des anciens Romains* by Du Choul—cited in the queen's inventory as "Item, another such in French on the religion of the ancient Romans"—was published as the continuation of his *Discovrs svr la Castrametation et Discipline Militaire des Romains*. It appeared the following year (Lyon, 1556), owing to the fact that the engraver had not yet completed the set of images.[63] This edition is considered one of the most important works of Renaissance antiquarianism. Its author offered a study of Roman religion not only through texts but also via engravings of medals, inscriptions, and ancient Roman architecture. This graphic reconstruction of Roman religious rites included representations of the façades of certain temples, such as the Pantheon in Rome, as well as altars, columns, and capitals. These images, attributed to the engraver Pierre Eskrich, served at the time as a precise visual catalogue facilitating the understanding of classical orders and proportions. In this way, Du Choul's work presented architecture as a historical document in which buildings and their remains appeared as reliable records for reconstructing Roman religious practices and civilization. His *Discovrs* provided models for the carving of pediments, pedestals, and religious ornaments, influencing the design of French and Italian churches and palaces, and contributing to the formation of an architectural culture in which the observation of ancient monuments, medals, and images complemented and enriched the reading of Serlio's architectural treatises, widely published in the preceding years.

A copy of the *Hynerotomachie, ov Discours du Songe de Poliphile* by Francesco Colonna (Paris, 1553 – 1554), was presumably acquired with a similar purpose.[64] This translation and adaptation of the Latin original of 1499, dedicated by Jean Martin to Henry de Lenoncourt, Count of Nantheville Haudovyn (1546), was decisive in transforming a humanistic and philosophical work of the Quattrocento into an edition of architectural interest. Martin and the printer Jacques Kerver situated this edition within the same intellectual milieu as the French versions of Serlio, Vitruvius, and Alberti cited above, conceiving it not so much as a technical architectural treatise but as a visual, archaeological, and imaginative repertoire of ancient buildings, capable of inspiring new architectural designs, courtly and urban festive scenography, and garden design.[65]

By the mid-sixteenth century, the principal interest of this edition of the *Hynerotomachie* lay in the extraordinary density of its monumental descriptions: triumphal gateways, pyramids, temples, fountains, tombs, enclosures, and objects *all'antica*. This graphic repertoire offered architects and artists formal and ornamental models—not fixed rules in the Vitruvian manner, but stimuli for the composition, variation, and combination of elements from antiquity.

What practical utility, however, did these editions on architecture and antiquarianism hold for Queen Mary? They would undoubtedly have been more useful in the preceding decade, when her palaces at Binche and Mariemont were being constructed, decorated, furnished, and laid out with gardens. As is well known, on July 21, 1554, the troops of Henry II of France sacked these buildings, fully aware of how greatly they were prized by the regent. It is possible, moreover, that by 1555 or 1556, the idea of rebuilding those spaces in Castile had already taken shape in her mind, similar to the small palace her brother had had built at Yuste (mentioned above), though of a less mystical character. When she visited

[63] CHOUL, G. du.: *Discovrs de la religion des anciens romains, escript par noble seigneur Guillaume du Choul, Conseiller du Roy, et Bailly des montaignes du Daulphiné, et Illustré d'vn gran nombre de medailles, et de plusieurs belles figures retirées desmarbres antiques, qui se treuuent à Rome, et par nostre Gaule*. Lyon 1556, RBME, fol. 13-I-2.

[64] COLONNA, F.: *Hynerotomachie, ov Discours du Songe de Poliphile, Deduisant comme Amour le combat a l'occasion de Polia. Soubz la fiction de quoy l'aucteur monstrant que toutes choses terrestres ne sont que vanité, traicte de plusieurs matieres profitables, et dignes de memoire. Nouuellement traduict de langage Italien en Francois*. Trans.: MARTIN, J. Paris 1553 – 1554, RBME, fol. 39-I-3.

