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NA OBÁLKE / ON THE COVER:

*The Hunts of Maximilian. July – Deer Hunt,
with the Red Cloister Abbey in the Background, c. 1530 – 1533 (p. 122)*

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Editorial / Editoriál

In 2026, we mark the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Mohács, a turning point that reshaped European history. The Ottoman victory over the Hungarian army led by King Louis II Jagiellon (1506 – 1526) ended the Jagiellonian personal union of the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia—which included what is now Slovakia—and fundamentally altered the power structure in central Europe for centuries to come. At the centre of this upheaval was Mary of Hungary (1505 – 1558), Queen Consort of Louis II and later Governor of the Low Countries, who retired to Spain after her abdication and died there. Her life story thus connects the histories and historiographies of present-day Hungary, Bohemia, Slovakia, Austria, Belgium, and Spain.

This issue of ARS considers her legacy, offering new research and fascinating stories that link these countries. It explores her roles from multiple perspectives — as queen, shadow political player, diplomat, and Governor General of the Low Countries for her brother, Emperor Charles V. It also examines her activities in the arts — as a female art patron, collector, and curator of Habsburg collections — as well as her engagements with warfare and military architecture, a remarkable pursuit for a woman of her time — to better understand the practices Habsburg women used to consolidate their family's position as a lasting power in the early modern world.

I am glad to share this work and grateful to all the colleagues who accepted my invitation and made this project possible.

V roku 2026 si pripomínáme 500. výročie bitky pri Moháči, ktorá znamenala zásadný zlom v európskych dejinách. Osmanské víťazstvo nad uhorskou armádou vedenou kráľom Ľudovítom II. Jagelovským (1506 – 1526) ukončilo existenciu Jagelovskej personálnej únie uhorského a českého kráľovstva, ktorej súčasťou bolo aj dnešné Slovensko, a na stáročia zmenilo mocenské usporiadanie v strednej Európe. V centre tohto diania stála Mária Uhorská (1505 – 1558), manželka Ľudovíta II. a neskôr miestodržiteľka Nizozemska, zastupujúca svojho brata, cisára Karola V., ktorá po svojej abdikácii odišla do Španielska, kde aj zomrela. Jej životný príbeh tak spája dejiny a historiografiu dnešného Maďarska, Čiech, Slovenska, Rakúska, Belgicka a Španielska.

Toto číslo časopisu ARS je venované jej odkazu. Prináša nové poznatky aj zaujímavé príbehy, ktoré tieto krajiny navzájom prepájajú. Skúma jej pôsobenie z viacerých perspektív — ako kráľovnú, tieňovú politickú aktérku, diplomatku a miestodržiteľku Nizozemska, ale aj ako mecenášku, zberateľku a kurátorku habsburských zbierok, ktorá sa netradične angažovala vo vojenských záležitostiach a vojenskej architektúre. Cieľom je lepšie pochopiť praktiky, ktoré ženy rodu Habsburgovcov využívali na upevnenie postavenia rodinnej dynastie, v tom čase dominantnej imperiálnej mocnosti sveta.

Moje úprimné poďakovanie patrí všetkým kolegom, ktorí prijali moje pozvanie a prispeli k realizácii tohto projektu.

Ingrid Ciuľisová

Mary of Hungary Patron of Distinction

Larry SILVER

Abstract

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

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

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

rule by women members of the Habsburg dynasty than the Netherlands.

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

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

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

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

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

On the death of Margaret of Austria, Emperor Charles V appointed his sister, Mary, known to history as Mary of Hungary, as regent of the Netherlands in 1531.⁵ As the wife of Hungarian King Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia, following the dynastic double wedding at the Congress of Vienna in 1515, Mary of Hungary was widowed in 1526 and remained unmarried. She thus acquired an agency she never relinquished. After helping her brother Ferdinand succeed her late husband as the region's elected king, she served for a quarter-century as a loyal regent of the Netherlands for her emperor-brother, following her aunt Margaret of Austria in that role. Mary's court in the ducal palace of Coudenberg in Brussels became the site of her patronage and pageantry, along with her palace at Binche (see below). Her term

as regent on behalf of her brother lasted until she joined him in abdicating in 1555, after which both enjoyed a brief final retirement in Spain: Charles V at the Spanish monastery of Yuste, Mary at Cigales near Valladolid, where she died in 1558.⁶

Mary of Hungary's Regency Politics and Religion

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

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

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

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

⁶ *Maria van Hongarije 1505 – 1558*. Eds.: Van den BOOGERT, B. – KERKHOFF, J. Exh. cat. Utrecht – 's-Hertogenbosch

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

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

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

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

In her busy role as regent over the Low Countries, Mary of Hungary is sandwiched between Margaret of Austria and her namesake successor, Margaret of Parma (1522 – 1586), the illegitimate daughter of Charles V, who served as Philip II’s regent from Brussels during the turbulent years of an incipient Dutch revolt from 1559 to her resignation in 1567.¹¹ Before Margaret of Parma departed for Italy in 1533, Mary had also served as her guardian. This concerted effort by Mary on behalf of the Habsburg dynasty provided personal political continuity in the Low Countries and strong support for both her brothers, Emperor Charles V and King Ferdinand I of Hungary, Charles’s eventual successor.

Acceding to the role of regent at age twenty-five, Mary ruled at the behest of Charles V with guiding support from the three central advisory agencies, as reorganized by Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (d. 1550): first and foremost, the Council of State, staffed with nobility, headed by jurist Jean Carondelet, and charged with maintaining peace and security; the Secret Council of civic jurists to enforce the laws; and the Council of Finances. As was the case with both Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V, finances were a constant worry, but Mary won praise for taking a considerable interest in financial affairs, especially in imperial wars and the construction of fortresses¹² (see an essay by José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero in this volume).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mary's stay in Augsburg from October 1547 to April 1548 resulted from Charles V's 1547 victory over the Protestant Schmalkaldic League at the Battle of Mühlberg. That led to a peace treaty as well as

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

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

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

¹³ TOLBERT ROBERTS, J.: Introduction to *On the Christian Widow*. In: *Spiritualia. Collected Works of Erasmus*. Vol. 66. Ed.: O'MALLEY, J. Toronto 1988; SPRUYT 1993 (see in note 6), pp. 87 – 117; esp. p. 109, No. 86. Luther dedicated a 1526

volume about psalms of consolation to the newly widowed "Queen of Hungary." – Ibidem, p. 109, No. 85. Ferdinand then wrote to her asking for an explanation of this seeming heresy.

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

Portraits of Mary of Hungary

Portraits of Mary of Hungary appeared throughout her reign, as befitted a noblewoman and ruler. The first one shows her as a girl at age ten, given in dynastic marriage by her grandfather, Maximilian I, to Louis II at the Congress of Vienna in 1515. A woodcut depicting that ceremony, titled *The Double Wedding in Vienna*, was made by Albrecht Dürer for inclusion on Maximilian’s enormous, composite Arch of Honor (completed 1518), with all due crowns and coats of arms of the principals (Fig. 1).¹⁵ In addition to Emperor Maximilian I, King Vladislaus II of Hungary and Bohemia and King Sigismund I of Poland, youthful Mary huddles by her future husband on the left, under the protection of her grandfather. Anna Jagiello, who is also depicted, married Ferdinand,



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

who would not succeed to the throne of Hungary until after the death of Louis II in the Battle of Mohács against the Ottoman Turks in 1526, and his sister Mary briefly served as his regent in Hungary until he arrived in the country. As a princess, during her time in Innsbruck with her grandfather before her coronation as Queen of Hungary in 1521, Mary sat for several official royal portraits, chiefly by Hans Maler zu Schwaz (ca. 1480/88 – ca. 1526/29), including the oil painting in Fig. 2 (ca. 1520).

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

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

¹⁵ SILVER, L.: *Marketing Maximilian. The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*. Princeton 2008, esp. pp. 8 – 13, 51 – 61, 82 – 94,

107 – 108; SCHAUERTE, T.: *Die Ehrenpforte für Kaiser Maximilian I. Dürer und Altdorfer im Dienst des Herrschers*. Munich 2001.

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



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

hand-colored woodcuts (ca. 1538 – 1553; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, close in style to Cornelis Anthonisz), among images of other rulers, “Madame Mary” appears mounted and dressed in black, bearing a

rod of authority below her coat of arms. In a set of tapestries designed by Bernard van Orley (ca. 1492 – 1541/42), *The Hunts of Maximilian* (ca. 1530 – 1533; Musée du Louvre, Paris)—organized as a sequence of months with topographic views and destined for the palace of the imperial court at Brussels—the *April* tapestry shows Mary seen from the back, riding sidesaddle while holding a falcon (Fig. 3).¹⁷ Falconry was a hunt more closely associated in that period with women than with men. Still, Mary’s overall abilities in traditional male activities led one contemporary to characterize her as “a shrewd amazon, a female warrior who ruled like a man.”¹⁸

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ BAUMAN, G.: *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York 1981, pp. 80 – 81, in damaged

condition, transferred to canvas, possibly a copy like many court portraits produced for distribution.

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

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



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

across Europe, which extended to her personal care for her young ward and eventual successor as regent, Margaret of Parma. Like Maximilian's extensive plans, however, Mary's ensemble was also never realized, because French troops destroyed the palace of Binche in the summer of 1554. However, several of the bronzes, including Leoni's full-length portrait of Mary, were delivered to the Brussels court in 1556.²²

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

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

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



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

dressed plainly as a widow, clasping a prayer book with her hands together, attired in her mourning garments for her late husband. The long ribbons of her headdress, adorned with a cross design at their tips, drape forward like a stole. This full-length, life-sized figure was intended for display in the context of the Habsburg ruling family, as is clear from the inscription on its base: “MARIA – AVSTRIA – REGINA – LUDOVICII – UNGARIAE – REGIS” thus identifying her as Mary of Austria, Queen of

King Louis of Hungary—in her full official capacity. Leoni also carved a marble bust portrait of Mary of Hungary, 1555/60 (Prado, Madrid), replicated in bronze in 1555 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).²³ As in the full-length bronze, the regent still wears her widow’s weeds. Her marble portrait rests upon a winged seraph above its socle, ornamented with scrollwork, garlands, herms, and sphinxes. For the bronze bust version, the sculptor has animated the figure with a turned head and with lively drapery folds. Those two materials, marble and bronze, are Renaissance revivals of the mediums of ancient Roman sculptures. Pompeo Leoni executed a final, posthumous portrait of Mary within the dynastic tomb monument in the palace-monastery of Philip II, the Escorial.²⁴ In a group portrait led by a kneeling Charles V and his wife, Isabella of Portugal, Mary appears in the back row, alongside her older sister, Eleanor of Austria (1498 – 1558). Together, they commemorate the Habsburg family of Philip II in the heart of his Spanish royal setting.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Royal Festivities at Binche Palace

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

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



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

²⁷ KAVALER, E. M.: Jacques Du Broeucq and Northern Perspectives on the Antique Mode. In: *Invention: Northern Renaissance Studies in Honor of Molly Faries*. Ed.: CHAPUIS, J. Turnhout 2008, pp. 190 – 207; *Jacques Du Broeucq de Mons (1505 – 1584). Maître artiste de l'empereur Charles Quint*. Exh. cat. Mons 2005, pp. 76 – 109, esp. De JONGE, K.: Le langage architectural de Jacques Du Broeucq. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 95 – 109; *Jacques Du Broeucq: Sculpteur et architecte de la Renaissance*.

Brussels 1985, pp. 177 – 204. In the wake of the Binche festivities, Charles V named Du Broeucq as his *maître artiste de l'Empereur* in 1556. For Mechelen, see HITCHCOCK, H.-R.: *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*. New York 1978.

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



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

The occasion for the events at Binche Palace was its role in a triumphal progress, marked by individual civic entries (*joyeuse entrée*; *blijde inkomst*), in accordance with traditional Netherlandish ceremonies that welcomed a new ruler to the cities in the region.²⁹ Philip enjoyed an especially spectacular 1549 entry to Antwerp, complete with a series of triumphal arches built

around the city, an event recorded in a commemorative volume published with woodcut illustrations by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502 – 1550).³⁰

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ical revolt against imperial authority, put down by Charles V at the 1547 Battle of Mühlberg. It also couched a more general warning, addressed to the ongoing religious crusade and territorial ambitions of Charles V's impious nemesis on his Habsburg borders, the Ottoman Turks.³⁶

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

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

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

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

³⁷ PARK, J.: The Enchantment of Woven Surfaces. The *Seven Deadly Sins* Tapestries and Habsburg Propaganda in Binche,

1549. In: *Charles V, Prince Philip and the Politics of Succession: Imperial Festivities in Mons and Hainault 1549*. Eds.: MCGOWAN, M. – SHEWRING, M. Turnhout 2020, pp. 179 – 204. Mary of Hungary acquired the set for Binche in 1544.

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

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

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

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

In another lavish setting, fashioned for the occasion at Binche Palace, also recorded in a drawing, Mary created an “Enchanted Salon” (*Camera encantada*; August 30, 1549).⁴¹ She adorned the room with a set of tapestries celebrating Roman military heroism, a seven-part *History of Scipio Africanus*, purchased in 1544, the same year as the *Seven Deadly Sins*.⁴² One piece of the *Scipio* series, *The Triumph with Elephants*, was described by Calvete as having been on display within the Enchanted Room. This *Scipio* series, based on the ancient Roman victory over Carthage, clearly alluded to the prior success of Charles V’s

expedition to Tunis, for which Mary also commissioned a luxurious twelve-part tapestry cycle (1549 – 1554; see below). The *Scipio* pieces also honored the emperor’s would-be crusade in the Mediterranean against the Ottoman navy.

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

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

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

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

⁴² BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), pp. 198 – 211, No. 8; *Keizer Karel* 1994 (see in note 40), pp. 97 – 102. Uncharacteristically, the series was designed by an Italian artist, Giulio

Romano, and purchased rather than commissioned by Mary of Hungary.

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

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

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

Also on display at Binche Palace was another, earlier tapestry set in seven parts (ca. 1528 – 1531), celebrating Charles V’s other great military triumph, his 1525 Battle of Pavia. It was presented to the emperor at the States General meeting in March 1531, at the very moment when young Mary of Hungary was enthroned as his regent of the Low Countries, and thus became closely associated with her.⁴⁶ The *Pavia* series, woven in Brussels by Willem Dermoyen, was designed by Bernard van Orley, court artist to Margaret of Austria, whose preparatory designs for the works are still extant (Louvre, Paris).⁴⁷ If the initiative for these celebratory tapestries for the

emperor originated with Margaret of Austria, their presentation continued into the regime of Mary of Hungary and thus did not figure in the 1544 inventories of Charles V.

Mary of Hungary – Patron of Tapestry Series and Titian Canvases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the entire set was addressed to Charles himself for viewing in his Spanish palace. The accuracy of the depiction, particularly of Tunisian topography, is underscored in several scenes by placing Vermeyen within the scene while sketching the action, as in the tapestry *The Looting of Tunis*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

linquished for the emperor during his visit, was hung with a set of nine tapestries recently acquired at that time, presumably reflecting the taste of the regent herself: *Vertumnus and Pomona* (ca. 1548; Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon), woven by Willem de Pannemaker after designs attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst.⁵⁴ In Ovid's tale, on which the set was based, the god of the seasons, who transforms his appearance across the sequence of scenes, finally woos the wood nymph of fecundity, Pomona, in the guise of an older woman. Finally, after the principal figures have stood apart, separated within all the previous tapestries, Vertumnus resumes his youthful form in the final tapestry, where the pair unite and embrace. These pieces all present recurring images, variations on the theme of garden settings, drawing on Coecke's considerable awareness of classical Italian architecture. He derived this sense of design from writings by Vitruvius and Serlio, whose work he translated into Dutch for publication with woodcuts.⁵⁵ The chamber for Eleanor of Austria on the opposite side of the palace also held a large set of eight tapestries, *The History of Tobias*, an apocryphal Old Testament story of divine providence, purchased by Mary in 1547.⁵⁶

Another set of five tapestries on mythic subjects after Ovid, the *Poesia*, was also likely designed by Coecke for Mary during the same period, the late 1540s, and also woven by Pannemaker, but only after he finished the *Conquest of Tunis*, which was given the highest priority in Mary's exacting contract. Though first recorded in the 1556 collection of King Phi-

lip II, the *Poesia*, too, was almost surely commissioned, like the *Vertumnus* set, by Mary.⁵⁷ Together, these tapestries define her personal taste for Italianate forms and themes, a specialty of Coecke, who used Italian prints as a major source for his narratives. The mythic subjects from Ovid also accord with Titian's *Furias* paintings (*Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus*) and thus fit neatly into the overall decorative scheme for Binche Palace. In particular, the tapestry of the *Flaying of Marsyas* overlaps with Coxcie's murals, especially his huge fresco described by Calvete and visible above the chimney in the contemporary drawing of the Great Hall. The *Poesia* subjects juxtaposed thematic pairs that convey both divine reward (Ganymede, Perseus) and punishment (Marsyas, Icarus) at the pleasure of the ruling gods.⁵⁸ In addition, the collective title of the tapestries, *Poesia*, anticipates the six canvases of the *Loves of the Gods*, delivered by Titian to Philip II as the *Poesie* (1553 – 1562), though only the subject of Perseus Freeing Andromeda overlaps those two series.⁵⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Titian's own portrait of Mary, done in 1548, is preserved in a copy (Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris; Fig. 7).⁶³ It shows the regent posed obliquely at half-length, wearing a black mantle, white cap, and ermine cape while placed before a column, traditional symbol of strength or of the virtue of Fortitude, which became a standard component

of the sixteenth-century formal court portraits, such as Titian's likeness of Prince Philip (Prado, Madrid).⁶⁴ Even the contemporary Saxon prisoner, held in captivity after the Battle of Mühlberg, Prince Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, was portrayed in his black armor by Titian, ca. 1548 (Prado, Madrid).⁶⁵ Another portrait by Titian's

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

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

⁶⁵ RODRIGUEZ SALDADO, M. J.: Captive in a Portrait Gallery. Titian's Portraits of John Frederick I of Saxony (ca. 1548 and ca. 1551) and the Collection of Mary of Austria, Queen of Hungary. In: *Portraiture, Gender, and Power in Sixteenth-Century*

Art. Creating and Promoting the Public Image of Early Modern Women. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. New York 2024, pp. 136 – 163; also EICHBERGER, D.: Portrait Galleries for the House of Habsburg in the Low Countries. Margaret of Austria in Mechelen and Mary of Hungary in Brussels. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 121 – 135, esp. 126 – 133 for the portrait collection of Mary of Hungary.

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

own hand, of Johann Friedrich (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) was made during Titian's second Augsburg stay in 1551.⁶⁶

Charles V is best remembered in visual art by his equestrian portrait painted in Augsburg in 1548 by Titian (Prado, Madrid).⁶⁷ That image portrays Charles in his role as a commanding eminence in his victory over Protestant forces at the 1547 Battle of Mühlberg. In this portrait, Charles V wears the same battlefield armor as that worn by Prince Johann Friedrich, recently produced in 1545 in Augsburg by Desiderius Colman, and he also carries the same spear as he rides across a landscape that appears to be a sunset (or the dawn of a new age). Once more, the imposing command of a ruler in the saddle, a tradition stretching back to the portrait of Marcus Aurelius at the Capitol in Rome, confers an imperial heritage along with the *miles christianus* of chivalric valor. Charles, with a purposeful forward-facing gaze, wears the crimson sash of his command, echoed

to further adorned by a helmet plume and by the caparisoned horse. This portrait, too, was owned by Mary, and it appears in her 1558 posthumous inventory, where it is described as showing him “in the manner in which he went against the rebels.”⁶⁸ So, once again, it can be surmised that the contact between Titian and the emperor occurred through the regent's direct intervention.⁶⁹

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

Mary of Hungary Patron of Distinction

Summary

Mary of Hungary (1505 – 1558), the widow of Louis II, King of Hungary, was appointed regent of the Netherlands by her brother, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (King Carlos I of Spain). Her rule over the region (from 1531 to 1555) was marked by support for his ardent Catholic orthodoxy, notwithstanding any personal reservations she might have held amid growing religious unrest. Despite

continuous imperial warfare, Mary managed to ensure economic prosperity, marked by the rapid growth of the port city of Antwerp. A signal display of her political acumen was her lavish entertainment spectacle, held at her recently completed palace at Binche in 1549 (designed by Jacques Du Broeucq), when Charles accompanied his heir to the Spanish crown, the future Philip II, during his triumphal

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

⁶⁸ BUCHANAN 2015 (see in note 38), p. 81, No. 80; STEPPE, J.-K.: Vlaams tapijtwerk van de 16de eeuw in Spaans koninklijk bezit. In: *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger: Bijdragen*

tot de Kunstgeschiedenis in der Nederlanden. Ghent 1968, pp. 761 – 764.

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

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

Along with her prudent maintenance of Habsburg dominance over the Netherlands under Emperor Charles V, Mary of Hungary also took charge in representing his reign in numerous visual images—including tapestry cycles (notably the massive *Conquest of Tunis* set, designed by Jan Vermeyen and supervised by

Pieter Coecke van Aelst), Habsburg portraits (especially paintings by Titian and bronze sculptures by Leone Leoni)—featuring both Charles V and Mary herself. She was also a major collector of tapestries in her own right, as well as the patron of several court artists, Michael Coxcie prominent among them. Without this active intervention by Mary of Hungary, much of the Habsburg dynastic heritage in art, created during this vital midcentury period by leading artists from both sides of the Alps, would never have existed.

Mária Uhorská Významná mecenáška

Resumé

Mária Uhorská (1505 – 1558), vdova po uhorskom kráľovi Ľudovítovi II., bola vymenovaná za regentku Nizozemska svojim bratom, cisárom Svätej rímskej ríše, Karolom V. (španielskym kráľom Karolom I.). Jej vláda nad týmto regiónom (od roku 1531 do roku 1555) sa niesla v znamení podpory jeho horlivej katolíckej ortodoxie, napriek akýmkoľvek osobným výhradám, ktoré sama mohla mať uprostred rastúcich náboženských nepokojov. Napriek neustálym imperiálnym vojnám sa Márii podarilo zabezpečiť hospodársku prosperitu tohto regiónu, ktorá sa prejavovala najmä rýchlym rastom prístavného mesta Antverpy. Výrazným prejavom jej politickej bystrosti boli slávnosti, ktoré sa konali v jej nedávno dokončenom paláci v Binche v roku 1549 v čase, keď Karol sprevádzal svojho syna, dediča španielskej koruny, budúceho Filipa II., počas jeho triumfálneho príchodu (*joyeuse entrée*) do krajiny. Hoci

tieto slávnosti a dokonca aj samotný palác sa nezachovali, dobové opisy a zachované kresby postačujú na zaznamenanie tejto udalosti. Popri rozvážnom udržiavaní habsburskej nadvlády nad Nizozemskom za cisára Karola V. sa Mária Uhorská ujala aj úlohy zabezpečiť reprezentáciu jeho vlády – vrátane cyklov tapisérií (najmä rozsiahlej série, ktorú navrhol Jan Vermeyen a dohliadal na ňu Pieter Coecke van Aelst), habsburských portrétov (najmä obrazov od Tiziana a bronzových sôch od Leone Leoniho) – na ktorých bol vyobrazený Karol V. ale aj samotná Mária. Mária Uhorská bola tiež významnou zberateľkou tapisérií a patrónkou niekoľkých dvorných umelcov, medzi ktorými vynikal najmä Michael Coxcie. Bez aktívneho vkladu Márie Uhorskej by veľká časť habsburského dynastického umeleckého dedičstva, vytvoreného okolo polovice 16. storočia poprednými umelcami z oboch strán Álp, nikdy neexistovala.

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Mary of Hungary and Titian

Charles HOPE

Abstract

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

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

When Mary of Hungary died at Cigales on 18 October 1558 her possessions in Spain included no less than twenty-four paintings said to be by Titian, making her collection of his works the second largest then in existence, surpassed only by that of the Gonzaga in Mantua.¹ By far the greater part of this collection consisted of portraits, of which there were twenty, almost all of them showing members of the Habsburg family. Mary is known to have once owned at least one other portrait by Titian, of the future Philip II, which was sent to Mary Tudor from Flanders in 1553, not long before their marriage in the following year.² At that time, Mary of Hungary had asked that the portrait be returned to her, but there is no record of its later presence in her collection. In addition to the pictures by Titian, she also owned eighteen other paintings in Spain, of which thirteen were portraits, including Van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait, which she had inherited

from her aunt, Margaret of Austria, the previous regent of the Netherlands.³ An inventory of Mary's possessions at Turnhout, where she lived before moving to Spain, includes eighteen other paintings, of which sixteen were portraits, again almost all showing close or distant relatives.⁴ All this indicates that Mary's interest in painting was almost entirely limited to portraits of past and present members of the extended Habsburg dynasty.

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

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

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

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

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

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

At the time of Charles's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in Bologna in 1530, he rejected a proposal for Titian to paint his portrait; but he apparently changed his mind not long before he left Italy after seeing the artist's portrait of Federico Gonzaga, duke of Mantua.⁷ On his next visit to Bologna, in early 1533, the emperor was indeed painted by Titian. As we know from surviving copies, the portrait showed him wearing armour and holding a sword.⁸ Charles was so delighted with the picture that, after returning to Spain, he not only gave Titian a very generous fee but also granted him a patent of nobility, in which he stressed his outstanding ability, inevitably comparing him with Apelles, the one artist by whom Alexander the Great wished to be portrayed.⁹ Titian then resisted

the Emperor's request to come to Spain, but met him again in 1536 at Asti, on his next visit to Italy.¹⁰ By this time, Charles had given Titian a privilege in Naples which, in theory (but not in practice), provided a regular income.¹¹ It was probably at Asti that Titian decided to send Charles's wife, Isabella of Portugal, an altarpiece depicting the Annunciation, which had been rejected on grounds of cost by its original patrons in Venice. As a reward for this initiative, Charles then provided a benefice in Milan for Titian's elder son and granted the painter an annual pension in that city.¹² The two men next met in Milan in August 1541, and once more in Busseto, near Parma, in 1543.¹³ On that occasion, Charles lent Titian a small portrait of his now deceased wife, on the basis of which the artist made two larger ones. The first was finished in 1545, together with a *Venus*, which Titian said he would bring with him when he next met the emperor. He sent the completed portrait of Isabella later that year, at the same time offering to make any changes to it should Charles require this.¹⁴

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

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

⁶ Ibidem, pp. 872, 1042.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 482.

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

⁹ Ibidem, pp. 349, 358 – 362.

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

¹¹ Ibidem, pp. 479f.

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

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

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 822.

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

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 889.



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

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

Many of the pictures listed in Mary's inventory can be associated with the 1548 visit, although some of them were not the originals. Thus, her portrait of Archduke Maximilian was presumably a replica

of one sent in April of that year to the archduke's future wife in Spain; and that of Emanuele Filiberto, the nephew of Charles's late wife, was likewise a replica, of a painting sent to his father at Vercelli in August 1548.¹⁹ Both Charles himself and Mary owned versions of a three-quarter-length portrait of the Emperor painted at Augsburg during that period, showing him in armor and holding a baton. It seems reasonable to assume that the one recorded in Charles's own post-mortem inventory was the original and that Mary's was a replica.²⁰ Several other versions are also mentioned in documents of the

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 893f.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 908 – 910, 925.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 894, 917.

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



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

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

There were four other portraits of which only one version is recorded, showing individuals present in Augsburg in 1548 but not during Titian's second visit—of Christina of Denmark and her sister Dorothea; Maria Jacobäa, dowager duchess of

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

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

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

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 896f, 924, 926.

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

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 911f.

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

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 2405f.

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

there; and Titian was hoping to make a portrait of Ferdinand in Venice in November 1549, but he had been in Mantua then and returned directly to Innsbruck. However, he was in Augsburg at least from mid-December 1550 until February 1551, and it is likely that Titian painted him during that period.³⁰ The artist had gone to Augsburg on that occasion at the invitation of Philip, rather than of Charles, and was generously rewarded by him.³¹

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

²⁷ Ibidem, pp. 1158f: ‘Nous avons fait convenir avec Tician de nous faire peindre et pourtraire certaines ymages et figures, desquelles il nous a fourny aucunes.’

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 1165.

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

³⁰ See Ibidem, pp. 1012f; and GACHARD, L. P.: *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, Vol. 2. Brussels 1874, pp. 440, 454. It is not certain that Archduke Ferdinand was in Innsbruck when Titian passed through there in October 1550 [HOPE 2023 (see in note 1), pp. 1058f]. It is unclear how Titian was paid for the portraits of King Ferdinand’s children.

For the portrait of Ferdinand himself he was supposed to receive timber to the value of 300 *gulden* (Ibidem, pp. 911f). In February 1550 the value of this concession was increased to 500 *gulden* (Ibidem, pp. 1081f), but whether this sum included the full fee for the portraits of the children cannot be established.

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

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

Only four other portraits by Titian known to have been owned by Mary remain to be discussed: two of these were of Philip, one showing him in armour and the other in a fur-lined coat; one was of John Frederick of Saxony; and the fourth was of the duke of Alba. The armour portrait of Philip was a replica of the original painted in Milan in early 1549 (now in the Prado). It was taken to Augsburg by Titian in 1550 and completed there in some haste, in the first months of 1551.³⁵ Whether the idea of Titian providing such a portrait for Mary came from her, Philip, or even Charles V cannot now be established. The portrait of Philip in a coat, which was sent to Mary Tudor in 1553, must date from the artist's second visit to Augsburg, since it showed him as he looked in 1550.³⁶ Various versions have survived.³⁷ The portrait of John Frederick (the second of two in Mary's collection) must have been painted in Augsburg in 1551, as explained above, whereas the other, showing him in armour, must date from 1548. Finally, the portrait of Alba, Charles and Mary's leading general during

this period, was probably painted in 1549, but it is not by any means clear exactly what it looked like or what the status of Mary's version was.³⁸ Equally, it is not known whether the picture was a gift from Alba or a commission from Charles or Mary, although the first alternative seems the more likely.

There are only five other recorded works by Titian owned by Mary: three mythologies for her palace at Binche, which was constructed between 1545 and 1549 and destroyed by fire in 1554, and *Noli me tangere* and *Venus and Psyche*, both of which appear in the post-mortem inventory. Two of the mythologies at Binche were already seen shortly before 21 June 1549 by Antoine Granvelle, who called them "infernal punishments" ("pene infernali"), specifying that they were by Titian.³⁹ Describing the visit by Philip to Binche in August 1549, Calvete de Estrella mentioned three paintings without naming the artist. One of these cannot have been by Titian, since his version of this mythology was still in Venice in August 1553.⁴⁰ A *Tantalus* by Michael Coxcie is recorded in Mary's post-mortem inventory, so this was presumably the one mentioned by Calvete. It is possible that Coxcie was asked to provide his *Tantalus* because the one by Titian was not ready in time for Philip's visit. Calvete called the other two pictures *Prometheus* and *Sisyphus*, but the first must in fact have depicted Tityus, the subject reported by Lodovico Dolce, who was well informed about Titian's works during this period.⁴¹ Calvete's mistake is easy to understand, since both Prometheus and Tityus were chained to a mountain and had their liver eaten by an eagle or vulture. Titian's *Tityus* and *Sisyphus* (both now in the Prado) must be the pictures called *Ixion* and *Tantalus* in the post-mortem inventory, when they were described as old and damaged, and were said to have been at Binche. Since none of the other paintings in the inventory were given this provenance, it would seem that most of them were

³² Ibidem, pp. 1155 – 1157.

³³ Ibidem, pp. 928f, 947f, 954.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 945.

³⁵ Ibidem, pp. 974, 979f, 1087.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 1172.

³⁷ Ibidem, pp. 980, 1170 – 1175.

³⁸ Ibidem, pp. 982 – 985.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 994.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, pp. 1158f, 1165.

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



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

instead kept in Mary's main residence in Brussels, the palace of Coudenberg, which was destroyed by fire in 1731.⁴² From the surviving documentation, it is unclear whether Titian ever finished his *Tantalus* for Mary, a commission that would have become largely irrelevant after the palace of Binche was burnt down in July 1554. On balance, it is likely that he did so, because in Vasari's life of Titian, which is relatively well informed about this period, it is said that he had produced three mythological paintings of this type for her.⁴³ If that was the case, and if the *Tantalus* reached her, it was probably destroyed

in the fire at Binche. If so, Titian's painting would have replaced that by Coxcie, which could explain why the latter canvas survived the fire. The three mythologies are often considered to be Mary's most personal commissions from Titian, although this is not necessarily true. No evidence has come to light that she paid him for them, and the subjects, representing the disagreeable fate of mortals who challenge the gods, have an obvious political significance that most probably reflects the learning of one or more advisers or secretaries. Rulers, after all, seldom devised their own propaganda.

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

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

The *Magdalen* mentioned by Vargas as about to be sent to Flanders in August 1553 was *Noli me tangere*, recorded in the post-mortem inventory. It was already finished by 30 June of that year.⁴⁴ There is a copy by Sánchez Coello of the entire composition at the Escorial; and a fragment of the original, showing the head and shoulders of Christ, is in the Prado (Fig. 3). There is no very compelling reason to suppose that the canvas was commissioned by Mary, who seems to have had a very limited appetite for pictures other than portraits. It is likely that in this instance Titian adopted the same policy as he had done with Charles and Philip—that is, providing them with pictures that had not been commissioned, evidently with the intention of encouraging them to order paintings other than portraits. Thus, in 1545, he promised Charles a *Venus*, which he took to Augsburg in 1548, together with the *Ecce Homo* on stone. Perhaps because of Charles's peripatetic life at this period, it did not lead to further commissions, but Titian nonetheless sent him a *Madonna* in 1554 and another in 1555, both of which the emperor had in his possession at Yuste when he died in 1558.⁴⁵ As for Philip, Titian almost certainly began a *Danae* for him (now in the Prado) soon after their first meeting in 1549, taking it to him at Augsburg in 1550.⁴⁶ On his return to Italy, Titian sent the prince two large pictures, one mythological and one religious, which for some reason had never been sent to their original patrons.⁴⁷ In 1554, at the same time as he sent Charles his *Madonna*, Titian sent Philip another major painting, *Venus and Adonis*, which had evidently been intended for him from the first.⁴⁸ By this means, Titian acquired the most enthusiastic and important of all his patrons, whom he continued to serve for the rest of his life. By contrast, no new pictures seem to

have been sent to Mary in 1554, and he is not known to have had any contact with her after that time. This is consistent with the fact that in Vasari's account of Titian there is abundant information about his work for Charles V and Philip II, including the statement that he made a portrait of John Frederic of Saxony as a prisoner for Charles.⁴⁹ There is also a reference to the portraits of the future emperor, Ferdinand, and those of his sons, but apart from the mythologies, the only comment about Mary is a reference to Titian's portrait of her.⁵⁰ Lodovico Dolce, too, had plenty to say about Titian's works for both Charles and Philip, but nothing at all about either Mary or Ferdinand.

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

One last unresolved problem related to Titian and Mary is about an engraving attributed to Cornelis Cort, depicting St Margaret and the dragon. The composition corresponds to that of a painting now in the Prado whose history is unknown before 1638.⁵³ The print exists in three states. The first includes the

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 1156f.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 1206f, 1229, 1263f, 1309.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 1159 – 1161.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 1119 – 1122.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 1159f, 1210f.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 1781f.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 1781f.

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

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

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

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

Apart from the fragment of *Noli me tangere*, only four of the pictures owned by Mary seem to have survived: *Tityus* and *Sisyphus* and the equestrian portrait of Charles V (all in the Prado) and the portrait of John Frederick of Saxony (in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). The portrait of him with a wound (also in the Prado) is thought to be an early copy. The vast majority of her portraits were destroyed in 1604 in a fire at the Spanish palace of El Pardo. Apart from those just mentioned, the only ones listed in the Cigales inventory but not at El Pardo

were the portraits of the archdukes Maximilian and Ferdinand, but no later record of them has come to light. According to the inventory, Ferdinand was shown bare-headed and wearing armour, which is not very surprising.

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

Mary of Hungary and Titian

Summary

When she died, Mary of Hungary's collection included twenty-four paintings by Titian, including twenty portraits of members of the Habsburg family and their immediate circle. All these paintings seem to have been produced between 1548 and 1553—that is, during the period when Titian twice visited the imperial court in Augsburg and the court of King Ferdinand in Innsbruck. In these years, he was in close and regular contact with Charles V, his brother Ferdinand, and his son, the future Philip

II, all of whom rewarded him generously. By contrast, there is no record that Mary ever paid him anything. It seems that instead of being a major patron of Titian, she was the curator of a collection of portraits assembled on the initiative of Charles. Many of these were replicas of portraits painted for Ferdinand and others, and almost all of them were destroyed by fire at the Spanish palace of El Pardo in 1604. The most significant work to have survived is the famous equestrian portrait of Charles V (now

in the Prado), which was not displayed at El Pardo. Mary also owned three mythological paintings of the punishments of mortals who had defied the gods, which were made for her palace at Binche. Two of these, *Tityus* and *Sisyphus* (also now in the Prado) survived the fire at Binche in 1554, and the fate of the third, *Tantalus*, is not known. Other than these mythologies and the portraits, only two other works

by Titian are recorded in her collection: *Venus with Psyche* and *Noli me tangere*. The first is known only through copies, and the second through a copy in the Escorial and a fragment in the Prado. To judge from his conduct with Charles V and Philip, both may have been painted by Titian on his own initiative in the hope of obtaining further commissions. If so, his strategy was not successful.

Mária Uhorská a Tizian

Resumé

Po smrti Márie Uhorskej obsahovala jej zbierka dvadsaťštyri obrazov od Tiziana, vrátane dvadsiacich portrétov členov habsburskej rodiny a ich najbližšieho okruhu. Zdá sa, že všetky tieto obrazy vznikli v rokoch 1548 až 1553, teda v období, keď Tizian dvakrát navštívil cisársky dvor v Augsburgu a dvor kráľa Ferdinanda v Innsbrucku. V týchto rokoch bol v úzkom a pravidelnom kontakte s Karolom V., jeho bratom Ferdinandom a jeho synom, budúcim Filipom II., ktorí ho všetci štedro odmenili. Naopak, neexistuje žiadny záznam o tom, že by Mária Tizianovi niekedy niečo zaplatila. Zdá sa, že namiesto toho, aby bola hlavnou patrónkou Tiziana, bola kurátorkou zbierky portrétov zhromaždených z Karlovej iniciatívy. Mnohé z nich boli replikami portrétov namaľovaných pre Ferdinanda a iných, a takmer všetky boli zničené požiarom v španiel-

skom paláci El Pardo v roku 1604. Najvýznamnejším zachovaným dielom je slávny jazdecký portrét Karola V., dnes v Prade, ktorý nebol vystavený v El Parde. Mária vlastnila aj tri mytologické obrazy zobrazujúce tresty smrteľníkov, ktorí vzdorovali bohom, a ktoré boli vytvorené pre jej palác v Binche. Dve z nich, *Tityus* a *Sisyfos*, tiež v Prade, prežili požiar v Binche v roku 1554 a osud tretieho (*Tantalos*) nie je známy. Okrem týchto mytológií a portrétov sú v jej zbierke zaznamenané ďalšie dve diela Tiziana: *Venuša a Psyché* a *Noli me tangere*. Prvé je známe len prostredníctvom kópií a druhé prostredníctvom kópie v Escoriáli a fragmentu v Prade. Súdiac podľa jeho správania voči Karolovi V. a Filipovi, oba obrazy mohol Tizian namaľovať z vlastnej iniciatívy v nádeji, že získa ďalšie zákazky. Ak áno, jeho manéver nebol úspešný.

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Mary of Hungary's Small Portraits The Difficult Quest for Female Patronage

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Abstract

This article attempts to account for Mary of Hungary's attitude toward the medals depicting her. Some of these medals may not have originated at her initiative, raising questions about their use, dating, and the responsibility for their issuance. Reconsidering these objects sheds light on cultural practices and gendered representations beyond the prevailing scholarly focus on patronage and self-representation schemes. It also shows the extent to which Mary's features could have been depicted on medals without her commission, authorization, or cooperation. From this perspective, the case studies presented illustrate how her figure was interpreted and appropriated over time and across space.

Keywords: Mary of Habsburg, Louis II Jagiellon, Ferdinand I of Habsburg, Erasmus from Rotterdam, Christoph Füssl, Cigales, Vienna, Kremnica, Augsburg, medals, game pieces

The position and visibility of Mary of Habsburg (1505 – 1558)—as sister of Charles V, queen of Hungary (until the death of her husband Louis II Jagiellon in 1526), regent of this kingdom (until 1527), and finally governor of the Low Countries (1531 – 1555)—have sparked a wave of recent studies examining her profile as a female ruler and art patron.¹ Her post-mortem inventory of 1558 records a considerable number of items now classified as art—a fact that has led scholars to see her not only

as a patron but also as a collector.² In particular, Mary was the family member who owned the most “medallas” (circular portraits) of contemporary figures, especially relatives, at the time of her death in Cigales (in the Kingdom of Castile). Made from gold, lead, wax, and paper, they depicted Charles V, Philip II, her sister-in-law, Isabella of Portugal, her nieces Mary and Johanna, her nephew Maximilian II, her grandfather Maximilian I, her brother-in-law Francis I of Valois, and his son Henry II, stored

¹ DOYLE, D. R.: The Sinews of Habsburg Governance in the Sixteenth Century: Mary of Hungary and Political Patronage. In: *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 31, 2000, pp. 349 – 360; *Mary of Hungary: The Queen and her Court 1521 – 1531*. Exh. cat., Budapest – Bratislava, 2005 – 2006. Ed.: RÉTHELYI, O. Budapest 2005; *Art, Power and Gender: Mary of Hungary and the Patronage of Art in Renaissance Europe*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. Turnhout 2020; *Marie de Hongrie: art et pouvoir à la Renaissance*. Exh. cat., Morlanwelz, 2025. Eds.: CAUCHIES, J.-M. – DOCQUIER, G. Morlanwelz 2025; PÉREZ DE TUDELA, A.: Marie de Hongrie et les arts: une approche de sa collection et de son mécénat. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 265 – 267.

² ESTELLA, M.: Las cuentas del tesorero Roger Patié y otros documentos. Esculturas y antigüedades de María de Hungría y los Jardines de Aranjuez. In: *Archivo Español de Arte*, Vol. 74, 2001, pp. 239 – 256, <https://doi.org/10.3989/aearte.2001.v74.i295.377> (with previous literature); CANO CUESTA, M.: *Catálogo de medallas españolas*. Madrid 2005, pp. 27 – 29; *Los inventarios de Carlo V y la familia imperial*. Ed.: CHECA CREMADES, F. Madrid 2010, Vol. 3, pp. 2841 – 2960; JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: A Discerning Agent with a Vision: Queen Mary of Hungary. In: *Women, the Art of Power: Three Women from the House of Habsburg*. Exh. cat., Innsbruck, 2018. Eds.: HAAG, S. – EICHBERGER, D. – JORDAN GSCHWEND, A. Vienna 2018, pp. 37 – 49.

in a precious “cofre de Yndias colorado, pintado de oro” (a polychromed and possibly lacquered chest from “India,” painted in gold).³ Additionally, allegedly older medals (“antiguas”)—all kept with Arabic and ancient Roman coins in bags, boxes, small sacks, paper wrappers, and a book-shaped display case—were recorded in the inventory alongside painted portraits, illuminated genealogies, and materials relevant to family history. The queen paid for some specimens of contemporary medals and may have commissioned them.⁴ These initiatives can be regarded as part of her agency in collecting and managing objects of dynastic significance—a role often played by widowed women in the history of the Habsburg family.⁵

No small portrait of Mary in metal, gemstone, or less precious materials can be identified in this inventory. Indeed, the document does not always mention the subject of the listed medals. Moreover, we know that Mary left some of her belongings in the Low Countries when she moved to Spain in 1556, and these items were not recorded in the 1558 inventory. Nevertheless, we have no evidence to suggest Mary owned portable portraits of herself in such mediums and formats in 1558.

In fact, if we address the medal types depicting her likeness (at least twelve),⁶ we face scenarios far less certain and straightforward than one might expect as a basis for considering female patronage and political agendas. For most of these, traditional attributions are quite tentative; the place of emission

cannot be identified, and dating is often approximate, sometimes entirely uncertain, or posthumous (as we will argue). Even when an inscription provides a date, it is often based on the likeness that served as a model for the medal, rather than on the moment the medal was made. In most cases, we cannot assume that Mary of Hungary authorized or requested all of her small portraits in metal or stone, nor can we trace them back to a definitive patron (if any). All these circumstances raise substantial doubts about the possibilities of discussing her “agency” as a significant patron of these artifacts, and challenge the assumption that they all served as “media for self-representation”—two main topoi in the narrative about female art patrons, and Mary in particular.⁷ If she commissioned some portable portraits of herself in circumstances that cannot be reconstructed, it can be argued that a few others may have originated far from her court and been conceived independently of her understanding of her social and historical role.

Regarding medals, all attempts to interpret Mary’s potentially marginalized or subordinated status as a woman—or conversely, her female power, patronage, and self-awareness—are also impeded by the fact that the surviving portraits are poorly documented, lack provenance records from the first decades of their history, and were frequently replicated with significant modifications over time.

When dealing with these materials, we need to reconsider the iconology-based approach to likenesses, still prevalent in some gender studies, and the often

³ CHECA CREMADES (see in note 2), pp. 2846 – 2847; GONZALO SÁNCHEZ-MOLERO, J. L.: «*Regia bibliotheca*»: *el libro en la corte española de Carlos V*. Mérida 2005, Vol. I, pp. 344 – 357; CUPPERI, W.: *Culture di scambio: medaglie e medaglisti italiani tra Milano e Bruxelles*. Pisa 2020, pp. 52 – 56.

⁴ PÉREZ DE TUDELA, A.: Algunas precisiones sobre la imagen de Felipe II en las medallas. In: *Madrid*, Vol. 1, 1998, pp. 241 – 271, 269; CUPPERI 2020 (see in note 3), pp. 15, 53 – 54.

⁵ A rich and well-balanced survey of scholarship on Habsburg women is provided in: EICHBERGER, D. – JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: Collections and Connoisseurship: Habsburg Women as Patrons of the Arts. In: *Women* (see note 2), pp. 11 – 23, 18 – 20; see also *Marie de Hongrie: politique et culture sous la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas*. Proceedings of the symposium, Morlanwelz, 2005. Eds.: FEDERINOV, B. – DOCQUIER, G. Morlanwelz 2008.

⁶ A census of Mary’s small portraits is provided by WYNANTS, B.: Maria van Hongarije in medailles. In: *Jaarboek van het Europees Genootschap voor munt-en penningkunde*, 1997, pp. 173 – 221. See also ESER, T.: *Hans Daucher: Augsburgs Kleinplastik der Renaissance*. Munich 1996, p. 339, Nos. 16 – 18.

⁷ GARCÍA PÉREZ, N.: María de Hungría y las medallas conmemorativas de su nombramiento como gobernadora de los Países Bajos: arte y poder al servicio de la Casa de Austria. In: *Mujeres, promoción artística e imagen del poder en los siglos XV al XIX*. Eds.: VÉLEZ CHAURRI, J. J. – ERKIZIAE MARTIKORENA, A. Bilbao 2022, pp. 69 – 100; GARCÍA PÉREZ, N.: Estrategias políticas y representaciones artísticas: María de Hungría y la construcción de la imagen post-mortem de Luis II Jagellón. In: *Culture & History Digital Journal*, Vol. 12, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2023.009>.

anachronistic assumptions about personal control over the image that underlie it. Moreover, seeking Mary's depictions "as a woman" may be perceived as an approach that is not fully intersectional, as her position inextricably depended on her lineage, vast knowledge, and social skills, too, rather than merely on binary-conceptualized gender. Instead, her medals can reveal something about the cultural practices that involved them and the scholarly challenges they pose.

Rather than offering a new survey of Mary's small portraits, this study focuses on six examples (Figs. 1 – 6) whose renewed consideration can challenge biased assumptions about the emission and circulation of her medals—the term "medals" is used here based on format, layout, and medium, without implying a specific purpose. Furthermore, the appropriation of the queen's figure in metal reveals less-explored gendered perspectives.

Mary as a "Popular" Figure

A small medal type, known from silver and lead examples (Fig. 1), offers an intriguing image of Mary of Hungary but also illustrates the risks of projecting preconceived expectations about her patronage onto her less-documented depictions.⁸ Here, the queen of Hungary is portrayed on the obverse as a smiling widow. The motto on the reverse quotes a passage from the Gospel of Luke (21, 19) evoking the victims of persecutions against Christians and wars between kingdoms and between "nations." Those who bear testimony to Christ, however, will receive indisputable

"words and wisdom" and will affirm their spiritual superiority through "patience." A few lines earlier, the Gospel emphasizes that faith involves disdain for worldly possessions through the example of a widow who donates her humble resources to the temple.

This focus on widows through scriptural references (overlooked in the existing literature) is further developed on the reverse of the medal: here, a bare-chested woman with long, curly hair and head uncovered, sitting on grass, interacts with an apparition of the Cross and points to something on the ground. The identification of this figure as Mary the penitent—suggested by her pose, attributes, and solitary setting⁹—can be reinforced by further argument. Magdalene's association with widows is attested to in Erasmus's *De vidua Christiana* (Basel 1529), a treatise dedicated to Mary of Hungary, in which this saint demonstrates that female "sexum" was not "indocilem" to divine wisdom.¹⁰ In the medal, MARIA · REGINA · VNG[ariae] · VIDVA, equated to Mary Magdalene, her namesake saint, and to the victims of wars between kingdoms in the Gospel of Luke, embodies gender-, status- and time-specific Christian virtues, possibly referring to her personal suffering caused by the war with the Ottomans, in which she had lost her husband.

Nevertheless, the question of who issued this ambitious medal raises problems. Its highly disputed authorship does not point to its having been made in Pressburg, now Bratislava (where the dowager queen retired after 1526), or in the Low Countries (where she lived since 1531), but to the area between the High Danube and the Ore Mountains.¹¹ A possible, thus

⁸ HABICH, G.: *Die deutschen Schaumünzen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Munich 1929 – 1934, Vol. I.2, p. 196, No. 1407. Examples in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett, Inv. No. 2646bβ, 32.5 mm, silver, cast); Munich (Fig. 1); and once in the Lanna collection – R. LEPKE'S KUNST-AUCTIONS-HAUS, *Sammlung des Freiherrn Adalbert von Lanna, Prag 3, 16. – 19. Mai 1911*. Berlin 1911, p. 54, No. 664, 32 mm, golden silver, struck.

⁹ SCHMIDT, S., in: *Weltstreit in Erz: Porträtmedaillen der Deutschen Renaissance*. Exh. cat., Munich – Vienna – Dresden, 2013–2015. Eds: CUPPERI, W. – HIRSCH, M. – KRANZ, A. – PFISTERER, U. Munich 2013, p. 287, No. 202. Habich's proposal to read the figure as *Patience* (HABICH 1929 – 1934 [see in note 8], loc. cit.) compares unfavourably with the other depictions of this personification.

¹⁰ DESIDERIUS ERASMUS, *De vidua Christiana*, 265 (*Opera Omnia*. Vol. 36. Ed.: CYTOWSKAT, M. Amsterdam 2008, p. 272).

¹¹ The mention of her brother Ferdinand I in the legend and the reuse of the reverse die for one of his medals in 1549 (reproduced in R. LEPKE'S KUNST-AUCTIONS-HAUS 1911 [see in note 8], p. 55, No. 674) could be a non-conclusive clue that Mary's portrait was made in Vienna or during an Imperial diet. The authorship of the dies also remains questioned. – KATZ, V.: Prvních sto let české portrétní medaile. In: *Numismatický časopis československý*, Vol. 5, 1929, pp. 103 – 138, 112, attributed them to Hieronymus Dittrich from Kraslice; PROBSZT, G.: *Ludwig Neufahrer: ein Linzer Medailleur des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Wien 1960, p. 98, No. 100, to Ludwig Neufahrer, chiefly active between Linz and Vienna, while HABICH 1929



Fig. 1a-b: Unidentified artist (traditionally attributed to Ludwig Neufahrer), obv. + MARIA · REGINA · VNG · VIDVA · CAROLI · CESA: ET · FERDI · REG: SOR, rev. + IN PACIENCIA · POSSIDEBITIS · ANIMAS · VESTRAS · LVCE XXI, medal, between 1529 and 1549, lead, cast (from a struck specimen), diam. 33.8 – 34 mm, thickness 2.3 mm. Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich, Inv. No. 11/694. Photo: Staatliche Münzsammlung, A. Birkenholz

far unexplored solution to this puzzle is that the portrait was made during Mary's stay in Vienna, in 1528 or 1530; another is that its dies were engraved after paintings (a solution that opens the possibility of its later dating).¹² Even if it was based on a model made from life during a sitting, however, the medal would not necessarily have been commissioned by her. In most well-preserved examples, the small size and the die-striking technique used to make them indicate that they were relatively inexpensive and non-exclusive items, unlikely to be used in exchange between Mary and her peers as a means of their reciprocal recognition. To properly understand their emission, one should always consider that it could even take place without the sitter's authorization. In this extreme

case, they might simply serve a widespread interest in "feminae illustres" or in key figures of the Habsburg dynasty, and make the queen's image available for different forms of use, rather than fulfilling her direct needs, gift strategies, and political goals.

The conception of this medal—which undoubtedly benefited from the advice of a good humanist or theologian—may therefore have little to do with Mary's patronage and her personal views: its reverse incorporated flattering biblical motifs that had not necessarily been suggested directly by her entourage, as they had been linked to her widowed status in a printed book. However, Erasmus's *De vidua Christiana* (which Mary highly valued, according to her court priest Johannes Henckel in 1530)¹³ promoted a more

– 1934 (see in note 8), table CLV, Fig. 8, preferred to classify them as in the "Art des Ludwig Neufahrer." The medal can be dated between 1526 (when Mary became a widow) and 1549 (when the obverse die was reused). – SCHÜTZ, K., in: *Kaiser Karl V. (1500 – 1558): Macht und Ohnmacht Europas*. Exh. cat., Vienna, 2000. Ed.: SEIPEL, W. Milan 2000, p. 140, No. 50.

¹² Mary's features and outfit may be related to a portrait type documented by a painting in Budapest (Szépművészeti Mú-

zeum, Inv. No. 6961 – Van den BOOGERT, B., in: *Maria van Hongarije. Koningin tussen keizers en kunstenaars*. Exh. cat., Utrecht – s-Hertogenbosch, 1993. Eds. Van den BOOGERT, B. – KERKHOFF, J. Zwolle 1993, p. 324, No. 222) – albeit the medal adapts a pose in profile, instead than three quarters.

¹³ RÉTHELYI, O.: *Mary of Hungary in Court Context (1521 – 31)*. PhD Thesis, European University, Budapest. Budapest 2010, pp. 120, 166 and 190.

provocative, humanistic view of widowhood and gender roles: Christ and the Apostles, the author noted, had permitted “colloquium” and “intimam familiaritatem” with women, and the Church fathers had discussed with them “de divinarum litterarum enarratione,” while the biblical model of Martha and Mary of Bethany was there to demonstrate that “otium et solitudo” could coexist positively with “vita activa” in an unmarried woman.¹⁴ In contrast, the medal’s emphasis on Mary Magdalene’s contemplative attitude seems far less original and personal (and probably did not need to be so, if the medal was intended to honor a figure not involved in its conception through prudent iconographic and textual choices).

Another small portrait of Mary provides hitherto unnoticed evidence that this medal circulated in 1535 ca. and also served unexpected purposes. A game piece now in Munich (Fig. 2)—suitable for playing mill, checkers, or backgammon—shows her head based on the medal in Fig. 1, which must therefore have been available in the Augsburg workshop responsible for its making, either as a specimen or a mold.¹⁵ The other fourteen surviving pieces of the game represent her brothers Charles V and Ferdinand I, William IV of Wittelsbach, and wealthy citizens from Augsburg or surrounding towns. Among the women depicted are Eleanor of France (Mary’s sister) and the wives of prominent Swabian figures. The design of these board games often transformed them into a competition between factions by decorating each piece with the face of a jet-set figure, identified, in most cases, by an inscription. This iconography enabled discursive allusions to recent history and contemporary high society in conversation among the players during the game. The relatively broad range of women depicted on such pieces depended on the availability of their likenesses, their recognizability, and their connection to well-known events and groups. This explains why such game sets featured portraits of personalities with diverse origins and political affiliations. As table games also served as entertainment for women, these sets often show



Fig. 2: Unidentified artist (Augsburg?), obv. MARIA · REGINA, blank reverse, game piece, ca. 1535, stucco (cast in a mold and painted) on maple wood (turned and inscribed), diam. 45 mm, thickness 10 mm. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, Inv. No. R433. Photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, K.-M. Velters

a balanced gender representation in the figures depicted. Variety was also important. For example, in a game piece preserved in Munich, but from a different set, an identical likeness of Mary is paired with that of an unidentified CAESSARI[s] MAXIMILIONI CANTATRIX (an elegant female singer linked to her grandfather Maximilian I).¹⁶ In fact, the dowager queen of Hungary is frequently represented on game pieces, which could be replicated by mold casting with an unspecified stucco compound (also deployed for the Munich piece).¹⁷ Possibly, the inscription MARIA · REGINA (also taken from the medal, but shortened, see Figs. 1 and 2) made possible spontaneous discursive connections with other Habsburgs depicted on pieces on the board, their conflicts with France and Lutherans, as well as comparisons with the lives of female patricians from Augsburg. The various associations emerging from the queen’s por-

¹⁴ ERASMUS (see in note 10), 941 (p. 324).

¹⁵ HIMMELHEBER, G.: *Spiele*. Munich 1972, p. 66, No. 89.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 71, No. 120.

¹⁷ See also WYNANTS 1997 (see in note 6), pp. 198 – 199, Nos. 13 – 14.



Fig. 3a-b: Christoph Füssl the Elder, obv. MARIE · HVNGAR · BOHEM · / EQVÆ · REGINÆ · IAM · / PRO · CESARAE · CAROL · / V^o · IN · FLANDRIS / EFFIGIES, rev. “LVDO · HVNG · BOEM · [et] C · REX / ANV · AGENS · XX · IN · TVRCAS / APVD · MOHAZ · CVM · PARVA · SVORVM · MANV · PV · GNAS · HONESTE / OBYT · M · D · XXVI, medal, gilt silver, cast (after a struck specimen), diam. 42.3 – 42.5 mm, thickness 2.5 mm. Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich, Inv. No. 11/868. Photo: Staatliche Münzsammlung, A. Birkenholz

trait fully uncover the potential of her personality in intersectional terms. It may have been this kind of appeal, rather than personal art patronage or political “propaganda,” that contributed to the success of some of Mary’s small portraits.

Portraits on Someone Else’s Initiative?

Two types of struck medals depict Mary of Hungary with the 1526 Battle of Mohács on the reverse. The first one (Fig. 3) shows the queen alone, while the second (Fig. 4) shows her facing her husband, Louis II, who drowned fighting the Ottomans in that battle. Viktor Katz demonstrated the close similarity of these two types to other highly consistent medals whose dies (recognizable by their distinctive form) were stored at the mint in Kremnica (present-day Slovakia) in 1753. According to his reconstruction,

these dies must have been engraved there from 1530 onward. This enabled Katz to assign the emission of Mary and Louis’s medals to this mint and to attribute them to Christoph Füssl (or Füszi) the Elder, who was solely responsible for die engraving at this institution from 1537 to his death in 1561.

The obverse inscriptions on both medals refer to Mary’s move from Hungary to the Netherlands on behalf of Charles V in 1531.¹⁸ In particular, the type with her individual likeness indicates this event as quite recent (IAM · / PRO · CESARAE [scil. Caesare] · CAROL[O] · / V^o · IN · FLANDRIS, Fig. 3), while the other omits this temporal specification (AC · PROCES’ / IN · FLAN, Fig. 4)—a possible clue that it was made later.¹⁹ The rare ability to date and locate the emission of these medals makes it possible to discuss who might have been responsible for making them.

¹⁸ WINTER, H., in: *Kaiser Ferdinand I., das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie*. Exh. cat., Vienna, 2003. Ed.: SEIPEL, W. Milan 2003, p. 404, No. V.5.

¹⁹ CUPPERI, W., in: *The Scher Collection of Commemorative Medals*. Eds.: SCHER, S. K. – NG, A. New York – London 2019, pp. 185 – 186, Nos. 296 – 297.



Fig. 4a-b: Christoph Füssl the Elder, *obv.* LVDO: VNGAR: BOHE:QVE / REGIS · ET · MARIE · RE/GINÆ · DVLCISS · Co[n]IV/GIS · AC · PROCES' / IN · FLAN[dri]s, *rev.* LVDO: HVNG: BOEM: [et]C · REX / ANV: AGENS · XX · IN · TVRCAS / APVD · MOHAZ · CVM · PAR/VA · SVORVM · MANV · PV/GNAS · HONESTE / OBYT · M · D · XXVI, medal, gilt silver, cast (after a struck specimen), diam. 43.6 – 43.8 mm, thickness 2.3 mm. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Inv. No. 11/871. Photo: Staatliche Münzsammlung, A. Birkenholz

According to one recent interpretation, these medals were intended to celebrate Mary's appointment in 1531 as governor of the Low Countries and were requested by the queen herself.²⁰ However, the available evidence does not support such a definitive conclusion. Notably, after Louis II's death, the kingdom of Hungary was divided into three states and its crown was contested between Ferdinand I of Austria and John I Szapolyai (1487 – 1540). Subsequently, medals depicting the death of the last Jagiellon king of Hungary and the likeness of the first Habsburg regent of Hungary—his widow, Mary—implied this historical context, especially if struck in Kremnica (that is, in territories under Habsburg control). If they were meant to celebrate Mary's appointment in the Low Countries, why would they omit any reference to it and mention the seventeen provinces so informally and imprecisely (respectively, IAM · / PRO · CESARAE · CAROL[O] · / V · ° · IN · FLAN-DRIS in Fig. 3, and PRO CES[are] / IN · FLAN[dri]s or PROCES[sa] / IN · FLAN[dri]s in Fig. 4)?

²⁰ GARCÍA PÉREZ 2022 (see in note 7), pp. 72 and 79.

In fact, the dowager queen of Hungary accepted the appointment as governor of the Low Countries on January 29, 1531; before that, it would have been unthinkable to have her appointment celebrated on a medal. At that time, however, she had already left Hungary for Austria, in November 1530;²¹ why would she have commissioned medals in 1531 from a distant mint, still potentially threatened by John I's troops, when she was in Vienna (where medalists could be found) or on her way to Brussels?

Füssl's authorship of these medals suggests at least two stronger possibilities. First, the issuance of both medals might have been the initiative of the Habsburg administration in Pressburg or one of its members (starting with the Palatine of Hungary, who formally represented King Ferdinand I during his absences). After all, Mary's individual likeness was flanked by the coats of arms of Hungary and Bohemia (Fig. 3), and the dies for these types were engraved in a state mint. Since Mary embodied institutional continuity in this part of the king-

²¹ RÉTHELYI 2010 (see in note 13), pp. 129 – 131.



Fig. 5a-b: Unidentified artist (traditionally attributed to Peter Flötner), obv. CAROL · V / · ET · · FER · I · FR[atr]ES · / RO · IMP · ET · RE · RE · HISP · VT · RI[us] · Q · SICI · VNG · BOE · ET · ARC · HID · AVST · D · BVRG · : · 1 · 5 · 32 ; in the field: · K · Q° and · REX / · F · I · ; rev. Mary of Hungary, medal, silver, cast and cold chased, diam. 74 mm. Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich, Inv. No. 11/405. Photo: Staatliche Münzsammlung, A. Birkenholz

dom, these medals may have circulated during the critical period when the dowager queen had left the capital city, and Ferdinand was chiefly in other territories. In this case, the Kremnica mint would have been the closest facility suitable for striking portraits of the former rulers. Second, a few medals with different subjects but similar layouts, struck as pest talers, have been attributed to Füssl. These objects, interpreted as protective amulets against calamities, may not have originated from a commission, although their making required approval from the mint's warden to use the machinery.²² Was this also the case with the medals depicting Mary and Louis II? As Füssl declared in a quarrel with another mint officer in 1557, striking medals from his dies had enabled his officers to earn additional income over the previous decades.²³ One might

wonder to what extent the production of portrait medals was driven by the initiative of the mint's authorities or officers—a supposition for which little evidence exists at this early date. The two medal types discussed here thematize the fading of Hungary's former rulers and the reasons behind it: if they were based on nostalgia and mainly targeted Habsburg supporters, they could have been struck more out of consideration of their potential impact and success rather than by direct order from a ruler. Since it remains uncertain whether these medals were sold by their makers or distributed on behalf of the authorities, several possibilities should be considered before they are interpreted within a Habsburg patronage scheme.

In both hypotheses presented here, Mary's past role would have inspired depictions that conferred

²² KATZ, V.: *Die erzgebirgische Prägemedaille des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Prague 1932, p. 39, with reference to the pest talers issued in the Ore Mountains.

²³ KATZ, V.: Kremniční řezači želez a medailéři Kryštof Füssl, Lukáš Richter a Abraham Eysker. In: *Numismatický časopis československý*, Vol. 5, 1929, pp. 139 – 180; KATZ, V.: Die Kremnitzer Medaillenreihen 1530 bis 1600. In: *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 23, 1930, pp. 109 – 116.

additional connotations on her royal and marital image, without the medals necessarily being requested or devised by herself. Such images could be embedded in a broad range of cultural practices unrelated to the sitter's court.

Portraits to Fill a Gap

From the mid-sixteenth century onward, large medal types became increasingly favored for royal and high-ranking sitters. A new portrait in this format could be paired with pre-existing ones of similar size and was often regarded by its owner as more prestigious. Nevertheless, such detailed, bust-length portraits of Mary of Hungary appear to have been scarce during her lifetime.²⁴ Indeed, a cast medal with likenesses of the queen on the reverse and of her husband, Louis II Jagiellon, on the obverse (the latter inscribed with the date MDXXIII) may represent an initial attempt to supply the Habsburg family and diplomatic networks with this kind of large, desirable portrait.²⁵ However, the extreme rarity of this cast medal (known from only one silver example and another, poor lead specimen, both currently in unknown collections or lost) indicates that it was not widely replicated after its making.²⁶

This lack of large, detailed medallion portraits of Mary seems to have led to creative compensatory solutions, possibly starting from the second quarter of the sixteenth century. For instance, the problematic portrait shown in Fig. 5, dated 1532 on the obverse, may be seen as an independent response to this gap.²⁷ Remarkably, the obverse (with the inscription K[arolus] · Q[uintus] and · REX / F[erdinand]: I) and the reverse (depicting Mary of Hungary before her widowhood) diverge fundamentally in terms of layout, framing, ornaments, inscriptions, and the dating of the likenesses, across all known examples. Additionally, the initials of the two jugate male busts, modeled in relief across the field, partly reiterate the information in the upper legend, while the letters referring to Mary's name, M[aria] R[egina] K[aroli?] V, were simply engraved, and appear only in some versions. Furthermore, all the surviving versions vary considerably from one another.²⁸ Georg Habich has questioned whether the obverse was designed to be paired with this reverse. Indeed, the profiled border and flat decoration of the reverse could have served to prevent relief abrasion when the medal was laid on that face, but, if that was the case, why not give the obverse the same border? As a matter of fact, the portraits of Charles and Ferdinand seem to

²⁴ CUPPERI 2020 (see in note 3), p. 17.

²⁵ HABICH 1929 – 1934 (see in note 8), Vol. I.1, p. 16, No. 66 (once in Lviv, Ossolinski Library, silver, 73 mm, but not included in the current collections of the Muzeum Książąt Lubomirskich, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, as kindly verified by curator Teresa Sokół, and to be considered dispersed); SCHULMAN, J.: *Collections Arthur Löbbecke, L. M. Beels van Heemstede, e.a. Vente le 17 juin 1929*. Amsterdam 1929, p. 22, No. 215 (lead, cast, 73 mm). The likenesses were possibly copied in other types. – HABICH 1929 – 1934 (see in note 8), Vol. II.1, p. 273, No. 1897.

²⁶ Habich's classification as a work stylistically close to Hans Daucher, but not from his hand (HABICH, G.: *Die deutschen Medailleure des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Halle a. d. Saale 1916, p. 19), leaves the attribution and localization of the making of the medal open.

²⁷ BERNHART, M.: *Die Bildnismedaillen Karls des Fünften*. Munich 1919, p. 52, No. 73; HABICH 1929 – 1934 (see in note 8), Vol. I.2, p. 258, No. 1823 (questioning his previous attribution to P. Flötner).

²⁸ The Munich version (Staatliche Münzsammlung, Inv. No. 11/405, silver, 74 mm) has an engraved line framing the obverse and no inscription in the reverse; the Vienna version (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett, Inv. No. 733bβ, silver, 74 mm) has no engraved line, but depicts a shield above Mary's head; the Budapest specimen (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Inv. No. 97/1970-146, silver, 75 mm) has a different background decoration, but no shield, and bears the inscription "M[aria] R[egina] K[aroli?] V" in a spared line across the field. The specimen in London (Victoria & Albert Museum, Inv. No. A.385-1910, silver, 69 mm)—an aftercast—combines an obverse similar to the Munich one, cut along the margins, with a reverse like the Budapest one, but with a different border and no background ornaments. The version once in Innsbruck (Enzenberg Collection, silver, 70.5 mm)—also an aftercast—has the engraved border line in the obverse and the engraved inscription and a double border line in the reverse, but no shield and background decoration. Its obverse bears the date "1531." A fifth version, similar to the latter, was described in HAMBURGER, L.: *Sammlung Geheimrat Hermann Vogel, Chemnitz 1, Versteigerung [...] am 4. November 1924*. Frankfurt a. M. 1924, p. 15, No. 84 (silver, 70 mm).

have circulated early without the reverse depicting their sister.²⁹ Speculations about Mary's association with her brothers and her representation as a young lady would therefore be imprudent, as the combination of the two faces could be later than 1532 and attributable to a goldsmith rather than a patron (if any). What matters here, however, is that this combination does not demonstrate the assistance of a learned adviser. If the legend of the reverse is correctly interpreted as M[aria] R[egina] K[aroli?] V, the nomenclature of her titles was quite imprecise compared with others, and Quintus was abbreviated as Q^o on the obverse and as V on the reverse. The upper legend accompanying Charles and Ferdinand's busts also confusingly mixes their titles, and the variant preserved in Vienna associates Mary with an unrelated heraldic image, a rampant Pegasus inscribed in a shield and engraved in the field above her head: such epigraphic and iconographic inconsistencies could hardly be accepted in networks close to the sitters or interested in their family history,³⁰ but make sense if one considers the sixteenth-century scarcity of large medals of Mary and the possibility that some aimed to fill this gap with an object notable in other respects: the versions in Vienna and Munich display extensive, labor-intensive cold chiseling, consistent with the purpose of delivering a luxury item, featuring rich decoration and a thick silver plate.

A clear example of late intervention in Mary's iconography is a medal that combines her likeness as a bride on the reverse (dated MDXXI in its inscription) with that of Charles V on the obverse

(molded from Leone Leoni's medal of 1549).³¹ Since Leoni worked for the queen from 1549 to 1556, the questionable attribution of this hybrid type to him led some scholars to suggest that she had commissioned this object.³² In fact, Mary's portrait in this type is a posthumous pastiche based on earlier medals, both in her features and in her hat and dress (which the copyist even enriched with additions).³³ The date on the reverse refers to the sitting, not to the creation of the hybrid, which cannot be earlier than 1549. The similarity of the reverse to Leoni's medal of Charles V (despite significant epigraphic differences) should be seen as a deliberate imitation intended to fill a gap in Leoni's series of ca. 72 mm Habsburg portrait medals. This intervention, which may be much later than the sixteenth century (as indicated by the careful imitation of the format, layout, and lettering), may have been a response to a quest for reliable likenesses of Mary and medals that fit within a prestigious dynastic series. Such a misleading object records the practice of visualizing genealogies through uniform medals and highlights the queen's afterlife as a key figure in her family, but not her patterns of patronage.

Conclusion

Mary of Hungary's small and medium-size struck medals are not rare and date to her lifetime. Nevertheless, in at least two cases (Figs. 1, 3 – 4), there are reasons to doubt her direct involvement in their emission.³⁴ The struck medal in Fig. 1 is also

²⁹ A brass specimen interpreted as a baptismal medal bears the inscription "CRISTOF AROTHSCHICZ ANNO DOMINI MDXXXV" and an engraved coat of arms in the reverse, instead of the portrait (TRUSTED, M.: *German Renaissance Medals: A Catalogue of the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London 1990, p. 38, No. 28). Moreover, HABICH 1929 – 1934 (see in note 8), loc. cit., conjecturally connected the obverse with Charles and Ferdinand with their squared clay portrait recorded in the Imperial collection (HERRGOTT, M.: *Nummoteca principum Austriae*. Friburgi Brisgoviae 1752, p. 95, No. LXI, wrongly describing the heads as looking left).

³⁰ WEBER, I. S., in: *The Currency of Fame*. Exh. cat., Washington – New York, 1994. Ed.: SCHER, S. K. New York 1994, pp. 283 – 284, No. 124, also remarked that this medal "cannot have been commissioned by the court," but came to a differ-

ent conclusion: "all of the examples are but trials or sketches for a medal that was ultimately never executed."

³¹ CUPPERI 2020 (see in note 3), p. 15.

³² For the attribution to Leoni, see KERKHOFF, J., in: *Maria van Hongarije* 1993 (see in note 12), p. 73, No. 51.11; GARCÍA PÉREZ 2022 (see in note 7), p. 74.

³³ For profile and hat, see HABICH 1929 – 1934 (see in note 8), Vol. I.1, p. 16, No. 66; for dress and necklace, see WY-NANTS 1997 (see in note 6), p. 183, No. 10 (a medal whose problematic dating deserves further research).

³⁴ A third struck type, attributed to Hieronymus Magdeburger (HABICH 1929 – 1934 [see in note 8], Vol. II.1, p. 273, No. 1897), deserves to be further studied in relation to this phenomenon.

the only clearly contemporary one depicting her as a widow—a state in which women were not usually portrayed in medals.³⁵

On the contrary, her large cast medals appear to be extremely rare and were probably equally so in her time: this divergence is significant because large cast medals were the customary medium for exchange among Mary's peers. The dowager queen presumably believed that the portraits modeled or carved during her youth and married life were adequate, had reached the intended recipients, and provided suitable models for further images. She accepted the presence of outdated likenesses of some of her relatives in her own collection of family medals, and it is likely that she was comfortable with the circulation of older medallic portraits of herself. The memory of her features in the most prestigious large-scale formats evidently focused on her years as a bride, a potential mother, and a tie between the Habsburg and Jagiellonian dynasties.

Several new medals featuring her likeness were created far from her in space or in time, probably to compensate for the limitation of large medals with detailed portraits. At least one surviving medal type (formerly attributed to Leoni and possibly posthumous), along with another (traditionally ascribed to Peter Flötner, Fig. 4), may have originated from an artist's initiative rather than a patron's. In general, the individuals who initiated the creation of medals featuring Mary's face are difficult to identify; therefore, we cannot assume that all of them were commissioned, controlled by the sitter, or intended to disseminate a centrally planned political image. The possibility of reconstructing the impact of such images is extremely intriguing for reception and later replication, but highly problematic if focused on agency and intentions. Highly refined methodologies are required to address topics such as gender issues in proper historical terms for sixteenth-century medals, and we are only starting to refine our approaches and test them on complex, de-contextualized objects.

³⁵ Another medal (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett, Inv. No. 2647bβ, silver, cast, 37.5 mm) copies her three-quarters features from Titian's lost portrait on canvas of 1548 or 1550–1551 (WETHEY, H.: *The Paintings of Titian*.

Vol. 3. London 1971, p. 202, No. L-24; TAGLIAFERRO, G. – AIKEMA, B. a. o.: *Le botteghe di Tiziano*. Florence 2003, p. 137), either directly or indirectly, and has therefore a quite uncertain dating.

Mary of Hungary's Small Portraits The Difficult Quest for Female Patronage

Summary

This article challenges the scholarly assumption that Mary of Hungary's medallic portraits were primarily fruits of her own patronage or instruments of political self-representation. Instead, it argues that many of these objects possibly originated independently of her control and sometimes served purposes beyond her court.

All attempts to interpret Mary's potentially subordinated status as a woman, or conversely, her female power, patronage and self-awareness, are complicated by the fact that the surviving medals are poorly documented and have often been replicated with significant modifications over time. For the surviving medal types depicting Mary—of which there are at least twelve—there is no evidence that she commissioned or authorized them. The article focuses on six cases where fresh reconsideration can challenge biased pre-assumptions about the emission and circulation of her medals, and it uncovers less-explored gendered perspectives.

One struck medal, the reverse of which depicts the Cross appearing to a woman sitting on the grass, is here linked to Erasmus's *De vidua Christiana* (1529), dedicated to Mary. In this type, the dowager queen—equated to her namesake saint, Mary Magdalene, and the victims of wars commiserated in Luke's Gospel (21, 19)—embodies gender-specific virtues, possibly referring to the personal suffering caused to her by the loss of her husband, Louis II Jagiellon, in the battle of Mohács (1526).

A game piece for playing mill, checkers, or backgammon features Mary's head based on this medal. In the sixteenth century, the design of these board games often transformed them into a competition between factions by decorating each piece with the face of a jet-set figure. This iconography enabled

discursive allusions to recent history and contemporary high society during the gameplay. The logical associations that could be established between Mary's portrait and those in the other pieces of the same game set reveal the potential of her personality in intersectional terms. As table games also served as entertainment for women, these sets often propose a balanced gender representation in the figures depicted.

The dies for two other medal types were engraved at the mint in Kremnica (present-day Slovakia) after Mary left the Kingdom of Hungary for Vienna (1530) and eventually for the Low Countries (1531). These types represent a good case for medals that were possibly issued on someone else's initiative: Mary's past role as queen and regent of Hungary could have inspired depictions that conferred her royal and marital image with additional connotations connected with the fading of the former king, Louis II, rather than with her governorship of the Low Countries.

Mary's large cast medals seem to have remained scarce during her lifetime—a gap later filled by others in response to an interest in such portraits. For instance, a likeness of Mary dated “MDXXI” is here recognized as a posthumous pastiche, combined with a 1549 portrait of Charles V by Leone Leoni in a hybrid medal.

The article advocates moving beyond the patronage paradigms, still prevalent in some gender studies, toward an intersectional analysis that considers Mary's lineage, knowledge and social skills, and highlights the appropriations of her image over time. Finally, it emphasizes the need for provenance and technical analysis before assuming the agency of such figures as significant medal patrons.

Malé portréty Márie Uhorskej Zložité hľadanie ženského mecenátu

Resumé

Štúdia spochybňuje vedecký predpoklad, že medailové portréty Márie Uhorskej sú primárne výsledkom jej objednávok alebo nástrojmi jej politickej seba-prezentácie. Miesto toho tvrdí, že mnohé z týchto objektov pravdepodobne vznikli nezávisle od jej kontroly a niekedy slúžili aj účelom nesúvisiacemu s dvorom. Všetky pokusy o interpretáciu potenciálne podriadeného postavenia Márie ako ženy alebo naopak jej ženskej sily, patrónstva a sebauvedomenia komplikuje skutočnosť, že zachované medaily sú nedostatočne zdokumentované a v priebehu času boli často replikované s výraznými úpravami. Pre žiadny zo zachovaných typov medailí zobrazujúcich Máriu, prinajmenšom dvanásť, neexistuje dôkaz, že by si ich objednala, alebo schválila. Štúdia sa zameriava na šesť príkladov, kde nové prehodnotenie môže spochybnit' doterajšie predpoklady o emisii a obehu jej medailí a zároveň odhaliť menej preskúmané rodové perspektívy. Razená medaila, ktorej rub zobrazuje kríž zjavujúci sa žene sediacej na tráve, je tu spojená s Erasmovým dielom *De vidua Christiana* (1929), venovanému Márii. Na zadnej strane je vyobrazená kráľovná vdova, stotožnená so svojou menovkyňou Máriou Magdalénou a obeťami vojen, ktorým sa v Lukášovom evanjeliu (21, 19) vyjadruje ľútosť, stelesňujúca cnosti špecifické pre pohlavie, čas a rodinný stav, pravdepodobne odkazujúc na osobné utrpenie, ktoré jej spôsobila strata manžela Ľudovíta II. Jagelovského v bitke pri Moháči (1526). Herná figúrka viažuca sa k stolovej hre dámy, alebo „backgammonu“ vyobrazuje Máriu podľa tejto medaily. V šestnástom storočí dizajn stolových hier často súvisel so súťažou medzi frakciami tým, že každá figúrka bola vyzdobená tvárou reálnych dvorských postáv. Táto ikonografia umož-

ňovala počas hry diskurzívne narážky na nedávnú históriu a súčasné elity. Logické asociácie, ktoré sa dali vytvoriť medzi portrétom Márie a portrétmi na ostatných figúrkach tej istej hernej sady, odhaľujú potenciál jej osobnosti v intersekcionálnom zmysle. Keďže stolové hry slúžili aj ako zábava pre ženy, tieto sady často navrhujú vyvážené rodové zastúpenie v zobrazených figúrkach.

Razidlá pre dva ďalšie typy medailí boli vyryté v mincovni v Kremnici (dnešné Slovensko) potom, čo Mária odišla z Uhorského kráľovstva do Viedne (1530) a nakoniec do Nizozemska (1531). Sú dobrým argumentom pre tie medaily, ktoré vznikli z iniciatívy niekoho iného: Máriina minulé úloha kráľovnej a regentky Uhorska mohla inšpirovať zobrazenia, ktoré jej kráľovskému a manželskému obrazu pripisovali ďalšie konotácie, spojené s bývalým kráľom Ľudovítom II., a nie s jej postavením v Nizozemsku. Zdá sa, že Máriine veľké odlievané medaily zostali počas jej života vzácne – medzeru neskôr zaplnili iní v reakcii na záujem o takéto portréty. Napríklad podobizeň Márie datovaná „1521“ – a kombinovaná s portrétom Karola V. z roku 1549 od Leone Leoniho v hybridnej medaile – je tu rozpoznávaná ako posmrtná napodobenina určená na doplnenie jednotnej dynastickej série. Článok sa zasadzuje za odklon od paradigmy patronátu, ktorý je v niektorých rodových štúdiách stále rozšírený, smerom k intersekcionálnej analýze, ktorá zohľadňuje Máriin pôvod, vedomosti, ako aj sociálne zručnosti a zdôrazňuje privlastnenie si jej obrazu v priebehu času. V neposlednom rade tiež zdôrazňuje nevyhnutnosť poznania pôvodu medaily, ako aj jej technických aspektov skôr, než sa vysloví predpoklad, že osobnosti ako Mária Uhorská boli významnými patrónkami medailí.

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Empire in Portrait

Mary of Hungary's "Grande Galerie" and the Transimperial Crafting of Habsburg Identity

Annemarie JORDAN GSCHWEND

Abstract

Between 1531 and 1555, Mary of Hungary—governor of the Low Countries (the Habsburg Netherlands) and sister to Emperor Charles V—transformed the grand ceremonial hall at Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, the Grande Galerie (later known as the Galerie des Empereurs), into one of the most politically charged and visually sophisticated court spaces in early modern Europe. She redefined this Great Hall as a multifunctional space serving not only as a monumental portrait gallery but also as a throne room and ceremonial hall where she presided over state affairs. While previous scholarship has referenced the gallery, it is considered in this essay, through comprehensive analysis, as an integrated political, visual, and architectural project. It demonstrates how Mary mobilized artistic patronage, gendered authority, and orchestrated ceremonial performance to assert dynastic legitimacy and female sovereignty. By situating the gallery in a broader transimperial context and linking it to those formed by her sister, Catherine of Austria (1507 – 1578), in Lisbon, the study argues that these galleries were not just displays of likenesses. They were conceived as visual genealogies—maintained through copying, exchange, and replication—and operated as early forms of dynastic *musea*, living archives, that preserved and strategically deployed Habsburg identity across political and geographic boundaries.

Keywords: Mary of Hungary, Coudenberg Palace, Catherine of Austria, Paço da Ribeira Palace, Habsburg portrait galleries, transimperial identity

Introduction

At the centre of this study stands the grand ceremonial hall in Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, the Grande Galerie (Great Hall), later known as

the Galerie des Empereurs (Gallery of Emperors),¹ deliberately conceived by Mary of Hungary, dowager queen of Hungary and regent of the Low Countries, as a long, rectangular gallery.² It constituted Mary's first important architectural commission as regent,

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All translations in the text of this essay are by the author.

¹ DE MAEYER, M.: *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de XVIIe-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*. Brussels 1950, p. 443.

² D'HAINAUT – ZVENY, B.: Du palais de Bruxelles à la place Royale (XIIIe – XVIIe s.). In: *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 11, 2000, Nos. 1 – 6, pp. 31 – 79; FOURNY, M.: Du Palais Ducal au Palais Impérial. In: *Le Palais du Coudenberg à Bruxelles. Du château médiéval au site archéologique*. Ed.: HEYMANS, V. Brussels 2014, pp. 104 – 127; DE JONGE, K.:

and it evolved into a symbol of power par excellence.³ Serving as a model for subsequent Habsburg portrait galleries, the Grande Galerie in Coudenberg Palace demonstrates how visual culture could be strategically mobilized to assert imperial rule and the legitimacy of female governance. Through its integrated display of imperial portraits, genealogical and heraldic imagery, and monumental tapestry cycles, this gallery functioned as a coherent visual manifesto rather than as a passive repository of artworks.⁴

By tracing the transmission and adaptation of this model to the Sala da Rainha (Queen's Hall) in Lisbon's Paço da Ribeira Palace under Catherine of Austria, this essay highlights both shared strategies and meaningful divergences. In particular, it demonstrates how Habsburg women used portrait galleries to negotiate their political roles as queens, regents, and imperial sisters, deploying lineage and memory to counter contemporary constraints on female authority. Ultimately, this study positions Habsburg portrait galleries as transregional and gendered instruments of imperial ideology, revealing how identity was crafted, staged, and sustained through space, image, and display.

Appointed regent in 1531, Mary governed during a period of increasing centralization, religious tension, and geopolitical complexity.⁵ Her authority, though derived from her brother Emperor Charles V (1500 – 1558), was expressed with independent agency,

particularly in cultural patronage. Her Brussels court became a key site of visual diplomacy and elite interaction. Following the example of her aunt, tutor, and predecessor as regent of the Low Countries, Margaret of Austria (1480 – 1530), who had established a centre of power at the Palais de Savoye (Hof van Savoye) in Malines/Mechelen, Mary of Hungary likewise created a base of symbolic authority at Coudenberg Palace in Brussels.⁶ In doing so, she reaffirmed the close interdependence of politics and aesthetics under Habsburg rule. Coudenberg Palace thus functioned as a residence, as well as a ceremonial and ideological space carefully calibrated to the needs of governance and representation. Its central gallery, in close spatial relationship to Mary's apartment, housed a sequence of portraits ranging from the dukes of Burgundy to the imperial family of Charles V, visually articulating Burgundian-Habsburg court culture across the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Early Habsburg “Museums”

In the sixteenth century, portrait collections at Habsburg courts functioned as structured systems of knowledge rather than accumulations of individual likenesses.⁷ Integrated into palaces, galleries, and ceremonial interiors, portraits articulated lineage, rank, and political legitimacy while shaping the experience of courtly spaces.⁸ Across the Habsburg

L'iconographie du pouvoir. Les commandes architecturales de Marie de Hongrie, de Bruxelles à Binche. In: *Marie de Hongrie: art et pouvoir à la Renaissance*. Exh. cat., Morlanwelz, 2025. Eds.: CAUCHIES, J.-M. – DOCQUIER, G. Morlanwelz 2025, pp. 243 – 250.

³ D'HAINAUT – ZVENY 2000 (see in note 2), p. 58; DE JONGE, K.: Galleries at the Burgundian-Habsburg Court from the Low Countries to Spain 1430 – 1600. In: *Europäische Galeriebauten: Galleries in a Comparative European Context (1400 – 1800)*. Eds.: KIEVEN, E. – STRUNCK, C. Munich 2010, pp. 73 – 88.

⁴ Van den BOOGERT, B.: Mary of Hungary as Patron of the Arts. In: *Studies on the Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family. The Escorial “Delivery Books” of Philip II. The Post-mortem Inventory of Philip II*. Eds.: CHECA CREMADES, F. – MANCINI, M. Madrid 2020, pp. 171 – 186.

⁵ PARKER, G.: *Emperor. A New Life of Charles V*. New Haven 2019.

⁶ On Margaret, see EICHBERGER, D.: *Leben mit Kunst – Wirken durch Kunst. Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande*. Turnhout 2002; Eadem: A noble residence for a female regent: Margaret of Austria and the ‘Court of Savoy’ in Mechelen, In: *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Ed.: HILLS, H. Aldershot 2003, pp. 25 – 46; Eadem: A Widow of Intellect and Artistic Discernment. Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480 – 1530). In: *Women. The Art of Power. Three Women from the House of Habsburg*. Eds.: HAAG, S. – EICHBERGER, D. – JORDAN GSCHWEND, A. Innsbruck 2018, pp. 25 – 34.

⁷ POLLEROS, F.: *Die Repräsentation der Habsburger (1493 – 1806)*. Petersberg 2023.

⁸ PRINZ, W.: *Die Entstehung der Galerie in Frankreich und Italien*. Berlin 1970; BURY, J. B.: Las ‘galerías largas’. In: *El Escorial. IV Centenario del Monasterio de El Escorial. Las Casas Reales. El Palacio*. Exh. cat. Madrid 1986, pp. 21 – 33.

territories of the Netherlands, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, the systematic collecting and display of portraits became a core instrument of governance, visualizing lineal legitimacy across generations and territories and transforming princely residences into what may be understood as early Habsburg museums of dynastic memory.

Within this culture of visual self-fashioning, Habsburg women played a decisive role. Mary of Hungary and her younger sister, Catherine of Austria, queen of Portugal, stand out for the scale, coherence, and political intentionality of their portrait galleries. Their collections were not ancillary to male authority but central to the articulation of imperial identity, particularly in contexts where female rule or regency required careful negotiation of legitimacy. Through portraiture, these women asserted their positions within the Habsburg dynasty while simultaneously reinforcing the claims of their brother, Charles V, to imperial authority.

As granddaughters of Emperor Maximilian I (1459 – 1519) and nieces of the preceding regent, archduchess Margaret of Austria, Mary and Catherine belonged to a generation of Habsburg women trained to operate as cultural and political agents within a transregional matrix. Placed on foreign thrones through strategically calibrated marriages, they were expected to embody imperial authority while securing dynastic continuity within their adopted realms. Acting as both formal and informal ambassadors, they sustained familial relations through correspondence, diplomatic negotiation, and the ritualized exchange of gifts. Central to these practices was the circulation of portraits, artists, and visual models between Brussels and Lisbon, which consolidated a Habsburg visual lexicon even as it accommodated regional inflexions. Within this system, portrait galleries emerged as spatial instruments; by arranging images of the imperial family within palace interiors, they rendered Habsburg lineage visible while situating it within the architectural and ceremonial environments of female regal power.

Thus, the portrait galleries assembled by Mary of Hungary and Catherine of Austria functioned as more than displays of likenesses. Conceived as visual genealogies and sustained through practices of copying, exchange, and replication, these collections operated as early forms of dynastic *musea*: living archives that preserved and strategically deployed Habsburg identity across political and geographic boundaries. In this sense, portrait galleries formed the institutional scaffolding of what would become a Habsburg visual polity, binding dispersed territories through shared images of lineage and rule. Embedded within ceremonial palace spaces, portrait galleries enabled the continual reassertion of legitimacy, positioning female patronage at the center of transimperial visual culture in the mid-sixteenth century.⁹

The networked nature of these collections is evident in contemporary correspondence and practice. Habsburg art collections were admired by a wide range of visiting dignitaries, courtiers, and foreign ambassadors, while members of the dynasty themselves were experienced travelers and cultivated viewers who took pride in their connoisseurship. In 1534, Ferdinand I (future Holy Roman Emperor) wrote to his sister, Mary of Hungary, about a portrait gallery of ancestors he was assembling at the Hofburg in Vienna. He referred to a likeness of their grandmother, Queen Isabel I of Castile, which he had seen in the Low Countries, possibly the portrait attributed to Juan de Flandes or Michael Sittow that had once hung in the “première chambre” of their aunt Margaret of Austria’s palace in Mechelen, where Ferdinand himself had resided for several years:

“Madam [Mary of Hungary]. So that I may have the effigies of my late lords and ladies, our predecessors, who rest in peace with God, except for the late Queen Dona Isabel [Isabel I of Castile], I beseech you to have her painted and her counterfeit [rendered] from life as candidly as possible and to send it to me, which would very much greatly please me. Vienna, the 2nd of September 1534.”¹⁰

⁹ MARTINDALE, A.: *Heroes, ancestors, relatives and the birth of the portrait*. The Hague 1988.

¹⁰ EICHBERGER, D. – BEAVEN, L.: Family Members and Political Allies: The Portrait Collection of Margaret of Aus-

tria. In: *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 77, 1995, pp. 225 – 248, at p. 235, n. 76; EICHBERGER, D.: Margaret of Austria’s portrait collection: female patronage in the light of dynastic ambitions and artistic quality. In: *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 10, 1996, No. 2, pp. 259 – 279.

By requesting that this image be copied by one of Mary's court painters and insisting that it be rendered "well painted and true to life," Ferdinand underscored the importance of visual fidelity in the replication of portraits. The episode reveals how Habsburg portrait galleries operated as interconnected systems of family memory, in which authoritative likenesses were preserved and reproduced across courts to ensure dynastic ties and genealogical coherence within the imperial family.

Decades later, Ferdinand I again demonstrated a highly controlled approach to portraiture in correspondence addressed to Adam Swetkowitz (Swetkowitz) (1515 – 1573), an imperial chamberlain in the household of his son, Archduke Maximilian II. In March 1563, Ferdinand entrusted Swetkowitz with a carefully specified mission: to locate two bust-length portraits housed in different imperial residences and to oversee their duplication by Maximilian's *Hofmaler* (court painter) and portraitist, Giuseppe

Arcimboldo.¹¹ One of the portraits was a likeness of Ferdinand in armor, a reduced version of a portrait painted by Titian and his workshop in Augsburg in 1548, which at that time hung in the imperial *Kunst-kammer* in Vienna.¹² The second was a portrait of his great-grandmother, Leonor of Portugal (1434 – 1467), wife of Emperor Friedrich III, displayed near the long ceremonial hall of the medieval Habsburg castle at Wiener Neustadt, near Vienna:

"Likewise, in the castle at Wiener Neustadt, in a large, vaulted chamber near the long hall where the coats of arms hang, there is to be found the portrait of Emperor Frederick, of most praiseworthy memory, and that of the late Queen Leonora Augusta of Portugal."¹³

Ferdinand instructed Swetkowitz to supervise the entire process with precision: the portraits were to be removed from their walls, faithfully copied in oil

¹¹ KREYCZI, F: Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k. u. k. Reichs-Finanz-Archiv. In: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vol. 5, 1887, p. XCIII, Reg. 4344.

¹² One copy after Titian in Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, oil on canvas, 90 × 112 cm, Inv. No. P000453. Consult online: <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/fernando-i-de-hungria-y-bohemia/a8b0a629-5ddf-415f-bc65-68601a18c0ad> (accessed 15 March 2026).

¹³ Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungs-, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Alte Hofkammer, Niederösterreichische Kammer, Rote Nr. 39, 16703 (April – June 1563): "To the Most Serene, Most Mighty Roman Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, etc., Most Gracious Lord [Ferdinand I]. Your Imperial Majesty's most gracious command, dated at Innsbruck on the 13th of this month, a copy of which is enclosed herewith under A, I received on the 22nd in most humble obedience. *As Your Roman Imperial Majesty most graciously commands, from Your Majesty's Kunst-kammer here, Your Majesty's likeness on canvas—a bust portrait painted in armour—shall be made. Likewise, in the castle at Wiener Neustadt, in a large, vaulted chamber near the long hall where the coats of arms hang, there is to be found the portrait of Emperor Frederick, of most praiseworthy memory, and that of the late Queen Leonora Augusta of Portugal. Both portraits the Roman King's court painter [Giuseppe Arcimboldo] shall without delay copy in oil colours onto canvas; and once thoroughly dried, he shall send them forthwith, well secured by post, to Your Majesty in most humble obedience. In this matter I have humbly wished to report to Your Roman Imperial Majesty that in the*

Kunst-kammer here there are two likenesses of Your Majesty, entirely similar in form: one made in the year 1548, the other in 1559. Since the Roman King's painter stands ready and will begin daily, and could scarcely finish within fourteen days, and as the said portrait would require several additional days to dry, if Your Majesty should most graciously permit that one of the two existing likenesses be sent, then meanwhile the one which the painter here will complete may be placed in lieu of the one dispatched. Thus the risk of insufficient drying during transport would not need to be feared. Concerning the matter at the castle in Wiener Neustadt, on the 23rd of this month I wrote to Lord Ulrich von Scherfenberg (copy B). He replied to me (copy C), delivered on the 25th of this month by the chamber warden. The said warden reports that near the long hall there are two towers in which vaulted rooms may be located; however, the doors are secured with large locks, and neither he nor Lord Ulrich von Scherfenberg possesses the keys. After much inquiry I finally obtained these keys from the Lower Austrian Chamber, where they were sealed; I also found other keys there that were not sealed. Therefore, the Roman King's Majesty has most graciously appointed Lord Hans von Karling, since he, in the year 1547, had access to the said chamber, to open the chamber together with Lord Ulrich von Scherfenberg, and afterwards to lock it again securely. If he brings the said portrait here, it shall first be copied for greater expedition; and thereafter Your Majesty's likeness may be produced from the portrait that remains here. All this I have wished to communicate to Your Roman Imperial Majesty for fuller and most gracious instruction, and I remain Your Imperial Majesty's most humble and obedient servant. Given at Vienna, 29 March 1563. Your Roman Imperial Majesty's Most humble and obedient servant, Adam Swetkowitz [author's translation and italics]."



Fig. 1: Adriaen de Weerdt or Anonymous Fabriczy: Drawing of the Palace of the Dukes of Brabant at Brussels (Condé Palace), Garden Façade with the Grande Galerie, c. 1570, pen and brown ink, gray-brown wash over a slight sketch in black chalk, 140 × 353 mm. Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris, Inv. No. 2645. Photo: Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris

on canvas by Arcimboldo with the utmost care, and then rehung in their original locations. The completed copies were to be tightly rolled, packed in a metal tube, and dispatched to Tyrol, where Ferdinand intended to install these replicas by Arcimboldo in the Hofburg in Innsbruck.

The surviving correspondence reveals the extent to which, by the end of his reign, Ferdinand had assumed a role akin to that of a modern curator. He commissioned portraits while actively managing their movement, replication, placement, and preservation. More importantly, these letters underscore the significance Ferdinand attributed to portraits of his extended Habsburg ancestors, which he deliberately mobilized across imperial residences to construct, sustain, and spatially distribute dynastic memory.

Mary of Hungary's "Grande Galerie" in Brussels

In 1531, Mary of Hungary took up residence at Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, the seat of Charles V's imperial government, which became her principal residence and the primary site for housing and displaying her collections. As acting regent from 1531, Mary held court at Coudenberg, where state receptions, diplomatic audiences, and courtly entertainments were held. The palace thus functioned

as a residence and centre of political authority, and Mary's interventions in its decoration and spatial organization were informed by an ideological agenda befitting her role as regent and governor of the Low Countries. While she also maintained secondary residences at Mariemont, Turnhout, and Binche (one of the earliest Renaissance palaces in the Low Countries), Coudenberg remained the symbolic and administrative heart of her rule.

Between 1533 and 1537, early in her regency, Mary undertook substantial renovations of Coudenberg Palace to accommodate new living quarters for herself. As part of this campaign, she added, adjacent to her apartment, an imposing gallery, the Grande Galerie (Great Hall), which extended more than fifty meters in length and would become the principal ceremonial and representational space of her regency.

The gallery was articulated in an Italian Renaissance idiom, featuring "antique doors" framed by columns and ornate chimneys, painted between 1539 and 1540 by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, her *peintre de la Roïne* (court painter).¹⁴ Decorated *all'antica* with putti and classical motifs, these architectural and decorative elements underscored the gallery's engagement

¹⁴ DE JONGE 2010 (see in note 3), p. 79.

with antique forms and reinforced its function as a space of cultured display and imperial aspiration. Oriented along the garden façade and built above a vaulted colonnade that resembled an Italian loggia, the gallery was articulated above by fifteen large windows that flooded the hall with light. It connected directly to the palace gardens and the surrounding hunting forest by an independent monumental staircase, as depicted in a pencil drawing attributed to Adriaen de Weerdt, c. 1570 (Fig. 1).¹⁵ Mary's gallery above the colonnade is clearly delineated at the far left. The regent's apartment, to the right of her gallery, was situated within the former lodgings of the Burgundian dukes, the last resident having been Charles the Bold, her great-grandfather. It comprised a suite of four rooms, including a bedchamber, private cabinet, and a small chamber (*salette*) that directly abutted her gallery, underscoring the close physical and symbolic relationship between Mary's private quarters and her representational hall.¹⁶

The Grande Galerie was a multifunctional space. It served as a setting for banquets and ceremonial occasions, and during the winter months, it could be used for exercise. Whenever Charles V visited Brussels during his itinerant reign, Mary staged fêtes, banquets, and tournaments in his honor. More significantly, when the emperor was not engaged in military campaigns or travelling across his far-flung dominions, he continually returned to the Brussels court, where Mary presided over a center of governance and ceremonial representation. One such event took place in the Grande Galerie on 10 December 1545, when a mock combat was staged there. The scale of this space made possible what would otherwise have been unthinkable indoors: a sustained *combat à pieds*

(foot combat) performed before Charles, the regent Mary, and a courtly audience of nobles and ladies. A select group of elite aristocrats, including the counts of Mansfeld and Egmont, entered the gallery clad in full knightly armor, engaging in a choreographed martial display that lasted several hours.¹⁷ The very fact that this could take place within Mary's gallery underscores its monumental dimensions and its role as a site of display, an arena for the enactment of chivalric identity.

Weavings of Splendor and Empire

One of Mary's surviving account books records the furnishings of her gallery, listing a large dining table and chests, and referring to the space as the "grand salle" (Great Hall).¹⁸ Architecturally clear and classically ordered, this hall provided an ideal setting for the display of monumental tapestry cycles.¹⁹ Tapestry collecting, long cultivated at the Burgundian court and actively promoted by her aunt Margaret, became central to Mary's own decorative and political agenda. In addition to inheriting Burgundian tapestry series, Margaret had commissioned major cycles from designers such as Jan van Roome (active 1498 – 1521) and had received important panels from Isabel I of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. Building on this legacy, Mary engaged two of Margaret's artists, Barend van Orley (c. 1487 – 1541) and Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502 – 1550), to design tapestries that would articulate her own vision of dynasty.

At Mary's instigation, van Orley designed two sets of tapestries for Charles V between 1528 and 1533: the celebrated *Hunts of Maximilian* (now in the

¹⁵ Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Inv. No. 2645.

¹⁶ EICHBERGER, D.: Portrait Galleries for the House of Habsburg in the Low Countries. Margaret of Austria in Mechelen and Mary of Hungary in Brussels. In: *Portraiture, Gender, and Power in Sixteenth-Century Art: Creating and Promoting the Public Image of Early Modern Women*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. New York 2024, pp. 121 – 134.

¹⁷ GACHARD, L. P.: *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*. Brussels 1874, Vol. 2, p. 270.

¹⁸ For monies paid Thomas Bouche (*aide de tapissier*) in charge of Mary's tapestries, see Valladolid, Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS), Casa y Sitios Reales (hereafter CySR), leg. 377, 8 (Brussels, 3 August 1556): "Pour faire porter trois grands coffres et autre meubles sur la grand salle [...]" / "To carry three large chests and other furniture into the great hall."

¹⁹ BUCHANAN, I.: The Tapestry Collection of Mary of Hungary. In: *Marie de Hongrie. Politique et culture sous la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas*. Mariemont 2008, pp. 145 – 155. Also CHECA, F.: Les Collections de tapisseries de Marie de Hongrie. In: *Tapisseries Flamandes pour les Ducs de Bourgogne, L'Empereur Charles Quint et le Roi Philippe II*. Exh. cat. Ghent 2008, pp. 192 – 211.

Louvre, Paris), in which the regent herself appears participating in a hunt near Coudenberg Palace; and the *Battle of Pavia* cycle commemorating the emperor's victory over Francis I of France in 1525. Mary's collection encompassed mythological, biblical, and classical narratives: the *Labours of Hercules*, *History of Aeneas*, *History of Vertumnus and Pomona*, *Seven Deadly Sins*, *Cupid and Psyche*, *History of Scipio*, *Moses*, *David*, and *Esther*, among others—subjects that fused antique virtue, moral exemplarity, and allegory. Particularly significant was the figure of Esther, the paradigmatic intercessory queen, with whom Mary could readily identify as regent.²⁰ Mary understood the monumental scale and mobility of tapestry as uniquely suited to political display.

For Mary and Charles, tapestry was the preferred medium for glorifying Habsburg power. These sumptuous textiles were stored in the Coudenberg Palace *garderobe* (wardrobe) and, for specific political and festive occasions, were installed along the walls of the Great Hall.²¹ The allegorical, mythological and religious cycles converted Mary's gallery into a stage for spectacle, aligning Habsburg lineage, imperial conquest, and courtly magnificence within carefully orchestrated spatial programs.