[65] FURNO, M.: *Une «fantaisie» sur l'Antique: le goût pour l'épigraphie funéraire dans l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili de Francesco Colonna*. Geneva 2003; GOEBEL, G.: Poliphile ancêtre du fantastique? In: *Lendemains*, Vol. 28, 2003, Nos. 110 – 111, pp. 21 – 26; and LEFAIVRE, L.: *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*. Cambridge, MA – London 1997.

Charles at Yuste, they talked about the manner of life she ought to follow in Castile. Mary had declined Philip II's offer of her returning to govern the Low Countries; now she proposed to her brother "three ways of life that seemed to her fitting—one ample, another modest, and the third austere—so that His Majesty might instruct her which she should choose; and she would follow in all things the order His Majesty gave her in this matter and in the question of her place of residence."[66]

Mary at first asked to return to the ducal palace of the Infantado in Guadalajara, Spain. The emperor dissuaded her from this option, as it was a large city, incompatible with a modest manner of living. Having explored the possibilities offered by the palaces of Aranjuez and El Pardo, it was agreed to choose Cigales, a locality near Valladolid, where the Count of Benavente had a palace, which Prince Philip had regularly used in preceding years as a hunting residence. But Cigales was only a provisional solution. At Yuste, Mary described to her brother in full detail a more ambitious project, one she had most likely been contemplating since her stay in Guadalajara. Her idea was to retire definitively to a palace or residence of her own, in the vicinity of Zorita de los Canes, south of Pastrana, on the banks of the Tagus, where she also wished to found a school for children. So resolved was she on this point that, upon leaving Yuste, she left behind her treasurer Rogier Pathie and her counselor Nicolás Micault, so that they might discuss with Charles certain matters relating to the will of Queen Eleanor of Austria (who had died a few weeks earlier) and present him with a detailed memorandum concerning her new "house." Accordingly, these two servants of the queen showed Charles the text of the letter that his sister wished to write, seeking Philip II's approval for her plan.[67]

In preparation for the construction of this "house" at Zorita de los Canes, Mary had already begun to gather materials. She had ordered the purchase of several marble statues in Mérida while traveling to Yuste,[68] and had arranged for the transport from Genoa of a large quantity of marble to be unloaded at Cádiz and conveyed to a location as yet undetermined. All indications suggest that this location was her projected country palace at Zorita.[69] Was Mary's intention to build a new Binche Palace in Castile, or simply another Yuste? Her ambitions point toward the former possibility. While her brother had retired to a modest palace under the shadow of a monastery adjoining the Hieronymite order, the queen intended to construct a palace situated within an extensive estate, requesting from Philip the sale, at a reduced price, of the properties of Zorita de los Canes, Casas de Almonacid, Albalate, and Illana, together with their adjoining pasturelands, as well as jurisdiction over the surrounding district and four thousand ducats of perpetual income drawn from ecclesiastical revenues to finance a university college.[70]

For the library of this future educational institution, or for herself, Mary acquired a portion of the books belonging to her physician, Daniel van Vlierden. In July 1557, he requested leave to return to the Low Countries, and although the queen granted him two hundred pounds for his journey, Vlierden resolved to sell a large part of his library, both to lighten his baggage and to finance his travels. Mary was among those present at the sale, paying two hundred and sixty pounds for a broad selection of her physician's books, which appear in the inventory of her possessions under the heading: "libros de su mag. Del doctor vuirden."[71] Among these was a composite volume containing three copies of Dürer's celebrated treatises on architecture, geometry, and painting (Nuremberg, 1525 – 1528), together with an edition of Vitruvius (Strasbourg, 1550). The first folio copy is described in the queen's inventory as "Vn libro de fortificaçion en tudesco en pliego tablas de papel cuero leonado."[72] It contained an edition of the *Etliche vnderricht, zu vefestigung der Stett,*

[66] SÁNCHEZ LORO, D.: *La inquietud postrimera de Carlos V*. Cáceres 1958, Vol. III, pp. 528 – 529.