The most significant work of art hung in the Great Hall during Mary's regency was the set of monumental *Conquest of Tunis* tapestries, a propagandistic visual account of Charles's 1535 campaign in North Africa, modeled after cartoons by the court artist, Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen (c. 1503–1559) and woven beginning in 1546.²² The twelve enormous panels were produced under Mary's exacting supervision and produced at immense expense in the Brussels workshop of Willem de Pannemaker (1512–1581). The cycle converted recent imperial history into a triumphal narrative of conquest and divine favor, dramatizing the campaign with striking clarity—depicting the emperor's arrival with his fleet, the defeat

of Ottoman forces, and the liberation of Christian captives. Through their scale, sequencing, and narrative emphasis, the scenes elevated Charles V's military victory into a providential event, aligning imperial action with the defense of Christendom. Installed in the Great Hall (Grande Galerie), the tapestries articulated a visual synthesis of lineage and destiny, presenting the emperor as both a temporal ruler, a crusader and a divinely sanctioned protector of the faith. In this setting, the *Conquest of Tunis* cycle reinforced the gallery's ideological setting, reorienting the space into a coherent narrative of Habsburg authority.

Denis van Caudenberge, Mary's *aide de la tapisserie* (tapestry assistant), was instructed in July 1556 to hang a set of her tapestries in the Great Hall—the *History of Hercules* (stored in the palace's *garderobe*)—together with *verdures* (depictions of nature, foliage, and gardens) taken from her private *salette* (small chamber).²³ Later that same year, Jehan Schootz, Mary's *maître de garderobe*, installed the *Conquest of Tunis* there, too, almost certainly in preparation for the ceremonies surrounding Charles V's abdication, which took place on October 25.²⁴ In these tapestries, Hercules—long appropriated by Habsburg ideology and embedded in the emperor's device of the Twin Pillars with the motto “Plus Ultra”—represented Charles V as a divinely sanctioned laborer of empire, whose trials culminated not in decline but in apotheosis. The Tunis tapestries transformed the Great Hall into a woven eschatology of empire: the emperor's abdication was staged not as renunciation but as the consummation of a divine mission.

Mary deployed these woven narratives as instruments of dynastic statecraft—textile articulations of sovereignty, virtue, and imperial dominion. Suspended beneath the painted portraits of her Habsburg family, the tapestry cycles monumentalized and amplified the genealogical claims staged above them. Portraiture asserted succession; tapestry en-

²⁰ Mary's post-mortem 1558 inventory listed 214 tapestry panels.

²¹ LARUELLE, A.-S.: A New Perspective on Mary of Hungary's Labours of Hercules Tapestries (Patrimonio Nacional, series 23). In: *Mary of Hungary. Renaissance Patron and Collector. Gender, Art and Culture*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. Turnhout 2020, pp. 123–134.

²² For bibliography regarding this series, see JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: Serie La Conquista de Túnez. In: *Flandes en Hispania. Rutas de seda, plata y oro*. Consult online: <https://www.flandesenspania.org/zoomin/zoominViewer.action?id=d2B8mKDmnFGXFsAVtzo5ZY9g> (accessed 30 November 2025).

²³ AGS, CySR, leg. 377, 20 (Brussels, 18 July 1556).

²⁴ BUCHANAN 2008 (see in note 19), p. 155, n. 73.

acted conquest and exemplarity. The Great Hall thus functioned as an integrated diplomatic platform in which woven history and painted lineage operated in deliberate visual concordance. Visitors encountered a stratified concept in which fabric and panel, myth and memory, collaborated to construct imperial authority as both inherited and actively performed. Presiding over this carefully calibrated ensemble was its most consequential spectator, Charles V himself, whose likely approval transformed Mary's decorative objectives from familial homage into an authorized extension of imperial magnificence.

Alessandro Nogarola's 1553 Testimony: The Grande Galerie in Coudenberg Palace as a Ceremonial and Political Space

Although Alessandro Nogarola, courtier and biographer of Mary of Hungary, never names Coudenberg Palace explicitly, nor does he refer to Mary's gallery as such in his *La Vita della serenissima reina Maria d'Austria*, his 1553 account nevertheless provides unusually rich textual evidence for the ceremonial use of a large, fixed, and public interior space in Brussels. The practices he describes correspond closely to what archival and architectural evidence reveal about Coudenberg Palace during Mary's rule, and in particular to her long gallery there.

As acting regent and female representative of the emperor, Mary held court regardless of Charles's presence, maintaining a household of more than 150 individuals and ensuring imperial authority. Nogarola repeatedly specified that Mary's public dinners were not private or domestic affairs but highly ritualized events staged before an elite audience. He noted that she "never eats alone" but dines in the presence of dukes, princes, marquesses, counts, and knights, all served by gentlemen, "with ceremonies more beautiful than those observed either by the emperor or by the king of France."²⁵ The hierarchical arrangement

of participants, the presence of spectators, and the elaborate choreography of service strongly imply a representational, ceremonial space of considerable size, capable of accommodating rank, visibility, and movement, precisely the type of space embodied by Mary's Grande Galerie.

Significantly, Nogarola described how, once the long table was removed, the same space was immediately reconfigured for governance. Mary remained standing to hear petitions and to grant audiences "to all, with the greatest kindness and with incredible patience."²⁶ This seamless transition in the room's function from dining to audience underscores its multifunctional nature. Nogarola stressed the gallery's role as a hybrid space where display, accessibility, and authority converged.

The biographer was equally explicit about Mary's throne-like seating during these audiences, describing her as seated in "majesty" on her *consueta sedia* (a fixed chair-throne, raised on a platform) in a prominent place (*luogo eminente*), flanked symmetrically by knights and captains.²⁷ The vocabulary of elevation, fixity, and symmetry leaves little doubt that this was a permanent ceremonial arrangement. Such descriptions resonate strongly with Burgundian traditions of seated rulership in elongated, axial spaces and help to explain how her gallery functioned as a locus of sovereign visibility.

Nogarola's account further confirms the scale of these assemblies. In his description of a diplomatic gathering in Brussels in 1552, he records that more than three hundred ambassadors were present, listening as Mary delivered a formal oration whose eloquence surpassed that of the president of Brabant.²⁸ The logistical and symbolic requirements of such an assembly again point to the largest ceremonial spaces in the Coudenberg complex, among which the Grande Galerie occupied a central position.

Finally, Nogarola underlined the public accessibility of these events. He remarks that any gentleman,

²⁵ NOGAROLA, A.: *La vita della serenissima reina Maria d'Austria: reina di Ungheria, non meno brevemente che veramente da un cavaliere di sua corte scritta*. Venice 1553, p. 10v. Nogarola's *Vita* of Mary of Hungary first published and studied by JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: Alessandro Nogarola's Rediscovered *Vita* of Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands. In: *Mary of Hungary. Renaissance Patron and Collector. Gender, Art and Culture*.

Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. Turnhout 2020, pp. 59 – 75.

²⁶ Ibidem, pp. 10v – 11.

²⁷ Ibidem, pp. 11v – 12.

²⁸ Ibidem, pp. 11v – 12.

even one not belonging to the royal household, was permitted to enter freely wherever the queen dined in public, and that no one ever left her table without having been personally addressed by her. This controlled openness closely aligns with the gallery's political logic as a space that balances hierarchy with approachability, reinforcing the regent's authority while cultivating loyalty among the elite.

Nogarola's testimony makes it possible to reconstruct the gallery's performative reality. His biography demonstrates that Mary deliberately used a large ceremonial interior at Coudenberg, almost certainly the Grande Galerie, as a stage on which dining, audience, diplomacy, and governance were melded into a single continuum of princely representation. In this sense, Mary's purpose-built hall functioned not merely as a display of high-quality portraits and outstanding tapestry cycles but as a living political instrument in which space, ritual, and authority were inseparably entwined and made legible to elite spectators.

Reconstruction of Mary of Hungary's Collection

Mary's 1558 post-mortem inventory, preserved in the Archivo General de Simancas (and partially published by Alexandre Pinchart in 1856 and Rudolf Beer in 1891),²⁹ permits a reconstruction of the collection she transferred to Spain in 1556.³⁰ Central to this process was Rogier (Roger) Pathie, who entered Mary's service by 1534 after an earlier sojourn at the French court of Francis I. Initially

employed as an organist and harpsichordist in Mary's chapel, he was referred to as *Maistre Rogier Pathie* (1510 – 1565?), a title that reflects both musical distinction and courtly standing. Over the following decades, his responsibilities expanded significantly: by the 1540s, he had become Mary's *valet de chambre* (valet of the chamber), later *premier valet de chambre*, and eventually her court treasurer. He played a key organizational role in putting on major spectacles, such as the festivities at Binche Palace curated by Mary in 1549. He also recruited musicians for the Habsburg court and increasingly assumed financial and administrative oversight of Mary's household and chapel, including supervising expenditures for court festivities, musical venues, and the circulation and movement of her paintings and tapestries between royal residences.

Pathie was very familiar with Mary's collections at Coudenberg Palace. He acquired instruments on her behalf, most notably a spinet purchased in Paris in 1539 for her private chambers,³¹ and was instrumental in managing her departure to Iberia in 1556, overseeing the packing and shipment of portraits, tapestries, musical instruments, furnishings, and other movable property to Laredo, Spain.³² After her death in 1558, he supervised the compilation of her estate inventories and was appointed one of her testamentary executors. He continued his long career at the court of Mary's nephew, Philip II of Spain (1527 – 1598), where he was appointed overseer of the royal palace at Aranjuez.³³ He died in Spain, still in loyal service to his Habsburg patrons.

²⁹ PINCHART, A.: *Tableaux et Sculptures de Marie d'Autriche, Reine Douairière de Hongrie* (1558). In: *Revue Universelle des Arts*, Vol. 3, 1856, pp. 127 – 146. Rudolf Beer (1863 – 1913), a specialist in Romance Languages and former Director of the Manuscripts Collection (Handschriften Sammlung) of the former imperial library (K.u.K Hofbibliothek) in Vienna, conducted a research trip to Spain between 1886 and 1888, working at the Archivo General de Palacio in Madrid and the Archivo General de Simancas near Valladolid. His archival findings were subsequently published in Vienna in two volumes of the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (Vol. 12, 1891 and Vol. 14, 1893).

³⁰ Mary's last will and testament located in the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Vienna) is transcribed by Maxim Hoffman in the Appendix of this volume. A copy in Spanish in Valladolid, AGS, Patronato Real, Testamentos Reales, 31 – 25.

³¹ THOMPSON, G.: *Music in the Court Records of Mary of Hungary*. In: *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, Vol. 34, 1984, No. 2, pp. 132 – 173.

³² For Mary's retirement years in Spain (1556 – 1558), see MARÍN, C. M. M.: "Vida Estrecha" o "Vida Larga": Contemplación, recreo y ostentación en el retiro de María de Hungría en España. In: *Identidades femeninas y su relación con las artes durante la Edad Moderna en España. Aportaciones y Revisiones*. Eds.: ALONSO, J. H. – CANTERA, M. J. R. Madrid 2024, pp. 43 – 58.

³³ For salaries paid Pathie after 1559, see Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Registros, Libros de Cédulas, 2, 1556 – 1565, fol. 188: "El Gobierno de Aranjuez", and Maestro de la Camara, leg. 6723¹, fols. 64 – 65 (Madrid, 15 March 1563) for Pathie's 300 ducats annual pension granted by Philip II.

Pathie's career exemplifies the fluid boundary between artistic, ceremonial, and administrative service within Mary's court and underscores the bureaucratic structures that sustained her cultural agenda, patronage, and supervision of an extensive collection.³⁴

Mary of Hungary's Portrait Collection

No complete inventory of Mary's Brussels collection survives prior to her departure to Spain, and the documentation from her regency remains fragmentary.³⁵ Pathie's detailed post-mortem inventory therefore provides essential evidence for reconstructing the arrangement of portraits, tapestries, objects of art, and furniture in the Grande Galerie and her private chambers prior to 1556.

As the principal setting for official ceremonies and diplomatic audiences, Coudenberg Palace was furnished by Mary with exceptional care.³⁶ Alongside major tapestry cycles celebrating Habsburg history, she displayed paintings by artists active at her Brussels court, including van Orley, Coecke van Aelst, and Vermeyen (all three mentioned above) as well as Michiel Coxcie (1499 – 1592);³⁷ several of them had

previously served her aunt Margaret. Following Margaret's example at the Palais de Savoye in Mechelen, Mary made portraiture the conceptual core of her decorative plans, integrating family likenesses into both the Grande Galerie and her adjoining private apartment.³⁸

After inheriting Margaret's portrait collection in 1531, Mary expanded and reorganized it in the Coudenberg gallery and her private quarters, particularly after the partial destruction of Margaret of Austria's palace in Malines/Mechelen in 1546. Soon after assuming office and initiating its rebuilding, Mary commissioned van Orley to execute a series of eighteen portraits between 1532 and 1535. The group included seven likenesses of Mary herself; four of her late husband, Louis II of Hungary; portraits of Emperor Charles V and their brother Ferdinand I and his wife, Anna of Bohemia and Hungary; and a full-length portrait of her niece, Christina of Denmark, commissioned as a nuptial portrayal to send to eligible European princes.³⁹ Vermeyen entered Mary's service in 1530, when he painted her portrait. Upon her orders, he traveled to the Reichstag in Augsburg to execute portraits of Ferdinand and Anna.⁴⁰ In

³⁴ A cursory overview of Mary's cultural politics in MARÍN, C. M. M.: *La Corte de María de Hungría en Bruselas (1531 – 1555): Un modelo cultural europeo*. In: *IX Congreso Virtual sobre Historia de las Mujeres (15 al 31 de octubre de 2017)*. *Comunicaciones*. Eds.: ESPINOSA, M. C. – CORDERO, J. A. L. Jaén 2017, pp. 529 – 537.

³⁵ Van den BOOGERT 2020 (see in note 4), pp. 171 – 172.

³⁶ RODRÍGUEZ-SALGADO, M. J.: *Captive in a Portrait Gallery. Titian's Portraits of John Frederick I of Saxony (c. 1548 and c. 1551) and the Collection of Mary of Austria, Queen of Hungary*. In: *Portraiture, Gender, and Power in Sixteenth-Century Art. Creating and Promoting the Public Image of Early Modern Women*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. New York 2024, pp. 136 – 162. Rodríguez-Salgado has challenged the view that Mary systematically collected and displayed portraits and tapestries in the Grande Galerie at Coudenberg Palace. Such a position, however, risks narrowing the interpretive frame. It underestimates both the scope and the strategic coherence of Mary's patronage in the Netherlands, where she consciously fostered local artistic industries while shaping a distinctly Habsburg visual language. Taken cumulatively, the archival record—surviving inventories, commissions, payments to painters and tapestry workshops, and references to specific display contexts—alongside the material evidence of extant

works, complicates Rodríguez-Salgado's conclusions. Rather than ad hoc accumulation, these sources point to a deliberate and programmatic orchestration of dynastic imagery within the Coudenberg Palace, in which portraiture, heraldry, and textile cycles operated in concert to articulate lineage, legitimacy, and imperial succession.

³⁷ SORIANO, V. F.: *Michel Coxcie, pintor grato a la casa de Habsburgo*. In: *Archivo Español de Arte*, Vol. 81, June 2008, pp. 191 – 196.

³⁸ EICHBERGER, D.: *Margaret of Austria and the Documentation of her Collection in Mechelen*. In: *Studies on the Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family. The Escorial "Delivery Books" of Philip II. The Post-mortem Inventory of Philip II*. Eds.: CHECA CREMADES, F. – MANCINI, M. Madrid 2020, pp. 109 – 121.

³⁹ For the portraits of Louis II of Hungary and Mary's cult of her husband in the Netherlands, see BÁRÁNY, A.: *Queen Mary of Hungary and the Cult of King Louis II in the Low Countries*. In: *Történetek a mélyföldről. Magyarország és Németalföld kapcsolata a kora újkorban*. Ed.: BOZZAY, R. Debrecen 2014, pp. 362 – 397.

⁴⁰ PINCHART 1856 (see in note 29), pp. 136 – 138.

1545, Coxcie, who had been appointed *schildere der Coninlycke Majesteit* (queen's painter) a few years earlier, painted a set of four portraits depicting Charles, Empress Isabella of Portugal, her sister Eleanor of Austria, queen of France, and Mary herself.⁴¹ While some of these works were intended as diplomatic gifts, others were reserved for display in Mary's public and private spaces in the Coudenberg residence.

Titian and Anthonis Mor

Mary's court attracted some of the greatest portraitists of the sixteenth century. Titian, who was frequently commissioned to portray her family, brought psychological depth to his imperial subjects. With his patrons, Charles and Mary, Titian developed an exemplary Habsburg portrait,⁴² and became their portraitist of choice. His portraits of Charles V and his captive enemies, such as John Frederick I of Saxony (c. 1548 – 1551), were displayed prominently within her collection, reflecting both victory and magnanimity. They conveyed diplomatic meaning, translating captivity into an imperial narrative. Anthonis Mor (c. 1517 – 1577), a Netherlandish artist favored by Mary, was introduced to the Brussels court after 1548 through the patronage of the Habsburg minister Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517 – 1586). Mor became known for his severe and dignified portraits. His precise style provided a counterbalance to Titian's painterliness, reinforcing

Mary's cultivated image as a cultured, discerning patron. Through these commissions, Mary constructed a portrait gallery that combined psychological immediacy and underscored authority.

Between 1548 and 1553, Mary restructured her existing portrait collection into a coherent ensemble designed to hang as a unified group.⁴³ By 1556, she owned forty-five portraits of her immediate family: nineteen by Titian and his workshop, including the monumental equestrian portrait of *Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg* (1548), the centrepiece of the Grande Galerie in Coudenberg Palace, which Mary is thought to have commissioned.⁴⁴ Nine of the portraits were by Mor, with four large-scale portrayals of Austrian archduchesses (Mary's nieces) by Jakob Seisenegger (1505 – 1567), executed at the imperial court in Vienna. The remaining thirty-five were by Guillaume (Willem) Scrots, Jan Vermeyen, Francisco de Holanda, and Lucas Cranach, who painted the celebrated *Hunts of Charles V and John Frederick of Saxony*.⁴⁵ Smaller portraits inherited from her aunt Margaret were redistributed among her residences at Binche, Mariemont, and Turnhout. The Brussels gallery functioned as Mary's primary site of public display.⁴⁶

Like Margaret's gallery at Mechelen, the Coudenberg ensemble projected a carefully calibrated political message. It affirmed Charles V as *pater familias* of the Habsburg dynasty while situating Mary within a transregional network spanning Austria, Germany,

⁴¹ Coxcie paid 35 *écus* for each portrayal. Cf. SORIANO 2008 (see in note 37), pp. 192 – 193, n. 12.

⁴² BODART, D.: *Pouvoirs du portrait sous les Habsbourg d'Espagne*. Paris 2011 (with previous bibliography).

⁴³ Qualified as “Mary of Hungary's Late Portrait Collection,” by RODRÍGUEZ-SALGADO 2024 (see in note 36), pp. 138 – 139 and p. 142, who questions the existence of Mary's dynastic portrait collection and its display in her Grande Galerie.

⁴⁴ AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas (hereafter CMC), 1^a época, leg. 1017, 1558, unfoliated.: “*otro rretrato grande del emperador don carlos nuestro señor armado sobre un cavallo sobre lienço con su caxa grande en que se mete [...]*” / “Another large portrait, on canvas, of Emperor Charles our Lord [Charles V], armed on horseback, with its large box in which it is stored [...].” Of all the Habsburg portraits Mary hung in the Grande Galerie, Titian's largescale portrait of Charles V on horseback had no frame.

⁴⁵ Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, oil on panel, 335 × 283 cm, Inv. No. P002175. AGS, CMC, 1^a época, leg. 1017, fol. 145v: “[...] *una tabla grande pintada quale a una caça y monteria donde estava el emperador nuestro señor Retratado al natural con su ballesta y el duque de saxonia e otros de Flandes [...]*” / “a large painted panel depicting a hunt and hunting scene where our lord the emperor [Charles V] is portrayed true to life with his crossbow with the Duke of Saxony and others from Flanders [...].” Consult online: <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/caceria-en-el-castillo-de-torgaunen-honor-de/bae46ca1-6c17-40cf-bc65-8db73353a8ea?searchid=81b7a68e-5e3d-b490-6e85-02735344b924> (accessed 30 November 2025).

⁴⁶ EICHBERGER, D.: Like Aunt like Niece? Assessing the value of Margaret of Austria's collection for Mary of Hungary. In: *Mary of Hungary. Renaissance Patron and Collector. Gender, Art and Culture*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. Turnhout 2020, pp. 43 – 57.

Spain, and Portugal. Uniform in format and scale, with gilded wooden frames, her three-quarter- and full-length portraits of family members were intended to be read collectively, forming a visual genealogy of lineage, alliance, and imperial permanence.⁴⁷ The Grande Galerie was not a static display but a diplomatic and political theatre. Ambassadors, aristocrats, and foreign envoys were conducted through it during official ceremonies presided over by Mary, while her portraits, suspended above monumental tapestries, unfolded in a ritualized sequence that reinforced Habsburg legitimacy.⁴⁸ Through the calculated orchestration of expansive space, light (emanating from fifteen windows), and visual progression, the gallery functioned as an instrument of power.

The gallery's reach was further extended through the inclusion of portraits of Mary's sister, Catherine of Austria, and members of the Portuguese royal family, painted by Mor during his stay at the Lisbon court in 1552.⁴⁹ These five works recorded in Mary's 1558 post-mortem inventory not only reinforced familial bonds but also exemplified the circulation of artists, images, and visual strategies within the Habsburg network. Inspired by Mor's visit, his portraits, and the Coudenberg gallery itself, Catherine would subsequently establish a comparable dynastic portrait gallery at the Portuguese royal palace in Lisbon (the Paço da Ribeira), demonstrating how Mary's gallery in Brussels served both as a political instrument and as a model for transregional Habsburg self-representation.

Mary's portrait by Titian, painted during the Reichstag of Augsburg in 1548 and known today only



Fig. 2: After Titian: Portrait of Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Low Countries, after 1548, oil on canvas, 125.7 × 112 cm (with frame). Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, Inv. No. PE 243. Photo: Legs Emile Peyre, 1905

through copies, occupied a central position within the Grande Galerie (Fig. 2).⁵⁰ Since the death of her husband, Louis II of Hungary, at Mohács in 1526, Mary had adopted the austere dress of perpetual widowhood: a white silk veil and bonnet framing her face, and a voluminous black mohair overcoat,

⁴⁷ PINCHART 1856 (see in note 29), p. 140: “*Todos los retratos de lienzo, que sucesivamente se han inventoriado, tienen sus molduras de por sí de madera, de ellas doradas, é otras por dorar, excepto el retrato grande del emperador nuestro señor, que este no tiene molduras*” / “All the portraits on canvas, which have been successively inventoried, have their own wooden frames, some gilded, others unglided, except for the large portrait of our lord the emperor [Emperor Charles V on Horseback], which has no frame.”

⁴⁸ FRASER JENKINS, A. D.: Cosimo de Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 33, 1970, pp. 162 – 170; DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, T.: The Representational Role of the Collection in Diplomacy. In: *Variations on the Imperial Theme: Studies in Ceremonial, Art, and Collecting in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II*. New York 1978, pp. 103 – 118.

⁴⁹ JORDAN, A.: *Retrato de Corte em Portugal. O legado de António Moro, 1552 – 1572*. Lisbon 1994.

⁵⁰ Paris, Musée des Art Décoratifs, oil on canvas, 125.7 × 112 cm (with frame), Inv. No. PE 243. Cf. AGS, CMC, 1^a época, leg. 1017, fol. 143v: “*Cargasele mas otro Retrato de la Reyna Maria de Ungeria con su tocado e vestido que traya de ordinario, becho sobre lienço, por Tiçiano [...]*” / “Another Portrait of Queen Maria of Hungary, on canvas, with her headdress and dress that she usually wears, by Titian,” and PINCHART 1856 (see in note 29), p. 139, No. 5, who consulted a copy (dated before 1856) of Mary's 1558 post-mortem inventory in Archivo General de Simancas at the Archives générales du Royaume in Brussels.

lined in winter with sable or ermine. In her portrait, positioned in front of a column, she aligned herself visually with Charles V's emblem of the twin columns of Hercules, situating her authority within the emperor's ideological framework.⁵¹ By consciously adapting the widowed self-fashioning of her aunt Margaret, Mary reactivated an established Habsburg visual formula to assert her legitimacy as regent. The portrait projects not passive mourning but disciplined authority—an image of female governance grounded in dynastic fidelity and political resolve.⁵²

As a female regent in a male-dominated political culture, Mary was required to negotiate multiple, often conflicting roles. She achieved authority through cultural patronage and the strategic management of visual representation. Charles recognised her acumen in state and financial matters, granting her an exceptional degree of autonomy and entrusting her with the governance of the Low Countries for nearly twenty-five years. The confidence, discipline, and pride reflected in Titian's portrait attest to this authority.⁵³ It is therefore not surprising that Titian became Mary's favored painter, and that by 1558 her post-mortem inventory recorded multiple large-scale portraits of prominent Habsburg figures by Titian and his workshop.

The Coudenberg gallery thus established a template for subsequent Habsburg displays of works of art and tapestries, demonstrating how visual culture could be strategically mobilized to assert imperial claims and the legitimacy of female rule. In doing

so, it articulated an imperial language of power grounded in antiquity, genealogy, and myth.

Private Spaces

Mary's gallery in Coudenberg Palace extended far beyond a series of family likenesses in her representative hall.⁵⁴ She actively relocated and recontextualized paintings throughout the palace, while tapestries were moved from site to site, carried in a *malle de tapisserie*—a specially designed leather case.⁵⁵ Her collection permeated her private apartments, where paintings were hung on walls, arranged on tables and shelves, or carefully stored in chests and caskets within her *cabinet* (study). Twenty-one folders of tapestry cartoons, preparatory designs for major cycles and other projects, large and small, including Coxcie's *petits patrons*—smaller designs for weavings—were recorded in her 1558 inventory, while watercolors and drawings of Roman antiquities, such as Trajan's Column, formed part of a treasured corpus kept close for study and contemplation.⁵⁶

Her small but select collection of antiquities, likely to have been displayed in these rooms, underscored her engagement with mythology and ancient Rome: marble heads of children, bronzes of male and female nudes, a mounted horse with a nude rider, a bronze Scipio Africanus, a colossal bronze hand, a bust of the Emperor Hadrian, and an alabaster replica of the Hellenistic *Spinario*. These objects inserted classical *exempla* directly into her domestic sphere.⁵⁷

⁵¹ For Mary's taste for sumptuous clothes and jewels, see JORDAN GSCHWEND 2020 (see in note 25), pp. 74–75.

⁵² EICHBERGER, D. – JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: Portrait of Mary of Hungary. In: *Women. The Art of Power. Three Women from the House of Habsburg*. Eds.: HAAG, S. – EICHBERGER, D. – JORDAN GSCHWEND, A. Innsbruck 2018, p. 124, cat. 3.6.

⁵³ For Mary's patronage of Titian, see the essay by Charles Hope in this volume.

⁵⁴ Mary's artistic inheritance from her aunt Margaret has yet to be thoroughly investigated.

⁵⁵ AGS, CySR, leg. 377, 8 (Brussels, 3 August 1556): “*Pour deux homme qui ont porte et raporter pluissent tableaux en court a pluissent fois*” / “For two men who carried and brought several paintings to court, several times;” one chest moved from the Grande Galerie to the first floor the Coudenberg Palace:

“*Pour faire porter ung coffre de la grant salle en bas*”; and “*Item pour garder, porter et rapporter d'une lieu a aultre une malle de tapisserie*.”

⁵⁶ AGS, CMC, 1^a epoca, leg. 1017, fol. 141v: “*Dos emboltorios de papeles de pintura que dix que heran de la coluna de Trajano [...]*”; and fol. 142v: “*Cargansele mas reynte e uno emboltorios de papeles para patrones de tapiçeria y otras cosas grandes y pequenos [...]*.”

⁵⁷ AGS, CMC, 1^a epoca, leg. 1017, fol. 145v: “[...] *un hombre desnudo de bulto hecho de alabastro que se esta sacando una espina del pie [...]*” / “[...] a naked man, a sculpture made of alabaster, removing a thorn from his foot.” Cf. ESTELLA MARCOS, M.: El mecenazgo de la reina María de Hungría en el campo de la escultura. In: *Carlos V y las artes: promoción artística y familia imperial*. Eds.: ZALAMA, M. A. – CANTERA, M. J. R. Valladolid 2000, pp. 282–322; Eadem: Las Cuentas del Tesorero Roger Pathie y otros documentos. Esculturas y antigüedades de María de Hungría y los Jardines de Aranjuez. In: *Archivo Español de Arte*, Vol. 395, 2001, pp. 239–256.

Genealogies, heraldic devices, and coats of arms of Savoy, France, Burgundy, and England, executed on canvas, parchment, and paper, articulated claims of lineage and alliance within a carefully structured framework.⁵⁸ Traversing media, geography, and chronology, they bound Burgundian, Habsburg, French, English, and Spanish lineages into a dense visual genealogy that extended well beyond the confines of the Grande Galerie.

Sculpture further amplified this rhetoric of authority: a marble bust of Eleanor of Austria, queen of France, by Jacques de Dubroeuq;⁵⁹ a bronze of Francis I; and a relief of Charles V attributed to Leone Leoni.⁶⁰ Wax portrait medallions of French monarchs signaled Mary's attentiveness to Valois politics. Together, these works transformed Mary's spaces into three-dimensional memory, deliberately bringing contemporary rulers and classical antiquity into dialogue.

Dwarfs occupied a recognized role within Habsburg court culture as figures of amusement and ceremonial performance, and their portraits were regularly commissioned to record and memorialize their place within the House of Habsburg. Mary's

collection comprised portraits of favorites. Two of a dwarf couple by Jan Gossaert and a wooden bust of her grandfather Emperor Maximilian I's beloved jester, Conrad van der Rosen, were inherited from her aunt Margaret.⁶¹ Another depicted a female jester, *a loca*, named Elisabeth, from the Viennese court of Mary's brother Ferdinand and his wife Anna. These images documented the intimate social fabric of court life in Brussels and across other Habsburg courts.

Inherited works included Jacopo de' Barbari's portrait of Margaret in widow's weeds; a gold and enamel likeness of Jean, duke of Berry; Burgundian diptychs; a panel portrait of Catherine of Aragon, possibly by Michael Sittow; Coxie's *David and Goliath*; and Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Portrait*—among Mary's most prized possessions.⁶²

Vermeyen's preparatory drawings for the *Conquest of Tunis* tapestries, together with his nine paintings from 1548 commemorating Charles's victories over John Frederick of Saxony, reframed his recent military campaigns into enduring triumphs.⁶³

Geography and global expansion likewise served imperial self-representation. Maps, city views, and territorial surveys visualized legal authority across

⁵⁸ AGS, CMC, 1^a epoca, leg. 1017, fol. 146v.

⁵⁹ AGS, CMC, 1^a epoca, leg. 1017, fol. 143v: “*Cargasele mas un rretrato dela Christianissima Reyna de Francia Madama Leonor becha de marmol blanco ded bullo de medio cuerpo arriva puesta sobre un pedestal escrito Leonor becha por Maestre Jacob escultor*” / “Another portrait of the Most Christian Queen of France, Madame Leonor, made of white marble, a half-length sculpture placed on a pedestal inscribed, *Leonor*, made by Master Jacob [Jacques], sculptor.” – DIDIER, R.: *Jacques Dubroeuq sculpteur et maître-artiste de l'empereur (1500/1510 – 1584)*. Mons 2000.

⁶⁰ CUPPERI, W.: Des réseaux plutôt que des ethnies La place des portraits de souverains dans les anciens Pays-Bas. In: *Marie de Hongrie* (see in note 2), pp. 251 – 257 (with previous bibliography).

⁶¹ AGS, CMC, 1^a epoca, leg. 1017, fol. 1v: “[...] otro retrato de la loca de la rreyna Ana de Ungria [...]” TREMAYNE, E.: *The First Governess of the Netherlands: Margaret of Austria*. London 1908, p. 306, No. 14 (1524): “*Item delivré audit garde-joyaulx depuis cest inventoire fait, la pourtraicture des nayns et nayne du Roy de Danemarque faicte par Jehann de Maubeuge, fort bien fait*” / “Item. Delivered to the Keeper of Jewels since this inventory was taken, a portrait of the dwarf couple of the King

of Denmark, [Christian II] painted by Jean de Maubeuge, very well done;” and p. 323, No. 235: “*La portraiture du feu Conralt, fol de l'empereur [Maximilian I], taillé en bois*” / “The portrait of the late Conrad, the emperor's jester, carved in wood.” Consult online: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1845-0809-1372 (accessed 30 November 2025).

⁶² EICHBERGER 2020 (see in note 46), pp. 54 – 55. AGS, CMC, 1^a epoca, leg. 1017, fol. 145v: “[...] *mas una tabla grande con dos puertas con que cerrava y en ella un hombre e una muger que se tomaban los manos con un espejo en que se muestran los dos / hombre e muger y en las puertas las armas de Don Diego de Guevara [...]*” / “Another large panel with two doors that close, and inside a man and a woman holding hands with a mirror in which the two of them are shown, and on the doors, the coat of arms of Don Diego de Guevara.”

⁶³ AGS, CMC, 1^a epoca, leg. 1017, fol. 142v: “[...] *nueve lienços pintada que es la presa que hizo el emperador nuestro senior al Duque de Sajonia [...]*” Vermeyen's twelve life-size cartoons, 1-to-1 templates made for the Brussels weavers in Willem Pannemaker's workshop, are located in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, 1546 – 1550, paper on canvas, charcoal, and gouache, height 385 × length varying from 662 to 1145 cm, inv. nos. 2038 – 2047.

dispersed Habsburg lands; four of these were by Vermeyen—“portraits” depicting London, Madrid, Naples, and Valladolid.⁶⁴ Charts and chronicles of the Portuguese conquests, together with exotica sent from the Lisbon court, extended Habsburg identity into overseas spaces.

Beyond the Grande Galerie itself, Mary’s collection functioned as a multilayered archive—classical, genealogical, military, and global—through which imperial authority and female regency were articulated across interconnected spaces. The Coudenberg gallery stood at its center, but the broader ensemble demonstrates how visual culture could construct a coherent representation of power rooted in antiquity, lineage, and conquest.

Sisterhood at a Distance: Dynastic Exchange between Brussels and Lisbon

The logic that structured the Coudenberg gallery did not remain confined to Brussels but extended across Habsburg Europe through Mary’s sustained artistic dialogue with her sister, Catherine of Austria. Their relationship served as a crucial axis between the Low Countries and Portugal.⁶⁵ They never met in person, since both women were raised in different countries. Mary grew up in Low Countries (along with her siblings Eleanor, Charles, and Isabella) under the care of her aunt Margaret; but Catherine, the youngest child, was raised in Spain by their mother, Joanna I of Castile. Archival documentation in Lisbon demonstrates that the sisters maintained regular correspondence, exchanging views on governance, court ceremonial, artistic patronage, and collecting.

Their epistolary relationship functioned as a substitute for physical proximity: through letters, portraits, and diplomatic gifts, they constructed what might be termed a “virtual courtly encounter,” linking Brussels and Lisbon within a shared dynastic culture.

Material exchange was central to this relationship. During the 1550s, Catherine intensified her artistic exchange with Mary, whose tapestry collection at Coudenberg Palace rivaled and superseded that of Charles.⁶⁶ Their shared commitment to Flemish tapestry production is documented in a remarkable thirty-four-page report sent from Brussels in 1551 by Catherine’s agent and valet, Francisco Carneiro. Acting under Mary’s guidance, Carneiro recorded major purchases while listing the weavers, dealers, and workshops recommended by the regent. Through these transactions, the sisters cultivated a remarkable artistic dialogue: Mary, whose own Grande Galerie integrated monumental tapestry cycles into a selective decorative scheme, served as Catherine’s intermediary in the Netherlands, granting her access to the leading German merchant-financier, Lazarus Tucher in Antwerp, and the tapestry weaver-dealer, Cornelis de Ronde, in Brussels. In that single year, Catherine acquired twenty-nine panels, including the cycles *Esther*, *Abab*,⁶⁷ and *Solomon*, depicting subjects that closely paralleled the biblical and genealogical themes woven into Mary’s decorative scheme in Brussels.

The sisters’ parallel efforts to acquire the *History of Aeneas* tapestry series further reveal this shared visual strategy. Carneiro had been dispatched from the Lisbon court to obtain the prestigious cycle, as Mary had recommended, only to find that it had entered

⁶⁴ PINCHART 1856 (see in note 29), p. 145.

⁶⁵ JORDAN, A.: Patterns of Patronage among Habsburg Queens, Regents and Princesses. In: *The Development of Catherine of Austria’s Collection in the Queen’s Household: Its Character and Cost*. PhD Thesis. Providence, R.I. 1994, pp. 417 – 431; EICHBERGER, D.: Options and Choices. New Insights into the Most ‘Important’ 16th-Century Habsburg Women. In: *Beiträge zur Repräsentation der Casa de Austria. Frühneuzeit-Info*, 2024, pp. 1 – 12.

⁶⁶ JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: The Manufacture and Marketing of Flemish Tapestries in Mid-Sixteenth Century Brussels. Two Habsburg Patrons and Collectors: Mary of Hungary and Catherine of Austria. In: *Ao Modo de Flandres. Disponibilidade*,

Inovação e Mercado de Arte na Época dos Descobrimentos (1415 – 1580). Eds.: GARCÍA GARCÍA, B. – GRILLO, F. Lisbon 2005, pp. 91 – 113; Eadem: *Verdadero Padre y Señor*: Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal. In: *Studies on the Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family. The Escorial “Delivery Books” of Philip II. The Post-mortem Inventory of Philip II*. Eds.: CHECA CREMADES, F. – MANCINI, M. Madrid 2020, pp. 194 – 200.

⁶⁷ One panel (*King Abab preparing for battle*) of Catherine’s *Story of Abab* cycle, comprising 9 panels purchased in Brussels in 1551, recently sold on the art market. See JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: *Metaphors of Princely Rule. Magnificent Flemish Tapestries at the Lisbon Court*. In: <https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2024/royal-noble/king-ahab-preparing-for-battle-a-flemish-old?locale=en> (accessed 30 November 2025).

Mary's collection shortly before her departure for Spain in 1556. This convergence suggests not rivalry but coordination: both sisters recognized Aeneas as a powerful emblem of lineage, *pietas*, and imperial destiny, central to Habsburg mythography.⁶⁸ Just as the Coudenberg gallery articulated the consolidation of power through portraiture and tapestry, Catherine sought to transpose this imperial language to Lisbon. Tapestry thus operated as a woven extension of the Brussels gallery—a transregional platform through which the sisters collaboratively articulated ancestry, regal power and political legitimacy across geographically distant courts.

Catherine's own patterns of patronage, particularly her marked preference for Flemish painters, tapestries, and craftsmen, mirror models long established by Mary in the Low Countries. This alignment was reinforced by Catherine's early exposure to the substantial holdings of Flemish tapestries and objects owned by their mother, Joanna I of Castile, at Tordesillas, which provided a template for her collecting practices rooted in Netherlandish production.⁶⁹

Mary's 1558 post-mortem inventory provides concrete evidence of this transnational exchange with her younger sister. Catherine also dispatched exotica to Brussels, sourced through Portugal's Asian

trade networks. These gifts were not curiosities, but politically charged artifacts embedded in the structures of global empire.

That inventory records an extraordinary concentration of overseas luxury goods: Indian, Ceylonese, Gujarati, and Far Eastern objects, which were probably housed in Mary's private apartment at the Coudenberg residence. Among the items identifiable as Catherine's gifts were a Ceylonese ivory casket containing a jasper stone believed to stanch bleeding;⁷⁰ a tortoiseshell fan and a silver incense burner from India; Gujarati mother-of-pearl caskets and tables;⁷¹ Chinese or Japanese lacquer boxes;⁷² a painted ivory gaming board; a rhinoceros-horn cup, the first carved Chinese Ming vessel recorded in northern Europe;⁷³ a nautilus shell from the Indian Ocean; and a mounted coconut.⁷⁴ Such luxury artifacts, circulating through Portuguese global trade routes, introduced Asian material culture directly into the ceremonial spaces of the Brussels court.

These objects performed several functions simultaneously. They advertised Portugal's maritime reach and signaled Catherine's access to global resources; and, once displayed in Brussels, they enhanced Mary's prestige within the imperial court hierarchy and her Habsburg family. The possession of Asian rarities aligned Mary with Iberia's overseas expansion,

⁶⁸ TANNER, M.: *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor*. New Haven 1993.

⁶⁹ JORDAN, A.: Portuguese Royal Collecting after 1521: The Choice between Flanders and Italy. In: *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, Ed.: LOWE, K. J. P. Oxford 2000, pp. 265 – 293; JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: Juana de Castilla y Catalina de Austria: La formación de la colección de la reina en Tordesillas y Lisboa. In: *Juana I de Castilla, 1504 – 1555. De su reclusión en Tordesillas al olvido de la Historia. I Simposio Internacional sobre la Reina Juana de Castilla. Tordesillas (Valladolid), 23 y 24 de Noviembre 2005*. Ed.: ZALAMA, M. A. Valladolid 2006, pp. 143 – 171.

⁷⁰ This rare, now lost, casket was gifted to Mary after the historic visit of an embassy from Ceylon to the Lisbon court in 1542. – *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon: Luxusgüter für Katharina von Habsburg (1507 – 1578)*. Exh. cat. Eds.: JORDAN GSCHWEND, A. – BELTZ, J. Zurich 2010.

⁷¹ Lisbon, Direção-Geral do Livro, dos Arquivos e das Bibliotecas (hereafter DGLAB), Torre do Tombo (hereafter TT), Núcleo Antiga (hereafter NA), 792, 1542, fol. 161: “10,800

reais em compra de hun cofre de madre perola guarneçido de prata forrada de çetim carmesim que foy entrege em maos da Rainha nosa senhora / “10,800 reais for the purchase of a mother-of-pearl casket, mounted with silver lined with crimson satin, which was delivered to the Queen our Lady [Catherine].” This casket recorded in AGS, CMC, 1ª época, leg. 1017, fol. 170v: “[...] una caixa de nacar de yndias con la guarñion e çeradura de plata blanca con quatro bolicas sobre que stava con su tapador de lo mismo e su asa de plata blanca [...]” / “a mother-of-pearl casket with silver mounts and lock, with four balls upon which it stood, with its lid of the same [mother-of-pearl] and its handle of silver.”

⁷² AGS, CMC, 1ª época, leg. 1017, fol. 170v: “Un cofre de yndias pintado de oro e negro [...]” / “One casket from India [probably Japan] painted gold and black.”

⁷³ JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: A Masterpiece of Indo-Portuguese Art: The Rhinoceros Cup of Maria of Portugal, Princess of Parma (1538 – 1577). In: *Oriental Art*, Vol. 46, 2000, pp. 48 – 58 (with previous bibliography).

⁷⁴ Mary's exotica from the Lisbon court are cited in respective entries in AGS, CMC, 1ª época, leg. 1017.

even though her political authority was exercised in the Low Countries. Through Catherine's gifts, she participated in Portugal's global economy. And the exchange was ideologically reciprocal. Mary's established modes of display—her systematic use of portraiture, tapestries, and curated interiors to articulate lineage and authority—provided Catherine with a template for queenly self-fashioning in Lisbon. Thus, the sister relationship was structurally formative: it facilitated the circulation of objects, artists, and models of representation across Habsburg territories. In this way, their “virtual encounters” produced a shared visual and political language that bound Brussels and Lisbon into a coherent dynastic network, mediated through female agency and the material culture of empire.

Projecting Presence: Portraiture between Lisbon and Brussels

Mary of Hungary and Catherine of Austria shared a sustained engagement with portraiture as a medium of political presence. For two sisters who never met in person, painted likenesses functioned as instruments of intimacy and authority.

In this context, the Portuguese theorist and painter Francisco de Holanda (c. 1518 – 1585) assumed a central role. Holanda grew up in the close circles of Catherine's court and under her patronage; there he wrote the earliest known treatise on portraiture in the sixteenth century, *Do Tirar polo Natural (On Portraiture, 1549)*, conceived as a supplement of eleven dialogues to his first treatise, *Da Pintura Antigua (On Ancient Painting, 1548)*.⁷⁵ In this treatise, Holanda articulated a theory of portraiture grounded in direct observation. He underscored portraiture not only as mere likeness but as the truthful rendition of princely dignity, outlining how a painter should approach portraiture and how a sitter should be portrayed from life. Portraits, he debated, were intended to honor and immortalize

people of outstanding social, intellectual, or moral worth; they not only provided the princely or royal owner with a visual family genealogy but also served as suitable exemplars for imitation and association.⁷⁶ Portraits were intended to inspire the owner to match the achievements of those represented.⁷⁷ Holanda repeatedly praised Titian's portraits in his treatise, particularly his ability to invest imperial, royal, and princely sitters with majesty and dignity—an achievement admired and debated at the Lisbon court

In 1549, Alonso Sánchez Coello (1531 – 1588), a painter raised at the Portuguese court, was dispatched to the Low Countries by King John III of Portugal (r. 1521 – 1557) and Catherine of Austria, supported by a royal subsidy to refine his training with Anthonis Mor in Antwerp and Brussels. This deliberate movement of artists between Lisbon and the Low Countries signals more than professional advancement; it reveals a coordinated investment in the highest standards of court portraiture. Encouraged by the close connections between the two sisters, such exchanges strengthened artistic and family ties between their courts. Mary, a discerning connoisseur of portraiture, would almost certainly have been attentive to developments in Lisbon, while Catherine, cognizant of her sister's cultivated eye and extensive gallery, commissioned Holanda to paint her likeness expressly for dispatch to Brussels. Holanda's portrait of Catherine thus emerged within a transnational framework of artistic ambition, imperial representation, and sisterly exchange.

At the palace of Almeirim, between October 1550 and January 1551, Holanda began to execute the full-length portrait of Queen Catherine—now lost, although archival records make it possible to reconstruct its sumptuous material presence. The canvas was accompanied by a gilded, varnished wooden frame, crafted under Holanda's supervision and probably designed by him in a Renaissance (Italianate) style. Green-and-gold silk taffeta cur-

⁷⁵ BURY, J. – JORDAN GSCHWEND, A. – BAPTISTA PEREIRA, F. A. *On Portraiture (Do Tirar polo Natural)*. Francisco de Holanda. London 2026.

⁷⁶ ALVES, J. F.: *Francisco de Holanda. Do Tirar polo Natural*. Lisbon 1984, p. 41.

⁷⁷ Paolo Giovio's portrait collection at Como, the model for later sixteenth-century portrait galleries, originated from the literary tradition of the histories of famous men (*uomini illustri*). – JOOST-GAUGIER, C. L.: A Rediscovered Series of *Uomini Famosi* from Quattrocento Venice. In: *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 58, June 1976, pp. 184 – 195; STARN, R. – PARTRIDGE, L.: *Arts of Power. Three Halls of State, 1300 – 1600*. Berkeley 1992, pp. 9 – 80.

tains (green being the color of majesty during the Renaissance) were sewn by her tailor, António Lopes, and hung in front of the painting on a gilded iron rod with ten rings made by the court gilder, Simão Dias. A protective leather travel case lined with green Castilian velvet cloth was also prepared to ensure the portrait's safe transportation to Flanders.

Queen Catherine's meticulous coordination, with all arrangements overseen by Holanda, indicates that the portrait was intended to convey status, underscoring her visual authority and her position within her immediate Habsburg family. This carefully assembled ensemble reveals her ambition, with every detail designed to make an impression at its unveiling and to secure a prominent place in Mary's portrait collection. Holanda's portrait was monumental in scale, measuring approximately two meters high and more than one meter wide.⁷⁸ The luxurious velvet curtains staged protection and performance simultaneously.

Months in the making, the portrait was finally dispatched to Brussels in 1551. Her gesture was calibrated. Mary, an exacting patron and avid collector of portraits, had assembled an extensive gallery of Habsburg portraits in the Netherlands. Catherine's life-size image, painted *ad vivum* (from life), inserted the Portuguese queen into Mary's dynastic display, which already counted Mor's five state portraits of her and the Portuguese royal family, painted in 1552 (mentioned above). Through this exchange, the Lisbon and Brussels courts were symbolically aligned, and Catherine's corporeal presence was twice projected into Mary's political space.

Holanda's life-size portrait was recorded in Mary's 1558 inventory when she transported her collection to Spain, confirming its integration into her holdings, although the painting has since disappeared.⁷⁹ Its reception cannot be reconstructed; yet

Catherine's decision to give Mary such an elaborate and theoretically informed portrait suggests confidence in its success. This sisterly exchange unfolded amid a broader transformation of Habsburg court portraiture, shaped by the prestige of masters such as Albrecht Dürer, van Orley, Vermeyen, Cranach, Seisenegger, Titian, and Mor, whose formulations of sovereign presence set the international standard. In this context, Catherine's portrait was more than a familial token: it was a consciously theorized and materially sumptuous image that projected her power across geographic distance. Through it, likeness operated as a proxy, a diplomatic gift, and an assertion of Catherine's Habsburg legitimacy—an image through which two courts and two sisters sustained a visual and theoretical dialogue.

Anthony Mor and the Queen's Gallery in the Paço da Ribeira Palace

In mid-sixteenth-century Europe, portraiture functioned as a critical instrument of identity, political alliance, and princely virtue. While Italian courts and the Low Countries had long cultivated sophisticated traditions of portrait display, Portugal consolidated a sustained and codified court portrait culture only after the arrival of Mor in 1552.⁸⁰ At the centre of this shift stood Catherine of Austria, whose establishment of a portrait gallery in the Paço da Ribeira Palace signaled an intentional program of dynastic representation.

Catherine's gallery, installed in her Sala da Rainha—a hall rebuilt for her by King John III between 1534 and 1540, smaller than the Grande Galerie at Coudenberg—was located adjacent to her private quarters. It emerged from the convergence of royal ambition, artistic innovation, and intellectual theory.⁸¹ Mor's presence in Lisbon as a portraitist,

⁷⁸ JORDAN 1994 (see in note 49), p. 159, cat. 15.

⁷⁹ AGS, CMC, 1ª época, leg. 1017, fol. 145: “Cargasele mas al dicho rrogier patie otro retrato de la rreyna de Portugal dona Catalina hermana del Emperador don Carlos entero hecho en lienço questava metido en una caixa aforrada en terciopelo verde [...]” / “To the said rrogier patie another full length portrait of the Queen of Portugal Doña Catalina, sister of the Emperor Don Carlos, on canvas, stored in a box lined with green velvet.” PINCHART 1856 (see in note 29), p. 141: “34. *El retrato de la reina de Portugal doña*

Catalina, hermana de nuestro emperador, entero, hecho en lienço, por Francisco de Olanda, metido en una caja aforrada en terciopelo verde.”

⁸⁰ JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: O Manierismo e o retrato da corte em Portugal: as fontes, as inovações e a importação de um estilo. In: *A Pintura Manierista em Portugal. Arte no Tempo de Camões*. Ed.: SERRÃO, V. Lisbon 1995, pp. 114 – 121.

⁸¹ The precise measurements of Catherine's hall were not recorded during her reign, but the adjacent king's hall, the Sala

together with Francisco de Holanda's theoretical discourses, elevated portraiture beyond representation to an articulation of majesty. In its stylistic discipline, ideological coherence, and spatial organisation, Catherine's gallery marks a foundational moment in Iberian court culture and a forceful expression of female agency within the Habsburg world.

Yet Catherine's spatial politics predated Mor's arrival. Her collection of mythological and religious tapestries, most acquired in the Low Countries with Mary's intervention, hung throughout the private and public rooms of her apartment, most prominently in the Sala da Rainha, a feminine ceremonial space reserved for banquets, receptions and fêtes. The decoration of this hall reflected the queen's own objectives and iconographic program, suggesting that the arrangement of her quarters was tailored to her political and representational needs. An eyewitness to the wedding festivities of her niece Infanta Maria of Portugal to Alexander Farnese in 1565, which were celebrated in Lisbon in the Paço da Ribeira Palace,⁸² described Catherine's "rich and fine panels with diverse ancient and modern stories" covering the walls from top to bottom, while the queen's hall was recorded as having been "richly decorated with tapestries made of gold, silver and silk."⁸³ The effect was immersive and total.

The iconography of Catherine's tapestries articulated a language of imperial and heavenly rule consonant with claims of succession by the Avis and Habsburg dynasties. Scenes of *Romulus and Remus* invoked the founding of empire; a smaller set of the *Conquest of Tunis* series recalled the Habsburg triumph over Islam; the *Months of the Year* signaled

dominion over time and nature; panels from the *History of Trajan* emphasized the dispensation of just rule; and the *Spheres* series presented Catherine and John III as joint rulers of a celestial and terrestrial order.⁸⁴ Through this collection, and through the adjoining rooms housing her treasury of exotica and curiosities from Asia and the Far East, Catherine fashioned a *Kunstkammer* that rendered her global rule materially immersive.

Mary of Hungary did not just collect dynastic imagery; she organized and activated it. By means of the Grande Galerie and her strategic display of authoritative likenesses, she converted portraiture into an instrument of governance. In doing so, she assumed the role not only of patron but of architect, constructing a Habsburg visual polity that stabilized the dynasty's identity and projected imperial authority across mid-sixteenth-century Europe.

Catherine's strategies closely align with those cultivated by her sister Mary in Brussels. Both queens mobilized architecture, textile cycles, and portraits to transform their residences into arenas of political stagecraft. While Mary curated dynasty and lineage within the Grande Galerie at Coudenberg, Catherine articulated imperial cosmology within the Sala da Rainha. Rather than a simple transmission from north to south, their relationship underscores a shared and mutually reinforcing vocabulary of Habsburg female rulership, developed in parallel courts yet calibrated to distinct ceremonial environments.

Mor's arrival in 1552 further intensified this transregional dialogue. He was commissioned by Mary as part of a diplomatic exchange to portray the Portuguese royal family, operating as a conduit

Grande, built by King Manuel I (r. 1498 – 1521), measured 22.7 metres in length and 12.1 metres in width, suggesting that Catherine's hall, though perhaps smaller, was nevertheless expansive enough for the display of large-scale tapestries and portraits. – JORDAN, A.: *Portuguese Royal Collections (1505 – 1580): A Bibliographic and Documentary Survey*. Master's Thesis. Washington, D.C. 1985, p. 37, n. 18: "[...] *ffazer as obras abaixo declaradas: saber-a obra [...] dos paços da Ribeira da cidade de Lisboa, as varandas, sala, e escada, capela, e casas da Rainha* [Queen Catherine] *sobre todas muito amada e presada molher [...]*" / "[...] to carry out the works declared below: to know, the work [...] of the Ribeira Palace in the city of Lisbon, the balconies, hall [Sala da Rainha], staircase, chapel, and houses [apartment] of the Queen [Catherine], my, above all, much-loved and esteemed wife [...]."

⁸² D'HAINAUT – ZVENY 2000 (see in note 2), p. 58.

⁸³ An eyewitness from the Parma court, described Catherine's quarters in a letter to Prince Farnese. – BERTINI, G.: *Le Nozze di Alessandro Farnese. Feste alle corti di Lisbona e Bruxelles*. Parma 1997, p. 79: "L'appartamento era ricchissimamente addobato di tappezzeria d'oro, di argento e di seta;" JORDAN, A.: *A rainha colecionadora: Catarina de Áustria*. Lisbon 2017, pp. 161 – 185.

⁸⁴ For Catherine tapestries, see JORDAN GSCHWEND 2020 (see in note 66), pp. 194 – 200 (with previous bibliography). For the Spheres, see JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: Hércules sostiene la esfera celeste. In: *Flandes en Hispania. Rutas de seda, plata y oro*. Consult online: <https://www.flandesenhispania.org/zoomin/zoominViewer.action?id=3nFhbxxVf3vm-9PdV0MKDx8fP> (accessed 30 November 2025).

between Brussels and Lisbon, and translating a codified Habsburg portrait idiom into an Iberian context. His portraits of Queen Catherine, King John III, and their family articulated a disciplined and austere visual language consonant with ideals of majesty and authority already cultivated within the wider Habsburg sphere. Painters active at the Lisbon court, including Sánchez Coello, Jooris van der Straeten, and Cristóvão de Morais, absorbed and disseminated Mor's models across the peninsula, embedding Portugal more firmly within an international court aesthetic.

The transformation was swift. By 1558, twenty-nine state portraits of Habsburg and Avis relatives were recorded in Catherine's inventory, and more than fifteen of them, executed by Mor, were three-quarter length. They signaled not just accumulation but the deliberate consolidation of a structured dynastic gallery in the Lisbon palace, with their arrangement probably having been under Mor's guidance (Fig. 3). Two particularly significant works were listed: portraits of Charles V and Mary of Hungary. The two sisters were thus intentionally—if only virtually—present at one another's courts, their portraits serving as surrogate bodies within parallel dynastic theatres. The inclusion of the emperor and Mary, portrayed as *Regente de Flandes* ("Regent of the Low Countries"),⁸⁵ indicates that Catherine's gallery functioned as a visual articulation of imperial Habsburg governance, materializing a network of female regency that bound Lisbon to Brussels within a shared political imaginary.

Between 1530 and 1532, Seisenegger (a Viennese court painter mentioned above) executed two early

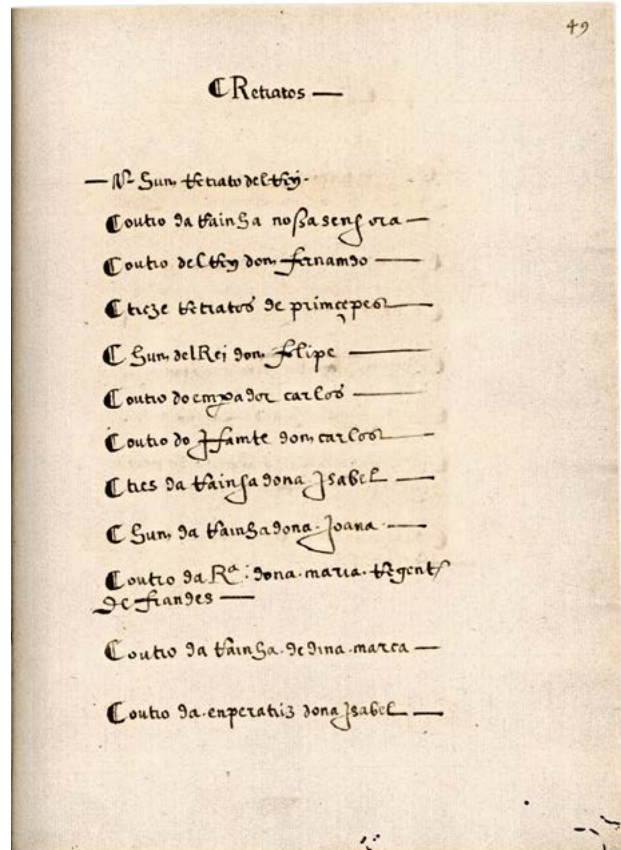


Fig. 3: Anonymous: Inventory of Catherine of Austria's Portrait Gallery, Lisbon Royal Palace (Paço da Ribeira), 1558, ink and paper. *Direção-Geral do Livro, dos Arquivos e das Bibliotecas, Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Códices e documentos de proveniência desconhecida, CF 56, fol. 49. Photo: Public Domain*

portraits of Charles.⁸⁶ In 1531, he painted one version, measuring approximately 222 by 111 cm, that

⁸⁵ Author's translation. Cf. JORDAN GSCHWEND 2020 (see in note 66), pp. 191 – 192; and Lisbon, DGLAB, TT, Códices e documentos de proveniência desconhecida, CF 56, fol. 49: “Retratos. *Hun retrato del Rey* [King John III, Anthonis Mor]; *Otro retrato da Rainha Nossa Senhora* [Catherine of Austria, Anthonis Mor]; *Otro del Rey Dom Fernando* [Ferdinand, King of the Romans, Jakob Seisenegger?]; *Trezze retratos de Principes* [13 portraits of Avis princes and princesses]; *Otro do Principe Dom Felipe de Castela* [Prince Philip of Spain, Titian or Anthonis Mor?]; *Otro do Emperador Carlos* [Charles V, Jakob Seisenegger]; *Otro do Infante Dom Carlos* [Prince Carlos of Spain, Anthonis Mor or Alonso Sánchez Coello?]; *Tres da Rainha Dona Isabel* [Isabel I of Castile]; *hum da Rainha Dona Joana* [Joanna I of Castile]; *Otro da Rainha Dona Maria, Regente de Frandes* [Mary of Hungary, Titian or Anthonis Mor?];

Otro da Rainha de Dinamarca [Isabel of Austria, Queen of Denmark, Jan Gossaert?]; *Otro da Emperatriz Dona Isabel*, Empress Isabella of Portugal, Titian?].”

⁸⁶ This monumental portrait, now in the collection of the Marquess of Northampton (Castle Ashby, England), depicts Charles V, full-length, standing within an ornate architectural setting, dressed in black Spanish attire. Charles does not wear the Order of the Golden Fleece, nor is he portrayed here as Holy Roman Emperor, but as King of Spain, *Rex Hispaniae*, according to the inscription, with short hair and beard he adopted after his 1530 coronation. The Ashby portrait may be the same once in Catherine's Lisbon gallery. – BODART 2000 (see in note 42), pp. 7 – 24; MATTHEWS, P.: Jakob Seisenegger's Portraits of Charles V, 1530 – 32. In: *The Burlington*

was sent to the Portuguese queen.⁸⁷ Catherine's replica thus introduced the first full-length royal image of Charles to circulate in Iberia after his coronation in Bologna in 1530. Seisenegger's format was innovative in the Habsburg context. The life-size standing figure, articulated through emphatic vertical lines and a courtly costume, reconfigured the emperor's body into a site of imperial rhetoric.⁸⁸ No longer a prince, Charles was presented as an embodied axis of authority. By acquiring this image so early in her reign, Catherine did more than demonstrate filial loyalty and her cult of the emperor; she positioned the Lisbon court within the emerging visual language of Habsburg imperality. The portrait functioned as both political proxy and ceremonial presence, aligning the Portuguese monarchy with the emperor's newly consolidated image as Holy Roman Emperor.

From Brussels to Lisbon: Dynastic Memory and Imperial Projection

The deaths of Charles V and Mary of Hungary in 1558 did not diminish their authority within Catherine's Lisbon gallery; instead, their portraits assumed heightened commemorative and dynastic force. In the Sala da Rainha, they functioned as posthumous guarantors of imperial legitimacy, stabilizing succession and transforming her gallery into a site where

memory was not passive remembrance but an active instrument of Habsburg projection.

It is not documented when Mary's portrait as "Regent of the Low Countries" entered Catherine's collection in Lisbon. Her 1558 inventory does not record the names of painters. Whether the likeness derived from a work by van Orley or Vermeyen, or from a replica after Titian's 1548 imperial portrait type (see Fig. 2), remains unresolved. One might also consider whether Anthonis Mor painted a now-lost image of Mary at the Brussels court. Mor's documented presence in Portugal in 1552 raises the plausible—though unproven—possibility that he conveyed Mary's likeness to Lisbon, perhaps as a diplomatic gift from the regent to her sister.

The scribe who redacted Catherine's 1558 inventory appears to have recorded the portraits according to their hierarchical placement in the queen's hall, the Sala da Rainha. The sequence began with the Portuguese monarchs, King John III and Queen Catherine,⁸⁹ and continued with thirteen portrayals of their children and immediate kin. At the compositional and dynastic centre stood Emperor Charles V, visually anchoring the display. He was flanked nearby by his heir, Philip II, and to his immediate left by his grandson and namesake, Infante Prince Carlos, thereby articulating vertical succession across three generations of Habsburg rule.⁹⁰

Magazine, Vol. 143, February 2001, pp. 86–90. A comparable Seisenegger version of Charles, c. 1530, in Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, oil on canvas, 205 × 127.5 cm, Inv. No. 10018673. Consult online: https://www.patrimoniounacional.es/microsites/retratos/obras_principales.htm (accessed 15 March 2026).

⁸⁷ First recorded in Catherine's 1545 inventory in Lisbon, DGLAB, TT, NA, 754, fol. 121: "*Otra figura que vnyo de Flandes de homen que dise que es el Rey en un rretablo grandè*" / "Another figure [portrait] sent from Flanders of a man said to be the King [Charles V as King of Spain] in a large frame." Cf. JORDAN GSCHWEND 2020 (see in note 66), pp. 191–192.

⁸⁸ For another Seisenegger depiction of Charles V in court costume with his hunting dog, see Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, 1532, oil on canvas, 203.5 × 123 cm, Inv. No. GG A114. Consult online: <https://www.khm.at/kunstwerke/kaiser-karl-v-1500-1558-mit-seinem-englischen-wasserhund-1777> (accessed 30 November 2025).

⁸⁹ Mor's signed and dated portrait of John III in Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, oil on Baltic oak panel, 101 × 81 cm, Inv. No. 08481. Inscribed: *Anthonis Mor faciebat 1552*. Consult online: <https://www.museolazarogaldiano.es/fondos/joao-iii-rey-de-portugal> (accessed 30 November 2025).

⁹⁰ Catherine's portrait of Prince Philip was likely a replica of the first portrayal Anthonis Mor painted of her nephew in Antwerp in 1549, one version of which is in London, Royal Collection Trust, oil on panel, 98.2 × 66.5 cm, Inv. No. RCIN 406044. Consult online: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/27/collection/406044/phillip-ii-1527-1598-king-of-spain> (accessed 30 November 2025). The full-length portrait of Philip's son, Infante Carlos, aged seven, taken by Anthonis Mor in Toro (Spain) in early 1552, is now lost. It was listed for the first time in Philip II's unpublished 1553 wardrobe (*guardaropa*) inventory in Valladolid, AGS, Consejo Real de Castilla (CRC), 761, 3, unfoliated: "*Un Retrato del señor ynfante don Carlos todo entero*." It should be noted here that Philip also owned in 1553 a replica of Mary of Hungary's 1548 portrait by Titian: "*Un Retrato de la Reyna Maria*." See Fig. 2 above.



Fig. 4: Francisco Zuzarte: *View of the Lisbon Royal Palace (Paço da Ribeira) with the Torreão (Tower, far left) and Queen Catherine of Austria's former hall (in yellow box), before 1755, pen and ink on paper, 55 × 84.5 cm. Present whereabouts unknown. Photo: Public Domain*

The next tier comprised three portraits representing the emperor's matrilineal forebears: Isabella I of Castile (grandmother) and Joanna I of Castile (mother). Their inclusion underscored the dynastic consolidation effected by Joanna's marriage to Archduke Philip the Fair in 1496, through which the Burgundian-Habsburg line acquired the Spanish crowns after 1500. Catherine's arrangement thus rehearsed a genealogical argument: legitimacy was grounded in Trastámara inheritance as much as in Burgundian patrimony.

The portrait of Mary of Hungary was placed next to that of her mother, Joanna, a queen she barely knew, followed by those of her elder sister, Isabella of Austria, queen of Denmark, who died prematurely in 1525, and by Charles's consort, Empress

Isabella of Portugal. This sequence condensed three generations of Habsburg women into a single dynastic axis, aligning maternal lineage, sibling alliance, and imperial marriage within Catherine's Lisbon setting. The portrait of Empress Isabella, probably derived from Titian (whose prime version is preserved in the Museo del Prado), thus bookended this succinct royal and imperial Avis-Habsburg configuration.⁹¹ In doing so, it did more than complete a genealogical sequence: it visually stabilized Catherine's gallery through a female Habsburg continuum that bound Castile, Burgundy, Portugal, and the Low Countries into a coherent dynastic composition.

The Sala da Rainha, embedded at the core of the Lisbon residence and delineated here within the yellow box (Fig. 4), extended outward to a covered

⁹¹ Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 1548, oil on canvas, 98 × 117cm, Inv. No. P000415. Consult online: [https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/la-emperatriz-is-](https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/la-emperatriz-is)

[abel-de-portugal/d4eddf35-c76c-4c11-8f2b-099f7b71d696?-searchid=9d00a323-982a-4e07-4f5f-7e5ba478c93b](https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/la-emperatriz-is-abel-de-portugal/d4eddf35-c76c-4c11-8f2b-099f7b71d696?-searchid=9d00a323-982a-4e07-4f5f-7e5ba478c93b) (accessed 30 November 2025).



Fig. 5: *Antonis Mor: Portrait of Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal, 1552, oil on panel, 107 × 84 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Inv. No. P002109. Provenance: 1552, Portrait Gallery of Catherine of Austria, Lisbon Royal Palace; after 1580, Collection of Philip II of Spain, Alcázar Royal Palace, Madrid. Photo: Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado*

loggia with eight columns—the *varanda da Rainha* (queen’s balcony). This elevated terrace, with a staircase leading to the ground floor, commanded expansive views over the Tagus River waterfront—the aquatic gateway to Portugal’s maritime empire—and across the vast palace square, the *Terreiro do Paço*, Lisbon’s principal urban stage. The spatial articulation is significant. The queen’s interior portrait gallery did not terminate at its enclosing walls; it projected symbolically into the civic and imperial landscape.

⁹² Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, oil on panel, 107 × 84 cm, Inv. No. P002109. The portrait was recently restored and cleaned by the Prado Museum’s Conservation Laboratory, a treatment that has substantially clarified Mor’s handling. The removal of discoloured varnish and surface accretions has restored chromatic depth and tonal modulation, revealing

From this liminal threshold between the chamber and the city, dynastic imagery in the *Sala da Rainha* was visually and conceptually aligned with the arteries of overseas commerce and with ceremonies of royal authority performed in the square below. Yet Catherine’s gallery did more than replicate Brussels. If Mary spatialized genealogy to stabilize dynastic continuity in the Netherlands, Catherine expanded that logic within a maritime and imperial monarchy whose claims extended across continents. Lisbon did not only receive a Habsburg model; it recalibrated it within a global horizon.

Together, the galleries of Brussels and Lisbon reveal not a hierarchy of influence but a network of sisterly courts. Through architecture, tapestry, portraiture, and display, Mary and Catherine each fashioned settings in which lineage became spatial, memory visible, and performed power materially present. Their projects demonstrate that female agency operated through sustained visual conversation across Habsburg dominions.

Constructing a Habsburg Visual Polity

On 22 September 1552, Catherine of Austria paid 500 *crúzados* to Mor, sent from Flanders by her sister Mary, to paint the Portuguese royal couple and their family from life. The commission marked a decisive shift in Portuguese royal imagery. Before Mor’s arrival, royal portraiture in Lisbon had been episodic; afterwards, it was standardized. His elevated three-quarter format, dark background, and restrained symbolism established a durable visual grammar of power that would serve as the official prototype for the Portuguese crown.

Catherine’s portrait (now in the Museo del Prado; Fig. 5) articulates authority through minimal signs: the green velvet-covered table as surrogate throne, the folded parchment as emblem of governance, the Habsburg-eagle-shaped belt clasp and Asian gemstones as markers of imperial reach.⁹² Even

the artist’s precise articulation of Catherine’s physiognomy, the dense gold embroidery of her black velvet gown, and the calculated interplay between material opulence—her dynastic heirloom jewels and imported gemstones—and dynastic restraint that structures the portrait’s authoritative presence. The painting evidently held a prominent place in the

the trompe-l'oeil fly (a *musca depicta*), on the queen's handkerchief (at the lower left), which functions simultaneously as memento mori and an assertion of Mor's artistic mastery, reinforces the intellectual sophistication of the image.⁹³ After 1552, Catherine permitted no deviation from this likeness. Mor's portrait became a fixed policy: a stabilized construct of queenship.⁹⁴

Read alongside Mary's own self-fashioning, most notably her 1548 portrait by Titian, and her visual program at the Coudenberg Palace, Catherine's image reveals something larger—it exposes a system. Across Brussels and Lisbon, portraiture formed the structural armature of royal authority, binding geographically distant courts into a coherent language of power. By “visual polity,” the author refers to the structured system of images, spaces, and rituals through which dynastic identity was projected across territories.

In November 1565, the Avis-Farnese-Habsburg union, first celebrated earlier that spring in the Lisbon Paço da Ribeira Palace, was consummated at the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, where the banquets and festivities were staged in the Grande Galerie.⁹⁵ The choice of setting was intentional. For decades, Mary's gallery functioned as a dynastic theatre, a space architecturally and pictorially structured to monumentalize Habsburg lineage and authority.

Celebrating an Avis marriage within that milieu was to inscribe the Portuguese alliance into the visual rhetoric of imperial continuity. The two halls were symbolically linked through Habsburg matrimony—Lisbon and Brussels connected not only by blood but by space. Catherine's Sala da Rainha and Mary's Grande Galerie operated as parallel stages of dynastic representation, each transforming architecture into a medium of political kinship. This marriage bridged courts materially and symbolically, binding two curated environments into a shared language of dynastic spectacle.

Conclusion

In reassessing the Grande Galerie at the Coudenberg and the Sala da Rainha at the Paço da Ribeira Palace, this study demonstrates that Habsburg portrait galleries were not ancillary embellishments to princely residences but constitutive instruments of rule. Through architecture, tapestry, portraiture, and the calibrated choreography of ceremony, Mary of Hungary and Catherine of Austria reconfigured domestic interiors into theaters of dynastic permanence. Their galleries spatialized genealogy, rendered lineage visible, and staged Habsburg governance as both inherited and enacted. Operating at a distance yet in sustained dialogue, the two sisters consolidated

Coudenberg gallery and would have made a powerful impression within Mary's dynastic display. I thank María Antonia López de Asiáin, Maite Jover de Celis and Alejandro Vergara for permission to study the portrait in person in early February 2026. Consult online: <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/la-reina-catalina-de-austria/1c4821f2-d46b-4222-bc98-cfa57745b203?searchid=7e108227-e92f-85dd-a483-b5ec57229346> (accessed 10 February 2026).

⁹³ JORDAN 1994 (see in note 49), pp. 31 – 47; FERINO-PAGDEN, S. (ed.): *Musca Depicta. There is a Fly on the Painting*. Milan 2024.

⁹⁴ Anthonis Mor kept large and small copies of his Habsburg portraits in his Brussels workshop, which were replicated and sold on demand, providing him extra sources of income. In January 1560, the Portuguese resident ambassador in Spain, Francisco Pereira, requested Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle acquire for him a replica of Mor's 1552 portrait of Queen Catherine, which Granvelle sent to Iberia through the Spanish merchant in Flanders, Antonio del Río. For the minute

of Granvelle's letter to Pereira, Madrid, Real Biblioteca de Palacio, II/2188 (Granvelle Archive), Antwerp, 30 January 1560: “*Illustrissimo Señor. Yo mande hazer luego aquel retratto que Vnestro Signoria desseava de la Serenissima Reyna de Portugal y se ha entregado empacado entre tablas y cubierto con encerado por que no se gaste por el camião por el Señor Antonio del Rio aqui en Enveres para que el le encamine a Vnestro Signoria con esta mi carta / y pues vee que aunque ausente, me he acordado de servirle en esta por ello juzgara que tengo gana y voluntad para hazer [...]*” / “Most Illustrious Sir. I ordered that portrait which your Lordship desired of the Most Serene Queen of Portugal [Catherine] to be made, and it has been delivered packed between boards and covered with wax cloth so that will not damage during transport. Given to Antonio del Rio in Antwerp, so that he may send it to Your Lordship with this letter of mine.” I am grateful to Maxim Hoffman for this reference.

⁹⁵ LICHTERT, K.: The Wedding of the Century and the Brussels Album. In: *Margaret Duchess of Parma. The Emperor's Daughter between Power and Image*. Exh. cat. Ed.: LICHTERT, K. Oudenaarde 2024, pp. 102 – 109.

a Habsburg visual polity that bound Brussels and Lisbon within a coherent language of authority while adapting it to distinct political environments. Their galleries became exempla for subsequent generations of Habsburgs, shaping the collecting and display strategies of their niece, Joanna of Austria (1535 – 1573), princess of Portugal, and their nephew, Philip II of Spain, whose dynastic portrait collections were later installed in the Descalzas Reales Convent in

Madrid and the royal hunting lodge at El Pardo.⁹⁶ Female regency in this context was not accommodation within a masculine structure of power; it was a force in the construction of imperial identity. Through the patronage and political acumen of these two women, the Habsburg portrait gallery became an enduring architecture of memory through which the dynasty, empire, and rule were made manifest across a transimperial world.

Empire in Portrait Mary of Hungary’s “Grande Galerie” and the Transimperial Crafting of Habsburg Identity

Summary

Between 1531 and 1555, during her regency in the Low Countries, Mary of Hungary established Brussels as a significant centre of Habsburg dynastic authority. Central to this transformation was Coudenberg Palace, where the grand ceremonial hall—later known as the Galerie des Empereurs—integrated governance, ritual, and representation. The hall (Grande Galerie) functioned as a throne room, council chamber, diplomatic reception space, and portrait gallery. As regent for her brother, Emperor Charles V, Mary was engaged in continual negotiation, and, in the emperor’s absence, the gallery of family portraits reinforced her supremacy. When presiding over meetings or receiving ambassadors beneath these portraits, her governance appeared rooted in hereditary legacy rather than temporary delegation. The visual impact of the gallery was complemented by luxurious tapestries from the Burgundian and imperial collections, made and chosen for ceremonial occasions. These tapestries depicted sacred narratives, heroic exploits, conquests,

and imperial triumphs. Their grand scale and costly materials created an atmosphere that communicated divine favor and strength. During diplomatic negotiations, the tapestries highlighted themes of deliverance and moral fortitude, while for celebrations or military events, they emphasized Habsburg victories and ambitions.

However, the ceremonial hall was more than an exhibition space; it also served as an active political arena. Councillors convened for policy deliberations, and foreign envoys followed prescribed routes during formal visits. The room’s design orchestrated these interactions. The spatial arrangement, the placement of Mary’s throne, and the organization of portraits all articulated the prevailing political hierarchy, with the regent occupying the central position. Mary demonstrated considerable skill as both patron and curator. Archival records confirm that she was personally involved in the selection and arrangement of the works of art. Through this, Mary transformed dynastic imagery into an effective instrument of governance.

⁹⁶ Juana inherited Mary’s portrait collection in 1558. JORDAN GSCHWEND, A.: Affection, Identity, and Representation: Juana of Austria’s Portraits and Portrait Collection in the

Descalzas Reales Convent. In: *The Making of Juana of Austria. Gender, Art and Patronage in Early Modern Iberia*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. Baton Rouge 2021, pp. 252 – 288.

The influence of Mary's gallery extended beyond Brussels. Her sister, Queen Catherine of Austria, established a comparable dynastic portrait gallery in Lisbon's Paço da Ribeira Palace. The parallels between them indicate that both women played significant

roles in disseminating the dynastic style of display across disparate territories. Their galleries fostered a sense of unity within the large Habsburg territories, and by employing recurring portraits and formal ceremonies, they connected their diverse domains.

Ríša v portréte „Grande Galerie“ Márie Uhorskej a transimperiálne formovanie habsburskej identity

Resumé

Medzi rokmi 1531 a 1555, počas svojho regentstva v Nizozemsku, Mária Uhorská ustanovila Brusel ako významné centrum habsburskej dynastickej autority. Jej ústredným prvkom bol Coudenbergský palác, kde veľká slávnostná sieň – neskôr známa ako Galéria cisárov – spájala vládu, rituály a reprezentáciu. Sieň slúžila ako trónna sála, zasadacia miestnosť, priestor pre diplomatické recepcie a portrétna galéria. Ako regentka svojho brata, cisára Karola V., bola Mária zapojená do neustálych rokovaní a v cisárovej neprítomnosti galéria rodinných portrétov upevňovala jej štatút habsburskej regentky. Keď pod týmito portrétmi predsedala stretnutiam alebo prijímala veľvyslancov, jej rozhodnutia sa javili ako zakotvené skôr v dedičnom odkaze ako v dočasnom delegovaní moci. Vizualný dojem galérie dopĺňali luxusné tapisérie z burgundských a cisárskych zbierok, vyhotovené a vybrané na slávnostné príležitosti. Tieto tapisérie zobrazovali posvätné príbehy, hrdinské činy, dobytia a cisárske triumfy. Ich veľkolepý rozmer a drahé materiály vytvárali atmosféru, ktorá vyjadrovala božskú priazeň a moc. Počas diplomatických rokovaní tapisérie zdôrazňovali témy vyslobodenia a morálnej statočnosti, zatiaľ čo pri oslavách alebo vojenských udalostiach oslavovali víťazstvá a ambície Habsburgovcov.

Slávnostná sieň však bola viac než len výstavným priestorom; slúžila aj ako aktívna politická aréna. Radní sa stretávali na politických rokovaníach a zahraniční vyslanci sa počas formálnych návštev riadili predpísanými trasami. Dizajn miestností tieto interakcie riadil. Priestorové usporiadanie, umiestnenie Máriinho trónu a organizácia portrétov vyjadrovali prevládajúcu politickú hierarchiu, pričom regent zastával ústredné postavenie. Mária preukázala značné danosti nielen ako patrónka, ale aj ako kurátorka. Archívne záznamy potvrdzujú, že sa osobne podieľala na výbere a usporiadaní umeleckých diel. Vďaka tomu Mária premenila dynastickú symboliku na účinný nástroj riadenia. Vplyv Máriinej galérie siahal aj za hranice Bruselu. Jej sestra, kráľovná Katarína Rakúska, založila porovnateľnú dynastickú portrétnu galériu v lisabonskom paláci Paço da Ribeira. Paralely medzi nimi naznačujú, že obe ženy zohrali významnú úlohu pri šírení dynastického štýlu zobrazovania naprieč rôznymi územiaми. Ich galérie podporovali pocit jednoty v rámci rozsiahlych habsburských území a používaním opakujúcich sa portrétov a formálnych rituálov spájali ich vzdialené domény.

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Mary of Hungary and Binche Palace Strategic Collecting and the Politics of Display

Ingrid CIULISOVÁ

Abstract

This article examines Mary of Hungary's policy of acquiring works of art for Binche Palace during her governance of the Low Countries from 1531 to 1555. The main focus is on Rogier van der Weyden's painting *The Descent from the Cross*, the most admired work in the collection, and a key example. An analysis of the painting and the historical record reveals that Mary selected it and other pieces—which demonstrate her interest in the natural world and precious materials—not merely for their aesthetic value or her personal taste, but because these objects held significance for the Habsburgs. This approach sheds light on her important yet underexplored role as a temporary curator of her family's collections.

Keywords: Mary of Hungary, Binche Palace, Habsburg collections, works of art, Rogier van der Weyden, materials, nature

Introduction

In 1530, Margaret of Austria, duchess of Savoy and the first female regent of the Low Countries, died. Emperor Charles V (1500 – 1558) then appointed his younger sister, Mary, dowager queen of Hungary (1505 – 1558), as her successor. In her new role, Mary oversaw numerous artistic projects that promoted the Habsburg family in the Low Countries. Unlike her predecessor, Margaret of Austria (1480 – 1530), and her successor, Margaret of Parma (1522 – 1586), she distinguished herself through significant contributions to both military and civilian architecture in the region. Notable civilian projects she supervised included Coudeberg Palace in Brussels, the former seat of the dukes of Burgundy; the Château of Mariemont, a hunting lodge; the Château of Turnhout; and Binche Palace, her country residence and the focus of the present study. While the architecture of these buildings has been studied, less attention has been given to the works of art acquired for them. Binche Palace, one of the earliest Renaissance palaces in the Low Countries,

held particular significance for the Habsburgs, as it hosted festivities introducing the future Philip II of Spain, Charles V's son and heir, to the elite nobility of the Low Countries. An examination of the works of art amassed for this palace, particularly Rogier van der Weyden's painting *The Descent of the Cross*, could therefore expand our knowledge of Mary's acquisition policies. It would clarify her process of selecting works of art and precious materials and, through this, her motivations for those policies. First, however, it is essential to take a closer look at her financial resources at the time—a topic often marginalized in existing scholarship but crucial to her activities as a collector and patron.

Mary of Hungary and Her Financial Sources

In 1515, an important event took place in Pressburg (now Bratislava): negotiations for the double royal weddings of two grandchildren of Maximilian I of the House of Habsburg (1459 – 1519), King of the Romans and Holy Roman Emperor. This was

part of the First Congress of Vienna, a pivotal diplomatic meeting at which Maximilian I and the Jagiellonian kings (Vladislaus II of Hungary/Bohemia and his brother Sigismund I of Poland) solidified their alliance against the Ottoman threat. It culminated in an agreement outlining strategic marital unions between the two houses. The final document, signed in Vienna, stipulated that Louis, son of Vladislaus II, was to become Maximilian's adoptive son and marry Maximilian's granddaughter, Mary, while Anna, his sister, was to marry one of Maximilian's grandsons, either Ferdinand or Charles, thereby securing the Habsburg inheritance in Central Europe.¹

The marriage of Mary of Austria to Louis II (1506 – 1526), king of Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia, was solemnized and blessed in 1522 in Buda (now part of Budapest).² After the wedding, King Louis granted her a vast array of rights and estates as part of the dowry for Hungarian queens, in accordance with a long-established customary law. As a result, Mary gained direct access to valuable natural resources, including salt mines in Maramureş (now in northern Romania and western Ukraine) and lucrative mining centres in present-day Slovakia—Kremnica (German name Kremnitz/

Hungarian name Kőrmöcbánya), Banská Štiavnica (Schemnitz/Selmecebánya), and Banská Bystrica (Neusohl/Besztercebánya)—rich in gold, silver, and copper.³ Upon her coronation as queen of Bohemia on June 1, 1522, she received additional properties traditionally given to Bohemian consorts as part of their dowries.⁴ These assets—including land north of Hungary (the present-day Slovak territories)—made her one of the largest landowners in the kingdom, providing financial independence and security, especially important if she should become a widow.

After King Louis II's tragic death at Mohács in 1526, Mary supported her brother, Ferdinand I of Austria (1503 – 1564), in his claims to the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia against rival claimants, such as John Zápolya (1487 – 1540), the counter-king of Hungary from 1526 to 1540, and Suleiman I, the Ottoman sultan.⁵ In the divided kingdom, she served as regent on Ferdinand's behalf, albeit briefly. Once she moved to the Low Countries, she began to reclaim her Hungarian properties. Correspondence from the 1530s reveals that Ferdinand used Mary's properties to strengthen his position while presenting himself as her protector against the estates of

¹ FRIMMOVÁ, E.: Cisársko-kráľovská svadobná zmluva z roku 1515. In: *Politický zrod novovekej strednej Európy. 500. výročie narodenia Ferdinanda I. – zakladateľa habsburskej monarchie*. Ed.: BAĎURÍK, J. Bratislava 2005, pp. 62 – 73; MAJOROSSY, J.: The Town of Pressburg and the Royal Summit in 1515. In: *Das Wiener Fürstentreffen von 1515. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Habsburgisch-Jagiellonischen Doppelvermählung*. Eds.: DYBAŠ, B. – TRINGLI, I. Budapest 2019, pp. 293 – 347.

² On the court of Louis II and Mary of Hungary see namely works of Orsolya Réthelyi. – RÉTHELYI, O. et al.: *Mary of Hungary. The Queen and Her Court 1521 – 1531*. Exh. cat., Budapest History Museum. Budapest 2005; RÉTHELYI, O.: The court of the King and Queen in Buda in the Jagiellonian Age. In: *Medieval Buda in Context*. Eds.: NAGY, B. – RADY, M. – SZENDE, K. – VADAS, A. Amsterdam 2016, pp. 452 – 471; her unpublished thesis RÉTHELYI, O.: *Mary of Hungary in Court Context (1521 – 1531)*. Central European University Budapest. Budapest 2010; FUCHS, M. – RÉTHELYI, O. (eds.): *Maria von Ungarn: eine Renaissancefürstin*. Münster 2007, and *Mária Uhorská. 1505 – 1558*. Exh. cat., Slovenská národná galéria. Ed.: LUDIKOVÁ, Z. Bratislava 2006.

³ HATVANI, M.: *Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsseli országos levéltárból és a burgundi könyvtárból*, Vol. 1. Pest 1857, pp. 54 – 63; HEISS, G.: Die ungarischen, böhmischen und österreichischen Besitzungen der Königin Maria (1505 – 1558). In: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, Vol. 29, 1976, pp. 52 – 121; and KENYERES, I.: Verwaltung und Erträge von Königin Marias ungarischen Besitzungen in den Jahren 1522 bis 1548. In: *Maria von Ungarn (1505 – 1558): eine Renaissancefürstin*. Eds.: FUCHS, M. – RÉTHELYI, O. Münster 2007, pp. 170 – 207.

⁴ *Atlas of the Dowry Towns of Bohemian Queens*. Eds. SEMOTANOVÁ, E. – VOJTÍŠKOVÁ, J. – GRULICH, P. – BERAN, Z. – BLÁHA, R. – VOJTÍŠEK, J. et al. Prague 2022, p. 24. SEMOTANOVÁ, E. – ŽEMLIČKA, J. a kol.: *Věnná města českých královen*. Prague 2022. Later her properties expanded through various donations and purchases. In 1524, for instance, Mary purchased several castles and lordships from Margrave Georg von Brandenburg in Croatia. – HEISS 1976 (see in note 3), pp. 52 – 121, esp. p. 109.

⁵ PÁLFFY, G.: *Hungary between Two Empires 1526 – 1711*. Trans.: EVANS, R. Bloomington 2021; and about John Zápolya KUCHARSKÁ, V.: *IMAGO REGIS. Ján Zápoľský a jeho doba v pamäti 16. storočia*. Bratislava 2026.



Fig. 1a-b: Christoph Füssl, obverse LVDO : VNGAR : BOHE : QVE / REGIS · ET · MARIE · RE/GINAE · DVLCISS · COIV/GIS · AC · PROCES) / IN · FLAN, reverse LVDO : HVNG : BOEM : ZC · REX / ANV : AGENS · XX · IN · TVRCAS / APVD · MOHAZ · CVM · PAR/VA · SVORVM · MANV · PV/GNAS · HONESTE / OBYT · M·D·XXVI, medal, gold, recast (of a struck original), diam. 44 mm, weight 25.14 g. Münzkabinett, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. MK 2639bβ. Photo: KHM-Museumsverband

the Kingdom, which strongly opposed the flow of cash to the Low Countries.⁶ In 1531, Mary passed

her rights to the Bohemian territories to her sister-in-law, Anna of Jagiello (1503 – 1547), daughter of Vladislaus II, who in 1521 had become Ferdinand's wife and the new queen. However, she retained title over the Hungarian estates, using art as a powerful tool to support her claims.⁷ Inspired by Margaret of Austria, Mary commissioned a number of portraits to shape her public image—most notably by prominent European artists such as Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, Titian, and Leone Leoni.⁸ Many of these depicted her as a mourning widow—dressed in black with ermine trim, a white wimple, and a widow's hood—alone or shown together with King Louis to evoke their years as Hungary's royal couple. They honored his memory while emphasizing Mary's virtue and—as Noelia García Pérez observed—her ties to the Hungarian lands and monarchy.⁹ What Pérez did not discuss is that these portraits also provided evidence of her rights to the financial benefits associated with her status as the dowager queen of Hungary.

Part of these lands was Kremnica, home to one of Europe's oldest mints, where artisans made medals from locally sourced gold and silver for generations of Habsburgs.¹⁰ One example is a struck medal featuring Mary of Hungary and Louis II on the obverse and the Battle of Mohács on the reverse, attributed to Christoph Füssl (d. 1561), a prominent medalist documented as *ferricisor* at the Kremnica mint in

⁶ *Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I. Familienkorrespondenz Bd. 5: 1535 und 1536/The Correspondence of Ferdinand I. Family Correspondence Vol. 5: 1535 and 1536*. Eds.: HOFINGER, B. – KUFNER, H. – LAFERL, C. F. – MOSER-KROISS, J. – TSCHUG-MEL, N. Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2005, pp. 71 – 73.

⁷ Letter of Mary to Ferdinand I, dated 13/14 March 1531 in Linz. – WOLFRAM, H. et al.: *Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I*, Vol. III. Vienna 1912, pp. 63 – 64. The dispute over Hungarian estates was resolved in 1548 through the intervention of Emperor Charles V. Mary agreed to relinquish her claims, which then passed to Ferdinand I, in exchange for a share of the profits from the mining region. For further discussion of Mary's income from her Hungarian possession after the battle of Mohács see KENYERES 2007 (see in note 3), pp. 170 – 207, esp. pp. 204 – 206.

⁸ GLÜCK, G.: *Bildnisse aus dem Hause Habsburg II., Königin Maria von Ungarn*. In: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*

in Wien, Neue Folge, Vol. VIII, 1934, pp. 173 – 196; HELM-STUTTLER DI DIO, K.: “A Woman who is so much like a man”: Mary of Hungary, Female Rulership, and Portraits by the Leoni. In: *Mary of Hungary. Renaissance Patron and Collector. Gender, Art and Culture*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. Turnhout 2020, pp. 109 – 122.

⁹ GARCÍA PÉREZ, N.: Estrategias políticas y representaciones artísticas: María de Hungría y la construcción de la imagen post mortem de Luis Jagellón. In: *Culture & Digital Journal*, Vol. 12, June 2023, No. 1, doi: <https://doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2023>. See also JAROŠOVÁ, M.: Význam vdovských portrétů Marie Uherské a posmrtných podobizen Ludvíka Jagellonského. In: *Ecclesia docta. Společensví ducha a umění. K životnímu jubileu profesora Jiřího Kutšana*. Praha 2016, pp. 408 – 423.

¹⁰ KATZ, V.: Kremniční řezači želez a medailéri Kryštof Füssl, Lukáš Richter a Abraham Eysker. In: *Numismatický časopis československý*, Vol. VI, 1929, pp. 139 – 180.

1559 (Fig. 1).¹¹ Though there is no direct evidence that Mary commissioned the medal, its creation in a country rife with instability, rival kings, and a constant Ottoman military threat could be significant, as it portrayed both the last Jagiellonian king of Hungary and Mary, alluding to the diplomatic agreements of 1515, which addressed Habsburg succession rights. The inscription on the obverse identifies Mary as both Queen and wife, referring to her as *MARIÆ · RE/GINÆ · DVLCISS · COIV/GIS · AC · PROCES' / IN · FLAN* (*Mariae Reginae dulcissimae conjugis ac pro Caesare in Flandris*), indicating her departure to Flanders and confirming that the medal was made later but not as a widow. The use of precious metals suggests the medal's potential use as a diplomatic gift. Such medals may have been presented to both prominent supporters and rivals of the Habsburgs, whether commissioned by Mary of Hungary herself or by Ferdinand I, who at that time ruled the principal mining region of the Hungarian Kingdom.

Binche Palace and Netherlandish Painting

In the Low Countries, Mary of Hungary played a pivotal role in the furnishings and decoration of residences, as can be seen in Binche Palace. Construction of the palace began in 1545 on land granted to her by Emperor Charles V in recognition of her service.¹² For the palace, she commissioned Jacques

Du Broeucq (c. 1505 – 1584), a local sculptor and architect from Mons, noted for his supposed stay in Rome. She also employed other contemporary artists from the Low Countries to contribute to the palace's decoration, influenced by Italian masters such as Michiel Coxie (1499 – 1592).¹³ Prominent contemporary Italian artists were also involved, further enhancing its splendor. The grand hall displayed paintings by Titian (about 1487 – 1576), a Venetian artist favored by Emperor Charles V, while the regent planned to exhibit a series of sculptures in the gallery by Leone Leoni (1509 – 1590), a Milanese sculptor.¹⁴ These choices, together with copies of ancient sculptures in the Binche garden, demonstrated her preference for Italian Renaissance and ancient Roman imperial art.

It is likely that Mary's support for Italian artists was shaped by her earlier experiences in Buda, a city renowned for its early embrace of Renaissance art and ideas. From the 1470s, the royal court of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, and his wife, Beatrice of Aragon, daughter of the king of Naples, drew Italian artists, architects, and scholars to Buda. Many works from this period remained there, allowing her to see and appreciate them firsthand. For instance, the *Missale Romanorum*, illuminated for Matthias Corvinus by the Florentine artist Attavante degli Attavanti (1452 – 1520/25) between 1485 and 1488, is now in the Royal Library of Brussels (ms 9008) and was probably brought to Brussels by Mary.¹⁵

¹¹ KATZ 1929 (see in note 10), cat. 5, pp. 140 – 141, HUSZÁR, L. – PROCOPIUS, B.: *Medaillen- und Plakettenkunst in Ungarn*. Budapest 1933, cat. 15, pp. 56 – 57; VILČEKOVÁ-GERHÁTHOVÁ, M.: *Kremnické medailérstvo 16. a 17. storočia*. In: *ARS*, Vol. 4, 1970, Nos. 1 – 2, pp. 75 – 108; WYNANTS, B.: *Maria van Hongarije in medaille*. In: *Jaarboek van het Europees Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, 1997, pp. 182 – 183.

¹² HEDICKE, R.: *Jacques Dubroeuq de Mons*. Trans.: DONY, E. Brussels 1912, p. 272, and, most recently, DE JONGE, K.: *Marie de Hongrie, princesse-architecte de la Renaissance: palais et maison de plaisance*. In: *Marie de Hongrie: art et pouvoir à la Renaissance*. Exh. cat., Morlanwelz, 2025. Eds.: CAUCHIES, J.-M. – DOCQUIER, G. Morlanwelz 2025, pp. 195 – 201.

¹³ Van den BOOGERT, B.: *Michiel Coxie, Hofschilder in dienst van het Habsburgse huis*. In: *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidheidskunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, Vol.

92, 1992, No. 2, pp. 119 – 132; DE JONGE, K.: *A Model Court Architect. Mary of Hungary and Jacques Du Broeucq (1545 – 1556)*. In: *Sponsors of the Past*. Eds.: Vlieghe, H. – Van der Stighele, K. Turnhout 2005, pp. 1 – 15; *Michiel Coxie (1499 – 1592) and the Giants of His Age*. Ed.: Jonckheere, K. London 2013.

¹⁴ On Charles V and Titian see HOPE, C.: *Titian as a Court Painter*. In: *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 2, 1979, No. 2, pp. 7 – 10. On Mary of Hungary, Leone Leoni and the gallery of the Binche Palace see CUPPERI, W.: *Sculptures et jardins dans le palais «à l'antique» de Binche: un programme iconographique précis?* In: *Marie de Hongrie: politique et culture sous la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas*. Eds.: Federinov, B. – Docquier, G. Mariemont 2008, pp. 174 – 188, esp. pp. 178 – 180.

¹⁵ HOREMANS, J.-M.: *Le Missel de Mathias Corvin et la Renaissance en Hongrie*. In: *Dossiers de la Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier*. Brussels 1993; Van den BERGEN-PANTENS, C.:

Additionally, Visegrád, a medieval castle transformed by King Matthias into a luxurious retreat, featured architectural elements such as a courtyard loggia, a façade balcony, a Hercules fountain, and a terrace garden, all reflecting Italian models. The Habsburgs valued Visegrád as this impressive site until it was considerably damaged during the Ottoman siege in 1544.¹⁶

Mary's engagement with Italian art went beyond works from the time of King Matthias. While earlier research has often focused on the contribution of Louis II's court painter, Hans Krell (c. 1490 – 1565), especially his portraits of the royal couple, and the Habsburg painter Hans Maler (c. 1480 – ca. 1529),¹⁷ it is equally important to recognize the brief presence there of the illuminator and painter, Giulio Clovio (1498 – 1578). Giorgio Vasari states in his *Vita* that Clovio joined the court in Buda and created, among other works, a chiaroscuro piece depicting the *Judgment of Paris* for the king and a picture of Lucrezia's suicide for Mary.¹⁸ Although Clovio left soon after the king's death, he continued to work for other prominent Habsburgs.¹⁹ Thus, during her time in Buda, Mary gained invaluable firsthand experience of Italian art made during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

When Mary arrived in the Low Countries, she entered a political and cultural scene distinct from that of Hungary and Bohemia. Nevertheless, she soon established herself as an advocate of Italian artistic innovation, integrating both contemporary Italian and classical Roman art into the regional culture. At the same time, historical records show that, in addition to these interests, Mary also eagerly sought out earlier works of art from the Low Countries, focusing on monumental religious works by well-known fifteenth-century artists of the region. Her efforts to acquire Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child Madonna with Canon van den Paele* (1434) and Rogier van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross* testify to this.

In 1547, she attempted to secure a painting by Van Eyck from St. Donatian's Church in Bruges, but the city's canons politely declined.²⁰ The following year, however, she successfully negotiated with the Grand Guild of Archers in Louvain for *The Descent from the Cross*, which was installed in their private chapel of Our Lady Outside the Walls (Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Ginderbuiten or Notre-Dame-hors-les-Murs). To obtain the work, Mary agreed to pay five hundred florins, cover the costs of a new organ, and commission a painted copy to replace the original in the Guild's chapel.²¹ The original altarpiece was relocated

Missale romanum ou Missel du roi Mathias Corvin. In: DELSAERDT, P. et al. (eds.): *Cent trésors de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. À l'occasion de l'Exposition Cent Trésors de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, organisée du 22 avril au 30 juillet 2005*. Antwerp 2005; TANNER, M.: *The Raven King, Matthias Corvinus and the Fate of his Lost Library*. New Haven – London 2008, p. 169.

¹⁶ Ferdinand's letter to his sister, written before his coronation, praises Visegrád Castle, calling it "fort belle." – GÉVAY, A.: *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Oesterreich, Ungarn und der Pforte im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderte. 1. Gesandtschaften König Ferdinand I. an Suleiman I. 1527 – 1532*. Vienna 1838, pp. 97 – 98. On Visegrád see BUZÁS, G.: *The Royal Palace in Visegrád and the Beginnings of Renaissance Architecture in Hungary*. In: *Italy and Hungary. Humanism and Art in the Early Renaissance*. Eds.: FARBAKY, P. – WALDMAN, L. A. Florence 2011, pp. 369 – 407 (with earlier literature).

¹⁷ LOCHER, K.: Hans Krell – Court Painter to King Louis II of Hungary and his Consort, Mary of Hungary. In: RÉTHELYI 2005 (see in note 2), pp. 69 – 78. KRAUSE, S.: *Die Bildnisse des Malers Hans Maler – Spiegelbild der Tiroler Wirtschaft um 1520*. In: *Nur Gesichter? Porträts der Renaissance*. Ed: MEIGHÖRNER, W. Innsbruck 2016, pp. 157 – 172.

¹⁸ VASARI, G.: *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, Vol. VII. Florence 1881, pp. 557 – 569, esp. p. 558.

¹⁹ His works are linked to Charles V, Margaret of Parma, the regent of the Low Countries, and King Philip II of Spain. See FERBER BOGDAN, J.: *Patrona and Servitor – New Insights into the Patron/Artist Relationship between Duchess Margaret of Parma and Giulio Clovio*. In: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 2017, No. 41, pp. 109 – 118. On Clovio's works and Habsburg taste, see CALVILLO, E.: *Inventive Translation, Portraiture and Spanish Habsburg Taste in the Sixteenth Century*. In: *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy. Images of Iberia. Transculturalism*. Eds.: BAKER-BATES, P. – PATTENDEN, M. Ashgate 2015, pp. 175 – 197. On Clovio and Hungary see also MIKÓ, A.: *Italienische Künstler in Ofen/Buda zur Zeit der Jagiellonen*. In: *Maria von Ungarn* (see in note 2), pp. 347 – 362 (with earlier literature).

²⁰ PARMENTIER, R. A.: *Marie de Hongrie et la Madone vander Paele*. In: *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, Vol. 69, 1926, pp. 388 – 390.

²¹ MOLANUS, J.: *Historiae Lovaniensium Libri XIV*. Lovanii 1861, Vol. 1, p. 609. Reprinted in DHANENS, E.: *Rogier*

to the palace grounds and displayed in the Binche chapel, illuminated by a lantern and decorated with tapestries depicting the biblical story of Tobias. The panel presumably occupied a central position in the apse, granting Mary direct access via her personal oratory on the left side of the choir.²² Given her support for Italian artists, Mary's decision to acquire a fifteenth-century painting from the Low Countries is intriguing and raises a crucial question: Did she purchase this work of art out of admiration for the "Flemish primitives," as Jozef Duverger suggested, or were other significant factors at play?²³

The Descent from the Cross and the Politics of Display

Although the inventory of Binche Palace appears to have been lost over time, there is still evidence that it once housed extraordinary works of art. Contemporary written and visual reports describe the Great Hall when it was filled with magnificent paintings by masters such as Titian and Coxcie, while luxurious textiles, including satin, brocade, damask, and velvet, adorned the palace apartments. Tapestries, chiefly woven in Brussels workshops, and Middle Eastern carpets from the Levant, further added to the splendor.²⁴ The palace also housed exquisite decorative pieces, including precious-metal tableware (displayed on buffets and dressers), porcelain plates, and crystal-crafted cups. Among the treasures kept

at Binche were also expensive, exquisite personal objects, such as a fan embellished with a mirror and a handle encrusted with gems and pearls, which Mary presented to her sister, Eleanor of Spain (1498 – 1558), the dowager queen of Portugal and France, during festivities in 1549.²⁵ Mary assumed the role of curator with due deliberation, arranging works of art throughout her residence with a clear strategic vision. She not only understood the significance of the ideas and values these works of art held for their original creators and audiences, but also recognized their potential to convey a different set of ideas and values when displayed in this Habsburg residence.²⁶ For her, Binche Palace served as an ideal platform for exhibiting a collection of objects from various cultures—European and non-European—in one unified setting, as a means of demonstrating the Habsburgs' authority in Europe and beyond.

One example of this strategy is a seven-piece set of tapestries depicting Charles V's victory over his political rival, Francis I (1494 – 1547), the king of France, at the Battle of Pavia in 1525. Designed by Bernard van Orley and woven in Willem and Jan Dermoyen's Brussels workshop, the set was commissioned by the States General of the Low Countries and presented to Charles at the Royal Palace of Brussels (Coudenberg) in 1531. Shortly thereafter, it became part of Mary's collection and was exhibited prominently in Prince Philip's ground-floor apartment at Binche Palace.²⁷ Woven from fine wool and

van der Weyden: revisie van de documenten. Brussels 1995, pp. 134 – 135. See also POWELL, A.: The Errant Image. Rogier van der Weyden's Deposition from the Cross and Its Copies. In: *Art History*, Vol. 29, 2006, pp. 540 – 562, esp. pp. 547 – 549.