[67] Ibidem, Vol. III, p. 539.

[68] GONZALO 2005 (see in note 5), Vol. I, pp. 411 – 412.

[69] Ibidem, Vol. I, pp. 410 – 411.

[70] Ibidem, Vol. I, p. 412.

[71] Ibidem, Vol. I, pp. 354 – 357.

[72] Ibidem, Vol. I, p. 356.

Schosz, vnd flecten (Nuremberg, 1527)—the treatise on geometry and fortification dedicated by Dürer to Ferdinand of Austria; followed by his *Vnderweysung der messung, mit dem zirkel vn[d] richt scheyt, in Linien ebnen vnnd gantzen corporen* (Nuremberg, 1525) and his *Hierin sind begrissen vier biücher von menschlicher Proportion* (Nuremberg, 1528).[73]

Dürer's *Etliche vnderricht* represents a milestone in the Renaissance technical literature on military architecture. It was published in October of 1527, amid the threat of a Turkish invasion of Germany following the occupation of Hungary. Its chaotic structure suggests a hurried composition, intended to furnish practical advice to rulers—and to Ferdinand in particular—very quickly. His treatise, illustrated with numerous woodcut engravings of fortifications, summarized the principles of military architecture of that period, although it should be noted that Dürer was unacquainted with many of the major Italian innovations in this field. The presence of this composite volume containing Dürer's treatises might lead one to suppose that they were acquired following Mary's flight from Hungary in 1526, or around 1531, when she became governor. The fact that Dürer was closely associated with the Habsburgs, above all with Emperor Maximilian I and his daughter Margaret, lends support to such a hypothesis. However, these works entered Mary's library much later, so she could not have used them (at least in this particular copy) for advice on the reform and construction of fortifications in the Low Countries. The same may be said of the copy of "*Bitruuio polion de architectura*" cited in the queen's 1558 inventory, which corresponds to a Latin edition containing the works of Vitruvius, Philander, Frontinus, and Nicholas of Cusa (Strasbourg, 1550).[74]

In conclusion, the contents of Mary of Hungary's library confirm that military and architectural subjects did not occupy a marginal place in her intellectual interests; rather, both constituted a decisive core of her political culture and program of patronage. Her books on military affairs and architecture were not mere objects of prestige or isolated pieces within a humanistic library but instruments of information, reflection, and cultural transfer. Through ancient and modern treatises, collections of graphic images, antiquarian albums, and illustrated editions, the queen gained access to models useful for conceiving fortification projects, courtly entertainments, and palace architecture. In this way, the figure of Mary of Hungary emerges not only as a great collector or an effective governor but as a cultural agent fully conscious of the capacity of the book, the image, and architecture to reinforce her authority. Her example compels us to reconsider the role of high-ranking dynastic women in the circulation of technical knowledge and in the shaping of visual political cultures during the Renaissance. Her library demonstrates that a sovereign could actively intervene in fields such as architecture, poliorcetics, and military writings not through direct experience on the battlefield but through reading, counsel, patronage, and the symbolic articulation of objects, spaces, and images.

[73] DÜRER, A.: *Etliche vnderricht, zu vefestigung der Stett, Schosz, vnd flecten.* Nuremberg 1527, RBME, fol. 14-I-20, No. 1; DÜRER, A.: *Vnderweysung der messung, mit dem zirkel vn[d] richt scheyt, in Linien ebnen vnnd gantzen corporen, durch Albretch Dürrer zu samen getzoge[n] mit zu gehorigen figuren, in truck gebracht, im jar. M. D. X X v. Mit begnadung Kayserlicher im end eyngeleibter Frenhent damit sich ein ynglicher vor schaden zu huten myssrc.* Nuremberg 1525, RBME, fol. 14-I-20, No. 2; and DÜRER, A.: *Hierin sind begrissen vier biücher von menschlicher Proportion, durch Albrechten Dürer von Nürenberg erfunden vnd de, schribenm zü nuch allen denen, so zü diser kunst lieb tragen. M. D. XXViii.* Nuremberg 1528, RBME, fol. 14-I-20, No. 3.