²² On the interior of the chapel, see Robert Hedicke. – HEDICKE 1904 (see in note 12), pp. 260 – 261.

²³ DUVERGER, J.: Marie de Hongrie, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, et la Renaissance. In: *Évolution Générale et Développements régionaux en Histoire de l'Art. Actes du XXII^e Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art.* Ed.: RÓZSA, G. Budapest 1972, 3 vols., Vol. 1 (1972), pp. 715 – 726, esp. p. 720.

²⁴ Carpets from Levant became sought after artifacts in the first half of the sixteenth century as documented by the Medici. In 1545, Iacopo Capponi travelled to Alexandria with instructions from Cosimi de' Medici to have some rugs made to order and two years later these arrived to Florence

from Cairo. – SPALLANZANI, M.: *Oriental Rugs in Renaissance Florence.* Florence 2007, p. 23.

²⁵ JORDAN, A.: Exotic Renaissance Accessories. Japanese, Indian and Sinhalese Fans at the courts of Portugal and Spain. In: *Apollo*, Vol. CL, November 1999, No. 453, pp. 25 – 35, esp. p. 32. The gift was chronicled by DE BOURDEILLE, P. (Brantôme): *Recueil des Dames, poésies et tombeaux.* Ed.: VAUCHERT, E. Paris 1991, p. 446

²⁶ BAXANDALL, M.: Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects. In: *Exhibiting Cultures. The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* Eds.: KARP, I. – LAVINE, S. D. Washington, D.C. 1990, pp. 33 – 41.

²⁷ BUCHANAN, I.: The 'Battle of Pavia' and the Tapestry Collection of Don Carlos: New Documentation. In: *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 144, June 2002, No. 1191, pp. 345 – 335, esp. p. 346.



Fig 2: Rogier van der Weyden: *The Descent from the Cross*, before 1443, oil on oak panel, 204.5 × 259 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Inv. No. P002825. Photo: Photographic Archive Museo Nacional del Prado

also featuring gold-and-silver-wrapped silk threads, the tapestries depicted key moments from the battle, including the surrender of Francis I, serving as a reminder of the Habsburgs' supremacy in Europe.

In this regard, the painting by Rogier van der Weyden (acquired from the Grand Guild of Archers in Louvain) was no less crucial. In the palace, the painting stood out as an exceptional, monumental early Netherlandish work, probably the only one

on display there (Fig. 2). Measuring over two and a half meters in height the panel resembles an opulent gold shrine and features ten nearly life-size human figures. Almost all these figures wear exceptionally fine garments made of velvet, satin, or silk, combined with squirrel fur—luxurious and costly materials typically reserved for the nobility and the wealthiest at that time.²⁸ While the painting is now regarded as a museum masterpiece, for Mary, it served primarily

²⁸ Rogier van der Weyden, *The Descent from the Cross*, oil on oak panel, 204.5 × 262 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, Inv. No. P002825. Panofsky suggested that the painting was originally the central panel of a triptych. — PANOFSKY, E.:

Early Netherlandish Painting. Origins and Characters. Cambridge 1953, pp. 256 – 257. The published restoration report of the painting does not mention side panels. See GARRIDO, C. — BISACCA, G. — DAVILA, M. T.: Rogier van der Weyden.

as a significant Burgundian artifact that promoted the connections between the Burgundian dynasty and the Habsburgs, their only legitimate heirs—a point emphasized by Antonia Putzger.²⁹ Beyond its historical significance, the biblical subject also resonated deeply with the Habsburgs' interests. The theme of Christ's descent from the cross conveyed human grief, and Rogier van der Weyden portrayed that emotion with extraordinary reverence and a true sense of nature. In this way, in the chapel of Binche Palace, this religious masterpiece served as a proclamation of Catholic devotion at a time when Protestantism was gaining ground in the Low Countries. It supported Charles V and his role as a defender of the Catholic faith, particularly in light of his recent victory over the Protestant Schmalkaldic League at the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547.

Descente de croix (Madrid, Musée du Prado). In: *Restauration: exposition documentaire. Colloque XI pour l'étude du dessin sous-jacent et de la technologie dans la peinture. Louvain-la-Neuve, 14. – 16. 9. 1995*. Trans.: Van SCHOTE-VERBOOMEN, M., 10 pp. (The Centre for the Study of the Flemish Primitives, IRPA-KIK, Brussels). The dating of the work is generally linked to the Edelheere triptych, a free copy of the original, and 1443 is usually considered the terminus ante quem for the creation of Rogier's original. However, a recent article by Stephan Kemperdick suggests that this copy may have been produced after 1480. KEMPERDICK, S.: The date of the Edelheere altarpiece. In: *Cahier d'études des Annales d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie*, Vol. 12, 2024, pp. 40 – 49. On Van der Weyden's painting, see DAVIES, M.: *Rogier van der Weyden. An Essay with a Critical Catalogue of Paintings Assigned to Him and Robert Campin*. London 1971, pp. 223 – 226; KEMPERDICK, S.: *Der Meister von Flémalle. Die Werkstatt Robert Campins und Rogier van der Weyden*. Turnhout 1997, pp. 46 – 52; DE VOS, D.: *Rogier van der Weyden. The Complete Works*. Antwerp 1999, No. 4 (with earlier literature); KEMPERDICK, S.: Von der Vorlage zum Kunstwerk Rogier van der Weydens 'Große Kreuzabnahme'. In: *Original – Copie – Zitat. Kunstwerke des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit: Wege der Aneignung – Formen der Überlieferung*. Eds.: AUGUSTYN, W. – SÖDIG, U. Passau 2010, pp. 207 – 230; CAMPBELL, L.: *Rogier van der Weyden and the Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula*. Madrid 2015, cat. 1; and more recently PÉREZ PRECIADO, J. J.: *Fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting at the Museo del Prado*. Madrid 2024, cat. 41. On used textiles, see MONAS, L.: Textiles in the Painting of Rogier van der Weyden. In: *Rogier van der Weyden y España: Proceedings of the international symposium, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, May 2015*. Madrid 2016, pp. 118 – 131, esp. 120 – 122.

²⁹ PUTZGER, A.: *Kult und Kunst – Kopie und Original: Altarbilder von Rogier van der Weyden, Jan van Eyck und Albrecht Dürer*

Two years later, in August 1549, the emperor and his son and successor, Prince Philip, accompanied by their entourage, made a grand visit to Binche Palace. The art on display, particularly Van der Weyden's painting, attracted considerable attention. The Spanish courtier Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella reported seeing a divinely painted *Deposition from the Cross*, while Bernardo Antonio de' Medici, a Florentine diplomat, wrote to Cosimo de' Medici that the painting, done in the antique manner, was so beautiful that even Michelangelo would not disdain to have been its master.³⁰ In 1551, another Spanish nobleman, Vicente Alvarez, declared the work not only the finest in the palace but the greatest in the whole world.³¹ Despite this high praise, none of the eyewitnesses mentioned the artist's name.³²

in ihrer frühneuzeitlichen Rezeption. Berlin 2021, pp. 67 – 75; PUTZGER, A.: Historical Substance and Acquired Meaning of Rogier van der Weyden's Deposition of Christ at the Court of Philip II. In: *Netherlandish Art and Luxury Goods in Renaissance Spain. Studies in Honour of Professor Jan Karel Steppa (1918 – 2009)*. Eds.: Van HEESCH, D. – JANSSEN, R. – Van der STOCK, J. London – Turnhout 2018, pp. 133 – 146, esp. pp. 136 – 138.

³⁰ Printed in French translation in CALVETE DE ESTRELLA, J. C.: *Le très-beureux voyage fait par très-haut et très-puissant prince Don Philippe, fils du grand empereur Charles-Quint, depuis l'Espagne jusqu'à ses domaines de la Basse-Allemagne, avec la description de tous les États de Brabant & de Flandre, écrit en quatre livres par Juan Christoval Calvete de Estrella*. Trans.: PETIT, J. Vol. III. Brussels 1876, p. 83. The letter of Bernardo Antonio de' Medici to Cosimo de' Medici, dated 28 August 1549 (The Medici archive project, Vol. 4307). I am thankful to Annemarie Jordan Gschwend for bringing this letter to my attention. The comparison of Van der Weyden with Michelangelo reappears in another Italian report on the Binche festivities. See *Litera del la gloriosa et trionfante entrada del serenissimo prencipe di Spagna in Bins citta di Fiandra, 1549*. In: RUELENS, Ch.: *Le Siège et les fêtes de Binche (1543 et 1549)*, Publications de la Société des bibliophiles belges, Vol. 25. Mons 1878, pp. 65 – 119, esp. p. 71.

³¹ VICENTE, A.: *Relation du beau voyage que fit aux Pays-Bas, en 1548, le prince Philippe d'Espagne, notre seigneur*. Ed. and trans.: DOVILLÉE, M.-T. Brussels 1964, p. 95.

³² The earliest record of Rogier's name in association with the *Deposition* appeared in 1565, when Hieronymus Cock, head of the Antwerp publishing house 'At the Sign of Four Winds,' published an engraving by Cornelis Cort reproducing Rogier's

This omission is intriguing, especially since the 1516 inventory of possessions belonging to Margaret of Austria, Mary's aunt, explicitly lists paintings made "par" or "de la main de Rogier."³³ Some of Margaret's Netherlandish works of art entered Mary's collection after her death, suggesting that Mary was probably aware of the most prominent artists of the region, including the one responsible for her painting from Leuven. Rogier van der Weyden's reputation among prominent patrons and collectors in Italy could also have played a role, at least after 1449, when Duke Leonello d'Este showed his triptych of the *Descent* by Van der Weyden to the antiquary and humanist Ciriaco d'Ancona on his visit to Ferrara (not preserved).³⁴

To fully understand the motivations behind the regent's acquisition of Van der Weyden's painting for Binche Palace and to address the questions raised, it is essential to consider the political climate in the Low Countries during the early decades of the sixteenth century. The Habsburgs faced a turbulent period, engaged in wars with France over European hegemony, particularly in the Burgundian territories. During this time, local paintings from the region carried significant political weight. The Habsburgs strategically gathered and exhibited emblematic works of art from the Low Countries as material evidence to legitimize their rule, a practice already evident in the collection of Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy. Dagmar Eichberger argued that Margaret's choice and arrangement of works of art from her collection, particularly portraits at her Mechelen palace, corresponded with her deliberate

efforts to visually underscore the Habsburg family's dynastic ties and reaffirm their succession rights in the Low Countries.³⁵ The use of various art media to promote their dynastic accomplishments is already rooted in earlier initiatives by Mary's grandfather, Maximilian I. Larry Silver convincingly showed that these initiatives instilled a profound respect for the Habsburg dynasty's achievements among its heirs, fostering a shared appreciation for art that served both familial and political purposes.³⁶ Maximilian's interest in collecting and displaying earlier artifacts only reinforced this agenda, even though he did not distinguish between ancient and medieval, or sacred and secular.³⁷ By acquiring and displaying Van der Weyden's painting, Mary not only adhered to but also advanced this family tradition. Consequently, rather than merely admiring them, Mary used early Netherlandish paintings pragmatically, in service of the Habsburgs' political ambitions.

Materials and the Grotto Fountain

Mary valued both the visual appeal and provenance of the works of art she acquired as much as the materials from which they were made. Contemporary sources cite rare and costly natural materials—including jasper, porphyry, and coral—and offer insights into their staging. Alvarez and Estrella, for example, describe a chimney in the Grand Hall and a portico leading to the chapel of Binche Palace, both made of jasper. Long-prized since antiquity and associated with ancient Roman emperors, the medieval lapi-

painting, inscribed with the words "M. Rogerij Belgiae inventum." – Van GRIEKEN, J.: 'Rogerij Belgae inventum'. Rogier van der Weyden's Late Reception in Prints (c. 1550 – 1600). In: *Rogier van der Weyden in Context*. Eds.: CAMPBELL, L. – Van der STOCK, J. – REYNOLD, C. – WATTEEUW, L. Papers presented at the Seventeenth Symposium for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology of Painting held in Leuven, 22 – 24 October 2009. Paris – Leuven – Walpole 2012, pp. 353 – 361, esp. p. 354.

³³ Margaret of Austria, Inventory of the paintings, 17 July 1516, Lille, Chambre des Comptes de Lille, No. 123904, p. 3, fol. 2, p. 4, fol. 2v. – CHECA CREMADES, F.: *Los inventarios de Carlos V y la familia imperial*. Vol. III. Madrid 2010, p. 2392.

³⁴ *Cyriac of Ancona. Later Travels*. Ed. and trans.: BODNAR, E. D. Cambridge, MA 2003, p. 365.

³⁵ EICHBERGER, D. – BEAVEN, L.: Family Members and Political Allies: The Portrait Collection of Margaret of Austria. In: *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 77, 1995, No. 2, pp. 225 – 248; EICHBERGER, D.: Margaret of Austria's Portrait Collection. Female Patronage in the light of dynastic ambitions and artistic Quality. In: *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 10, 1996, No. 2, pp. 259 – 279; GELFAND, L. D.: Regency, Power, and Dynastic Visual Memory: Margaret of Austria as Patron and Propagandist. In: *The Texture of Society. Medieval Women in Southern Low Countries*. Eds.: SUYDAM, M. A. – KITTEL, E. E. New York 2004, p. 203 – 255.

³⁶ SILVER, L.: *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*. Princeton, N.J. 2008.

³⁷ WOOD, C.: Maximilian I as Archaeologist. In: *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 58, 2005, pp. 1128 – 1174.

daries often mentioned this durable gemstone as a protective talisman with religious significance. The gem was believed to have been the first foundation stone of the heavenly Jerusalem (Revelation 21:19), with its color evoking the sacrificial blood of Christ, and one of the twelve stones in the breastplate of the Hebrew High Priest (Exodus 28:20).³⁸ The second of these valuable materials, porphyry—referred to as “*piere de Porphyre*”—was noted in the French edition of Lodovico Guiccardini’s *Descrittione de tutti I Paesi Bassi* (1567), published in 1625, as having been used for a basin in the garden of Binche Palace.³⁹

Historically, porphyry of spectacular purple color was the exclusive property of Roman and Byzantine emperors. They used it in their effigies as well as for columns in their temples and tombs.⁴⁰ The cultural tradition persisted in the early modern era, and powerful families such as the Medici in Florence commissioned tombs made of porphyry, often combined with other precious materials—as exemplified by the tomb of Piero and Giovanni de’ Medici by Andrea del Verrocchio, completed in 1472, set in an archway of the Old Sacristy in San Lorenzo in Florence. Porphyry remained a highly sought-after material in the sixteenth century, and records also attest to its presence in the collections of the Habsburgs, including Emperors Maximilian II and, later, Rudolph II.⁴¹

Although Guiccardini’s text mentions luxurious imported materials at Binche, there is no evidence that either jasper or porphyry were used at the palace. Instead, Robert Hedicke’s study confirmed the use of local resources as substitutes, especially “red marble” from Rance, a reef limestone from Hainaut. The misidentification of these stones as jasper or porphyry probably stemmed from the limited geological knowledge and mineral classification of that era. The high status of the owner also played a crucial role in how visitors perceived the construction materials. Michal Wardzyński noted that the Habsburgs deliberately imitated porphyry with local stones, a practice used in the tomb commissioned by Maximilian I for Speyer Cathedral, the red marble imperial monument, left unfinished at Maximilian’s death in 1519.⁴² It is likely that Mary, having spent time with her grandfather in Innsbruck, was aware of these associations. There is additional evidence about the materials used in Binche Palace in extant visual records, specifically, two drawings from festivities held in August 1549 during the visit of Charles V and Prince Philip. One drawing depicts a masked ball in the Great Hall featuring a chimney made of red stone. The other focuses on the Enchanted Chamber, where desserts were served (Fig. 3),⁴³ particularly notable for its little-studied fountain,

³⁸ On gems in the early modern period see BYCROFT, M. – DUPRÉ, S.: *Gems in the Early Modern World. Material, Knowledge and Global Trade, 1450 – 1800*. London 2019.

³⁹ *Description De tous les Pays-Bas, par M. Loys Guiccardin, gentil-homme Florentin, Amstelodami, Apud Ioannem Ianssonium*, 1625, p. 415. According to Hedicke, the basin was made from Rance marble. – HEDICKE 1904 (see in note 12), p. 269. On the cultural significance of purple, see FRIESS, G.: *Edelsteine im Mittelalter: Wandel und Kontinuität in ihrer Bedeutung durch zwölf Jahrhunderte (in Aberglauben, Medizin, Theologie und Goldschmiedekunst)*. Hildesheim 1980, p. 63.

⁴⁰ DELBRÜCK, R.: *Antike Porphyrrwerke. Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte*. Berlin 1932; DEL BUFALO, D.: *Porphyry: Red imperial porphyry; power and religion*. Torino 2012; VASILIEV, A. A.: Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople. In: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 4, 1948, pp. 1 – 26.

⁴¹ BUTTERS, S. B.: *The Triumph of Vulcan. Sculptor’s Tool, Porphyry and the Prince in Ducal Florence*. Florence 1996. The

sculpted porphyry gem depicting the Head of Christ made by Francesco del Tadda is in the National Gallery in Prague (Inv. No. P5). It was part of the collections of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II and then Rudolph II. – DI CASTRO MOSCATI, D.: The Revival of the Working of Porphyry in Sixteenth-Century Florence. In: *Apollo*, Vol. 126, 1987, pp. 242 – 248.

⁴² WARDZYŃSKI, M.: On the Road to the “New Empire“. The Afterlife of Roman and Byzantine Porphyry and the White Marble Tradition in Central Europe during the Early Modern Era. In: *The Land between Two Seas: Art on the Move in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea 1300 – 1700*. Ed.: PAYNE, A. Leiden 2022, pp. 354 – 377, esp. p. 357.

⁴³ Van de PUT, A.: Two Drawings of the Fêtes at Binche for Charles V and Philip (II) 1549. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 3, October 1939 – January 1940 Nos. 1 – 2, pp. 49 – 55; POPHAM, A. E.: The Authorship of the Drawings of Binche. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 55 – 57.



Fig. 3: Anonymous artist: *The Enchanted Room of the Binche Palace*, c. 1549, pen and brown ink, gray-brown wash, watercolor, body color, and gold paint on paper, 40.9 × 38.7 cm. The Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels, Inv. No. F 12931. Photo: The Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels

identified by Ian Buchanan as a grotto fountain, one of the Habsburgs' earliest.⁴⁴

Contemporaries described this structure as a wooden object resembling a marine rock, mounted

against the wall near the central table. The “rock” combined elements from land and sea, with herbs, plants, and flowers growing on coral branches. At the top were objects such as small sculptures of li-

⁴⁴ BUCHANAN, I.: *Habsburg Tapestries*. Turnhout 2015, p. 80. The grotto fountain was described in contemporary accounts of the Spanish courtiers. See namely CALVETE DE ESTRELLA 1876 (see in note 30), pp. 81 – 153, esp. p. 153; and DE CABANILLAS, H.: *Relación muy verdadera de las grandes fiestas que la Serenissima Reyna dona Maria ha hecho al Principe nuestro señor en Flandes en un lugar que se dize Vince, desde XXII. de Agosto hasta el postrero día del mes. Embiada por el señor don Hieronymo Cabanillas, Hecha*

imprimir por Juan Rodriquez librero de Medina del campo a diez y ocho de Noviembre, Año.M.D.XLIX. In: PÉREZ PASTOR, C.: *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*. Madrid 1895, pp. 57 – 67, esp. pp. 66 – 67; and WIERSMA, L.: *A Garden of Cast Flowers. The ‘Enchanted Salon’ and the Making of Sculptures for Festivals*. In: *Charles V, Prince Philip, and the Politics of Succession, Imperial Festivities in Mons and Hainault, 1549*. Eds.: MCGOWAN, M. – SHEWRING, M. Turnhout 2020, pp. 205 – 221, esp. pp. 209 – 212.



Fig. 4: Wenzel Jamnitzer (attributed): *Lizard*, c. 1540 – 1550, silver (life cast), 7.0 × 4.1 cm. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Inv. No. HG 11135. Photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Jürgen Musolf



Fig. 5: Anonymous artist: *Box in the Form of a Crab*, Padua, early 16th century, bronze, 4.8 × 17.1 × 9.3 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Inv. No. 1957.14.86. Photo: Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

zards, large turtles, snakes, and other rock-inhabiting creatures, probably made as life casts. Artisans in sixteenth-century Europe, primarily from northern Italy and Nuremberg, made these casts in silver, bronze, lead, and other metals (see Figs. 4 and 5). They revived ancient techniques and combined them with the use of cold enamel to create naturalistic effects. Wenzel Jamnitzer (1508 – 1585), a Nuremberg goldsmith known for his life casts and favoured by the Habsburg Emperors, including Charles V and Ferdinand I, was one of the most distinguished.⁴⁵

Another leading artist was Jean Boulogne, better known as Giambologna (1529 – 1608), a Flemish sculptor who worked in Jacques du Broeucq’s workshop from 1545 to 1550, the years when Binche Pal-

ace was under construction;⁴⁶ his small bronze animal sculptures were later praised in Italy. Around 1550, Luca Lancia (d. 1553), a sculptor from Naples, also created works for the regent at Binche, specializing in plaster casting. He had been noted for his contributions at the Ulysses Gallery in the Château de Fontainebleau, where he may have seen the Grotto of the Pines, an early notable example of an artificial grotto in France, created in the 1540s.⁴⁷ Hedicke’s study of Binche Palace does not mention the grotto fountain in the Enchanted Chamber, and the question of collaborating sculptors remains unsettled.

Four candelabra illuminated the grotto, enabling close inspection. The grotto housed a fountain with a mechanical system that dispensed running water—an essential natural element that created the sound

⁴⁵ ROSENBERG, M.: *Jamnitzer: alle erhaltenen Goldschmiedearbeiten, verlorene Werke, Handzeichnungen*. Frankfurt a. M. 1920; SMITH, P. H.: *Collecting Nature and Art: Artisans and Knowledge in the Kunstkammer*. In: *Engaging with Nature. Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Eds.: HANAWALT, B. A. – KISER, L. J. Notre Dame 2008, pp. 115 – 135; SMITH, P. H. – BEENTJES, T.: *Nature and Art, Making and Knowing: Reconstructing Sixteenth-Century Life Casting*. In: *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Spring 2010), pp. 128 – 179.

⁴⁶ WELLENS, R.: *Jacques du Broeucq. Sculpteur et architecte de la Renaissance (1505 – 1584)*. Brussels 1962, p. 31.

⁴⁷ Lancia or Lange worked at the Château de Fontainebleau between 1541 and 1547. Hedicke mentions his works for Mary of Hungary. See HEDICKE 1904 (see in note 12), pp. 269, 413. On Lancia see DUVERGER, J.: *Luca Lancia*. In: *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, Vol. IV, col. 477 – 479, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/nbww/>; DEBERGH, J.: *Luc Lange, “mollieur en plâtre” actif en Hainaut entre 1550 et 1553*. In: *Revue belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis*, Vol. 59, 1990, pp. 75-89; DEBERGH, J.: *Luc Lange et Jacques du Broeucq: quatre considérations*. In: *Revue belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis*, Vol. 63, 1994, pp. 63 – 72; and CUPPERI 2008 (see in note 14), esp. pp. 176 – 177.

and ambience of a natural spring. During special occasions in Binche, beverages such as white and red wines flowed into a basin from the open mouths of four snakes with gold-and-green necks, enhancing the work's overall theatrical effect. Among the various items in the grotto, one genuine organic item particularly caught the eye of the guests: red coral. Unlike other grotto items, coral is distinctly visible in the drawing of the Enchanted Chamber (Fig. 3). Ovidius, in his *Metamorphoses*, linked coral to distant Ethiopia, while Pliny the Elder extensively detailed its origin, harvesting, and use, including its widely believed apotropaic and healing properties.⁴⁸ The Habsburgs collected coral, and before Mary, her aunt, Margaret of Austria, had assembled examples of coral in different colors.⁴⁹ Filled with so many small and intriguing objects, the grotto fountain in the Enchanted Chamber entertained distinguished visitors. But it was not only about the entertainment. The grotto, by linking Mary and the Habsburgs to natural forces—through its replication of natural wonders and its manipulation of natural elements such as water—enhanced the reputation of this noble family as powerful rulers capable of mastering nature.⁵⁰

In the 1530s and 1540s, the construction of grottoes became a fashionable trend among the nobility in Italy and, soon after, in France. These grottoes were lavishly decorated with shells, coral, minerals, and sculptures, often incorporating moving water.

For the Habsburgs, though, a grotto represented more than a fashion. As Pamela Smith explained, their interest in nature can be traced back to the Carrara family (rulers of Padua from 1318 to 1405), who supported artists known for their naturalistic depictions.⁵¹ Their palace featured lifelike animal imagery, and during this period, Cennino d'Andrea Cennini (c. 1360/70 – before 1470) wrote his influential handbook for painters, *Il libro dell'arte*, which included instructions for life casting.⁵² The Burgundian dukes, renowned for their impressive collections of natural curiosities, adopted this approach, and the Habsburgs followed. Crucially, this adoption had political significance, aligning with the belief among the jurists at the University of Padua that effective governance should imitate nature. The death of the last “natural” ruler of the Low Countries, Margaret of Austria, who had unified the Habsburg and Burgundian lines, probably reinforced the Habsburgs' claims over the region. Consequently, the grotto fountain at Binche Palace, adorned with its animal imagery, transcended mere fashion and entertainment, reminding visitors of the Habsburgs and their right to rule the region.

Unfortunately, neither the grotto nor many other works of art that had once been in Binche Palace have survived. On July 22, 1554, the troops of King Henry II of France captured the town and burned the palace. Nevertheless, after initial reports of the French invasion, the most valuable items had been

⁴⁸ OVIDIUS: *Metamorphosis*, 740 – 752; PLINY: *Natural History*. Vol. VIII, XXXII. London 1938, pp. 477 – 479.

⁴⁹ She owned nearly fifty branches of uncarved coral, exhibiting them both in a garden cabinet and an upstairs study at her Mechelen palace, several mounted on green-painted clay hills. EICHBERGER, D.: *Leben mit Kunst. Wirken durch Kunst*. Turnhout 2002, pp. 399 – 402; EICHBERGER, D.: A noble residence for a female regent: Margaret of Austria and the ‘Court of Savoy’ in Mechelen. In: *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Ed.: HILLS, H. Aldershot 2003, pp. 25 – 46, esp. pp. 30 – 31. The appreciation of coral continued with Ferdinand II of Austria, who developed refined ways for its staging. One was to attach coral branches to a piece of wood covered with a naturalistically painted plaster to mimic a rock—a practice likely employed at the Binche grotto fountain. It is evidenced by surviving coral pieces in his collection at Ambras Castle, e.g. coral branches attached to pedestals (Italian, Genova?), 16th century, red

coral, plaster, wood, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Schloss Ambras Innsbruck, Inv. Nos. PA 954, 973, 996.

⁵⁰ BREDEKAMP, H.: Die Erde als Lebewesen. In: *Kritische Berichte*, Vol. 9, 1981, Nos. 4 – 5, pp. 5 – 37, esp. pp. 20 – 27; and MOREL, P.: *Les Grottes maniéristes en Italie au XVI^e siècle. Théâtre et alchimie de la nature*. Paris 1998.

⁵¹ SMITH, P. H.: *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*. Chicago 2004, pp. 34 – 35; GRAMACCINI, N.: Das genaue Abbild der Natur – Riccios Tiere und die Theorie des Naturabgusses seit Cennini. In: *Natur und Antike in der Renaissance*. Exh. cat., Liebieghaus, Museum alter Plastik. Eds.: BLUME, D. – BECK, H. Frankfurt a. M. 1985, pp. 198 – 225.

⁵² CENNINI, C.: Das Buch von der Kunst oder Tractat der Malerei des Cennino Cennini da Colle di Valdelsa — *Quellenchriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 1. Vienna 1871, pp. 132 – 135.

safeguarded and transferred to Mons.⁵³ Among these may have been the painting by Rogier van der Weyden (which later entered the collections of King Philip II of Spain) and the *Battle of Pavia* tapestry set (documented as having been bequeathed by Mary to Don Carlos, Philip II's eldest son, after her death).⁵⁴

Conclusion

This study brings further attention to a well-known yet often overlooked aspect of Mary of Hungary's regency in the Low Countries: her financial independence, sustained by revenues from the Hungarian kingdom, including what is now Slovakia. These funds are likely to have enabled her to act as a patron and undertake ambitious artistic projects, such as the construction and furnishing of Binche Palace. A closer look at the palace's prominent works of art shows that Mary was not merely a wealthy patron and collector but also a temporary curator with a clear acquisition strategy to attract, engage, and influence her audiences.

Political scientists and historians of diplomacy and political theatre have already demonstrated that the practice of winning people over through cultural appeal rather than force—what we now call “soft power”—was pursued in the early modern period. This is especially true of diplomatic efforts in peacemaking and peacekeeping, which were closely intertwined with cultural practices.⁵⁵ Mary's approach to works of art acquired for Binche Palace resembles these practices. As the supreme political authority in the Low Countries at that time, she deliberately selected and displayed works of art to influence her visitors through their aesthetic appeal. In doing so, she wielded a sophisticated form of “soft power” to strengthen the legitimacy of the Habsburgs' ma-

trimonial alliance with the House of Valois and to manifest the dynasty's commitment to the Catholic faith as the Reformation spread and attracted large numbers of adherents. This is particularly evident in her decision to purchase and display Rogier van der Weyden's painting—a choice motivated more by political and religious considerations than by her personal preferences for Netherlandish paintings or by aesthetic considerations.

This painting and other works of art acquired by Mary significantly contributed to transforming Binche Palace into a site celebrating the Habsburgs. However, during the critical transfer of power within the Habsburg family, Mary's curatorial work can also be viewed from a broader diplomatic perspective—as a deliberate effort to create a space for contemplation and communication, designed by a woman for a predominantly male and noble audience gathered here during the festivities. The message was clear: to foster peaceful unity rooted in shared values, education, and common taste; to promote stability; and to advocate the pursuit of political aspirations through peaceful means rather than by warfare as the sixteenth-century Habsburgs did—preferably through their numerous marriage alliances.

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⁵³ HEDICKE 1904 (see in note 12), pp. 280, 417, No. 64.

⁵⁴ BUCHANAN 2002 (see in note 27), pp. 345 – 351, esp. p. 345.

⁵⁵ NYE, J. S. Jr.: *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York 2004; RIVÈRE DE CARLES, N.: The Poetics of Diplomatic Appeasement in the Early Modern Era. In: *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power: The Making of Peace*. Ed.: RIVÈRE DE CARLES, N. London 2016, pp. 1 – 25.

Mary of Hungary and Binche Palace Strategic Collecting and the Politics of Display

Summary

This study draws attention to Mary of Hungary's important yet underexplored role as curator of her family's collections during her regency in the Low Countries (1531 – 1555). Supported by her continued access to income from her dowry (mainly from lucrative mining towns in the Hungarian kingdom, present-day Slovakia), Mary exercised notable financial independence. This autonomy enabled her to undertake remarkable artistic projects, including the construction and furnishing of her Binche palace. The examination of key works of art she acquired for Binche palace, demonstrates that she was not just a wealthy patron but also a temporary curator with a deliberate plan to impress and influence visitors.

Political scientists and historians of diplomacy and political theatre have recognized the importance of culture in winning people over—what we now call “soft power”—as a strategy already used in the early modern period. Mary's approach to the works of art she assembled at Binche Palace aligns with these cultural practices. As the highest political authority in the Low Countries, Mary systematically gathered and exhibited aesthetically captivating works of art—ranging from paintings and tapestries to multimedia installations like the grotto—that directly or indirectly supported the interests of

the Habsburg dynasty. This is particularly evident in her decision to acquire and display in the chapel of Binche Palace the fifteenth-century painting, *Descent from the Cross*, by the prominent Netherlandish painter Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400 – 1464). Her choice was motivated by political and religious considerations, as that painting, created in a period of the Burgundian reign, asserted the Habsburgs' claim to Burgundian territories. Its emotive subject further resonated with Habsburg Catholicism at a time when the Reformation was on the rise in the Low Countries.

During the transition of power from Emperor Charles V to his son, Prince Philip, Mary's curatorial work at Binche Palace primarily celebrated the Habsburg family. However, it also operated within a broader diplomatic context, providing a forum for a peaceful dialogue, designed by a woman for the largely male noble audience gathered at Binche during the visit of Emperor Charles V and his son in 1549. At a time when Habsburg-controlled nobility in the Low Countries often staged rebellions, Mary's intent was clear: to foster peaceful unity rooted in shared values, education, and taste—an approach the Habsburgs employed in the sixteenth century, especially through strategic marriage alliances.

Mária Uhorská a Palác Binche Strategické zberateľstvo a politika vystavovania

Resumé

Táto štúdia upriamuje pozornosť na dôležitú, no stále nie dostatočne preskúmanú úlohu Márie Uhorskej ako dočasnej kurátorky rodinných zbierok počas jej regentstva v Nizozemsku (1531 – 1555). Mária, ktorá po svadbe s Ľudovítom II. Jagelovským získala značné veno (zahŕňajúce lukratívne stredoslovenské banské mestá v Uhorskom kráľovstve, dnešnom Slovensku), si udržala finančnú nezávislosť aj po jeho smrti. Táto autonómia jej ako regentke umožnila realizovať viacero pozoruhodných umeleckých projektov, vrátane výstavby a zariadenia paláca v Binche. Analýza kľúčových umeleckých diel, ktoré Mária pre tento palác získala, ukazuje, že nebola iba bohatou mecenáškou, ale aj dočasnou kurátorkou s konkrétnou víziou, ktorej cieľom bolo sústrediť a vystaviť získané umelecké diela tak, aby upúťali a ovplyvnili návštevníkov.

Politológovia, ako aj historici diplomacie a politického divadla, zdôraznili schopnosť kultúry formovať preferencie ľudí prostredníctvom prítlačlivosti – to, čo dnes nazývame „mäkkou silou“ – ako stratégiu používanú už v ranom novoveku. Máriin prístup k umeleckým dielam, ktoré zhromaždila v paláci v Binche, korešponduje s touto praxou. Ako najvyššia politická autorita v Nizozemsku, Mária systematicky a cielene zbierala a vystavovala esteticky mimoriadne prítlačlivé umelecké diela – od obrazov a tapisérií až po multimediálne inštalácie, ako napríklad grotto – aby

prostredníctvom nich priamo alebo nepriamo podporila záujmy a ciele svojej rodiny. Tento postup je obzvlášť zreteľný v Máriinom rozhodnutí získať a vystaviť v kaplnke paláca v Binche obraz *Snímanie z kríža* od Rogiera van der Weyden, významného nizozemského maliara 15. storočia. Jej voľbu tu motivovali tak politické, ako aj náboženské aspekty. Obraz, vytvorený počas burgundskej vlády, nepriamo podporoval nárok Habsburgovcov na burgundské územie a jeho emotívna náboženská téma rezonovala s habsburským katolicizmom v čase, keď reformačné hnutie bolo v Nizozemsku na vzostupe.

V čase prechodu moci z cisára Karola V. na jeho syna, budúceho kráľa Filipa II., bola Máriina kurátorská práca zameraná predovšetkým na oslavu habsburského rodu. V širšom diplomatickom kontexte však jej výber umeleckých diel a ich inštalácia v priestoroch paláca vytvárali aj priestor na kontempláciu a mierový dialóg, ktorý ako žena a regentka ponúkala početnému, prevažne mužskému šľachticému publiku, zhromaždenému počas návštevy cisára Karola V. a jeho syna Filipa v roku 1549 v Binche. V čase, keď domáca šľachta v Nizozemsku pod habsburskou vládou často rebelovala, bol Máriin zámer jasný: podporiť mierovú jednotu zakotvenú v spoločných hodnotách, vzdelaní a vkuse – prístup, ktorý Habsburgovia v šestnástom storočí uplatňovali, najmä prostredníctvom uzatvárania strategických sobášnych aliancií.

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Militia and Architecture in the Library of Queen Mary of Hungary

José Luis Gonzalo SÁNCHEZ-MOLERO

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 “à 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 post-primera 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 Hungary'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 *Epitomia 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 Olgiatei, 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 Pellizzuoli (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 Mary's 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 italienne, 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

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: *Horti 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 Broeucq 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.

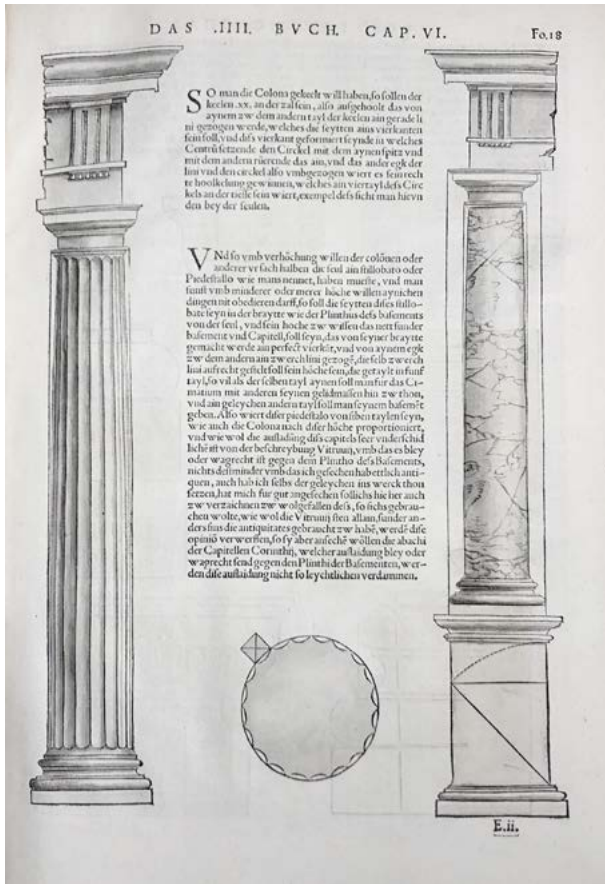


Fig. 2: Sebastiano Serlio: *Die gemaynen Regeln von der Architecture* (Antwerp, c. 1542 – 1543). Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, fol. 14-I-16. Photo: Patrimonio Nacional

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 Heddicke 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 Regeln von der Architectur vber die fünf 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 Sebastiano Serlio bolognese. Le premier liure d'Architecture de Sebastian Serlio bolognois*, and *Il secondo libro di prospettiva* (Paris, Jehan 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 Stighele, K. Turnhout 2005, pp. 1 – 15; DE JONGE, K.: A model architect: Jacques du Brœcq (1540 – 1555). In: *Unity and Discontinuity* (see in note 6), Vol. 5, pp. 79 – 86.

³⁵ Vlieghe – Van der Stighele 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 architettura* 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 Architecturen*, 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 architecturen op de vyve manieren van edificien: te weten Thuscana, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia, ende composita, metden exemplen der antiquiteiten die int meeste deel concorderen metde leeringhe van Vitruvio*. 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.

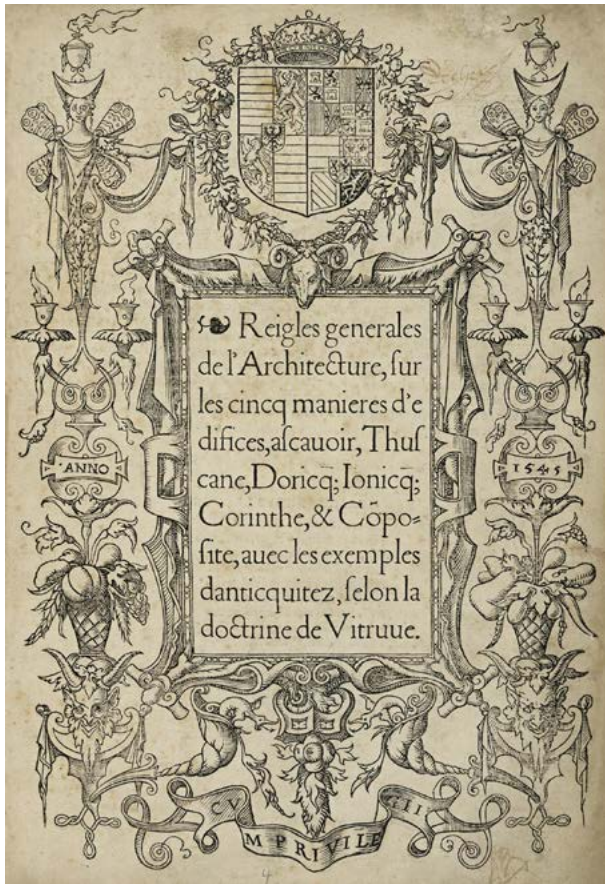


Fig. 3: Sebastiano Serlio: *Reigles generales de l'architecture* (Antwerp, 1545). Photo: Wikimedia Commons

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 fünf Manieren der Gebäu: zu wissen, Thoscana, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia, vnd Composita: mit den Exemplan der Antiquitäten so durch den merern Tayl sich mit der Leer Vitruui verglychen*. Trans.: COECKE VAN AELST, P. Antwerp c. 1542 – 1543, RBME, fol. 14-I-16.

⁴² SERLIO, S.: *Reigles generales de l'architecture, sur les cinq manieres d'edifices: ascavoir, thuscane, doricq[ue], ioniq[ue], corinthe, & composite, avec les exemples d'antiquitez, 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 *Amadis 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 Evo-

lution 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 *Discursos 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 Guerre* (1544), and the other, *Le Second liure des Discours*, with a separate half-title page, *Le Troisième 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 Guerre, de Messire Nicolas Macchiavegli, secrétaire & citoyen Florentin, sur la premiere decade de Tite Live, traduit d’Italien en François*. Paris 1544, RBME, fol. 14-IV-30 ; MACHIAVELLI, N.: *Le Second liure des Discours L’estat de Paix et de Guerre, de Messire Nicolas Macchiavel citoyen et secretaire de Florence, sur la premiere decade de Tite Live: traduit d’Italien en François* [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 Discours* (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, *Instructions sur le fait 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, 8^{vo}), 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 *Discours svr la Castrametation et Discipline Militaire des Romains* (Lyon, 1555); two copies of the *Instructions svr le fait 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 douze livres de Robert Valtvrin touchant la discipline Militaire*, by Valturio, translated from Latin into French by Louis Meigret (Paris, 1555); a copy of *Du Devoir 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, chasteaus, 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 Troisième liure des discours de l’estat de paix et de guerre, de messire Nicolas Macchiavel citoyen et secrétaire de Florence, sur la première decade de Tite Live: traduit d’Italien en*

François]. Paris 1548, RBME, fol. 59-VI-19.

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

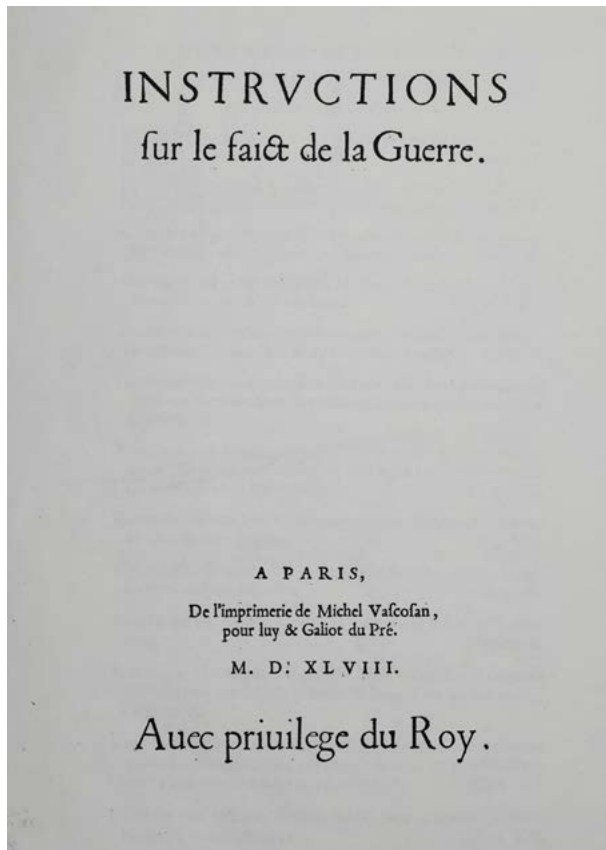


Fig. 4: Guillaume Du Bellay (now attributed to Raymond de Beccarie de Pavie, Baron de Fourquevaux): *Instrvctions sur le fait de la Guerre* (Paris, 1548). Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, fol. 39-I-21. Photo: Patrimonio Nacional

since been attributed to Raymond de Rouer de Beccarie de Pavie, Baron de Fourquevaux (Fig. 4).⁵² His *Instrvctions sur le fait 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 polumétis. In: *L'Année rabelaisienne*, Vol. 6, 2022, pp. 373 – 392; TETEL, M.: De l'auteur des *Instrvctions sur le fait 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 fait de la guerre, extraictes des liures de Polybe, Frontin, Vegece, Cornazan, Machiavelle, & plusieurs autres bons auteurs*. 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 Lyonnais, Conseiller du Roy, et Baillif des montaignes du Dauphiné. Des bains et antiques exercitacions 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 douze livres de Robert Valturin 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.

⁵⁶ VALTURIO, R.: *Les douze livres 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 denoir d'un Capitaine et chef de guerre; aussi Du Combat en Camp cloz, ou Duel le tout fait Latin par Claude Cotereau; & mis en langue Francoyse par Gabriel du Preau*.

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 Chabonais, the *Devoir 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

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 lieux fortz mis en françoyz par le Seigneur de Beroil, François 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 Feu*, 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 Siensese 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 lieux 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'architecture 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 Feu, contenant dix Livres, ansquels est amplement traicté de toutes sortes et diuersité de*

minieres, fusions et separations des metaux:... Trans.: VINCENTI, J. Paris 1556, RBME, fol. 15-V-24, No. 4.

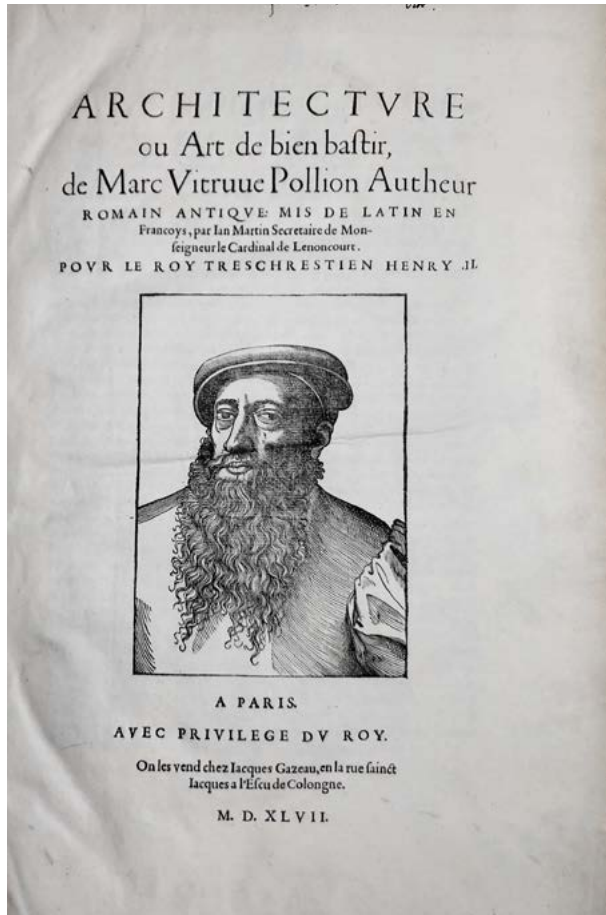


Fig. 5: Vitruvius: *Architectvve ou art de bien bastir* (Paris, 1547). Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, fol. 14-I-12. Photo: Patrimonio Nacional

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),

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



Fig. 6: Leon Battista Alberti: *L'Architectvve 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

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

⁶² ALBERTI, L. B.: *L'Architectvve et art de Bien bastir du seigneur Leon Baptiste Albert, gentilhomme florentin, diuisée en dix liures, Traduits 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 *Discours 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 *Discours sur 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 *Discours* 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, ou 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.: *Discours 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 treuvent à Rome, et par nostre Gaule*. Lyon 1556, RBME, fol. 13-1-2.

⁶⁴ COLONNA, F.: *Hynerotomachie, ou Discours du Songe de Poliphile, Deduisant comme Amour le combat a l’occasion de Polia. Soubz la fiction de quoy l’auteur monstrant que toutes choses terrestres ne sont que vanité, traicte de plusieurs matieres profitables, et dignes de memoire*.

Nouvellement traduit 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’Hynerotomachia 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 Vlieden. In July 1557, he requested leave to return to the Low Countries, and although the queen granted him two hundred pounds for his journey, Vlieden 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 vuiriden."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 fortificación 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 ebenen vnnnd gantzen corporen* (Nuremberg, 1525) and his *Hierin sind begrissen vier bücher 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 "*Bitruonio 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 ebenen vnnnd gantzen corporen, durch Albrecht Dürer zu samen getzoge[n] mit zu gehörigen figuren, in truck gebracht, im jar. M. D. X X v. Mit begnadung Kayserlicher im end eyngeleitber Frenhent damit sich ein ynglicher vor schaden zu buten myssrc*. Nuremberg 1525, RBME, fol. 14-I-20, No. 2; and DÜRER, A.: *Hierin sind begrissen vier bücher 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. Vitruvii Pollionis, viri svae professionis peritissimi, de architectura libri. X. Ad Avgvstum Caesarem accuratissime conscripti, & locis quamplurimis hac editione emendati. Adivinctis nunc 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 Olgiate, who contributed to the dissemination at the Brussels court of the latest developments in architecture and bastioned fortifica-

tion. 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

Štúdiá podrobne analyzuje doposiaľ málo skúmanú literatúru týkajúcu sa vojenských záležitostí a architektúry z knižnice, ktorú vybudovala Mária Uhorská, regentka Nizozemska. Rekonštruje proces formovania tejto knižnice, najmä jej unikátnu zbierku diel o vojne, fortifikácii 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). Štúdiá zdôrazňuje úlohu Máriinych poradcov, sekretárov, architektov a inžinierov, akými boli Jacques Du Broeucq, Pieter

Coecke, Donato Buoni alebo Giovanni Maria Olgiate, ktorí prispeli k šíreniu poznatkov o architektúre a bastiónovom opevnení na bruselskom dvore, ako aj k ich ďalšiemu upresňovaniu. V závere prichádza štúdiá 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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Gift-Giving and the Political Agency of Mary of Hungary during her Governorship in the Low Countries (1531 – 1555)

Maxim HOFFMAN

Abstract

This article examines the political, cultural, and emotional dimensions of gift-giving during the governorship of Mary of Hungary, governor-general of the Low Countries from 1531 to 1555, focusing in particular on her exchanges with her sister Eleanor of Austria, queen of France. Gifts constituted a crucial instrument of dynastic governance within the Habsburg polity. Far from being merely ceremonial or affectionate tokens, these objects operated as subtle yet powerful tools of communication, negotiation, and political positioning. Through an analysis of correspondence between the sisters, financial accounts, and ambassadorial reports, this study shows how Mary deployed a wide range of gifts to influence diplomatic relations between the Habsburg and Valois courts. Gift-giving offered a channel of interaction that was less suspect than formal diplomatic missions, particularly in times of war. It enabled Mary to soothe Eleanor's precarious position at the French court while also allowing her to articulate political statements independently of her brother, Emperor Charles V. Special attention is devoted to gifts associated with the hunt, through which Mary projected authority and engaged in a symbolic duel with the king of France, Francis I. Moreover, by contextualizing these numerous exchanges within a broader network linking Habsburg family members across Europe, Mary's central role as an intermediary and information broker within the dynasty is highlighted. Ultimately, this article substantiates earlier research showing that early modern gift culture was not a peripheral courtly display but an essential mechanism of female political agency and dynastic statecraft in sixteenth-century Europe.

Keywords: gift-giving, governance, agency, court culture, Low Countries, Netherlands, France, Habsburg, Valois, Mary of Hungary, Eleanor of Austria

Introduction

In the winter of 1539 – 1540, King Francis I invited Emperor Charles V to travel with him through France. The French king knew that the emperor wished to go from Spain to Ghent in the Low Countries in order to suppress the revolt that

had broken out in that city.¹ Although the French and Habsburg rulers had only recently laid down their arms, both now recognized the mutual advantages of staging such a joint journey.² For the emperor, it offered an opportunity to cultivate the image of a virtuous prince—one who was celebrated in the realm of his former archenemy with ceremonial

¹ KNECHT, R. J.: Charles V's Journey through France, 1539 – 1540. In: *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*. Eds.: MULRYNE, J. R. – GOLDRING, E. London 2017, pp. 153 – 170; KNECHT, R. J.: 'Haulse (Paris), haulse bien hault ta porte.' The Entry of the Emperor Charles V into Paris, 1540. In: *Renaissance Reflections: Essays in Memory*

of C.A. Mayer. Eds.: SMITH, P. M. – PEACH, T. Paris 2002, pp. 85 – 105.

² LE PERSON, X.: A Moment of 'Resverie': Charles V and Francis I's Encounter at Aigues-Mortes (July 1538). In: *French History*, Vol. 19, 2005, No 1, pp. 1 – 27.

entries as if he were the king himself. For Francis, the event served as a charm offensive, intended to persuade the emperor to renounce his rights to the Duchy of Milan. The occasion thus quickly turned into a major propaganda spectacle for both crowns. Within a matter of weeks, a variety of pamphlets were printed across Europe to commemorate the ceremonial entries in cities such as Poitiers, Orléans, and Paris, while the diplomatic community looked on in astonishment at this remarkable display of amity.

Francis's participation in the journey, however, had appeared most uncertain, as he had been seriously ill only a few weeks before the emperor's arrival in France. Had it not been for the intervention of the king's wife, Eleanor of Austria, and her sister Mary of Hungary, governor-general of the Low Countries, the journey might have unfolded very differently and been perceived quite differently across Europe. In October 1539, Eleanor worriedly wrote to Mary that her husband "is unable to ride on horseback and avoids the litter because he cannot have company in it." She therefore appealed to Mary to "obtain the carriage of the late Lord of Nassau, which is said to be remarkably suitable," adding that she hoped it would arrive "before the emperor's coming, so that the king, if he is able to, may make use of it."³ In late November 1539, a "shining coach," drawn by four black Hungarian horses "of the finest quality," arrived at the French court, just in time for the journey that lay ahead.⁴

The Habsburg sisters' determination to ensure the success of the emperor's journey is scarcely surprising. As governor, Mary had weathered severe difficulties during the recent war with France and the revolt in Ghent, while Eleanor, as a Habsburg consort at the French court, had endured close scrutiny

in the recent war and had been obliged to dismiss part of her household. Mary responded promptly to her sister's request. She took particular care with the Hungarian horses, equipping each one with new saddles, and she supervised the refurbishment of the coach that had belonged to the late Henry III of Nassau, prince of Orange. The woodwork was repaired where necessary, the exterior and interior were reupholstered in black velvet, and the cushions were renewed.⁵ A heavily revised draft letter in Mary's own hand further indicates that the coach could be heated—a pleasant feature, given that the imperial journey was to take place in winter:

"And since, Madam, I have learned that you had heard there was some sort of stove within this coach, I wish to inform you of what the prince of Orange used to keep himself warm. When it was cold, he would have a good quantity of sand thoroughly heated and put into a sack, and after closing the coach, he would have the heated sack placed inside, which gave warmth as though it had been a stove. And when traveling across the fields, he would always send someone ahead to heat another sack of sand, to replace it when the first had turned cold."⁶

Mary thus devoted considerable attention to every detail of the highly symbolic gift of a carriage, which had belonged to an imperial general who once fought against the French Crown. Two points are particularly interesting to consider in this case, illustrating how Mary sought to influence the political agenda despite not being present during the journey itself. First, she wished the emperor to reach the Low Countries promptly in order to assist her in

³ "Et pour se que pour quelque tans yl ne pora aller a cheval et que la lytyere luy fache pour se quy ny peult avoyr compaynyne, j'envoye se se present porteur pour me fayre recouvrer le charyot de feu monsieur de Nasou ce que l'on ma dyt qu'yl etet meryhyeuusement ayze [...] et afin quy set yssy pour le tans de la venue de l'ampereur pour sy d'avanture le roy seret an dyspozycyon pour s'an servir". — Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, October 1539 (Haus, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, LA Belgien PA (hereafter PA) 47/2, f. 222).

⁴ Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, November 1539 (PA 47/2, f. 224); Archives départementales du Nord, Lille, série B (hereafter ADN, B) 2410, f. 425v – 426r.

⁵ ADN, B 2410, f. 423v–425r.

⁶ "Et pour autant, madame, que ay entendu du desusdit que avois entendu qu'il y eult quelle pale dedens, vous veult bien avertir de quoy il usoit pour estre chaudement. Cant il faisoit froit, il faisoit tres bien chauffer de bonne cantité de sablon et le mestre dedens ung sac et, apres bien avoir bouclé le cheriot, le faisoit mestre bien chauffé la dedans quy donoit la chaleur come sy se fut ung palle et en allant par les champs envoiant tousjours devant pour rechauffer ung aultre sac de sablon pour resanger cant celuy se refroidisoit". — Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Brussels, 3 November 1539 (PA 47/1, f. 42 – 43).



Fig. 1: Marguerite de Navarre: *The Coach, or the Debate of Love*, f. 42v, 1541, manuscript, parchment, 20 × 15 cm. Bibliothèque et archives du château, Chantilly, Inv. No. 522. Photo: CNRS-IRHT photograph © Bibliothèque du musée Condé, Château de Chantilly

suppressing the revolt in Ghent. The French king's illness could considerably delay the entire journey, as the emperor, following the rules of courtesy, would adapt his pace to that of the king. By sending the carriage, she ensured that the French king could not use his indisposition as a pretext to prolong the journey, and consequently, made certain her brother's swift arrival. Second, if the longstanding rivalry between Charles V and Francis I were ever to be resolved, such a reconciliation would have to depend upon personal rapport and a sense of mutual obligation. What better opportunity to cultivate this than time spent together by the two rulers in the convivial setting of a shining coach, gathered around the warmth of a stove?

So, while at first glance it may seem surprising that, amid the many pressures of her governorship in the Low Countries, Mary would have devoted so much care to the preparation of gifts, such objects

must be understood as an essential element of the political latitude available to dowager queens such as herself. These gifts offer a prime example of the central role she occupied within the Habsburg dynasty. In this particular case, Mary could hardly refuse Eleanor's request to send the coach to the French court. One might even be tempted to suggest that this display of Habsburg sisterly friendship and affection inspired Marguerite de Navarre when she composed *La Coche*. This secular poem recounts a debate between three unnamed ladies and Marguerite herself in a carriage over who suffers most in love, engaging with themes of courtly love while presenting an ideal of female friendship.⁷ It is possible that the illuminator of the manuscript of *La Coche* drew

⁷ LEUSHUIS, R.: Marguerite de Navarre's Rewriting of the Courtly Dialogue: Speaking of Love in *La Coche*. In: *French Forum*, Vol. 42, 2017, No. 3, pp. 453 – 469.

inspiration from Mary and Eleanor's gift, which must have been widely visible to the public during the imperial visit in 1539–1540, when he depicted a black upholstered coach drawn by four black horses.

The practice of gift-giving itself has attracted sustained scholarly attention in the past several decades. Historians such as Natalie Zemon Davis have interrogated the nature and purpose of the gift, the expectations of reciprocity it entailed, and the symbolic language and economy through which gifts articulated authority, secured loyalty, and displayed magnificence.⁸ The study of material culture has proved essential to understand the political agency of queen consorts and dowagers, whether through portrait iconography, the possession and display of art, or sartorial self-fashioning.⁹ Mary of Hungary's patronage of painters, for instance, has been relatively well studied. In the 1530s, she commissioned family portraits from artists such as Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen (c. 1503–1559) and Bernard van Orley (c. 1487/91–1541); in the 1540s and 1550s, she mostly turned to Titian (c. 1488/90–1576) and Anthonis Mor (c. 1517–1577), ultimately establishing her renowned portrait gallery in the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels. In so doing, she followed in the footsteps of her aunt, Margaret of Austria, at whose court in Mechelen she had been raised.¹⁰ Beyond questions of iconography and self-representation, however, gifts were also crucial instruments through which royal women shaped reputations, structured patron–client relationships, and commented upon or influenced policies. Through gifts, queens played an indispensable role in maintaining amicable relations between rulers.¹¹ Such direct political objectives are

clearly tangible in the example of the coach gift in November 1539.

The gifts procured and distributed by Mary of Hungary during her governorship in the Low Countries from 1531 to 1555 served multiple, overlapping purposes. First, she cultivated an established practice of exchange with the French court, particularly in relation to the hunt, through which she asserted her expertise in this quintessentially noble male pursuit. Second, the numerous gifts connected to other aspects of courtly life reveal her role as a key broker within the Habsburg monarchy—not merely as an informational conduit linking the territories of a composite empire with its ruling dynasty, but also as a guardian of familial bonds, attentive to the welfare of her relatives. Third, the reputation she fashioned through these exchanges enabled her to intervene in the political sphere more directly than has hitherto been acknowledged, influencing the direction of policy under an emperor who was frequently absent from the Low Countries. As Felicity Heal concluded in her book on early modern gift exchange, “competition and communication with other sovereigns was mediated through gift-giving when conflict could be avoided.”¹² This observation also holds true for the period and region under discussion. The case of Mary of Hungary strongly suggests that her carefully calibrated gift strategies functioned as a powerful means of countering and subtly challenging her principal political rivals.

A comprehensive monograph on the full extent of Mary's gift and patronage networks remains to be written. The examples discussed here are drawn primarily from the largely unstudied correspondence

⁸ ZEMON DAVIS, N.: *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*. Oxford 2000. Also see MAUSS, M.: *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Trans. CUNNISON I. New York 1967; LIEBERSOHN, H.: *The Return of the Gift: European History of a Global Idea*. Cambridge 2012.

⁹ *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer, and European Politics, c. 1500–1800*. Eds.: WATANABE-O'KELLY, H. & MORTON, A. London 2017; *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*. Eds.: CRUZ, A. J. – SUZUKI, M. Urbana 2009; *Women at the Burgundian Court: Presence and Influence*. Eds.: EICHBERGER, D. – HÜSKEN, W. N. – LEGARÉ, A. M. Turnhout 2010.

¹⁰ CAUCHIES, J. M. – DOCQUIER, G.: *Marie de Hongrie. Art et pouvoir à la Renaissance*. Mariemont 2025; *Mary of Hungary. Renaissance Patron and Collector. Gender, Art and Culture*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. Turnhout 2020; EICHBERGER, D. – BEAVEN, L.: Family Members and Political Allies: The Portrait Collection of Margaret of Austria. In: *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 77, 1995, pp. 225–248.

¹¹ SOWERBY, T.: Early Modern Queens Consort and Dowager and Diplomatic Gifts. In: *Women's History Review*, Vol. 30, 2021, No. 5, pp. 723–737.

¹² HEAL, F.: *The Power of Gifts. Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England*. Oxford 2014, p. 216.

with her sister, Eleanor of Austria, for whom gifts functioned par excellence as a means of maintaining contact with her family during her time as queen-consort in France. This sisterly correspondence reveals Mary's meticulous attention to the personal dimensions of gift exchange and her direct involvement in its organization. Their letters thereby offer a valuable perspective on the scope of Mary's political agency beyond the formal arenas of her exchanges with the emperor.¹³

Gifts for Hunting and Hunting for Gifts

In historiography, Mary of Hungary is often described as a "masculine huntress." Contemporaries praised her stamina in the saddle and her prowess as an equestrienne, while ambassadors repeatedly reported on her passionate and highly skilled engagement in the hunt. She inherited a rich Habsburg-Burgundian hunting tradition. Several of her forebears were accomplished hunters, including her aunt Margaret of Austria, while her grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, died as the result of a hunting accident in 1482. Already during her years in Austria and Hungary, Mary herself was constantly concerned with the management of game stocks. After her appointment as governor of the Low Countries, her correspondence with the emperor regularly referred to the hours she spent pursuing quarry, and she did not conceal her displeasure when she failed to deliver the final blow herself. Her reputation as a huntress is also reflected in contemporary iconography. Scholars have (quite convincingly) suggested that she was involved in commissioning the tapestry series *The Hunts of Maximilian*, designed by Bernard van Orley and Jan Tons. This twelve-piece cycle, representing the months of the year and completed

between 1530 and 1533, may include her likeness: in the month of April, a female figure shown from behind with a falcon on her wrist has been identified as Mary; likewise, the unusually masculine depiction of a mounted female figure in the month of July has also been interpreted as representing her.¹⁴

It is therefore not surprising that many gifts connected with hunting were exchanged. Hunting was, above all, a social event at court; it was never practiced alone. It involved not only the immediate court but also the wider aristocracy, functioning as a form of elite sociability. Exchanges of hunting birds with nobles such as Adrien de Croÿ were common in the Low Countries. Leading noble figures with whom Mary regularly hunted were given prestigious offices related to the hunt. Antoine de Croÿ, lord of Sempy, was given the title "Grand Veneur" of Flanders and "Chevalier d'honneur" to Mary of Hungary, while Henry III of Nassau was "Grand Veneur" of Brabant.¹⁵ Mary also acquired an international reputation for the expertise of her hunting staff and the quality of her techniques. Her knowledge was widely sought and highly valued as a diplomatic gift. This applied to the two principal forms of sixteenth-century hunting: *chasse au vol* (falconry), conducted with birds of prey, and *chasse à courre* (venery), conducted with hounds.

In particular, Mary developed considerable expertise in falconry. Her birds of prey were acquired in several ways. Many came through connections with German territories. The Duke of Prussia, for example, sent large numbers of falcons throughout Europe; during her governorship in the Low Countries, Mary received 191 peregrine falcons in twenty-three separate consignments.¹⁶ Family members also regularly sent birds, as recorded in accounts and correspondence. In 1539, her broth-

¹³ Where possible, the gifts exchanged between the sisters have been corroborated with information from the financial accounts of the emperor's general-receiver and of Mary's treasurer, as well as from correspondence of the imperial ambassadors in France.

¹⁴ NIEDERMANN, C.: Marie de Hongrie et la chasse. In: *Marie de Hongrie. Politique et culture sous la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas*. Eds.: FEDERINOV, B. – DOCQUIER, G.; Mariemont 2008, pp. 115 – 123; GORTER-VAN ROYEN, L.: *Maria van Hongarije, regentes der Nederlanden*. Hilversum 1995, pp. 287 – 304;

SCHNEEBALG-PERELMAN, S.: *Les chasses de Maximilien*. Brussels 1982, pp. 41 – 43.

¹⁵ Adrien de Croÿ to Mary of Hungary, Roelux, 25 October [undated] (Archives générales du Royaume, Audience 119, f. 152 – 153).

¹⁶ KNABE, G.: Beizjagd und politische Falkengeschenke in vier Jahrhunderten beim Deutschen Ritterorden in Preussen und dem späteren Herzogtum Preussen (1226 – Anfang 17. Jahrhundert). In: *Deutscher Falkenorden*, 1962, pp. 22 – 27.

er Ferdinand sent Mary twelve birds described as “blancbois,” probably white gyrfalcons, considered the finest among falcons.¹⁷ Mary also collected birds herself in two ways: Falcons were captured during migration as they passed through Brabant and the Low Countries, while her falconers were dispatched as far as Scandinavia to procure them; some of her men resided there almost permanently.¹⁸ Her experience in training falcons was widely acknowledged. Several princes sent their own falconers to the Low Countries to exchange expertise at her court on the taming and handling of birds. Brabant falconers, in particular, enjoyed a strong reputation.

Most notably, Mary established an active exchange of birds with the French court. Between 1531 and 1548, evidence from the accounts of Emperor Charles’s general receiver, from the treasurer of Mary’s household, and from the correspondence among Mary, her sister Eleanor of Austria, and Francis I, indicates that such exchanges took place every year, and often several times annually. The presence of Eleanor must have intensified this interaction; after her departure from France in 1548 (a year after Francis died), their exchanges declined markedly. Letters from almost every year have survived in which Eleanor thanked Mary for birds sent either to her or to the king. In 1533, she wrote: “I have presented to the king the birds which it pleased you to send me. He has been most pleased with them and found them entirely to his satisfaction. He told me that he is wholly at your command and bears you such affection that, in all matters that may concern you personally, you will always find him your true good brother and friend.”¹⁹ In November 1538, shortly

after Mary’s visit to the French court at Compiègne, Eleanor informed her sister that “the king found the ten birds greatly to his satisfaction, and he and I were no less sorry than you were that you were no longer in our company.” Dozens of similar letters testify to the diplomatic value of these gifts in affirming bonds of friendship.²⁰ Moreover, Mary’s emotional attachment to her birds is evident from the official instructions she sent in 1534 to the imperial ambassador in France, requesting that the king’s falconers and French noblemen be informed of the loss of one of her young gyrfalcons, which had possibly flown across the border. The ambassador replied that every effort would be made to recover it, adding that it would be helpful to know whether it was a wild bird and what it looked like, so that, should anyone attempt to conceal it and remove the jesses, it might still be recognized.²¹

The accounts further record regular payments to the emperor’s grand falconer, Adolf van der Aa, and other falconers for their journeys to France. In 1535, Van der Aa transported twenty birds of prey that the queen sent as a gift in the emperor’s name. In 1537, he again carried twenty birds brought from Norway (seven gyrfalcons, five male gyrfalcons, and eight sakers), while in 1539, further expenditures were recorded for nine gyrfalcons, five white gyrfalcons, four male gyrfalcons, a heron falcon, and ten sakers.²² When Van der Aa arrived at the French court in December 1537, Eleanor informed Mary that she had delivered the birds to the king and immediately dispatched Van der Aa back to report on developments at court: “It will give you no less contentment that it gives me to know the good news, and on this

¹⁷ ADN, B 3362, f. 123v.

¹⁸ ADN, B 2404, f. 403r.

¹⁹ “J’ay presanté, madame, les auzyaulx au roy qu’yl vous a pleu m’envoyer desquelx yl l’a esté trays contant et les a trouvé fort a son contentement. Yl m’a dyt qu’yll et tant a votre commandement et qu’yl vous porte ungne telle amytyé que de ce qu’yl vous touchera partyculyerement vous le trouverés toujours votre vray bon frere et amy”. – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, second half 1533 (PA 47/2, f. 115).

²⁰ Eleanor to Mary of Hungary: April 1537 (PA 47/2, f. 168); Spring 1539 (PA 47/2, f. 200, 203); c. 1540 (PA 47/2, f. 134);

December 1541 (PA 47/2, f. 240); Folambrey, 2 December 1545 (PA 47/2, f. 155); 17 November 1546 (PA 47/2, f. 283). Some mentions by the imperial ambassadors for instance: Jean Hannart to Charles V, Vendôme, 7 December 1534 (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Frankreich, Diplomatische Korrespondenz (hence FDK) 7, f. 97 – 104); François Bonvalot to Mary of Hungary, Blois, 14 March 1541 (FDK 9, f. 1r).

²¹ Jean Hannart to Mary of Hungary, Rouen, 28 April 1535 (FDK 8, f. 42 – 43).

²² ADN, B 2398, f. 396v, f. 450r; ADN, B 2410, f. 423r, f. 379r & 425r; ADN, B 2418, f. 266v; ADN, B 2404, f. 365v.



Fig. 2: Jakob Seisenegger: *Portrait of Emperor Charles V with a hunting dog*, 1532, oil on canvas, 231 x 149 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna, Inv. No. GG A114. Photo: KHM-Museumsvorband

occasion I have immediately dispatched the present bearer Van der Aa to inform you.”²³

Such exchanges also enabled Mary to renew her own stock. In 1543, Eleanor wrote that the king had declared Mary’s birds to be “the finest he had ever seen” and had sent others in return through his own falconer, Louis Prévost de Sansac.²⁴ French accounts show that Sansac was actually sent to the Low Countries on several occasions: in 1531 to conduct falcons and greyhounds, and again in 1533 and 1538, sometimes also bringing hunting equipment such as nets.²⁵ Mary also took a keen interest in French hunting practices and sent her own hunters to observe techniques such as net hunting, in which driven game was caught in suspended nets. The following year, she received hunting nets from the French king as a gift.²⁶ In 1539, Francis I also presented her with crossbows, hand bows, and bolts for the hunt.²⁷

Perhaps the gifts Mary most eagerly sought in return were French hunting dogs. In 1534, she dispatched to Francis her first squire, Blois, along with ten gyrfalcons and other falcons. The king was so pleased with these birds that “he resolved, in return, to send her some of his own hunting dogs, properly trained and without the need to exchange a huntsman to demonstrate their discipline and behavior.”²⁸ That Mary devoted considerable attention to dog breeding from the moment of her arrival in the Low Countries is clear from several autograph letters to Charles, in which she reported in detail on the condition and training of two Scottish greyhounds she had had brought from England in 1532.²⁹ Across the Low Countries, she maintained kennels for breeding

²³ “Je ne doute point que se ne vous sera moyns de contentement que a moy de savoyr les bonnes nouvelles et a sette ocazyon, j’ey fayt partyr yncontyent se present porteur Vandegrat”. – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, December 1537 (PA 47/2, f. 182).

²⁴ Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Paris, 16 November 1543 (PA 47/2, f. 142).

²⁵ For instance: Francis I to Mary of Hungary, c. 21/08/1538 & end November 1538, edited in POTTER, D. L.: *Inventaire des lettres missives de François Ier, roi de France (1515 – 1547)*. Paris 2025, Cour-de-France, <https://cour-de-france.fr/article7051.html>; MARICHAL, P.: *Catalogue des actes de François Ier*. Paris 1887 – 1908, II, p. 550, 6442; CAF VII, p. 643, 29372 & p. 701, 28463; CAF, VIII, p. 290, 32010. Sansac also received a golden chain of the queen for his efforts in 1538. – ADN, B 3361, f. 163v.

²⁶ FINOT, J.: *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Archives civiles série B. Chambre des comptes de Lille*. Lille 1865 – 1895, VII, pp. 302 – 309.

²⁷ ADN, B 2410, f. 399v.

²⁸ “[...] pour revenge luy envoyer des syens de chasse qui seront saiges sans faire le change avec ung veneur pour monstrier la conduite”. – Jean Hannart to Charles V, Vendôme, 7 December 1534 (FDK 7, f. 97 – 104).

²⁹ *Correspondance de Marie de Hongrie avec Charles Quint et Nicolas de Granvelle*. Eds.: GORTER-VAN ROYEN, L. – HOYOIS J.-P. Turnhout 2009, see letters from 14 April 1532, 21 April 1532 & 16 May 1532.

and training. In mid-sixteenth-century Flanders, for example, the ventry in Flandres at Eeklo (called La Maison) kept ten pairs of hounds in 1550 – 1551, which were carefully tended; Mary herself even stayed there on several occasions.³⁰ In Brabant, the ventry of Brabant at Boitsfort in the Sonian Forest employed, according to an ordinance of 1544, twenty-three staff and maintained a pack of seventy-six dogs. As with falconry, Mary thus tried to acquire expertise in the breeding and training of hounds. This was again much admired by her contemporaries. In April 1539, Eleanor wrote with evident pride, “I shall be no less pleased to hear that you are satisfied with the pastime your dogs provide. The king is very pleased that you have trained them so well and wishes to see them hunt in your company.”³¹

Mary’s interest in dogs extended beyond their use in the chase to the careful breeding of new and desirable strains. Great attention was therefore paid to mating, overseen by kennel servants under her close supervision, with due regard to lineage.³² In 1538, Mary expressed a particular desire for French white dogs, and Eleanor reported that she had done her utmost to obtain the animals Mary wanted for breeding purposes.³³ Evidently, Mary had made her preferences known more than once, for several letters record Mary thanking her sister for dogs sent from the French court or expressing anticipation of testing the newly arrived animals in suitable hunting terrain.³⁴ That the exchange was far from indiscriminate is clear from an episode that provoked Francis I’s anger toward his kennel servants. In March 1541, the king had personally selected four large and handsome female dogs to send to Mary, together with a

sizable pack. However, to his great annoyance, as he wrote, “he was unable to dispatch the female dogs after all, as the chosen animals for you had already been mated.”³⁵

Even more than in the case of hunting birds, the exchange of dogs revealed a personal bond between Mary and her sister. In February 1544, Mary wrote that, knowing her sister’s fondness for small dogs, she was sending her “a pair of little spaniels,” having heard that Eleanor’s own dog had died. Notably, in the draft of her letter, Mary initially wrote not the neutral phrase that her sister’s dog “had died,” but emotionally that it “had gone to the paradise of dogs.”³⁶ Shortly thereafter, there arrived at the French court “beautiful little dogs,” accompanied by “some little birds that sing most beautifully in the world without opening their beaks.”³⁷ Such affectionate and intimate gestures demonstrate that activities associated with the hunt carried genuine sentimental value. For two sisters long separated by political circumstance, the exchange of animals, whether little spaniels, falcons, or even songbirds, served not only leisurely ends but also sustained a deeply personal connection.

Gifts and Family Communication

The annual (and often even more frequent) exchange of hunting birds and dogs between Mary of Hungary and her sister Eleanor formed only one part of a much broader culture of gift-giving that sustained their relationship. These repeated contacts established an intense and continuous line of communication between the courts of the Low Countries

³⁰ NIEDERMANN 2008 (see in note 14), pp. 118 – 119.

³¹ “*Et je ne serey moyns ayze a m’anparer que vous estes du pasetans que voz chyens vous donnent, le roy est byen ayze que vous les aves sy byen dressees et se soubede pour les voyr chaser an votre compaygnye*”. – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, End of April 1539 (PA 47/2, f. 217).

³² GORTER-VAN ROYEN 1995 (see in note 14), p. 296.

³³ Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Amboise, 8 April 1545 (PA 47/2, f. 259).

³⁴ Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Valenciennes, 24 January 1540 (PA 47/1, f. 46); Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, c. June 1540 (PA 47/1, f. 54); Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, early 1539 (PA 47/2, f. 214).

³⁵ François Bonvalot to Mary of Hungary, Blois, 14 March 1541 (FDK 9, f. 1r); “*Yl ne vous a paynt anvoyé les lysés pource que sette qu’yl avet choazyes pour vous ont esté semee*.” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, March 1541 (PA 47/2, f. 134).

³⁶ “*J’ay veu les petis oseaulx et petis chiens vous sont plus agreable que les grans, a ceste ocasion je vous envoie une paire de petit espaniont aiant entendu que la vostre, quy tint icy la chouche de son petit chien, [rayé: est allé au paradis des chiens] c’en est lesser morir*”. – Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Ghent, February 1544 (PA 47/1, f. 70).

³⁷ “[...] *de petys ozyaux quy chantent le plus jolyeman du monde sens le doyt*.” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Spring 1544 (PA 47/2, f. 144).

and France. On multiple occasions, important nobles and ministers acted as intermediaries. In 1539, for instance, the Lord of Corbaron, a high-ranking councillor in the Low Countries, was sent to the French queen with “un beau coffre doré” (a beautiful gilded chest).³⁸ In 1535, Mary instructed her secretary, Rombout Loets, to purchase six Bibles in Antwerp for her sister.³⁹ These have been identified as the 1534 edition of Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples’ French translation of the Scriptures, a version that had been censored by the Parlement of Paris a decade earlier. This gift reflected Eleanor’s and her siblings’ known interest in vernacular devotional reading.⁴⁰ More often, however, it was courtiers at various levels of both households who facilitated the regular circulation of presents.

Many animals were exchanged that had nothing to do with hunting. In March 1539, for example, an unnamed courtier was paid for supplying “forty herrings and other fish” to feed two sea lions transported by carriage from Brussels to the French court.⁴¹ In the spring of 1542, Mary wrote that, having learned that the king and Eleanor had enjoyed the sea lions she had previously sent, she was dispatching new ones to each of them.⁴² The gift was evidently well received, for the French king wished to train his animal personally.⁴³ Horses, too, were frequently exchanged, and in 1538, Francis I notably presented Mary with a giraffe.⁴⁴

Food and drink formed another important category of gifts. Courtiers travelled back and forth bearing regional delicacies. Mary regularly sent Hungarian wine, while wine from Languedoc was often sent in return.⁴⁵ On one occasion, Eleanor thanked her sister for the Brussels beer she had received, explaining that it was particularly welcome “for a rheum I have that has forced me to leave the wine; and if I can obtain some white wine of good quality from this place, I will send it to you.”⁴⁶ Especially during Lent, Mary dispatched provisions to her relatives. An account from 1545 records that her brother Ferdinand received in Vienna cartloads of tuna, salmon, eel, cod, stockfish, sprats, herring, capers, figs from Rhodes, raisins from Tarsus, nutmeg, olives, olive oil, and butter.⁴⁷ In the same year, Eleanor warmly thanked her sister for the “Lenten meat,” remarking that it could not have arrived at a better time and assuring her that, following her advice, she would not eat too much of it.⁴⁸

Clearly, Mary took a keen interest in her sister’s health by giving such dietary advice. It is well known that Eleanor had fragile health. The French queen had epilepsy and was frequently afflicted by other ailments. When she endured particularly severe pains in 1545, Mary sought out possible remedies and obtained a secret recipe for a medicinal powder said to alleviate her complaints.⁴⁹ She sent it by special envoy, the Lord of Noirtour, with precise instructions regarding dosage, duration, and whether it should be

³⁸ ADN, B 3361, f. 185v.

³⁹ ADN, B 3358, f. 262v.

⁴⁰ WILSON-CHEVALIER, K.: Art Patronage and Women (Including Habsburg) in the Orbit of King Francis I. In: *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 16, 2002, No. 4, p. 520.

⁴¹ ADN, B 2415; Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Spring 1539 (PA 47/2, f. 204).

⁴² “[...] aiant connu que le roy et vous avons eu pour agreable quelque chien de mer que vous ay envoie par cy devant, vous en envoie par ce present porteur a cheacun ung.” – Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Spring 1542 (PA 47/1, f. 62).

⁴³ “[...] a vullu abyhyer le syen luy mesmes.” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Spring 1542 (PA 47/2, f. 130)

⁴⁴ ADN, B 3360, f. 166r.

⁴⁵ ADN, B 2415.

⁴⁶ “[...] de la byere quy vous a pleu m’anvoyer laquelle je treuve fort bonne et elle n’eu seu venyr an myheure sayson pour ung rume que j’ey quy m’a fayt layser le vyn, et sy je puy recouvrer an se hyeu du blanc quy set bon, je vous an annoyerey.” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, c. 1539 (PA 47/2, f. 128); ADN B 2410, f. 302v.

⁴⁷ ADN, B 3358, f. 252r.

⁴⁸ “[...] byen fort de ryande de caresme quy vous a pleu m’anvoyer les quelles je trouve tan bonnes qu’yl n’est posyble de plus sy esse que croyant votre consayl je n’en manjerey poynt tant quy me sensent fayre.” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Chambord, 13 March 1545 (PA 47/2, f. 258); ADN, B 2448, f. 358r.

⁴⁹ Instructions for a medicinal powder, 1545 (PA 47/2, f. 272 – 275).



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

taken before or after meals.⁵⁰ Eleanor expressed complete confidence in the remedy, writing, “I desire no other recipe than that which comes from your hand, being assured that it can do me nothing but good.”⁵¹ Later letters from Mary, however, suggest that Eleanor did not always follow the prescribed regimen. Mary urged her to heed the physicians’ advice and

to take the necessary medicines, gently reproaching her for neglecting her health. She implored her sister to do so at least “for the love of us and of Madame l’Infante your daughter, and to relieve us of this anxiety,” and even wondered whether Eleanor was still taking the powder she sent the previous year, or whether it had proved of little benefit.⁵²

⁵⁰ Mary of Hungary to Noirtour, c. September 1545 (PA 47/1, f. 109); Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Utrecht, 27 January 1546 (PA 47/1, f. 87).

⁵¹ “[...] ne veulx poynt aultre resepte que venyr de votre mayn estant aseuree qu’elle ne me saret fayre que hyaucoup de byen.” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, 1 October 1545 (PA 47/2, f. 148).

⁵² “[...] veullés croire le conseil des medesin et user des preservatifs requis que cant estes en iceluy en quoy j’ay assés entendu par ceulx que par sy devant vous ay envoié visiter y faites quelque faulte; pour l’amour de nous et de madame l’infante vostre fille, et pour nous oster de ceste peine.” – Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, 13 December 1546 (PA 47/1, f. 91).



Fig. 4: Bernard van Orley and Jan Tons (weaver, Willem Dermoyen): *The Hunts of Maximilian. July – Deer Hunt, with the Red Cloister Abbey in the Background*, c. 1530 – 1533 tapestry, 438 × 588.5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. No. OA7318. Photo: GrandPalaisRmn (Musée du Louvre)/Daniel Arnaudet

Textiles also circulated between the two courts. In 1537, having heard that Eleanor wished to “avoir quelques belles toilettes,” Mary sent several fine cloths so that her sister might indicate her preferences; she promised to supply as many more as she desired.⁵³ In subsequent years, Eleanor appears to have placed further orders. In 1543, Mary delivered to Eleanor’s treasurer “six pieces from Holland, six

from Nivelles and six from Cambrai,” which she described as “the most beautiful you can see.”⁵⁴

Connections were equally strong among the music chapels of the Habsburg sisters. Notably, Camilla Cavicchi has stressed the musical patronage of Queen Mary and the extent of her musical library and collections of instruments.⁵⁵ From a young age, both Mary and Eleanor had received thorough mu-

⁵³ Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, 17 May 1537 (PA 47/1, f. 11 – 12).

⁵⁴ Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Mons, 15 October 1543 (PA 47/1, f. 67); “[...] *les plus belles que l’on sarét voyr.*” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Fontainebleau, 17

December 1543 (PA 47/2, f. 251).

⁵⁵ CAVICCHI, C.: Mary of Hungary, Patron of Music. In: *Mary of Hungary. Renaissance Patron and Collector. Gender, Art and Culture*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. Turnhout 2020, pp. 155 – 184.

sical instruction from Henri Bredemers, organist in the service of Philip the Fair. Both were proficient on several instruments, including the harpsichord and the lute.⁵⁶ In a letter written when she was about fourteen, Eleanor recommended to her aunt Margaret of Austria a certain Gillequin de Cuper, “who teaches my sisters and me to play the lute and gives us much pleasure.”⁵⁷ Several such interesting gifts were exchanged that relate to music. In the accounts of 1539 by Mary’s treasurer, we find that Roger Pathie, an organist from Cambrai, traveled to Paris; expenses were recorded for the transport of “a small keyboard instrument used daily in the queen’s chamber.”⁵⁸ Pathie had been active at the French court since 1529, together with his brother Jean, and from 1531 served Queen Eleanor. In 1535, however, he entered Mary’s service as organist and later became a prominent maître d’hôtel, accompanying her to Spain in 1556.⁵⁹ His career illustrates the close musical ties between the sisters’ households, including having musicians like Pathie who must have traveled regularly between the courts to perform or exchange instruments. A letter from 1534 by the imperial ambassador Jean Hannart further demonstrates that musical compositions were also exchanged. Queen Eleanor instructed the ambassador to write to Mary that whenever she possessed in her chapel “some motet or other piece that is exquisite and remarkable in music, that she may send it to her, and she will do the same for her.” Hannart added a specific request: Eleanor wished Mary to send her “a Requiem Mass composed by Jossequin,”⁶⁰ almost certainly referring to *Nymphes des bois* by Josquin des Prez, written in 1497 to commemorate the death of Johannes Ockeghem.⁶¹

A similarly lively reciprocity characterized all matters relating to horticulture. Numerous letters and household accounts record the arrival of courtiers bearing flowers, which Eleanor admired so greatly that she declared she “wished to begin having a tapestry made” after their designs.⁶² Gardens were thus not merely ornamental spaces but sources of artistic inspiration and shared aesthetic interest. This mutual engagement became particularly evident in the ambitious horticultural program that Mary developed for Binche Palace in Hainaut. The gardens formed a central element in the conception of this Renaissance residence, the construction of which began in 1545: three distinct gardens were planned, each integral to the overall architectural vision. Mary even sent Eleanor a wooden model of Binche Palace, presenting it as a worthy rival to Fontainebleau and signaling the launch of her extensive building campaign. The galleries and sculptural program deliberately evoked a Roman villa and drew inspiration from the Italian Renaissance. Mary even sought to acquire molds that Primaticcio had made for Francis I. Sculptor Leone Leoni was dispatched to Paris to negotiate their transfer; he appealed directly to Primaticcio, and eventually, Francis’s son, Henry II, presented the molds to Mary as a gift. Among the works reproduced was a figure of Cleopatra, often interpreted as an image of a powerful female ruler, an appropriate model for a queen like Mary.⁶³

It was logical that the gardens at Binche Palace drew inspiration from the Mediterranean-inflected program at Fontainebleau. It was an ambitious project, which envisaged transforming two of the principal gardens into refined botanical collections

⁵⁶ CAZAUX, C.: *La musique à la cour de François Ier*. Paris 2002, pp. 59.

⁵⁷ “[...] *quy aprent mes seurs et moy a juer du leu et nous fait du passetams beaucoup*.” – Eleanor of Austria to Margaret of Austria, c. 1512 (ADN, B 18916, No. 35340).

⁵⁸ ADN, B 3361, f. 290v.

⁵⁹ CAZAUX 2002, pp. 105, 141. Further reading: KELLMAN, H. (ed.): *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500 – 1535*. Ghent 1999.

⁶⁰ “[...] *quant aurez quelque mottet ou autre piece en vostre chapelle qui soit exquis et singulier en musique que luy veulliez envoyer et elle*

vous fera le semblable [...]. Elle desire aussi que luy veulliez envoyer une messe de requiem composee par Jossequin.” – Jean Hannart to Mary of Hungary, Loches, 4 November 1534 (FDK 7, f. 74 – 75).

⁶¹ HUND, M.: Josquin’s *Nymphes des Bois*, Unveiling the Hidden Layers. In: *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, Vol. 74, 2024, pp. 93 – 139.

⁶² “[...] *an veulx commancer pour an fayre ungne tapycerye*.” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, 1541 (PA 47/2, f. 24 5); ADN, B 3356, f. 231v.

⁶³ WILSON-CHEVALIER 2002 (see in note 40), p. 524.

featuring Mediterranean species, while a third, larger enclosure was designed as a fruit garden (*verger*).⁶⁴ Eleanor assured her sister that she would gladly “send plants from the vineyards of the cru of Fontainebleau.” Yet when King Francis learned of Mary’s intention, he specified that the vines from his estate were not to be planted on flat ground but only on slopes, where they could receive sufficient midday sun.⁶⁵ Mary, however, was confident that the site at Binche would accommodate such requirements. The palace gardens included sheltered positions protected from winter winds, and heated structures capable of sustaining delicate plants during colder months. In February 1547, she therefore requested no fewer than two thousand vines, specifying that they were to be “white and claret,” and adding playfully that she hoped her sister would soon be able to visit so that, “in my hermitage, at the season of its perfection, I will let you be the judge of it, madam.”⁶⁶ Eleanor could hardly contain her excitement. Her marshal of the lodgings had informed her that the palace at Binche was “among the finest and best arranged that one could see,” and the queen continued to praise her sister “because a good spirit like yours will always ensure that everything is done well.”⁶⁷ Eleanor soon confirmed that the king had ordered the requested quantity of vines from Fontainebleau to be dispatched. In addition, the French queen sent

vines from the more northerly royal estate of Coucy, “which are the best of this region and most suitable for the land where you wish to plant them,” as well as additional white and claret varieties from around Paris.⁶⁸ In this sense, the appearance and botanical character of the gardens at Binche were also shaped to a considerable degree by Eleanor’s contributions.

It is somewhat regrettable that the surviving correspondence between the Habsburg sisters, despite the rich array of gifts described above, contains almost no references to paintings. Only in a letter of February 1543 does Mary thank Eleanor for “the canvas that has pleased you to send me, which I found very well made.”⁶⁹ The artist is not identified, but the work may well have originated from among the painters active under the patronage of the French court and Eleanor herself, perhaps Corneille de Lyon or Antoine Trouv on.⁷⁰ Given the intensity of exchange in music and horticulture, it is tempting to assume that artistic contacts were likewise more substantial than what can be reconstructed based on the surviving documentation.

Taken together, these many examples, ranging across gardens, music, books, animals, textiles, food, and medicine, demonstrate that gifts functioned as a principal medium of communication. Written correspondence between sisters residing at politically opposed courts could easily arouse suspicion. Gifts,

⁶⁴ CUPPERI, W.: Sculptures et jardins dans le palais ‘à l’Antique’ de Binche: un programme iconographique pr cis? In: *Marie de Hongrie. Politique et culture sous la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas*. Eds.: FEDERINOV, B. – DOCQUIER, B. Mariemont, 2008, pp. 180 – 183.

⁶⁵ “[...] de vous envoyer des plantes des vinygnyes du creu de Fontayngnyeblyau, ayant seu le roy que j’an vouleye recouurer, yl m’a dyt quy vous les veult an voyr et que je sache la quantyt  qu’yl vous an fault ousy vous f ytre antandre que les vinygnyes de son creu ne veult poynt estre plantees an plat peys mes la ou yll y a contyaulx et que le mydy hy donne.” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Saint-Germain, 5 February 1547 (PA 47/2, f. 287 – 288).

⁶⁶ “[...] en mon ermitage en saison de leur p fession je vous en face, madame, le juge. – Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, 22 February 1547 (PA Belgen 47/1, f. 93 – 94).

⁶⁷ “[...] qu’yl et des plus byaulx et myeux ordonn s que l’on saret voyr ung bon esperyt comment le votre fera tousjours toute chon es byen f ytes.” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Saint-Germain, 5 February 1547 (PA 47/2, f. 287 – 288).

⁶⁸ “[...] quy sont de mylyeurs de se peys et plus a propos pour la terre ou vous les voules planter pour la conformyt  du peys de pardela. [...] de au tour de Parys blans et cleres des mylyeurs quy hy sont.” – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, February-March 1547 (PA 47/2, f. 289 – 290).

⁶⁹ “[...] du canevas qu’il vous a pleu m’envoyer, lequel j’ay trouv  bien a propos.” – Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Brussels, 24/02/1543 (PA 47/1, f. 66).

⁷⁰ WILSON-CHEVALIER, K. – JORDAN-GSCHWEND, A.: L’ preuve du m c nat: Alienor d’Autriche, une reine de France effac e? In: *Les femmes et les arts   la Renaissance. Patronages et m c nes d’Anne de France   Catherine de M dicis*. Ed.: WILSON-CHEVALIER, K. Paris 2007, pp. 341 – 380; JORDAN-GSCHWEND, A.: Antoine Trouv on, Un portraitiste de Leonor d’Autriche r cemment d couvert. In: *Revue de l’Art*, Vol. 159, 2008, No. 1, pp. 11 – 20; JORDAN-GSCHWEND, A.: Ma Meilleure Soeur. Eleanor of Austria, Queen of Portugal and France. In: *Los inventarios de Carlos V, la familia imperial*. Ed.: CHECA CREMADES, F. Madrid 2010, pp. 2545 – 2598.

by contrast, offered a regular and tangible means of sustaining contact. Through these objects and living tokens, Mary and Eleanor maintained what must have been at least monthly (often deeply) personal exchanges, weaving sisterly affection across the diplomatic divides of European politics.

Politicizing Gifts

The intense contact maintained through hunting and the exchange of gifts was far from incidental. Scholars have, for example, long observed that falconers frequently served not only as huntsmen but also as messengers and informal diplomats. This was an established practice at European courts.⁷¹ On the one hand, gifts were sent regularly with the explicit aim of fostering an “*accroissement des amitiés*” (an increase in friendship).⁷² In many of the letters and accounts cited above, the intention to strengthen amity is stated quite openly. Yet Mary of Hungary also deliberately used gifts with a more targeted political purpose, particularly to alleviate the often delicate position of her sister Eleanor at an intrinsically hostile French court. In November 1532, the imperial ambassador Jean Hannart reported that, after receiving birds from Mary, Francis I remarked how much he would welcome her presence at his court to visit her sister, “because she loves hunting and falconry so much, as he himself does.” Hannart continued that “as soon as the birds were presented to the king in the morning at his rising, he took the gyrfalcon in his fist and immediately went to show it to the queen, who was still in bed, making a great display of it before her.”⁷³ Such gestures reveal how gifts could serve directly to signal goodwill and to reinforce Eleanor’s standing. Throughout the years



Fig. 5: Joos van Cleve: *Portrait of Eleanor of Austria*, 1531, oil on panel, 35,5 × 29,5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna, Inv. No. GG 6079. Photo: KHM-Museumsverband

1531 – 1535, their correspondence also repeatedly mentioned the possibility of a personal meeting between the sisters.⁷⁴ The emperor was generally reluctant to approve such an encounter. Nevertheless, during his long absence leading the Tunis campaign in 1535, when communication was delayed for months between Francis and his queen, Mary seized the initiative and arranged a meeting with Eleanor at Cambrai in August.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Van den ABEELE, B.: *La fauconnerie dans les lettres françaises du XIIIe au XIVe siècle*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1990, pp. 74 – 91.

⁷² Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Mons, 23 November 1532 (PA 47/1, f. 1 – 2)

⁷³ “[...] *pource qu’elle ayme tant la chasse et la volerie, ainsi qu’il fait luy mesmes; si tost que iceulx oyseaulx luy furent presentez du matin a son lever, il print le gerfaulx sur le poing et l’ala souldain monstrer a la royne sa compaignie estant encoires au lit, luy en faisant grosse feste.*” – Jean Hannart to Charles V, Compiègne, 21 November 1532 (FDK 4, f. 363 – 366).

⁷⁴ For instance: Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Brussels, 17 January 1533; Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Mons, 30 December 1533; Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, 1 July 1535 (PA 47/1, f. 3, f. 4, f. 7).

⁷⁵ HOYOIS, J.-P.: *Les fantômes de la Paix des Dames. Les retrouvailles de Marie de Hongrie et d’Éléonore d’Autriche (Cambrai, Août 1535)*. In: *La Paix des Dames*. Eds.: DUMONT, J. – FAGNART, L. – GIRAULT, P.-G. – LE ROUX, N. Tours 2021, pp. 349 – 363; GORTER-VAN ROYEN – HOYOIS 2009 (see in note 29), *passim*.

Although some gifts (very often the hunting birds) were formally presented in the emperor's name, there is no evidence that Mary sought explicit permission for some of these highly symbolic exchanges. She frequently acted on her own initiative, without Charles's direct involvement. The magnificent coach presented in 1539, on the occasion of the emperor's visit to France, would almost certainly not have met with his approval. His letters at the time make clear that he desired a swift and uncomplicated passage through the territory of his former enemy, avoiding prolonged talks or negotiations—which the gift arranged by Mary and Eleanor facilitated. In this sense, gifts allowed Mary to shape circumstances conducive to political maneuvering, even if not all such initiatives bore tangible fruit.

Gift exchange was also political in another sense: it provided a discreet channel for the transmission of information and the negotiation of favors. Letters between Mary and Eleanor frequently combined personal gifts with updates on wider affairs such as the status of the Ottoman threat, developments within the Holy Roman Empire, or sensitive dynastic negotiations.⁷⁶ In 1539, Eleanor requested that her marriage treaty from her first union with King Manuel I of Portugal, to whom she had been married between 1518 and 1521, be copied. She apparently lacked a copy in France and required it for negotiations concerning a potential marriage for her daughter from that union, the Infanta Maria (1521 – 1577). Writing to Mary, she explained that she had informed both the emperor and the King of Portugal, João III, of her intentions, and that their brother, Ferdinand, also wished to see a copy of the treaty.⁷⁷ She therefore begged Mary to have

the original in her possession transcribed and forwarded appropriately.⁷⁸ Mary complied promptly, having the treaty copied five times.⁷⁹ In doing so, she acted unmistakably as Eleanor's political agent and intermediary, even though Charles would later obstruct the proposed marriage, fearing damage to his relations with Portugal. Similarly, Mary regularly granted safe-conducts and other favors at Eleanor's request, sometimes in matters of high political sensitivity. In the autumn of 1537, during the war in Picardy, Claude d'Annebault was captured at the front; and Eleanor repeatedly appealed to Mary to use her influence to help her intercede for his ransom and release.⁸⁰ Such interventions were integral to the broader culture of political gift-giving.

At the same time, the envoys traveling between the courts of the Habsburg sisters often carried vital (and often highly secret) intelligence under the guise of gift exchange.⁸¹ The timing of certain presents strongly suggests that more than material generosity was at stake. Even during periods of open war between the Habsburgs and the Valois, Mary continued to send gifts despite tightened controls. In December 1536, at the height of hostilities, the Lord of Noirtour traveled to the French queen "on imperial business of which her majesty wishes no fuller explanation to be given."⁸² Accompanying him were falconers bearing eighteen birds of prey intended for Eleanor. Likewise, in November 1543, scarcely had Charles V lifted the siege of Landrecies than Mary dispatched hunting birds to France.⁸³ These gestures amounted to political statements: as governor-general of the Low Countries, she consistently sought to shield her provinces from the devastating consequences of renewed war with France.

⁷⁶ Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Brussels, 13 November 1538 (PA 47/1, f. 24 – 25).

⁷⁷ Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Mechelen, 10 September 1539 (PA 47/1, f. 38).

⁷⁸ Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, 1539 (PA 47/2, f. 123).

⁷⁹ ADN, B 2410, f. 421r.

⁸⁰ Mary of Hungary to Eleanor of Austria, Brussels, 7 October 1537 (PA 47/1, f. 16 – 17).

⁸¹ HOFFMAN, M.: A Secret Life of Queen Eleanor of Austria: Correspondence, Courtiers and Covert Agents. In: *French History*, Vol. 39, 2025, No. 2, pp. 95 – 110; HOFFMAN, M.: Espionnage et diplomatie informelle dans les cours de Marie de Hongrie et Éléonore d'Autriche au XVI^e siècle. In: *Publications du Centre européen d'Études bourguignonnes*, Vol. 65, 2025, pp. 353 – 369.

⁸² "[...] pour aucuns affaires de l'empereur dont sa majesté ne vouloit plus ample déclaration estre faite." – ADN, B 2398, f. 361r.

⁸³ Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Paris, 16 November 1543 (PA 47/2, f. 142).



Fig. 6: Jan van Nieulandt: *The six children of Philip the Handsome and Joana of Castile, representing from left to right Ferdinand, Charles V, Isabella, Eleanor, Catherine and Mary on horseback*, c. 1521 – 1526, wood engraving, 26.6 × 37.8 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. No. RP-1928-138. Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The political dimension of hunting gifts is sharpened further when one considers Mary's personal reputation. Her renown in the chase was so great that the French court poet Clément Marot compared her to "a chaste Diana, enemy of idleness and devoted to honorable pursuits."⁸⁴ Eleanor herself once wrote that, since Mary loved hunting and falconry as much as the French king did, she would gladly witness them together "so as to judge who performs their task best."⁸⁵ In 1538, she had occasion to do just that. The Venetian ambassador Marino Cavalli, in one report, praised Mary's political acumen and

tireless governance of the Low Countries, but he also recorded a striking incident during her visit to the French court at Compiègne in November 1538, only months after Francis I and Charles V had been reconciled. He recounted:

"One day, she gave a demonstration to King Francis, which astonished him, for while they were riding together, the king wished to place the queen on his right-hand side, but she moved toward a nearby ditch, so that there was no way for her to pass except over it. Seeing this, the queen spurred the young

⁸⁴ MAROT, C.: *Cantique VI. Clément Marot à la royne de Hongrie venue en France*. In: *Clément Marot, oeuvres lyriques*. Ed.: MAYOR, C. A. London 1964, p. 295.

⁸⁵ "[...] *prys que aymés au tant ses passetans de la chasse et volerye comme yl fayt, je voleroye avoyr se playsyr que de vous y voyr tout deulx pour estre juge de quy y feret myeux: son devoyr.*" – Eleanor of Austria to Mary of Hungary, Paris, 25 December 1533 (PA 47/2, f. 120).

horse upon which she was riding to leap across the wide ditch, and so, riding across the fields, the king came to be on her right-hand side; but the king, not wishing to cause the queen such inconvenience, courteously allowed himself to be overtaken.”⁸⁶

Hunting parties were traditionally intended to foster collective bonds among the ruling elite, offering an informal setting in which hierarchy could be reaffirmed. Yet they also contained an inherent element of competition. Here, in this remarkable episode, Mary appears almost to have entered into a symbolic duel with Francis I. Whereas Charles V and Francis had repeatedly challenged one another to single combat to resolve their eternal conflicts, Mary enacted her rivalry through the medium she knew best: the hunt. In this light, her hunting gifts, along with her other exchanges in the arts and horticulture (as seen in her project at Binche), and the prowess these gifts advertised, may be read not merely as gestures of courtesy but as instruments in a subtle and distinctly personal political contest.

Conclusion

This article has shown the remarkable diversity of gifts ordered and procured by Mary of Hungary during her governorship of the Low Countries, with particular attention to her exchanges with her sister Eleanor of Austria, queen of France. Gifts functioned as the instrument par excellence through which Mary maintained close contact with siblings from whom she was physically separated. They enabled her to preserve familial bonds, nurture emotional connections, remain informed about personal well-being, and exchange information concerning general political affairs.

At the same time, gifts served more overtly strategic purposes. Especially during periods of war, these exchanges created opportunities to ease tensions and to improve Eleanor’s position within what was, at heart, a hostile French court. The circulation of presents was far less suspect than the dispatch of official

envoys or diplomats, and thus offered a discreet yet effective channel of communication. The examples discussed above also reveal Mary’s extraordinary attention to detail. She concerned herself with matters as specific as the heating system of a ceremonial coach, which she considered essential to fostering rapprochement between the emperor and the French king. Her passion for and expertise in hunting were expressed in the many carefully selected breeds of dogs and birds of prey that she sent to France. These gifts did more than advertise aristocratic refinement: they projected authority and personal prowess. In this light, the symbolic contest with Francis I during the hunt at Compiègne in 1538 may be read as the culmination of a rivalry long enacted through such gift exchanges, a political statement of her own personal duel with a political rival. This was articulated independently of her brother, whose policies often caused her frustration during her tenure as governor of the Low Countries.