[74] VITRUVIUS POLLIO, M.: *M. Vitrvii Pollionis, viri svae professionis peritissimi, de architectvra libri. X. Ad Avgvstum Caesarem accuratissime conscripti, & locis quamplurimis hac editione emendati. Adivnctis nvnc primum Gvlielmi Philandri Castilionii galli, civis rom....* Trans.: PHILANDRO, G. Strasbourg 1550, RBME, fol. 15-V-75, No. 4.

Militia and Architecture in the Library of Queen Mary of Hungary

Summary

In reconstructing when and how these books came into her possession, it has been established that many were acquired late, primarily in 1555 – 1557. This chronology compels a qualification of the assumption that all such books served directly in her governmental activity in the Low Countries, although they do reveal the persistence of her interest in war, architecture, and reasons of state even near the end of her life. This study also highlights the role of her advisors, secretaries, architects, and engineers, above all figures such as Jacques Du Broeucq, Pieter Coecke, Donato Buoni, and Giovanni Maria Olgiati, who contributed to the dissemination at the Brussels court of the latest developments in architecture and bastioned fortification. Thus, it can be argued that Mary of Hungary was a woman deeply engaged with these subjects, capable of integrating her library with works of art, architecture, courtly festivities, and iconographic programs into a coherent policy of representation. Military architecture, far from being secondary, occupied a central place in her identity as governor and in the image she sought to construct of herself and of the House of Habsburg as the defender of Christendom and guarantor of the imperial order.

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Vojenské záležitosti a architektúra v knižnici kráľovnej Márie Uhorskej

Resumé

Štúdia podrobne analyzuje doposiaľ málo skúmanú literatúru týkajucu sa vojenských záležitostí a architektúry z knižnice, ktorú vybudovala Mária Uhorská, regentka Nizozemska. Rekonštruuje proces formovania tejto knižnice, najmä jej unikátnu zbierku diel o vojne, fortitikácii a vojenskej architektúre – pozoruhodný výkon na ženu jej doby, avšak pochopiteľný vzhľadom na zodpovednosť za územnú obranu krajiny, ktorú spravovala. Odpovede na otázky, kedy a akým spôsobom sa skúmané knihy dostali do vlastníctva Márie Uhorskej, ukázali, že mnohé z nich Mária Uhorská nadobudla neskôr, predovšetkým v rokoch 1555 – 1557. To síce znamená, že nie všetky tieto knihy slúžili priamo jej počas regentského obdobia v Nizozemsku, avšak zároveň odhaľuje jej pretrvávajúci záujem o vojnu, vojenskú architektúru a „raison d'État" (štátny záujem). Štúdia zdôrazňuje úlohu Máriinych poradcov, sekretárov, architektov a inžinierov, akými boli Jacques Du Broeucq, Pieter Coecke, Donato Buoni alebo Giovanni Maria Olgiati, ktorí prispeli k šíreniu poznatkov o architektúre a bastiónovom opevnení na bruselskom dvore, ako aj k ich ďalšiemu upresňovaniu. V závere prichádza štúdia s tvrdením, že Mária Uhorská nebola iba zaujatá týmito témami, ale bola schopná prepojiť poznatky, ktoré jej knižnica poskytovala, s umeleckými dielami, architektúrou, dvornými slávnosťami a ikonografickými programami a efektívne ich využiť na manifestáciu habsburskej moci. Vojenská architektúra, zďaleka nie druhoradá, tak zaujímala ústredné miesto v jej identite ako guvernérky, ako aj v obraze, ktorý snažila vytvoriť tak o sebe, ako aj o rode Habsburgovcov – obrancovi kresťanstva a garantovi imperiálneho poriadku.

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