Mary’s intense communication with Eleanor has frequently been overlooked in the scholarship about Mary. Yet it can scarcely be coincidental that in 1556 the two sisters traveled together to Spain. Their surviving correspondence reveals a close bond that was maintained over many years. Moreover, the rich material culture of their exchanges clearly underlines Mary’s central position within the Habsburg family system. While the emperor was often absent in distant regions of his vast empire and negligent of familial business, Mary operated as a pivotal node in a network of information and gifts linking Habsburg family members across Europe. The numerous gifts identified here in her exchanges with Eleanor invite further comparative research. Similar patterns may well emerge in Mary’s contacts with her nieces Christine of Denmark, Duchess of Lorraine, and Dorothea of Denmark, electress Palatine, as well as with her sister Catherine of Portugal or her brother Ferdinand, who became emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1556. Whether these exchanges were equally intense and richly layered remains to be determined. The substantial body of Mary’s unstudied

⁸⁶ GACHARD, L. P.: Les monuments de la diplomatie vénitienne, considérés sous le point de vue de l’histoire moderne en général et de l’histoire de la Belgique en particulier. In:

Mémoires de l’Académie royale de Belgique, Vol. 27, 1853, p. 104; GORTER-VAN ROYEN 1995 (see in note 14), p. 298.

autograph letters preserved in the archives at least suggests that there is still much to discover about

the political, cultural, and emotional dimensions of her gift-giving practices.

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Gift-Giving and the Political Agency of Mary of Hungary during her Governorship in the Low Countries (1531 – 1555)

Summary

This article examines the political, cultural and emotional dimensions of gift-giving during the governorship of Mary of Hungary, governor-general of the Low Countries from 1531 to 1555. Far from being merely ceremonial or affectionate tokens, gifts functioned as subtle yet powerful tools of communication, negotiation and political positioning. Focusing in particular on Mary's exchanges with her sister Eleanor of Austria, Queen of France, it argues that gifts constituted a crucial instrument of dynastic governance within the Habsburg polity. Through an analysis of correspondence between the sisters, financial accounts and ambassadorial reports, the study shows how Mary deployed a wide range of gifts to intervene in diplomatic relations between the Habsburg and Valois courts.

Special attention is devoted to gifts associated with the hunt. The sending and receiving of falcons, hunting dogs and equipment formed a major part of Mary's exchanges with the French court. These exchanges helped to reinforce elite sociability and diplomatic goodwill, while also showcasing her expertise in breeding. As an accomplished hunter, Mary used these gifts to project authority in a traditionally masculine domain and to engage in a personal symbolic duel with Francis I, since she could not herself lead on the battlefield.

Beyond hunting, a wide range of items circulated between the Habsburg sisters, including food, wine, textiles, books, musical instruments and compositions, various animals such as sea lions, medicinal

remedies, and plants for the Renaissance palace complex built by Mary at Binche in the 1540s. These gifts sustained a dense network of communication between the sisters that blended personal care with political concerns. For example, Mary sent medicinal treatments and dietary advice to Eleanor, reflecting concern for her health, while at the same time facilitating political requests such as copying treaties or granting favours to courtiers. In this way, Mary acted as both a familial caretaker and a political intermediary.

Gift-giving offered a channel of interaction that was less suspect than formal diplomatic missions, and enabled the discreet transmission of information and the negotiation of sensitive matters. Envoys carrying gifts often doubled as messengers or informal diplomats, sometimes conveying secret intelligence. Even during periods of conflict, Mary continued to send gifts to France, signalling a desire to mitigate tensions and protect the Low Countries from war. Importantly, Mary frequently acted independently of Emperor Charles V, using gifts to pursue her own political strategies. Through these practices, she cultivated a reputation that enhanced her influence over governance and diplomacy. A key example is the luxurious carriage Mary sent in 1539 at Eleanor's request to assist the ailing French king, Francis I, during Charles V's journey through France. This gift was not simply practical; it was designed to facilitate the emperor's timely arrival in the Low Countries and to encourage rapprochement between

rival rulers. Such gestures reveal Mary's ability to influence events indirectly, even when not physically present. Moreover, through such actions, Mary also sought to alleviate Eleanor's precarious position at the French court.

The article concludes that gift culture in the early modern period was not peripheral but fundamental to political life. In Mary of Hungary's case, it reveals how royal women exercised power through material

culture and informal networks. It demonstrates Mary's central role as an intermediary and information broker within the dynasty, seeking to reinforce family cohesion and thereby subtly shape international relations. Ultimately, the article substantiates earlier research showing that early modern gift culture was not merely a peripheral courtly display, but an essential mechanism of female political agency and dynastic statecraft in sixteenth-century Europe.

Obdarovávanie a politická činnosť Márie Uhorskej počas jej miestodržiteľstva v Nizozemsku (1531 – 1555)

Resumé

Štúdia skúma politické, kultúrne a emocionálne dimenzie praktiky obdarovávania počas vlády Márie Uhorskej, regentky Nizozemska v rokoch 1531 – 1555. Tieto dary zďaleka neboli iba ceremoniálne akty či prejavy pozitívnych postojov, ale fungovali ako jemné, ale silné nástroje komunikácie, vyjednávania a politickej stratégie. Zameriavajúc sa najmä na výmenu darov medzi Máriou a jej sestrou Eleonórou Rakúskou, manželkou francúzskeho kráľa Františka I., štúdia predostiera názor, že dary predstavovali kľúčový nástroj habsburskej dynastickej správy. Prostredníctvom analýzy korešpondencie medzi sestrami, ako aj finančných účtov a správ veľvyslancov, predkladaná štúdia ukazuje, ako Mária využívala širokú škálu darov na zasahovanie do diplomatických vzťahov medzi habsburským dvorom a dvorom rodu Valois.

Zvláštna pozornosť je venovaná darom spojeným s lovom. Zasielanie a prijímanie sokolov, poľovníckych psov a výstroja s tým súvisiaceho tvorili hlavnú časť Máriinej výmeny s francúzskym dvorom. Tieto výmeny pomohli posilniť spoločný štatút elity, pozitívny diplomatický postoj a zároveň preukázali jej odborné znalosti v tejto oblasti. Ako skúsená poľovníčka Mária využívala tieto dary na premietanie svojej autority v tradične mužskej oblasti a na zapojenie sa

do osobného symbolického súboja s Františkom I., ktorý sama – ako žena – nemohla viesť na bojisku.

Okrem lovu kolovala medzi sestrami široká škála predmetov vrátane rôznych jedál, vína, textílií, kníh, hudobných nástrojov a hudobných skladieb, ale aj rôznych zvierat, ako napríklad morských tuleňov, liečivých prostriedkov a rastlín pre renesančný palácový komplex, ktorý Mária postavila v Binche v 40. rokoch 16. storočia. Mária napríklad posielala Eleonóre liečebné procedúry a diétne rady, čo odrážalo jej záujem o sestriho zdravie, a zároveň sprostredkovala politické žiadosti, ako napríklad kopírovanie zmlúv alebo udeľovanie výhod jednotlivým dvoranom. Týmto spôsobom Mária pôsobila ako rodinná opatrovateľka, ale aj ako politická sprostredkovateľka.

Výmena darov vytvárala kanál vzájomnej interakcie, ktorý bol menej podozrivý ako formálne diplomatické misie a umožňoval diskrétny prenos informácií a rokovania o citlivých záležitostiach. Vyslanci, ktorí prinášali dary, často slúžili aj ako poslovia alebo neformálni diplomati a niekedy sprostredkovali aj tajné informácie. Aj počas obdobia konfliktov medzi obidvoma stranami Mária naďalej posielala dary do Francúzska, čím signalizovala snahu zmierniť existujúce napätie a chrániť Nizozemsko pred vojnou. Dôležité je, že Mária často konala nezávisle

od cisára Karola V. a dary používala na presadzovanie vlastných politických zámerov. Prostredníctvom týchto praktík si postupne vybuďovala reputáciu, ktorá posilnila nielen jej vplyv na riadenie krajiny, ale aj jej pozíciu na diplomatickom poli. Kľúčovým príkladom je luxusný koč, ktorý Mária poslala v roku 1539 na žiadosť Eleonóry a ktorý mal slúžiť chorľavejúcemu francúzskemu kráľovi Františkovi I. počas jeho cesty s Karolom V. cez Francúzsko. Tento dar nebol len praktický; mal uľahčiť včasný príchod cisára do Nizozemska, ale mal aj širší význam, keďže spoločná cesta mala podporiť zblíženie medzi súperiacimi vládcami. Takéto gestá odhaľujú Máriinu schopnosť nepriamo ovplyvňovať udalosti napriek jej fyzickej neprítomnosti. Navyše, prostredníctvom takýchto darov sa Mária snažila zmierniť Eleonórino

neisté postavenie ako francúzskej kráľovnej z habsburského rodu na francúzskom dvore.

Autor štúdie prichádza k záveru, že kultúra darov v ranom novoveku nebola okrajovou záležitosťou, ale základom politickej komunikácie. V prípade Márie Uhorskej odhaľuje, ako ženy v štátnických pozíciách uplatňovali moc prostredníctvom materiálnej kultúry a neformálnych sietí. Demonštruje Máriinu ústrednú úlohu ako sprostredkovateľky a informačného makléra v rámci dynastie, posilňujúceho rodinnú súdržnosť a tým nenápadne spoluformujúceho medzinárodné vzťahy. Štúdia v konečnom dôsledku potvrdzuje výsledky staršieho výskumu, ktorý ukazuje, že kultúra darov v ranom novoveku bola základným mechanizmom ženskej politickej aktivity v Európe šestnásteho storočia.

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The 1555 Testament and Codicil of Queen Mary of Hungary¹

Maxim HOFFMAN

Testament of Dowager Queen Mary of Hungary, Brussels, 3 December 1555

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, UR FUK, Habsburg-Lothringische Familienurkunden, Inv. No. 1323. Parchment cover with authentication, autograph testament on paper, detached small seal in red wax on a black cloth ribbon (diameter 3.3 cm) and detached great seal in red wax on a black cloth ribbon (diameter 3.5 cm).

Nous, Marie, reine dougeree de Hongrie reconnois et desclaire que sous ceste couverture de parchemin clos de nostre petit cachet et seelle de nostre grant seel est nostre testament et derniere volonte escript de nostre propre mein.

Marie rh

Ce jourdby troisieme du mois de decembre l'an de grace mil cinq cens cinquante cinq, nous Jehan de Lannoy,² seigneur de Molembais, chevalier de l'ordre, grant maistre d'hostel de sa mageste reginale, messire Philippe de Staveles,³ seigneur de Glajon, messire Philippe Nigri,⁴ chancelier dudit

We, Mary, Dowager Queen of Hungary, acknowledge and declare that under this parchment cover, closed with our small stamp and sealed with our great seal, lies our testament and last will, written in our own hand.

Mary reginae Hungariae

This day, the third of the month of December, in the year of grace one thousand five hundred and fifty-five, we, Jean de Lannoy, Lord of Molembaix, Knight of the Order, Grand Master of the Household of Her Majesty the Queen; Sir Philippe de Stavele, Lord of Glajon; Sir Philippe Nigri,

¹ The 1555 testament and codicil are published here for the first time, together with an English translation. They remain important sources for the personal history of Mary of Hungary. She revised both documents on 27 September 1558, three weeks before her death on 18 October. In addition to updating the list of councillors and courtiers named as beneficiaries, circumstances had changed considerably since 1555. Her two most important heirs had died: her universal heir, her brother Charles V, on 21 September 1558, and her sister Eleanor, on 25 February 1558, to whom she had bequeathed all her household furnishings. The 1558 testament also makes no mention of the Tunis tapestries. The 1558 testament and codicil of Mary of Hungary are edited in KERKHOFF, J.: *Maria van Hongarije en haar Hof 1505 – 1558: Tot Plichtsbetrachting Uitverkoren*. Hilversum 2008, pp.

307 – 329. Unless otherwise indicated, all information on the councillors and courtiers identified here is drawn from KERKHOFF 2008 (see in this note) and from BAELDE, M.: *De Collatarele Raden onder Karel V en Filips II (1531 – 1578)*. Brussels 1965.

² Jean de Lannoy (c. 1509 – 1560), Lord of Molembaix, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

³ Philippe de Stavele (c. 1520 – 1563), Lord of Glajon, member of the Council of State.

⁴ Philippe Nigri (c. 1490 – 1563), Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Councillor in the Council of State and Privy Council.

ordre, maistres Philibert de Bruxelles⁵ et Charles Tisnacq,⁶ conseillers du conseil d'estat du roy, ensemble messires Wolff Haller de Hallerstain⁷ et Francois de Phalaix,⁸ seigneur de Nyeuwerve, chevaliers, maistre d'ostel de sadite magesté reginalle, a la requeste d'icelle royne dame Marie donagiere de Honguerie, de Bobeme, etc. estant en bonne disposition tant de ses sens et entendement que de son corps, attestons avoir esté presens ou sa magesté a declairee que en ce present quoyer sur lequel ce present acte est escript, est clos et contenu son testament et ordonnance de derriere volunté, escript et signé de sa main propre, lequel sa magesté comme elle a dit desire et veult apres son trespas estre accomply, furny et sortir son plain et entier effect en tous ses poinctz et articles, soit par droit de testament donation d'entre vifz ou pour cause de mort ou autrement par la meilleure et plus sceure voye de droit que faire se pourra, non obstant que toutes les solennitez de droit ou de coustume a ce requises de necessaires ny soient entrevenues, nous requerrant que comme tesmoings a ce especiallement appellez, pour affirmacion et comprabation de verice voulsissions sur icellui testament mectre noz seingz manuelz et y appendre noz seaulx, ce que voluntiers avons accordé, consenty et fait en la ville de Bruxelles les jour, mois et an que dessus.

*J. de Lannoy
Phpe. de Staveles
P. Nigri
P. de Bruxelles
C. de Tisnacq
Wolff Haller
F. de Falais*

+

Au non du Pere, du Filz et
du Seint Esperit, Amen.

Nous estant lessé par le peché de notre premier peire Adam la mort perpetuelle de la quelle il a plut a Dieu tout puisant nous exempter par sa divine misericorde, moiennant l'envoy du secont Adam, son benoist filz Jesus Christ, et par le merite de son

⁵ Philibert de Bruxelles (1518 – 1570), Councillor in the Council of State and Privy Council.

⁶ Charles Tisnacq (c. 1500 – 1573), Councillor in the Council of State.

Chancellor of the said Order; Masters Philibert de Bruxelles and Charles Tisnacq, Councillors of the King's Council of State; together with Sirs Wolf Haller of Hallerstain and François de Falaix, Lord of Nieuwerve, Knights, Masters of the Household of Her Royal Majesty, at the request of the said Queen Lady Mary, Dowager of Hungary, of Bohemia, etc., being in good condition both of mind and understanding, and of body, attest that we were present when Her Majesty declared that in this present register, upon which this document is written, is enclosed and contained her testament and ordinance of her last will, written and signed with her own hand. Her Majesty, as she said, desires and wills that after her death the said testament be carried out, fulfilled, and take its full and entire effect in all its points and articles, whether by right of testament, gift made between living persons, or for cause of death, or otherwise by the best and surest way of law that can be found, notwithstanding that all the formalities of law or custom required for this may not have been observed. She requested us, as witnesses specially called for this purpose, to place upon the said testament our signatures and to affix our seals thereto, for the affirmation and confirmation of the truth. Which we have willingly agreed to, consented to, and done, in the city of Brussels, on the day, month, and year as above.

*J. de Lannoy
Phpe. de Staveles
P. Nigri
P. de Bruxelles
C. de Tisnacq
Wolff Haller
F. de Falais*

+

In the name of the Father, the Son,
and the Holy Spirit, Amen.

Because through the sin of our first father Adam we inherited eternal death, from which it has pleased the almighty God to exempt us by His divine mercy, through the sending of the second Adam, His blessed Son Jesus Christ, and by the merit of His incar-

⁷ Wolf Haller (1492 – 1559), Master of the Household at the court of Mary of Hungary.

⁸ François de Bourgogne (1506 – 1563), bastard of Falais, Lord of Nieuwerve, Master of the Household at the court of Mary of Hungary.

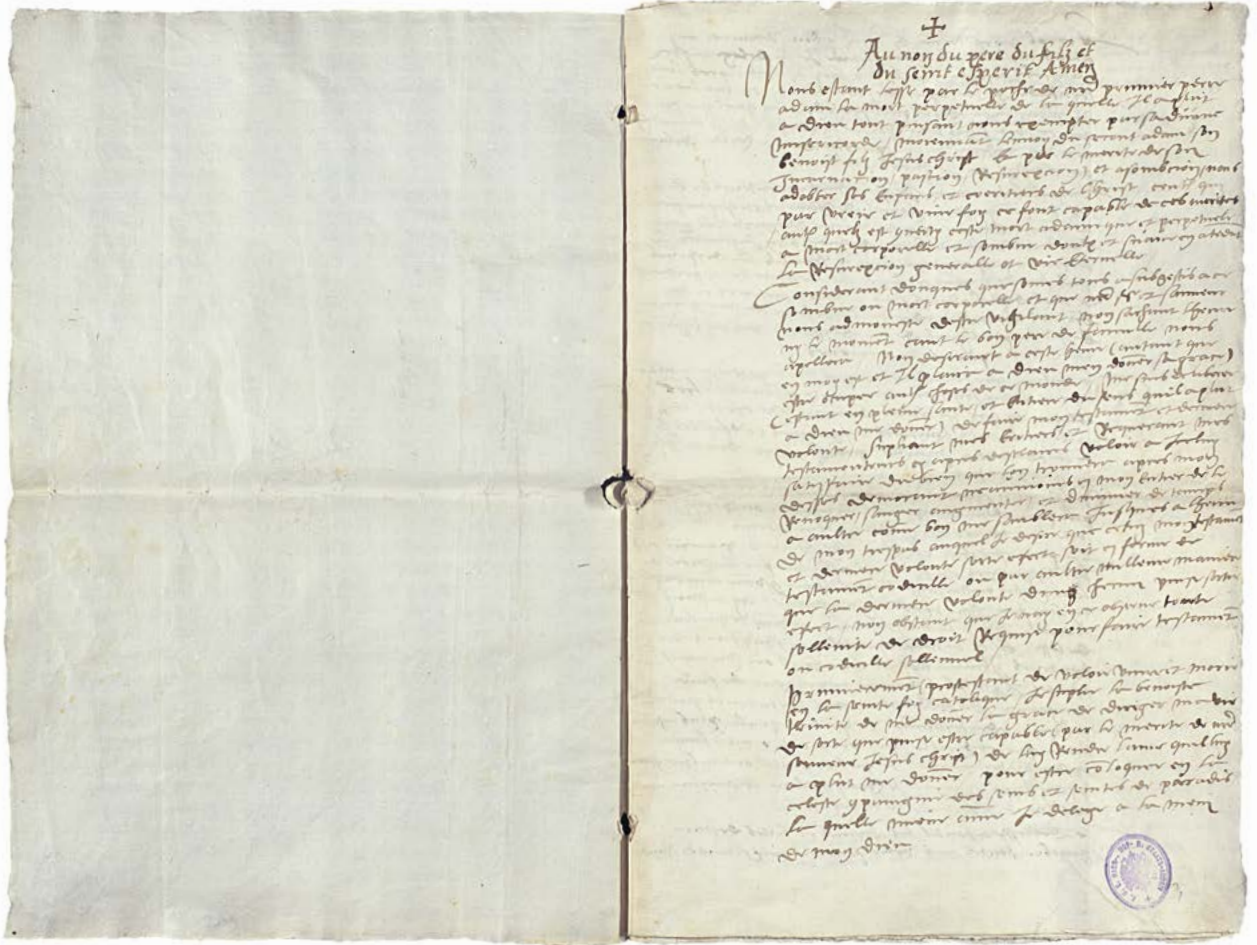


Fig. 1: The testament of Mary of Hungary, 1555, the first page of the testament with the cross and incipit (f° 3r), parchment cover with authentication, autograph testament on paper, detached small seal in red wax on a black cloth ribbon (diameter 3.3 cm) and detached great seal in red wax on a black cloth ribbon (diameter 3.5 cm). Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, UR FUK, Habsburg-Lothringische Familienurkunden, Inv. No. 1323

incarnation, pascion, resurexcion, et asombcion, nous adobter ses enfans, et coeritiers de Christ, ceulx quy par vreie et vive foy ce font capable de ces merites aulx quelz est converty ceste mort adamique et perpetuele a mort corporelle et sombne doulx et suave en attendant la resurexcion generale et vie eternelle.

Considerant donques que somes tous asubgestis a ce sombne ou mort corporelle et que nostre Seigneur et sauveur nous admoneste d'estre vigilant, non sachant l'heure ny le moment cant le bon Pere de famille nous apellera, non desirant a ceste heure (autant que en moy est et il plaira a Dieu m'en don-

nation, passion, resurrection, and ascension, He has adopted us as His children and co-heirs with Christ, those who by true and living faith make themselves capable of these merits. To them this Adamic death and eternal death is converted into bodily death, a gentle and peaceful sleep, awaiting the general resurrection and eternal life.

Considering therefore that we are all subject to this sleep or bodily death, and that our Lord and Saviour admonishes us to be watchful, not knowing the hour nor the moment when the good Father of the household will call us, and not desiring at that time (as far as lies within me, and if it please God to

ner sa grace) estre ocupee aulx choses de ce monde, me suis deliberee (estant en pleine santé, et entiere du sens qu'il a plut a Dieu me donner) de faire mon testament et derniere volonté, supliant mes eritiers, et requerant mes testamenteurs cy apres desclairés vouloir a iceluy satisfaire du bien que l'on trouvera apres mon desces, demorant neanmoins en mon entier de le revoquer, sanger, augmenter, et diminuer de tamps a aultre comme bon me sanblera jusques a l'heure de mon trespas auquel je desire que cetuy mon testament et derniere volonté sorte efect, soit en forme de testament, codicille ou par aultre milleure maniere que la derniere volonté d'ung checun puisse sortir efect, non obstant que je n'ay en ce observé toute sollenité de droit requise pour faire testament ou codicille sollennel.

Premierement (protestant de vouloir vivre et mourir en la sainte foy catholique), je supplie la benoiste trinite de me donner la grace de diriger ma vie de sorte que puisse estre capable (par le merite de nostre sauveur Jesus Christ) de luy rendre l'ame qu'il luy a plut me donner, pour estre conloquer en la celeste compaignie des seins et seintes de paradis, la quelle meine ame je delege a la mein de mon Dieu.

Le corps quy est venu de terre y doit retourner en attendant la resurxcion future. Je le delege a son naturel, desirant qu'il y soit bien tost mis apres la sertitude de la separacion de l'ame, et au lieu ou il plaira a Dieu me prendre en quelque pais que ce soit, sans transporter le corps, et je desire que l'on me enterre en la paroisse de la ville, vilage, ou cloistre ou je moray.

Auquel enterrement je prie mes executeurs de eviter les pones quy sont pleines de vaintés et quy ne servent a l'amme, et que cy ceste miene requeste ne peult entierement avoir lieu (de quoy bien instamment je retourne a prier) que pour le moins la despence qu'il faindra pour ce faire ne destourbe le poiement de mes deptes, dons fais a mes serviteurs, ce que entens doit preseder a la deserge de ma conscience, et que le plus gros de la despence des obseques ce convertise en prieres et aumones.

grant me His grace) to be occupied with the things of this world, I have resolved (being in good health and sound in understanding that it has pleased God to bestow upon me), to make my testament and last will. I beseech my heirs, and request my executors hereafter named, to see it fulfilled according to the means that shall be found after my death; yet I remain fully entitled to revoke, alter, increase, or diminish it from time to time, as shall seem good to me, until the hour of my passing, at which I desire that this my testament and last will take effect, whether in the form of a testament, codicil, or by any other better manner by which anyone's last will may take effect, notwithstanding that I have not herein observed all the solemnities of law required for making a formal testament or codicil.

Firstly (requesting that I desire to live and die in the Holy Catholic Faith), I beseech the Blessed Trinity to grant me the grace to direct my life in such a manner that I may be made worthy (through the merit of our Saviour Jesus Christ) to render unto It the soul it has pleased to give me, so that it may be placed among the heavenly company of the saints in paradise; which my soul I commend into the hand of my God.

The body which came from earth must return thereto, awaiting the future resurrection. I commend it to its natural place, desiring that it be laid there as soon as the certainty of the soul's departure is known, and in whatever land it may please God to take me, without transporting the body elsewhere. I wish to be buried in the parish of the town, village, or cloister where I shall die.

At my burial, I beseech my executors to avoid the pomp that is full of vanities and does not serve the soul; and if this my request cannot be entirely observed (for which I most earnestly pray again), then at least let the expense incurred for it not hinder the payment of my debts or the gifts made to my servants, which, as I understand it, must take precedence for the ease of my conscience. And let the greater part of the cost of the funeral be converted into prayers and alms.

Je ordonne que toutes mes debtes soient poiees, cy aucune en i a, ce que l'on trouvera par mes contes et lectres de obligacion que j'entens doivent sortir efect, ausy de poier tous mes serviteurs et servantes et ofisiers jusques a la derniere maille qu'il leur sera deu a l'heure de mon trespas.

Oultre plus j'entens et ordonne que tous les dons que par mandement especial aray fait ou poray faire, sorte leur entier efect selon leur contenu.

Et pour estre chose et deue selon Dieu de proveoir ces bons serviteurs et servantes affin que par la mort de leur mestre ou mestresse (apres avoir consommé leur eage en leur service) ne tonbent en nessesité, ay a mon codicille joinct a mon testament ordonné ce que leur delesse, et ce a cause que selon le sangement des serviteurs, continuacion de leur bons ou movailx services, il est plus souvent expedient de faire sangement des ordonnance des serviteurs que au prinsipal de testament, ce qu'il ce peult plus aisement faire par codicille, que pour ceste ocasion sangee cy souvent testament, lequel codicille ou aultre que poray faire cy apres je veulx qu'il aie la mesme vailleure et efect de mon testament.

Je dellesse a toutes les dames et filles de ma chambre toutes mes robes foncees, aulx fames de chambre et aulx varlet de chambre celles quy sont sengles ou doublees, cotelestes ou corses, et aulx fames de chambre tout le linge et aultre menutes de quoy je me sers journellement hors mis la vasselie d'or ou d'argent.

A mon grant escuier, cy j'en ay ung a l'heure de mon trespas, (ou sinon) a l'escuier ou escuires servants, je lesse tous mes chevaulx, hagenees, mules, chariot et litiere avec leur arnaserie et acoustremens.

Je ordonne ausy de delivrer et lesser a la reyne de France,⁹ madame et seur, en cas qu'elle me survive, tout mon meuble de meson comme tapisserie, doseres, tapis, linges, ouvrés et non ouvrés, et toute chose de sanblable calité pour en jouir durant sa vie,

I order that all my debts be paid, if there be any, as shall be found by my accounts and letters of obligation, which I intend shall take full effect; likewise, that all my servants, maidservants, and officers be paid to the last penny that shall be owed to them at the hour of my passing.

Furthermore, I will and ordain that all the gifts which by special mandate I have made, or shall make, shall take their full effect according to their contents.

And since it is right and fitting before God to make provision for good servants, so that by the death of their master or mistress they may not fall into need (after having spent their years in service), I have, in the codicil joined to my testament, ordained what I bequeath to them. And this because, according to the changes of servants and the continuance of their good or ill service, it is often more expedient to alter the arrangements concerning servants than the principal testament itself. Such changes can more easily be made by codicil than by altering the testament frequently. Therefore, I will that this codicil, or any other that I may hereafter make, shall have the same force and effect as my testament.

I bequeath to all the ladies and maids of my chamber all my dark-colored dresses; to the women of the chamber and the valets of the chamber, those which are single or double, of satin or coarse cloth; and to the women of the chamber all the linen and other small items which I use daily, excepting the vessels of gold or silver.

To my grand esquire, if I have one at the hour of my passing (or, if not, to the esquire or esquires then in service), I bequeath all my horses, hackneys, mules, carriage, and litter, together with their harnesses and trappings.

I likewise order that there be delivered and left to the Queen of France, my lady and sister, in the event that she survives me, all the furnishings of my house, such as tapestries, wall hangings, carpets, linen (worked and unworked), and all other things

⁹ Eleanor of Austria (1498–1558), Dowager Queen of France. After the death of her husband Francis I, she returned to

reside in the Low Countries with her sister Mary. She accompanied Mary and Charles V to Spain in 1556.

et apres sa mort retourner a mon prinsipal eritier, sauf que ma tapiserie de Thunes¹⁰ soit, dois mon trespas, [soit] envoié au roy ou roine de Boheme¹¹ pour une souvenance, sans la delivrer a la reine de France, voiant qu'elle en a une.

Et tout ce qu'il restera mon testament et codicille par furny tant de meuble que immeuble que presentement j'ay ou poray aquerir, ensamble de toutes pretencions de sucesions paternelle, maternelle ou aultre que la qu'elle soit, fut en lingne directe ou colateralle, quy me poroist estre eschaté ou escheroit jusques a l'heure de mon trespas de quelle calité ou grandeur qu'elle poroist estre, je fais et institue mon seul et universel eritier l'empereur,¹² mon singneur et frere, ou en cas que le survesque, ce que Dieu ne veulle, le roy don Philippe,¹³ son filz, et ses sucseurs, sans que le roy,¹⁴ monsieur et frere, et ses sucseurs, les reines, mes seurs, neveups ou niepces y peullent acunne chose quereller.

Sauf que soubz ceste institucion je n'entens nullement y prendre les drois et actions que par quelque titre quelconque je puis avoir ou quereller sur ledict roy don Fernande, monsieur et frere, ses roilgaulmes et pais a reson de mon dot et douaire, et entens que le trecté que j'ay fait avec luy soit entierement et inviolablement observé,¹⁵ estant fait par intervencion de sa magesté, quitant tous aultre acsions prosedans de mondict dot et douaire, et ce quy en depent, non compris audict trecté a son profit et de ces eritiers, et cant aux deux cent mille florins de Hongrie lesquelz

of like quality, for her to enjoy during her lifetime, and after her death to return to my principal heir. Except that my tapestry of Tunis shall, upon my death, be sent to the King or Queen of Bohemia as a remembrance, and not delivered to the Queen of France, given that she already has one.

And all that shall remain of my testament and codicil, whether in movable or immovable property, that I presently possess or may acquire, together with all claims of paternal, maternal, or other succession, whencesoever, whether in the direct line or collateral, which may or could fall to me up to the hour of my passing, of whatever quality or magnitude it may be, I make and constitute my sole and universal heir the Emperor, my lord and brother; or, in the event of his passing before me, which God forbid, the King Don Philip, his son, and his successors, without the King, my lord and brother, and his successors, nor the Queens, my sisters, nephews, or nieces, being able to make any claim thereto.

Except that under this institution I do not in any way intend to assert or claim any rights or actions which I may have, by any title whatsoever, against the said King Don Ferdinand, my lord and brother, his realms and lands, in respect of my dowry and dower; and I intend that the treaty which I have made with him be observed fully and inviolably, having been concluded by the intervention of His Majesty, releasing all other actions arising from my said dowry and dower, and whatever depends thereon, not included in the said treaty for his benefit and that

¹⁰ The Conquest of Tunis tapestries (1535). In 1546, Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen signed a contract with Mary of Hungary for the execution of the cartoons for twelve panels, woven in the atelier of Willem de Pannemaker between 1548 and 1554. – HORN, H. J.: *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, Painter of Charles V and his Conquest of Tunis: Paintings, Etchings, Drawings, Cartoons & Tapestries*. Doornspijk 1989, pp. 344 – 351.

¹¹ At the time, Mary's brother Ferdinand (1503 – 1564) was still King of Bohemia. As his wife Anna died in 1547, Mary probably meant Ferdinand's son, Archduke Maximilian (1527 – 1576), whose right of succession as future king was already recognised in 1549 and only officially crowned in 1562. In 1548, Maximilian married Maria of Spain, daughter of Charles V.

¹² Charles V (1500 – 1558).

¹³ Philip II (1527 – 1598), King of Spain and son of Charles V.

¹⁴ Ferdinand (1503 – 1564), King of the Romans and King of Bohemia.

¹⁵ On the quarrels and treaty with King Ferdinand regarding Mary's dowry in Hungary, see HEISS, G.: *Königin Maria von Ungarn und Böhmen (1505 – 1558). Ihr Leben und ihre wirtschaftlichen Interessen in Österreich, Ungarn und Böhmen*. PhD Thesis, Universität Wien. Vienna 1971, pp. 208 – 240.

doivent estre poiés a mes eritiers ou aiant cause apres mon deses.

J'entens que s'il fut besoing pour aconplir mon testament de ce servir d'une partie de ceste somme (non poiant complir) avec ce que pour ce faire ay ordonné (esperant toutesfois que cy), en ce cas mes testamenteurs aprehendront de ceste somme de deux cent mille florin de Hongrie ce qu'il leur sera nessesaire pour y furnir, aussy sy je euse fait ou porois faire quelque aultre asingnacion ou constitucions la desus,¹⁶ j'entens que ce doit avoir lieu, et de ce qu'il restera, je le delege a monsieur l'archiduc Fernande¹⁷ mon neveupr.

Je suplie l'empereur, mon singneur, au roy son filz et a la [la] reine de France, madame et seur, me faire ce bien et honneur que d'estre superintendent de cetuy mon testament et commander qu'il soit presisement et tost executé.

Et comme ay eu en mon vivant singulier confiance a l'esvesque d'Aras,¹⁸ conte de Lalaing,¹⁹ et president Wiglius²⁰ et les ay tenu pour mes bons amis, leur requiers m'estre telz apres ma mort comme en ay la confiance, et sur icelle confiance les institue executeurs de cetuy mon testament ensamble les seigneur de Vadam²¹ et de Wange²² et les cinq, catre ou trois d'eulx quy a l'heure de mon trespas seront vivant, lesant a mes superintendens lors vivant la fagulté d'en instituer d'avantage cy besoing est et leur sanblera de en cas de mort d'aulcuns d'eulx en mestre aultre ou aultres en leur lieu, comme ainsy je reserve a moy selon la disposition de tamps de les sanger.

of his heirs; and as for the two hundred thousand Hungarian florins which are to be paid to my heirs or those having cause after my death.

I intend that if it should be necessary, in order to fulfil my testament, to make use of a part of this sum (not being able to fulfil it otherwise) together with what I have ordered for that purpose (though I hope it will not be required), in that case my executors shall take from this sum of two hundred thousand Hungarian florins whatever is necessary to carry it out. Likewise, if I have made or could make any other assignment or provision thereon, I intend that it shall take effect; and of what remains, I bequeath it to monsieur the Archduke Ferdinand, my nephew.

I beseech the Emperor, my lord, the King his son, and the Queen of France, my lady and sister, to do me the favour and honour of acting as superintendents of this my testament, and to command that it be carried out promptly and precisely.

And as I have had in my lifetime singular trust in the Bishop of Arras, the Count of Lalaing, and President Viglius, and have held them as my good friends, I request that they be regarded as such after my death, as I have trusted them. Upon this trust I appoint them executors of this my testament, together with the Lords of Vadans and Wange, and five, four, or three of them who shall be living at the hour of my passing, leaving to my superintendents then living the authority to appoint additional executors if need be, and as it shall seem fit to them, in case any of them die, to place others in their stead; as I thus reserve to myself the right, according to the disposition of time, to make such changes.

¹⁶ Crossed out by Mary: "ou ansy consistutions."

¹⁷ Ferdinand II (1529 – 1595), Archduke of Austria, second son of King Ferdinand.

¹⁸ Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517 – 1586), Bishop of Arras, First Councillor of Emperor Charles V.

¹⁹ Charles de Lalaing (1506 – 1558), Councillor in the Council of State and head of the Council of Finance.

²⁰ Viglius van Aytta (1507 – 1577), President of the Council of State and Privy Council.

²¹ Charles de Poitiers, Lord of Vadans, Master of the Household at the court of Mary of Hungary.

²² Jean de Lieminge, Lord of Wange.

Estant ansy une partie de mes executeurs parde-
sa et les aultres vont avec moy en Espangne et que
presentement y transporte mon prinsipal bien tant
en rente comme en meuble, j'entens que en cas
que je meure en Espaingne que mes testamenteurs
quy y seront, entendent promptement a mon en-
terrement, et avec l'avis des superintendens ou
superintendent present ou plus proche du lieu ou
je moray, entendent ausy au poiement des deptes de
ceulx de ma maison, et despeche des dames, filles et
fammes quy ce vodront retirer, aulxquelles ordone
que l'on leur baille autant d'argent quy leur sera
nessaire resonablement pour leur retour checune
en sa checune a la discrecion de mes executeurs
ou executeur quy sera present et ce proptement
et devant toute chose, de la reste de l'execusion
de cetuy mon testament ce face gionttement par
mes testamenteurs comme dit est dont aulx absens
ceulx quy aront executé ce premier cy diront reson
et conte a leur coleges.

Pour furnir a cetuy mon testament et dernier
volonté, je donne a mes executeurs plein pooir de
aprehender toutes les rente eritieres que ay aquité ou
poray aquster, toute ma vasselle d'or et d'argent, ar-
gent contant que poray lesser, et toutes aultres de plus
quy me seront deues a l'heure de mon trespas, et ou
ce ne poroist soufire (ce que pense que cy), en ce cas
poront aprehender ce qu'il en restera sur les deux cent
mille florin de Hongrie quy ce doivent poier apres
ma mort a mes eritiers ou aiant cause selon le trecté
fait avec le roy, monsieur et frere, donant ansy plein
pooir a mes executeurs de poursuivre en jugement
et hors jugement lesdits deptes quy me seront deues,
faisant administrateur de mes biens et deptes Roger
Pathie,²³ mon tresorier, et celuy quy sera controleur
de ma maison a l'heure de mon trespas, pour tenir
conte devant les aultres executeurs cheque fois que
requis en seront, lessant [lessant] a mes exectueurs
pour leur peinne et labeur a qu'il s'ensieult.

A Pesvesque d'Aras et conte de Lalaing a che-
cun d'eulx mille livre de carante gros en vasselle a
leur chois, a Wiglius huit cens desdits livres ausy

As some of my executors mentioned above will
remain here, and others will go with me into Spain,
and since I am at present transporting thither my
principal possessions, both in revenues and in mov-
able goods, I intend that, in the event of my death
in Spain, my executors who shall be there shall
promptly see to my burial; and, with the advice of
the superintendent or superintendents present, or
nearest to the place where I shall die, shall also see
to the payment of the debts of those of my house-
hold, and to the discharge of the ladies, maids, and
women who wish to retire. I order that there be given
to each of them as much money as shall reasonably
be necessary for her return home, at the discretion
of my executors or the executor then present, and
that this be done promptly and before all other
things. The remainder of the execution of this my
testament shall be carried out jointly by my executors
as aforesaid, and those who shall have executed this
first part shall render account and report thereof to
their colleagues who were absent.

To carry out this my testament and last will, I
give to my executors full power to seize all hereditary
revenues which I have discharged or may acquire, all
my vessels of gold and silver, any cash I may leave,
and all other things which shall be owed to me at
the hour of my passing; and if this shall not suffice
(which I think it will), in that case they may take
from what remains of the two hundred thousand
Hungarian florins which are to be paid after my
death to my heirs or those having cause, according to
the treaty made with the king, my lord and brother,
thus giving full power to my executors to pursue in
law or out of law the debts which shall be owed to
me, appointing as administrators of my goods and
debts Roger Pathie, my treasurer, and whoever shall
be controller of my household at the hour of my
passing, to render account before the other executors
whenever required, leaving to my executors for their
trouble and labour whatever shall be proper therefor.

To the Bishop of Arras and the Count of Lalaing,
to each of them one thousand livres of forty gros in
tableware of their choice; to Viglius, eight hundred

²³ Roger Pathie (1510 – 1564), treasurer of Mary of Hungary,
who accompanied Mary to Spain in 1556.

en vasselle, aulx seigneurs de Vadam et Wange trois cent livres a checun, a Rogier, au controleur, a checung deux cent livres (ce que donne cy peu aulx catre derniers est aiant en regart que a checun d'eulx ay proveu par pension a vie ou rente eritiere) veullant et ordonnant que lesdits execusions ce face sur mesdits biens et promptement en poiant toute despence et fres resonable a l'ordonance de mes executeurs.

Aiant porté depuis la mort du feu roy²⁴ mon mary (a quy Dieu face paix) ung ceur d'or qu'il a ausy porté jusques a sa mort, je ordonne que ledict ceur avec la chennette ou il pent, soit fondé et donné ce quy en viendra aulx povres, car puis qu'il a fait compaignie jusques au dernier aulx personnes quy, ores qu'ilz ont esté separez de cy long tamps de presence, ne l'ont esté d'amour et affection, c'est reson qu'il ce consomme et sange d'espece comme les corps des justement aimans ont fait.

Finablement, je veulx que mon present testament et ordonnance de dernier volonté soit apres mon trespas inviolablement observé en tous ces pions et articles et par tous roihaulmes et provinces et singnories, jugemens, cours tant exclesiastiques que seculieres, et je desclaie que cy par la diversité des coustumes et sollennité requises, aucune chose fuse obmise, par ou on voldroit inpungner ou invalider iceluy mon testament en tout ou en partie, que ce non obstant mon entier voloir et intencion est, que sans avoir regart a icelle obmission ou aultre faulte ceste mon ordonnance de derniere volonté doive sortir son plein et entier escript comme cy elle fut passee en la milleure forme et maniere que de droit et coustume d'iceulx lieulx faire ce devoit ou poroit, en retenant (comme dit est cy desus) plein pooir de revoquer, sanger, adjouster codicille toutes et cantes fois que bon me sanblera, entendant que aiant fait ou cant feray tel codicille, il aie le mesme efect de mon testament, lequel demora en son entier cy ne le revoquoy non obstant ledict codicille cy ne fut aulx pions ou par ledict codicille arois fait aucun sagement, et en tesmoin et

of the said livres also in tableware; to the Lords of Vadam and Wange, three hundred livres each; to Roger, and to the controller, two hundred livres each (this lesser gift to the last four being in consideration that to each of them I have provided by pension for life or hereditary revenue). I will and ordain that the said distributions be made from my goods, and promptly, paying all reasonable expenses and costs at the discretion of my executors.

Having worn, since the death of the late king my husband (to whom God grant peace), a golden heart which he also bore until his death, I order that the said heart, together with the chain by which it hangs, be melted down and given to the poor; for since it kept company to the last with those persons who, though long separated from each other in physical presence, were never separated in love and affection, it is fitting that it is consumed and changes in nature, as the bodies of those in love have done.

Finally, I will that this my present testament and ordinance of last will be, after my death, inviolably observed in all its points and articles, and throughout all realms, provinces, and lordships, judgments, and courts, both ecclesiastical and secular. And I declare that if, by reason of the diversity of customs and the solemnities required, anything should have been omitted whereby one might seek to impugn or invalidate this my testament, in whole or in part, nevertheless, my full will and intention is that, notwithstanding such omission or any other defect, this my ordinance of last will shall take its full and entire effect, as though it had been executed in the best and most proper form and manner that by the law and custom of those places it ought or could have been. Retaining (as is said above) full power to revoke, alter, or add codicils as often as it shall seem good unto me, I intend that, having made or if I shall hereafter make any such codicil, it shall have the same effect as my testament, which shall remain in its entirety unless I revoke it, notwithstanding the said codicil, unless in those points wherein I shall by the said codicil have made any alteration. And in witness and approval of

²⁴ King Louis II of Hungary (1506 – 1526), husband of Mary of Hungary.

aprobacion de ce j'ay escript et singné ceste de ma main, a Bruxelles le troisieme de desembre le mille cencsens cincante cincq.

Marie rh

Au nom de la saincte trinité, Dieu le pere, Dieu le filz, et Dieu le saint esperit Amen. Par la teneur de ce present instrument publicque soit cogneu et notoire a ung chacun que l'an de grace mil cinq cens cinquante cinq, le troisieme jour de decembre, en la treizieme indiction romaine, et premiere annee du pontificat de nostre saint pere Paule le quart,²⁵ tres illustre et tres excellente princesse dame Marie royne douagiere de Hongrie, Boheme, etc. en la presence de moy Jehan de Langhe,²⁶ secretaire en ordonnance du roy d'Angleterre²⁷ etc. et notaire apostolicque, ensemble des tesmoingz cy apres denommez, a fait appeller vers elle les sept personnaiges declairez pour tesmoingz a l'autre lez et premiere page de ce quoyer (onquel sa magesté declairoit estre clos et contenu son testament et ordonnance de derriere voluté), et iceulx requis de vouloir mectre leurs seingz manuelz et appendre leurs seaulx a sondict testament, ce que lesdits personnaiges ont ainsy fait, et depuis ont pardevant moy, secretaire et notaire soubscript, recogneu chacun en son endroit leursdits seingz manuelz et seaulx mis audit testament, de laquelle requisition, subscription, sigillature et mesmes de leurs recognoissances susdites, sadicte magesté a requise a moy, secretaire et notaire soubscript, luy faire ce present instrument publicque, pour plus grande sceurté, et servir cy apres a son intention comme de raison. Ainsy fait a Bruxelles en l'hostel de ladite magesté royalle, les jour, mois, an, indiction et pontificat que dessus, en la presence de nobles, hommes, maistres Jehan Scheyff²⁸ et Joachim Hontzocht,²⁹ conseilliers et maistres aux requestes ordinaires dudict hostel du roy, messire Anthoine Helfault,³⁰ seigneur dudict lieu, maistre d'hostel de ladite royne, et de son secretaire maistre Rombault Loets,³¹ greffier des finances de ladite magesté royalle, tesmoingz a ce especiallement appellez et requis.

²⁵ Paul IV (1476 – 1559) was elected pope in 1555.

²⁶ Jean de Langhe (c. 1500 – 1571), secretary in the Council of State.

²⁷ King Philip II of Spain was through his marriage with Mary Tudor (1516 – 1558) also titular king of England.

²⁸ Jean Scheyfve (1515 – 1581), Councillor in the Privy Council.

this, I have written and signed it with my own hand, at Brussels, the third day of December, the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-five.

Mary regina Hungariae

In the name of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, Amen. By the tenor of this present public instrument, let it be known and made manifest to all that in the year of grace one thousand five hundred and fifty-five, on the third day of December, in the thirteenth Roman indiction, and the first year of the pontificate of our holy father Paul IV, the most illustrious and most excellent princess, Lady Mary, Dowager Queen of Hungary, Bohemia, etc., in the presence of me, Jean de Langhe, Secretary in Ordinary of the King of England, etc., and Apostolic Notary, together with the witnesses hereinafter named, caused to be summoned to her presence the seven persons declared as witnesses on the other side and first page of this register (upon which Her Majesty declared that her testament and ordinance of last will were enclosed and contained), and requested them to affix their manual signatures and seals to the said testament, which the said persons accordingly did. Thereafter, before me, subscribing secretary and notary, each of them acknowledged in his place the manual signatures and seals affixed to the said testament. At the request of Her said Majesty, and by reason of the said requisition, subscription, sealing, and their aforementioned acknowledgments, she required me, subscribing secretary and notary, to draw up this present public instrument, for greater security, and to serve hereafter according to her intention and as reason requires. Thus done at Brussels, in the palace of the said Royal Majesty, on the day, month, year, indiction, and pontificate as above, in the presence of the noblemen, Masters Jean Scheyfve and Joachim de Hontzocht, Councillors and Masters of the Ordinary Requests of the said royal household, Sir Antoine Helfaut, Lord of the said place, Master of the Household of the said queen, and of her secretary, Master Rombault Loets, Clerk of the Finances of the said Royal Majesty, witnesses specially called and required for this purpose.

²⁹ Joachim de Hontzocht, from 1552 secretary of the Council of State in the Low Countries and secretary of Philibert de Bruxelles. Promoted in 1555 to Councillor in the Privy Council.

³⁰ Anthoine d'Averoult, Lord of Helfaut and Winnezele, Master of the Household at the court of Mary of Hungary.

³¹ Rombout Loets († 1565), Registrar or griffier in the Council of Finance since 1538. Appointed in 1551 as Keeper of the Charts in the Council of State.

Et pour ce que je, Jehan de Langbe, clerq du diocese de Therouenne, secretaire en ordonnance du roy d'Engleterre etc., et notaire apostolicque, suis avec lesdits tesmoingz esté present ou les declaration, requisition, subscriptions, sigillatures, recognitions et autres choses avantdites sont ainsy avenues et passees, j'ay a la requeste que dessus redigé en fourme ce present instrument et icelluy escript et signé de ma main propre en approbation et tesmoignaige de verité, les jour, mois et an que dessus.

And because I, Jean de Langbe, Cleric of the Diocese of Théroutanne, Secretary in Ordinary to the King of England, etc., and Apostolic Notary, was present with the said witnesses when the declarations, requisitions, subscriptions, sealings, acknowledgments, and other matters aforesaid were thus made and passed, I have, at the request aforesaid, drawn up this present instrument in form, and have written and signed it with my own hand in approval and as a testimony of the truth, on the day, month, and year above written.

Codicil of the Dowager Queen Mary of Hungary, Brussels, 3 December 1555

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, UR FUK, Habsburg-Lothringische Familienurkunden, Inv. No. 1324. Parchment cover with authentication, autograph codicil on paper.

Cydedens est enclos mon codicille escript de ma main.

Marie rh

Ce jourd'uy troisieme du mois de decembre l'an de grace mil cinq cens cinquante cinq, nous, Jehan de Lannoy, seigneur de Molembais, chevalier de l'ordre et grand maistre d'hostel de tres illustre et tres excellente princesse dame Marie douaigiere de Hongrie et de Bohesme etc., Philippe Nigri, archidiaque de Therouane, chancelier dudict ordre, maistres Philibert de Bruxelles, conseiller d'estat du roy d'Angleterre etc. et François de Phalaix, seigneur de Nyeuwerve, et Antoine de Windeseelles, seigneur de Helfault, chevaliers et maistres d'ostel de sa magesté, a la requeste d'icelle estant en bonne disposition, tant de ses sens et entendement que de son corps, attestons avoir esté presens ou sa magesté a declairé que oultre et pardessus son testament qu'elle a dit avoir fait par autre depesche a part en ce present paquet, est cloz, serré et contenu son codicille escript et signé de sa main propre, lequel elle desire et veult sortir son plain et entier effect apres son deces de ce monde selon sa forme et teneur, nous requerans que comme tesmoins a ce especialement appellez pour affirmation et comprobacion de verité, voulsissent sur icelluy codicille mettre noz seingz manuelz et y imprimer noz signetx, ce que volentiers avons accordé, consenty et fait en la ville de Bruxelles, les jour, mois et an que dessus.

J. de Lannoy
P. Nigri
P. de Bruxelles
F. de Falais
A. de Helfault

+
Jesus

Pour estre chose deue selon Dieu et resonable de proveoir ces serviteurs et servantes affin que aiant consumé iceulx leur eage au service de leur

Herein is enclosed my codicil, written with my own hand.

Mary regina Hungariae

This day, the third of the month of December, in the year of grace one thousand five hundred and fifty-five, we, Jean de Lannoy, Lord of Molembais, Knight of the Order and Grand Master of the Household of the most illustrious and most excellent princess, Lady Mary, Dowager of Hungary and of Bohemia, etc.; Philippe Nigri, Archdeacon of Théroutanne, Chancellor of the said Order; Masters Philibert de Bruxelles, Councillor of State to the King of England, etc.; and François de Falais, Lord of Nieuwerve, and Antoine de Winnezele, Lord of Helfaut, Knights and Masters of the Household of Her Majesty, at the request of the said Lady, being in good disposition, both of her senses and understanding, as well as of her body, do attest that we were present when Her Majesty declared that, beyond and in addition to her testament which she said she had made by other dispatch apart in this present packet, her codicil, written and signed with her own hand, is enclosed, sealed, and contained therein. She desires and wills that it take its full and entire effect after her passing from this world according to its form and tenor. She requested us, as witnesses specially called for this purpose for the affirmation and confirmation of the truth, to affix our manual signatures and impress our seals upon the said codicil, which we have willingly agreed to, consented, and done in the city of Brussels, on the day, month, and year above written.

J. de Lannoy
P. Nigri
P. de Bruxelles
F. de Falais
A. de Helfault

+
Jesus

In order that what is due according to God and reasonable may be provided for these servants and maidservants, so that, having spent their years in the

mestre ou mestresse, apres leur deses ce trouvent proveus pour la reste de leur [de leur] vie ou aultrement selon la merite de leur service, ce consideré je y ay desiré proveoir par cetuy mon codicille de sorte que tous mes serviteurs et servantes demeurent competament proveus pour toute leur vie, et aulx aultres quy m'ont fait plus agreables servises pour eulx et les leurs considerant que, graces a Dieu, mes eritiers sont prinses cy puisans quy ne jennent apres le peu de bien que je lesse, lequel codicille j'entens que en tous ces pions il soit observé comme mon testament prinsipal, me reservant la fagulté de le revoquer, sanger augmenter, diminuer et y adjouster toutes et cantes fois que bon me sanblera jusques a l'heure de mon trespas, que lors entens il sorte son plein et entier efect, et ay ce vullu coucher par codicille pour avoir moins d'ocasion de sanger mon testament cy grande cause ne le me fait faire, voiant que sur le point de la provision des serviteurs y git tousjours le plus de sangement selon que iceulx ce sangent, soit par mort, sangement de service ou de meurs.

Et pour satisfaire a ce a mes mestres d'ostelz, gentilzhomes, offisiers, aides d'ofice et tous ceulx contés par mes estros quy seront en mon service a l'heure de mon trespas, ensemble mes pensionaires soient avec moy ou aultrepart, je leur ordonne les mesmes gaiges et pensions que checun d'eulx aront eu de mon vivant pour en jouir leur vie durant, sauf que a mes laqueis quy n'ont que II sol par jour a cause quy sont deffroié et abillé, leur en ordonne aultre trois quy remect en tout a checun d'eulx a cinq sol par jour, et aulx soubz aides, laqueis, serviteurs et servantes des filles quy sont a ma soude quy n'ont trois sol de gage, j'entens que l'on leur furnise jusques a trois sol par jour pour checun d'eulx.

A mestre Piere le Nein,³² je luy ordonne huit sol par jour pour sa vie.

service of their master or mistress, after their passing they may be provided for for the remainder of their lives, or otherwise according to the merit of their service, I have considered this and wished to provide for it by this my codicil, so that all my servants and maidservants shall remain competently provided for throughout their lives; and for others who have rendered me more agreeable service, considering them and theirs, since, thanks be to God, my heirs are already well provided for, and will not trouble themselves over the small property I leave, I intend that this codicil, in all its points, shall be observed as my principal testament, reserving to myself the power to revoke, alter, increase, diminish, or add to it as often as shall seem good to me, until the hour of my passing, at which time I intend it to take its full and entire effect. I have wished to set this down by codicil in order to have less occasion to alter my testament, though great cause would not prevent me from doing so, seeing that, on the point of the provision for the servants, most changes usually arise according to how they change, whether by death, change of service, or of behaviour.

And in order to provide for my masters of the households, gentlemen, officers, assistants, and all those counted among my staff who shall be in my service at the hour of my passing, whether my pensioners be with me or elsewhere, I order that they receive the same wages and pensions as each of them has had in my lifetime, to enjoy for the remainder of their lives; except that for my lackeys who currently receive only two sol per day, on account of being clothed and outfitted, I order an additional three sol, bringing each of them to five shillings per day; and for the under-assistants, lackeys, servants, and maidservants of the girls in my household who receive only three shillings in wages, I intend that they be provided up to three shillings per day for each of them.

To Master Pierre le Nain, I order eight sol per day for his life.

³² Pierre le Nain, Keeper of the Queen's Jewels (Garde-joyaux) of Mary of Hungary.

Je ordonne ausy aux dames de Vadam³³ et de Hierunham,³⁴ en cas qu'elles soient en mon service a l'heure de mon trespas, a checune d'elles quatre cens livres de carante gros pour leur vie.

Et aux filles d'honneur quy seront venues de pardesa avec moy en Espaigne, en cas que ne les aie marié ou pourveu devant mon trespas, a checune d'elles trois cens samblable livres de rente eritieres au rachat de denier saice en cas qu'elles ce marient, et en cas de non, que ceste rente soit pour leur vie seulement, sauf que a Anne de la Thieloie³⁵ ordonne cent livres de rente d'avantage quy feront les IIII^c avec la mesme condicion.

A Felix Lucasin³⁶ et Marie Scharebergerin,³⁷ ausy en cas qu'elles ne soient mariees ou prouvees, je leur ordonne a checune cent et cincante livres de rente avec toutes les mesmes condicions que aux filles.

A Cateline la Nemme³⁸ huit sol par jour pour sa vie.

Aux aultres fames de chambre quy n'aront esté proveues devant mon trespas, a checune cent livres pour leur vie, et aux ouvrieres a checune soisante livre ainsy pour leur vie.

Pour ce que ay bien proveue la contesse de Nagarol³⁹ ne luy delese aultre chose, mes ordonne a mes testameteurs de suplier au roy mon seigneur

I also order to the ladies of Vadans and of Hiernam, in the event that they are in my service at the hour of my passing, four hundred livres of forty gros each for their lives.

And to the ladies of honour who shall have come from abroad with me to Spain, in the event that I have not married them or otherwise provided for them before my passing, I order to each of them three hundred similar livres of hereditary income, redeemable in cash in the event that they marry; and in the case that they do not marry, that this income shall be for their lives only, except that to Anne de la Thieuloye I order an additional one hundred livres of income, which shall make four hundred in total, under the same condition.

To Felice Lucas and Marie Scharberger, also in the event that they are not married or otherwise provided for, I order to each of them one hundred and fifty livres of income, with all the same conditions as for the aforesaid ladies.

To Catherine van Hemessen, eight sol per day for her life.

To the other women of the chamber who shall not have been provided for before my passing, I order to each one hundred livres for their life, and to the female workers, sixty livres each, likewise for their lives.

Since I have well provided for the Countess of Nagarol and bequeath to her nothing else, I order my executors to petition the King, my lord and nephew,

³³ Dorothea von Hoberch, lady-in-waiting, married to Charles de Poitiers, Lord of Vadans in 1535.

³⁴ Martha de Gheselu, lady-in-waiting, married to the Lord of Hiernam, in 1532.

³⁵ Anna de la Thieuloye, lady-in-waiting.

³⁶ Felice Lucas, chambermaid.

³⁷ Marie Scharberger, chambermaid.

³⁸ Catherine van Hemessen (Antwerp, 1526 – after 1581), chambermaid. Daughter of the artist Jan Sanders van Hemessen (c. 1500 – 1566). Catherine acquired a reputation as a professi-

onal portrait painter. In 1554, she married organist Chrétien de Morien from Antwerp, who served Mary of Hungary as court musician. The pair accompanied the Dowager Queen to Spain in 1556 and remained there until her death in 1558. Famous self-portraits of Catherine are conserved in Basel, Kunstmuseum Basel, Inv. No. 6092 and Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and Fondation Corboud, Inv. No. 0654.

³⁹ Lucretia de Caballis († 1556), lady-in-waiting, married to Alessandro, Count of Nogarola. For this couple at Mary's court, see JORDAN GSCHWEND, A. Alessandro Nogarola's Rediscovered Vita of Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands. In: *Mary of Hungary. Renaissance Patron and Collector. Gender, Art and Culture*. Ed.: GARCÍA PÉREZ, N. Turnhout 2020, pp. 59 – 75.

et neveupt de ma part, puis qu'il a plut a l'empereur mon sengneur en ma contemplacion et pour les services qu'elle m'a fait, luy baille pension pour sa vie asingnees sur aucunes reserves de pardesa, qu'il luy plaise ordoner qu'il ne luy soit fait aucung destourbie a en jouir et l'avoir au demorant en bonne recommandacion, cy toutesfois ce non obstant aucung enpechement luy fut fait, fut en tout ou en partie, puis que sur l'esperoir que ainsy ne aviendra, je ne luy delese riens, en ce cas je ordonne que de mon bien l'on luy donne cinq cens livres de pension pour sa vie, ou autant moins que on la l'aura jouir de la pension avant dite donee par l'empereur.

Pour les long services que Anthoine Seuf,⁴⁰ mon varlet de chambre, que lesse de pardesa m'a fait, je delese a une de ses filles ou pluseurs a son chois pour leur mariage pour ung cop cant elle ou elles ce marieront mille livres de carante gros.

Pareillement pour une ou pluseurs des filles de la brodeusse, Anne Ocoche,⁴¹ ma fame de chambre, quy demeure la, je leur delese sanblables mille livres a son ou leur mariage au chois de ladicte brodeuse.

En cas que par mandement especial je n'eusse fait don a Charles,⁴² seigneur de Selting, de mille livres de XL gros de rente eritiere au rachat du denier saice, le quel j'ay nory depuis sa naisance, en contemplacion des services du pere quy le m'a lessé et recommandé, et de ceulx qu'il m'a fait et pora faire, je les luy delese par celuy mon codicille, avec la reservacion que en ce cas ne jouira de son trectement, pour sa vie comme les aultres gentilzhomes.

Pareillement, cy par mandement especial n'eusse donné a Jan de Lieninge, seigneur de Wange, sis cent livres de XL gros de rente eritiere au rachat de denier XVI ou aultre somme plus grande, en contemplacion de ses services et qu'il m'a cy volontairement

on my behalf, that, inasmuch as it has pleased the emperor, my lord, in my contemplation and for the services she has rendered me, to grant her a pension for life assigned upon certain reserves from abroad, he may please to order that she suffer no disturbance in enjoying it and may hold it for the remainder of her life in good favour. Nevertheless, if, in whole or in part, any impediment should be made to this, though I trust this will not happen, I bequeath to her nothing further. In that case, I order that from my own property she be given five hundred livres of pension for her life, or a lesser sum in proportion to whatever portion of the pension previously granted by the emperor she shall have already enjoyed.

For the long services that Anthoine Steuff, my valet of the chamber, who comes from abroad, has rendered me, I bequeath to one of his daughters, or to several at his choice, for their marriage, one thousand livres of forty gros when she or they shall marry.

Similarly, for one or several of the daughters of the embroiderer, Anne Ocoche, my woman of the chamber, who remains there, I bequeath to them the same sum of one thousand livres at her or their marriage, at the choice of the said embroiderer.

In the event that by special mandate I had not made a gift to Charles, Lord of Selting, of one thousand livres of forty gros of hereditary rent redeemable in cash, which I have since provided for him from his birth, in consideration of the services of his father who bequeathed and recommended him to me, and of those which he has rendered and may render me, I bequeath it to him by this my codicil, with the reservation that, in this case, he shall not enjoy his treatment for life as the other gentlemen do.

Similarly, in the event that by special mandate I had not given to Jan de Lieninge, Lord of Wange, six hundred livres of forty gros of hereditary rent redeemable in sixteen-penny money, or some greater sum, in consideration of his services and that he has

⁴⁰ Anthoine Steuff, valet de chambre.

⁴¹ Anna d'Ocoche, chambermaid, married to Marc d'Ocoche, valet de chambre of Mary of Hungary.

⁴² In the margin: "Radé et escript par moy, Marie"

servy, je les luy delese par cetuy mon codicille, avec la reservacion que en ce cas il ne sera compris avec les [aultes] aultres gentilzhommes de jouir de son trectement pour sa vie.

Cy ansy mes serviteurs ou servantes quy sont de pardesa ou allemandes desirent avoir leur rente ou pencion a vie en ce plus plus tost que en Espangne, je donne en ce cas fagulté a mes testamenteurs de vendre autant de rente en Espangne pour les aques-ter en ces pais a cest efect, retournant a mon eritier prinsipal et universel apres la mort des pensionnaires la rente eritiere quy en sera delivré, lequel j'entens aie chois et obsion de poier toutes lesdites pension a vie ou partie d'icelles la vie de ceulx quy je l'ay ordonné ou de la racheter en poiant le denyer huit pour icelle.

Ce que desus est ma derniere volonté et codicille, lequel je veulx estre gardé et aconply selon sa teneur en la forme que desus, en tesmoing de ce j'ay siné et escript ceste de ma mein, a Bruxelles le troisieme du mois de desembre l'an mille cinc sens cincante cincq.

Marie rh

Au nom de la sainte trinité, Dieu le pere, Dieu le filz, et Dieu le saint esperit Amen. Par la teneur de ce present instrument publique, soit cogneu et notoire a ung chacun, que l'an de grace mil cinq cens cinquante cincq, le troisieme jour de decembre, en la treizieme indiction romaine, et premieree anné du pontificat de nostre saint pere Paule le quart, tres illustre et tres excellente princesse dame Marie royne douagiere de Hongrie, Boheme, etc. en la presence de moy, Jehan de Langhe, secretaire en ordonnance du roy d'Engleterre etc., notaire publique, ensemble des tesmoingz cy apres denommez, a fait appeller vers elle les cincq personnes tesmoingz denommez a l'autre lez et premieree pargelle de ce present quoyer, auquel sa magesté declairoit estre clos, serré et contenu son codicille, et leur requis vouloir mecre leurs seingz manuelz et imprimer leurs signetz sur ledict codicille, ce que lesdits personnaiges ont ainsy fait, et depuis pardevant moy, secretaire et notaire soubsigné, ont recogneu chacun en son endroit leursdits seingz manuelz et signetz apposez audict codicille, de laquelle requisition, subscription, sigillature, et mesmes de leurs recognoissances

voluntarily served me here, I bequeath it to him by this my codicil, with the reservation that, in this case, he shall not be included with the other gentlemen in enjoying his treatment for life.

Thus, if my servants or maidservants who are from abroad or German wish to receive their rent or pension for life here rather than in Spain, I give in that case full authority to my executors to sell so much of the rent in Spain in order to purchase it in these countries for that purpose, returning to my principal and universal heir, after the death of the pensioners, the hereditary rent which shall have been delivered for this purpose. I intend that he shall have the choice and option to pay all the said life pensions, or part of them, during the lives of those to whom I have assigned them, or to redeem them by paying eight deniers for each.

What is written above is my last will and codicil, which I desire to be observed and fulfilled according to its contents in the form set forth above. In witness whereof I have signed and written this with my own hand, in Brussels, the third day of December, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-five.

Mary regina Hungariae

In the name of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. Amen. By the tenor of this present public instrument, let it be known and made manifest to all, that in the year of Our Lord one thousand five hundred and fifty-five, on the third day of December, in the thirteenth Roman indiction, and the first year of the pontificate of our holy father Paul IV, the most illustrious and most excellent princess, Lady Mary, Dowager Queen of Hungary, Bohemia, etc., in the presence of me, Jehan de Langhe, Secretary in Ordinary Service of the King of England, etc., public notary, together with the witnesses named below, summoned to her presence the five witnesses named in the other leaf and first section of this present booklet, before whom Her Majesty declared that her codicil was enclosed, sealed, and contained therein. She requested them to place their manual signatures and affix their seals upon the said codicil, which the said persons accordingly did. Thereafter, before me, secretary and undersigned notary, each of them acknowledged in their respective places their manual signatures and seals affixed to the said codicil. Upon this requisition, subscription,

susdites, sadicte magesté a requis a moy, secretaire et notaire soubscript, luy faire et signer ce present instrument publicque, pour plus grande sceurté, et servir cy apres a son intention comme de raison, ainsy fait a Bruxelles, en l'hostel de ladicte magesté royalle, les jour, mois, an, indiction et pontificat que dessus, en la presence de nobles, hommes, messire Philippes de Staveles, seigneur de Glajon, conseiller du conseil d'estat, maistres Jehan Scheyff, et Joachim de Hontsocht, conseillers et maistres aux requestes ordinaires dudict hostel du roy, et de son greffier des finances, maistre Rombout Loets, tesmoingz a ce appelez et requis.

Et je, Jehan de Langhe, clerc du diocese de Therouenne, secretaire en ordonnance du roy d'Engleterre etc. et notaire appostolicque, pour ce que suis avec lesdits tesmoingz esté present ou les declaration, requisition, subscriptions, sigillatures, recognitions et autres choses avantdites sont ainsy avenues et passees, j'ay a la requeste que dessus, redigé en fourme ce present instrument et icelluy escript et signé de ma main propre en approbation et tesmoignaige de verité, les jour, mois et an que dessus.

sealing, and likewise their aforesaid acknowledgements, Her said Majesty requested me, secretary and undersigned notary, to prepare and sign this present public instrument, for greater security and to serve thereafter according to her intention. Thus done at Brussels, in the palace of the said Royal Majesty, on the day, month, year, indiction, and pontificate as stated above, in the presence of nobles and gentlemen, Sir Philippe de Staveles, Lord of Glajon, Councillor of the Council of State, Masters Jehan Scheyff and Joachim de Hontsocht, Councillors and Masters of the Ordinary Requests of the said royal household, and of his treasurer, Master Rombout Loets, witnesses specially called and required for this purpose.

And I, Jehan de Langhe, Cleric of the Diocese of Therouenne, Secretary in Ordinary Service of the King of England, etc., and Apostolic Notary, having been present with the said witnesses when the declarations, requisitions, subscriptions, sealings, acknowledgements, and other matters aforesaid were thus made and carried out, have at their request drawn up this present instrument in proper form, and have written and signed it with my own hand in approval and testimony of truth, on the day, month, and year as above.

Maxim Hoffman

The University of Neuchâtel & Ghent University
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Klenoty času – Slovenská moderna zo súkromných zbierok
Krátka úvaha o zbieraní diel výtvarnej moderny Slovenska¹

Klenoty času – Slovenská moderna zo súkromných zbierok
Timeless Vision – Slovak Moderne from Private Collections

Kurátorka: Katarína Bajcurová

Zoya Museum, Modra

Trvanie výstavy: 8. 2. – 7. 6. 2026

V období, ktoré nepraje vedecky podloženému kritickému zhodnocovaniu zbierok výtvarného umenia, a ich nadobúdanie do verejných fondových inštitúcií je výrazne obmedzené, iniciatívy súkromných výstavných priestorov a zberateľov nahrádzajú celý rad činností múzeí a galérií. Od samotnej tvorby kolekcii maliarskych a sochárskych diel, cez vydávanie publikácií, až po výstavné projekty, prím v oblasti mapovania a popularizovania umenia Slovenska už dlhšiu dobu nemajú ani historicky prvé martinské ustanovizne ani tie bratislavské tzv. erbové. Spomenuté úlohy sa za ostatných tridsať rokov nerovnomerne rozložili medzi štátne (čiastočne krajské) organizácie a privátnych zberateľov a zberateľky, čoho dôkazom je výstava *Klenoty času – Slovenská moderna zo súkromných zbierok* v Zoya Museu v Modre. Táto veľkolepá výstava prezentuje diela, ktorých kvalita a širší význam oprávnene nabádajú pýtať sa, prečo nie je ich vlastníkom štát. Prítomnosť špičkových diel v súkromných rukách je pochopiteľným dôsledkom našich dejín. Okrem historických východísk, v ktorých hlavným „akvizíčným“ činiteľom boli samotní umelci a nacionalizmus, však odpoveď poskytuje aj

pohľad na naše kultúrne politiky a na objem peňazí, aký sme na Slovensku ochotní zaplatiť za umelecké diela našich autorov a autoriek, dovoľm si poznamenať, že najlacnejšie v rámci Európskej únie.²

Napriek všetkému, pozitívny vzťah slovenskej odbornej i laickej verejnosti k tomu, čo nazývame výtvarnou modernou Slovenska, je historicky determinovaný, vychádzajúci z okolností vzniku národne orientovaného zbierania a konštituovania zbierkotvorných inštitúcií. Slovenské zberateľstvo umenia začína zbieraním súčasného umenia.³ Náš príbeh je ale iný v porovnaní s často uvádzanými príkladmi čo i len zo susedných štátov⁴ – buď v tomto naratívne chýbali národne a kultúrne uvedomelé šľachtické rody alebo kultúrne uvedomelé elity ako v spoločnosti tak aj v politickom živote. Vďaka tomu sa v tejto oblasti objavili silné osobnosti ako z radov umelcov a umelkýň, tak v radoch múzejníckych a kunsthistorických. Len ich zásluhou bol možný vznik Muzeálnej spoločnosti slovenskej, Národnej galérie slovenskej, Múzea Martina Benku, Galérie Ľudovíta Fullu, Galérie umenia Ernesta Zmetáka, či zbierky slovenského medzivojnového umenia v SNG.

¹ Kurátorka v úvodnom texte k výstave hneď na začiatku uvádza pojem *slovenská moderna* a vzápätí dodáva, „vernejšie – *výtvarná moderna Slovenska*“ čím sa nepriamo odvoláva na definíciu pojmu rozsiahlou monografiou ABELOVSKÝ, J. – BAJCUROVÁ, K.: *Výtvarná moderna Slovenska – maliarstvo a sochárstvo 1890 – 1949*. Bratislava 1997.

² Neexistuje publikovaná cenová analýza, ale verejné predaje (portál artprice.com) hovoria jednoznačne o limitoch slovenského trhového prostredia. Uzavretý, výsostne regionálny slovenský trh dosahuje v priemere len 10% – 20% z najvyšších

konečných cien najvyššie vydražených diel kľúčových autorov českého a maďarského trhu.

³ K téme počiatkov inštitucionálneho zberateľstva pozri OKÁLOVÁ, E.: Národná galéria slovenská. In: *Zborník Slovenského národného múzea (etnografija)*, roč. 7, 1982, č. 23, s. 7 – 58.

⁴ K téme pozri SINKÓ, K.: *Nemzeti Képtár. A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria évkönyve*. Budapešť 2009. SLAVÍČEK, L.: *Sobě, umění, přátelům. Kapitoly z dějin sběratelství v Čechách a na Moravě (1650 – 1939)*. Brno 2007.



Obr. 1: Konstantín Bauer: *Pri trati*. 1927. Foto: archív Galérie Art Ház

Majitelia súkromných zbierok, ktorých dejiny zberateľstva slovenskej moderny poznajú spočiatku ako mecenášov pri jednotlivých umelcoch⁵, sa začínajú výraznejšie objavovať až v 80. rokoch 20. storočia a síce ich spájala vášeň pre klasické rozmanité zbieranie, dominanciu v ich kolekciami veľmi rýchlo začala nadobúdať moderna a jej známejší i menej známi predstavitelia. SNG v tej dobe (do roku 1989) už disponovala pomerne ucelenou množinou dôležitých diel tohto obdobia a mala za sebou významné výstavné počiny, no jej vplyv na správanie sa zberateľov by bolo potrebné podrobiť hlbšiemu výskumu. Viac ako vplyv inštitucionálnej sféry možno vnímať kontakty s historikmi a historičkami umenia, ktorí radili pri nákupoch (či častejšie výmenách), no je otázne, nakoľko a či vôbec usmerňovali zberateľské ciele. Možno aj preto sa u niektorých aktérov stretávame s takými vkusovými preferenciami, ktoré možno označiť za výsostne osobné (Ernest Zmeták a zbieranie diel Jozefa Bendíka, Ivan Zubaľ a zbieranie diel Ľudovíta Csordáka, či nedávno rozsiahla zbierka diel Márie Medveckej v Hoteli Lomnica), napriek tomu ich ambície postihnúť slovenské umenie v celej jeho šírke boli aspoň formálne naplnené (Ernest Zmeták, Ivan Zubaľ, Ivan Melicherčík, Bohumil Hanzel, Zoya

⁵ Lekári (Fulla), Juro Koza Matejov (Jaszusch), Polák (Csordák a ďalší), Antonín Krátký (Foltýn) – dielo portrét Dr. Krátkého s manželkou je prítomné aj na výstave.



Obr. 2: Mikuláš Galanda: *Milenci*. 1932. Foto: Martin Marenčín

Gallery, Galéria Nedbalka, Galéria ArtHáz, Hotel Lomnica a i.).

Ďalšie roky (po roku 2000), bohužiaľ, zbavili zberateľov a zberateľky potreby siahat' po tzv. starožitnostiach a starých majstroch a začali vznikat' prakticky prísne špecializované zbierky umenia Slovenska od polovice 19. storočia vyššie – venované buď „viac medzinárodným všeľudským kontextom vývinu moderny resp. hľadaniu nacionálneho programu národnej identity moderného slovenského maliarstva.“⁶ Samozrejme, nie jedna zbierka je zlúčeninou oboch (i iných) prístupov, no napr. Košická moderna sa do pozornosti slovenských zberateľov dostala oveľa neskôr ako národne orientovaná línia umenia, čo spôsobilo viac-menej ilegálny vývoz diel prevažne do Maďarska a čiastočne aj do Českej republiky.

Vyššie spomenutý model „národný vs. internacionálny“ bol východiskom koncipovania výstavy v Modre, ktorej návšteva je tak trochu zážitkom

⁶ BAJCUROVÁ, K.: *Obrazárň „Pinacoteca“: Slovenská moderna zo súkromných zbierok*. Bratislava 2019, s. 17.

suplujúcim, či skôr dopĺňajúcim existujúce pokusy výstavne predstaviť výtvarnú modernu Slovenska vo verejných inštitúciách. Ak tu aj ide o torzovitý pohľad, nezahrňajúci mnoho autorov či iné médiá ako maľbu (vystavené sú aj kresbové techniky), je to pohľad konzistentný, prezrádzajúci mnoho o povahe nášho umenia, predovšetkým po roku 1918, i o tom, ako samotná kurátorka uvažuje o vzťahu nacionálnej vetvy a iných tendencií v slovenskom modernom umení. Zamlčeva však samotný fenomén zberateľstva a jeho trendy, čo však nebolo ambíciou výstavy.

Výstava je tým pádom objavným defilé diel zväčša múzejnej kvality, usporiadaných podľa kunsthistorických kritérií, čo hovorí o úspechu kurátorky potlačiť prítomnosť samotných majiteľov a majiteľiek zbierok v prospech umelecko-historických súvislostí. Ide o tretiu takúto prehliadku diel zo súkromných majetkov. Prvá bola predstavená v historických palácových priestoroch v centre Bratislavy, druhá v Oravskej galérii v Dolnom Kubíne⁷ a i keď sa v koncepcii a kmeňovom obrazovom materiáli zásadne nelíšili od modranskej, rozdiel je aj tak markantný – hlavne v dojme, ktorý výstava zanecháva. Je to hádam prvýkrát od expozičných pokusov inštalovaných v Dedečkovom premostení v SNG v 90. rokoch minulého storočia, kedy sa naše moderné maliarstvo opäť vystavuje vo veľkorysých, na svetlo bohatých sálach evokujúcich princíp „white cube.“ Dvojetážová architektúra Zoya Musea⁸ dodáva celej veci akýsi „šmrnc“ a jej členitosť a skladba hlavných a vedľajších výstavných plôch priam ponúkajú možnosť akcentovať, vyzdvihovať či dopovedať isté nuansy.

Do výstavy vedú dva vstupy: z prízemnia (mienený ako hlavný) a z poschodia. Vstup z prízemnia umožňuje návštevníctvu rozhodnúť sa, či prehliadku začne vpravo alebo vľavo, čím kurátorka vedome neuprednostnila naľavo umiestnenú národne chápanú maľbu s prevahou rurálnych motívov (Benka, Hála, Mallý, Bazovský, Palugyay, Weisz-Kubínčan, Ondreička) pred kozmopolitnejšou, avantgardnými vplyvmi zasiahnutou tvorbou. Pravá strana však odkrýva ďalší kurátorský motív výstavy: diela Kon-



Obr. 3: Ľudovít Fulla: Zátišie s krčabom. 1950. Foto: archív Kataríny Bajcurovej

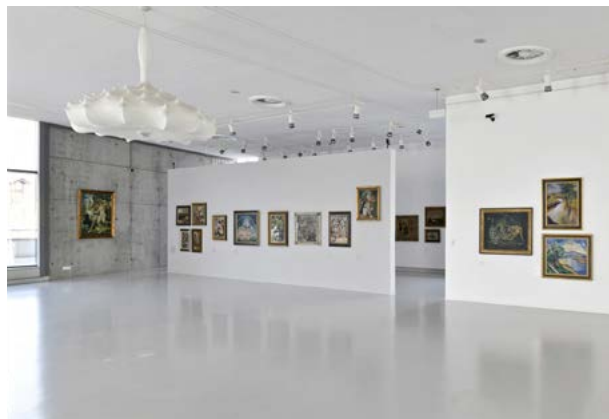
štantína Kövári-Kačmarika a predstaviteľov košickej moderny sú vystavené oproti maľbám a kresbám prevažne od Ľudovíta Fullu a Mikuláša Galandu. Toto rozhodnutie podporuje aj historická skutočnosť, že v roku 1930 to boli práve Košice a múzeum vedené Dr. Josefom Polákom, ktoré prijali výstavu tejto dvojice. Diela zo spomínanej košickej výstavy síce v súkromných zbierkach zatiaľ nepoznáme, no práve Fulla a Galanda (vedľa nich ešte „visí“ aj Imro Weiner-Kráľ) sú dobrým premostením od národných obrazov k tomu, čo možno považovať za hlavnú a najobjavnejšiu časť výstavy, do ktorej je možné vstúpiť aj samostatným vchodom na poschodí. Tu je, ako to kurátorka zvykne hovoriť „pekne rozbalená“ košická moderna, ktorou poukazuje na „udomácnenie“ (a import, pozn. J. B.) modelu západnej kultúry – t. z. moderny a hnutia avantgárd ako produktov výsostne individualizovanej, industrializovanej spoločnosti – do slovenského prostredia, v tom čase ešte prevažne agrárnej civilizácie, sa nedialo priamočiaro a jednosmerne.⁹

Po schodoch, ktoré lemujú oleje (a jeden akvarel) Františka Foltýna a Gejzu Schillera (prevažne zo zbierky ArtHáz) sa dostávame do širokej siene,

⁷ Výstava v Zoya Gallery v Erdödyho paláci v Bratislave sa konala v r. 2019, v OG v Dolnom Kubíne r. 2024, v OG pribudla ešte jedna súkromná zbierka, čiže repertoár diel sa obmieňal.

⁸ Zoya Museum od projekčného tímu Čakov & Partners z roku 2009.

⁹ Z úvodného kurátorského textu výstavy *Klenoty času – Slovenská moderna zo súkromných zbierok*



Obr. 4: Pohľad na výstavu

ktorú priam ovládajú rozmerné figurálne kompozície a rozvírené stromy Antona Jaszuscha, ktorému je venovaná celá ľavá strana. Oproti, vedľa osobitného panelu Júliusa Jakobyho, dostali miesto tí, na ktorých zvyčajne zabúdajú nielen kurátori a historici umenia, ale aj zberatelia – „dvojdomí“ umelci zasahujúci ako naše, tak aj maďarské či ukrajinské moderné umenie. Reč je o lučeneckom Gyulovi (Júliusovi) Szabóovi, podkarpatskom Bélovi (Vojtechovi, Adalbertovi) Erdélyim, šamorínskome Istvánovi (Štefanovi) Tallós-Prohászskovi, budapeštiansko-banskobystrickom Gyulovi (Júliusovi) Flaché a štiavnickom Edmundovi Gwerkovi – ktorého maľby vis a vis komunikujú s maľbami jeho veľkého vzoru Antona Jaszuscha.¹⁰ Vďaka dôstojnej pozícii v rámci výstavy nepôsobia uvedení majstri ako prílepok, s ktorým si nevieme v našej umenovede rady, pritom riešenie Kataríny Bajcurovej vystaviť ich primerane ich umeleckej úrovni, a bez pokusov definovať ich naviazanosť na slovenské prostredie, sa ukazuje ako dobrý spôsob integrácie do nášho „rodinného striebra.“

Vo vedľajšej, užšej kóji dotvárajú obraz moderny Slovenska práce predstaviteľov Generácie 1909. Táto časť výstavy, rovnako ako aj niektoré tu sa nachádzajúce diela, len s ťažkosťami dobiehajú dovtedy

videné. Aj to je riziko práce s vybranými súkromnými zbierkami (ich iniciatívou bol aj samotný výstavný projekt), ktorých formovanie v nedávnej minulosti zasiahla vlna kreovania monotematických – jednoautorových súborov (napr. Vincent Hložník, Július Jakoby).

Výstava *Klenoty času* len veľmi skryto komunikuje kľúčovú otázku pri súkromných zbierkach a tou sú proveniencie. Na štítkoch sú sporadicky uvedení aj konkrétni vlastníci, to však odzrkadľuje len aktuálny stav a nie minulosť, ktorá je v nejednom prípade zahmlená buď sprostredkovateľským obchodným reťazcom alebo zábudlivosťou predávajúcich subjektov. Len v jednom prípade o svojom „pôvode“ vypovedá aj samotné dielo: *Zátišie s krčahom* od Ľudovíta Fullu nesie na svojom ráme mosadznú tabuľku s nápisom: „s. V. BILAKOVI k 60. narodeninám G. Husák.“ Dielo pôvodne zo zbierok SNG (Galéria Ľudovíta Fullu v Ružomberku) bolo na základe dohody medzi ministrom Miroslavom Válkom a SFVU zastupujúcim autora vyňaté z fondu a v roku 1977 dané do dispozície ÚV KSČ, neskôr Gustávom Husákom bolo darované Vasiľovi Biľakovi. Od jeho potomkov sa dielo dostalo k viacerým majiteľom a odtiaľ k terajšiemu vlastníkovi. Problematika proveniencií i vzťahov medzi jednotlivými zbierkami ostáva nateraz len naznačená. Už to, že výstava (bez obchodných cieľov!) vznikla z vôle vlastníkov diel, že je tretou v poradí, že chce ukazovať nové objavy a že existuje katalóg týchto diel, je nádejou do budúcich rokov.

Klenoty času sú prehľadným pokusom – možno priam syntézou výkladov o charaktere maliarskej moderny Slovenska. Určité limity spôsobené zdrojmi diel a možno trochu podceneným vysvetľovaním patria k už dobre známym slovenským nedostatkom. Ak by sme však takúto expozíciu mali v ktoromkoľvek slovenskom múzeu výtvarného umenia, okrem mnohých iných benefitov by to prinieslo aj diskusiu, ktorá nám v oblasti bádania a vystavovania slovenského moderného umenia tak veľmi chýba.

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¹⁰ ŠTRAUSS, T.: *Moje Košice*. Bratislava 2012, s. 61.

Rotes Gold. Das Wunder von Herrengrund

Katalog. Hrsg. V. Andreas Herzog, Dušan Buran und Marius Winzeler.
Sandstein Verlag 2025, 204 s. ISBN 9783954988235

Medzinárodný výstavný projekt „Červené zlato“, realizovaný v spolupráci Bergbau- und Gotikmuseum Leogang, drážďanského Grünes Gewölbe a Slovenskej národnej galérie v Bratislave, predstavuje verejnosti pozoruhodný umelecko-zberateľský fenomén novoveku – špaňodolinské medené nádoby a barokové handštajny zo stredoslovenských banských miest produkované cca od polovice 17. st. do polovice 19. st. Rovnomenný katalóg pozostáva z Prológu, troch špecializovaných štúdií k téme výstavy, vlastného Katalógu vystavených predmetov a Epilógu ilustrujúceho ich súvislosti s moderným umením.

V **Prológu** sa prostredníctvom citácií historických cestopisných a encyklopedických diel zo 17. – 19. st. (vrátane Mateja Bela) ihneď upriamuje pozornosť na to, čím špaňodolinské nádoby fascinovali v čase svojho vzniku: cementačný proces, ktorý umožnil po ponorení železných predmetov do banských vôd v podzemí štôlní ich chemickú premenu na meď, vnímali súčasníci ako zázrak a tak ho aj popisujú. Dobové citácie predstavujú ideálny úvod k tomu, čo by sa následne očakávalo – chronologický pohľad na históriu Španej doliny s dôrazom na prosperujúce baníctvo a hutníctvo. Nasledujúce polstranové heslo o Španej doline citované z „Veľkej knihy o Slovensku. 3000 kľúčových hesiel“ z r. 2003 (autor E. Hochberger, s. 19) a rovnako ani nie jednostranová charakteristika obce od M. Winzeler a názvom: „Deutsch – slowakisch – ungarisch?“ (s. 20) sú v tomto smere nedostatočné, obsahujú v podstate len 2 – 3 vety o histórii. I keď viaceré historické fakty sú roztrúsene spomenuté v nasledujúcich troch štúdiách (najmä v štúdiu B. Hodásovej), práve systematicky usporiadaný aspoň dvoj- alebo trojstranový prehľad o dejinách (vo svojej dobe svetovo významného) banského regiónu by si tu miesto rozhodne zasluhoval. M. Winzeler tu tiež nesprávne

vysvetľuje termín „Dolnouhorské banské mestá“. Vzhľadom na to, že táto terminologická otázka sa pertraktuje prakticky na každom fóre, kde sa prezentuje problematika našich stredovekých a novovekých banských miest (a časté zamieňanie si s pojmom „Dolnej zeme“, t. j. nížinaté oblasti južného Maďarska a s ním hraničiacich krajín Balkánu), považujem za potrebné detailnejšie objasnenie. Podľa Winzeler a názov odvodzuje od toho, že dolnouhorské banské mestá sa nachádzajú „pod riekou Hron“ (unterhalb des Flusses Gran), zatiaľ čo hornouhorské boli „nad“ Hronom (oberhalb des Grans). Treba jasne vymedziť, že pod dolnouhorskými mestami sa v tradičnej nemeckej („niederungarische Bergstädte“) aj maďarskej („alsó-magyarországi bányavárosok“) historiografii chápe 7 banských lokalít na strednom Slovensku: teda Kremnica, Banská Bystrica, Nová Baňa, Banská Štiavnica, Banská Belá, Ľubietová a Pukanec. Všetky sa nachádzajú na strednom toku rieky Hron po oboch brehoch, 3 na jednom, 4 na druhom. Už len preto Hron nemôže byť „deliacou čiarou“ medzi (dolno-) a (horno-)uhorskými banskými mestami. Pripomeňme definíciu najrenomovanejšieho odborníka na dejiny uhorských banských miest, maďarského historika hospodárskych dejín Oszkára Paulínyiho: Po dobytí Budína Turkami roku 1541 a prenesení ústredných štátnych orgánov do Bratislavy, resp. neskôr do Viedne sa vytvorila nová perspektíva, v ktorej Dolné Uhorsko siahalo po východné hranice Liptovskej-Zvolenskej-Novohradskej župy.¹ Za nimi smerom na východ bolo „Horné Uhorsko“ s „hornouhorskými“, t. j. Spišsko-gemerskými banskými mestami (na Slovensku

¹ PAULÍNYI, O.: Eigentum und Gesellschaft in den niederungarischen Bergstädten. Ein Beitrag zur Problematik der deutschen Kolonisationsstädte in Ungarn. In: *Der Aussenhandel*



Obr. 1: Paulus Kolbany: Handstajjn. Banská Bystrica, 1763. Deutsches Bergbau Museum Bochum. Reprofoto: katalóg výstavy.

Smolník, Rožňava, Gelnica, Spišská Nová Ves, Jasov a tiež dnes maďarské Rudabánya a Telkibánya). Ide tu práve o obdobie, ktoré je v centre pozornosti tohto katalógu.

Prvá zo štúdií z pera autorky Tiny Asmussen: „**Železom som bol, teraz som meď, raz budem zlato**“ (s. 25 – 35) sa zameriava na vzťah baníctva a alchémie v ranom novoveku. Podrobne vysvetľuje dobové názory na kovy ako „živé“ elementy či organizmy, ktoré môžu nielen rásť a regenerovať (obnoviť sa po opustení baní), ale sa aj premieňať (transmutovať) z jedného kovu na druhý. Cementačný proces praktizovaný tak v „dolnouhorskom“ (Špania dolina), ako aj „hornouhorskom“ banskom revíre (Smolník²) bol vnímaný ako dôkaz možnosti

takejto premeny: z menej ušľachtilého kovu (železo) vzniká kov cennejší (meď) s očakávaním, že sa podarí dosiahnuť vytúženú premenu na zlato. Štúdia popri takýchto nádejách popisuje aj riziká a sklamanie – tragický osud v r. 1597 popraveného neúspešného alchymistu Georga Honauera (s. 29 – 31). V závere (s. 34) osobitne zaujmú vlastné pokusy autorky s procesom cementácie meďi (o.i. konštatuje svoje prekvapenie nad jej rýchlosťou) – o to viac je pochopiteľný údiv a úžas, ktorý vo svojej dobe vzbudzovala a ktorý je slovné zachytený v nápisoach na nádobách zo Španej doliny.

Druhá štúdia od Henrike Haug: „**Handstajjn a ich význam...**“ (s. 37 – 56) sa zameriava na fenomén tzv. handstajnov. Pôvodne šlo o vzorky horniny určené na testovanie čistoty a obsahu kovu – teda výnosnosti ťažby. Tieto vzorky – prírodný materiál – sa zasadzovali do čoraz zložitejších umeleckých spôsobom stvárnených miniatúrnych modelov bansko-industriálnej krajiny s postavami baníkov a strojov v rôznych fázach ťažby a spracovania rúd. Niekedy sa kombinovali aj s pietno-religióznymi motívmi (ako príklad slúži motív Ukrižovanie na Golgote, alebo Olivová hora od jáchymovského zlatníka Caspara Ulricha, s. 38 – 42). S použitím zlata, striebra a rôznofarebných minerálov z príslušných nálezísk sa handstajny stávali demonštráciou statusu a bohatstva majiteľov baní, v niektorých prípadoch (nosenie počas procesií) až na úrovni kultu relikvie. Henrike Haug sa vo výklade sústreďuje na handstajny z regiónu Krušných hôr, najmä z ich saskkej časti, kde čistota horniny dosahovala koncentráciu takmer rýdzeho striebra – čo ilustruje citáciami z diela najvýznamnejšieho (zo Saska pochádzajúceho) mineralóga a banského vedca 16. storočia, Juraja (Georgia) Agricolu. Na vybraných príkladoch z dvora saských kurfirstov 17. storočia autorka predstavuje genézu vzniku handstajnov, a odkazuje na konkrétne inventáre zo zbierok súčasných európskych múzeí vrátane exponátov tohto katalógu. Širší kontext dobového vnímania metalurgie vo vzťahu k handstajnom a ich funkcii (sedem najdôležitejších kovov je odvodených od siedmich planét), ako aj už v tom období pocitovaných devastačných dopadov ťažby na prírodu

Ostmittleuropas 1450 – 1650. Die ostmittleuropäischen Volkswirtschaften in ihren Beziehungen zu Mitteleuropa. Ed.: BOG, I. Köln – Wien 1971, III – VII, s. 525.

² Na s. 27 a 31 autorka nesprávne označuje Smolník za „dolnouhorské“ banské mesto. V dobovom vnímaní bolo „hornouhorské“.

a krajinu zobrazovaných na handštajnoch (zúbožená Zem obviňuje svoje deti – ľudí za dôsledky ich činnosti) dokladá ďalšími citáciami z traktátov saských učencov a Agricolových súčasníkov Lazara Erckera (s. 44) a Paula Schneevogla (s. 48).

Pre samotnú tému výstavy je kľúčová štúdia Barbary Hodásovej: „**Tam, kde sa železo mení na meď...**“ (s. 53 – 71). Autorka uvádza svoj príspevok rokom 1605, kedy boli v podzemí baní v Španej Doline identifikované cementačné vody, ktoré umožňovali onú „zázračnú“ premenu železa na jemnú meď. Cestovatelia (zvlášť známy je anglický lekár E. Brown) referujú nielen o samotnom procese v Španej doline, ale aj o zdobených nádobách, ktoré sa z nej vyrábajú a o nápisocho na nich. Nápis majú svoju ustálenú typológiu a často obsahujú priamy odkaz na svoj geografický pôvod. Štúdia poukazuje na silnú väzbu celého regiónu vrátane okolitých hradných panstiev na Viedeň – priamu podriadenosť Dolnorakúskej komore (treba poznamenať, že mala svoje historické dôvody koreniace ešte v stredoveku). Popri nádobách sa autorka venuje tiež barokovým handštajnom z prostredia stredoslovenských banských miest, ktoré sa oproti saským a tírolským náprotivkom zhotovovali cca o storočie neskôr. Hoci mali zjavný vzťah k Španej doline ako miestu ťažby – priemyselnej zóne, ktorú aj vizualizovali (a sú teda tiež doplnkovým historickým prameňom), podľa dostupných údajov sa usudzuje, že fyzicky boli vyrábané najmä v zlatníckych dielňach sídliacich v Banskej Bystrici, do ktorej chotára Špania dolina patrila. Banská Bystrica na rozdiel od Štiavnice či Kremnice nebola založená nad náleziskami a teda nemala svoje bane priamo na území mesta. Najspektakulárnejší známy kus (ktorý nie je súčasťou výstavy), pochádzajúci z dielne kremnických majstrov M. Scarwutha a F. Glantza, bol vytvorený a odovzdaný adresátovi r. 1764 pri príležitosti návštevy následníka trónu (budúceho cisára Jozefa II.). Dnes sa nachádza v zbierkach Umelecko-historického múzea vo Viedni (s. 65 – 67). Handštajny mali teda okrem dekoratívnej a reprezentatívnej aj sociálnu funkciu – prejav vazalstva formou daru vysokopostaveným osobám (prípomeňme v tejto súvislosti „novoročný dar“ panovníkovi, ktorý nachádzame v kremnickom archíve ako formu zdanenia už na prelome 14. a 15. st.). Na druhej strane boli tiež formou odmeny, benefítom, ktorý si odnášali funkcionári banskej komory po



Obr. 2: Neznámy zlatník: Španedolinská miska s dvoma banikmi a minerálom (keremeň), 18. storočie. Slovenská národná galéria Bratislava. Reprofoto: katalóg výstavy.

ukončení svojho pôsobenia (s. 58) ako upomienkový predmet do iných častí monarchie, prípadne sa stávali ďalším predmetom kúpnopredajných transakcií alebo darov. Záver štúdie (s. 68) tak podčiarkuje fenomén cirkulácie umeleckých predmetov medzi centrom a perifériou, ktoré sú síce použitým materiálom aj zobrazovanou témou priamo naviazané na miesto svojho vzniku, no svojou kvalitou ďaleko presiahli lokálny rámec, za ktorý sa vďaka tomu fyzicky často dostávali. Inými slovami, bol o ne záujem v bohatých častiach monarchie aj vo vzdialenejšej Európe. Ide o najčastejší artefakt z územia Slovenska v zahraničných múzeách, ktorý u nás v takomto počte nenájdeme. Už len tento fakt, na ktorý autorka zvlášť upozorňuje (s. 57), sám osebe dokladá dôležitosť a zmysel zvolenej témy výstavy.

Samotný katalóg je rozdelený na dve časti: prvá, rozsiahlejšia, pochádza z kolekcie Nadácie Achima

a Beate Middelschulteovcov z Essenu (trvalo zapožičanej Múzeu baníctva a gotiky v Leongangu), ktorá sa stala základom výstavy. Obsahuje 77 položiek (kat. č. 1.1 – 1.77) zahŕňajúcich všetky typy špaňodolinských predmetov: od najpočetnejšie zastúpených tumlerov (baníckych polgul'ových pohárov), ktorých je celkovo 26, cez misky, dózy, šálky a súdky (jednoduché aj dvojité), k originálnejším kusom ako kanvica na kávu či tabatierka. Väčšina exponátov je sčasti pozlátená, frekventovaná je povrchová puncovaná úprava tmavohnedej farby v štýle „hadej kože“. Z historického hľadiska sú najzaujímavejšie nápisy (v katalógu prehľadne umiestnené vždy v dolnej časti strany a odlíšené zelenou farbou tlače), obvykle odkazujúce na zážrak premeny železa na meď, často s mytologickou personifikáciou resp. priradením k príslušnej planéte (Mars – železo, Venuša – meď). V drvivej väčšine pri 63 exponátoch s nápismi ide o nápisy v nemčine (spolu 59), tri sú latinské. Celkovo je vo svete známych 264 variant nápisos na špaňodolinských predmetoch (por. štúdiu T. Asmusen, s. 25), len veľmi sporadicky sa v súkromných zbierkach vyskytuje maďarčina, stará čeština alebo slovenčina (v katalógu zastúpená v jedinom prípade, č. 1.8). Až takáto absolútna prevaha nemčiny sa zdá zarážajúca, odborná literatúra ju vysvetľuje tým, že zhotoviteľia predmetov boli nemeckej národnosti.³

Druhá katalógová časť (kat. č. 2 – 38) prináša výber rozmanitých exemplárov z viacerých, prevažne nemeckých a rakúskych zbierok. Jej najdôležitejšou časťou je desať handštajnov, na niektoré z nich odkazujú citované štúdiá od H. Haug a B. Hodásovej. Okrem nich sú tu zaradené aj súvisiace diela – špaňodolinské predmety, tabuľová maľba s prorokom Danielom, gotické busty svätej Barbory a proroka Daniela z Tirolska, cechový pokál z Banskej Bystrice so zakomponovaným kokosovým orechom, ukážky pôvodných vydání baníckej literatúry (Agricolove diela zo 16.st., Banícka kniha zo Schwazu). Dozvieme sa aj takú zaujímavosť, že americký prezident Herbert Hoover bol pôvodným povolaním banský inžinier, a ešte pred svojou politickou kariérou vydal anglický preklad latinského vydania Agricolu (kat.

č. 9). Exponáty tejto časti výstavy tak umožňujú pochopiť špecifiká stredoslovenskej produkcie v širšom európskom aj svetovom kontexte.

Záver publikácie tvorí štúdia D. Burana „**Kameň a soľ, hniezdo a vosk.**“ (s. 185 – 191): reflexia diela súčasného slovenského sochára Štefana Papča, ktorého kompozície s témou minerálov, prírodných a živočíšnych prvkov v krajine môžu byť vnímané ako reinterpretácia historických handštajnov a vytvárajú inšpiratívny dialóg medzi historickou tradíciou a súčasným umením.

Z hľadiska formálneho spracovania je katalóg na vysokej úrovni; sú k dispozícii kvalitné farebné reprodukcie, prehľadná grafická úprava a poznámkový aparát požadovanej kvality. Z dôvodov, ktoré presahujú odborný rámec recenzie, bude výstava po Nemecku a Rakúsku na Slovensku pravdepodobne prezentovaná len v podobe redukovanej na exponáty prvej časti Katalógu. V pripravovanej slovenskej verzii katalógu považujem popri už uvedených pripomienkach k Prológu (teda doplnenie o históriu Španej doliny a terminologické korekcie) za vhodné zaradiť aj krátky glosár s definíciami a vysvetleniami termínov ako tumler, handštajn, štuľa, cementácia etc. Samozrejme, kto si pozorne prečíta celý katalóg, nájde v rôznych jeho častiach patričné vysvetlenie. Avšak prehľadné definície na jednom mieste by pomohli takým čitateľom, ktorí si v katalógu listujú len výberovo. Rovnako by sa zišla podrobnejšia mapa regiónu s vyznačením všetkých spomínaných lokalít (ručne kreslená mapa na s. 15, prevzatá zo staršej literatúry, je nedostatočná). Tieto drobnosti sú však okrajovými záležitosťami, ktoré by doplnili celkovú vysokú hodnotu diela. Ide o vynikajúci výsledok medzinárodnej spolupráce, ktorá prináša mnohovrstvené spracovanie témy. Pre slovenskú odbornú aj laickú verejnosť vôbec po prvýkrát v takejto šírke a hĺbke predstavuje jeden z najvýznamnejších fenoménov ranonovovekého baníctva a umeleckého remesla na našom území v jeho európskych súvislostiach. Historické povedomie o špaňodolinských produktoch, zážraku cementácie a kvalite zachovaných handštajnov je cenným odkazom, ktorý publikácia sprostredkúva.

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³ HÉJJ-DÉTÁRI, A.: Herrengrunder Gefässe: „Ein Wunder der Natur“. In: *Ars Decorativa*, zv. 3, 1975, s. 70.

Plody sváru. Obraz osmanskej prítomnosti **(Reflexie k výstavnému projektu)**

Plody sváru. Obraz osmanskej prítomnosti / Fruits of Discord. Portraying the Ottoman Presence.
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Kurátori: Jana Švantnerová, Martin Čičo a Denis Haberland

Výstavný projekt *Plody sváru: Obraz osmanskej prítomnosti*, ktorý v spolupráci s viacerými odborníkmi pripravila Slovenská národná galéria, patrí bezpochyby k najambicióznym za posledné roky. V rámci šesťročného interdisciplinárneho výskumu okrem iného podrobnejšie zmapoval aj zbierkové fondy domácich inštitúcií a predstavil viacero diel a artefaktov, s ktorými sa slovenské publikum za bežných okolností stretáva len zriedka. Zároveň je možné ho zaradiť do širšieho európskeho kontextu galerijných a muzeálnych projektov, ktoré sa v poslednom období venujú téme osmanskej prítomnosti a jej kultúrnym a sociálnym dôsledkom v strednej a juhovýchodnej Európe. K problematike osmanskej

prítomnosti v Uhorskom kráľovstve jestvuje početná zahraničná historická i umeleckohistorická literatúra, menej už domáca, čo reflektuje aj katalóg výstavy.¹ Výstava si získala výrazný ohlas v našom mediálnom prostredí, čo naznačuje, že téma a záujem o osmansko-uhorské vzťahy rezonujú nielen v odbornej, ale aj v širšej verejnosti.² K atraktivite výstavy nepochybne prispelo aj jej vhodné načasovanie krátko pred jubilejným 500. výročím bitky pri Moháči.

Z pohľadu historika je dejinný rámec výstavy mimoriadne podnetný, obdobie od roku 1526 až do konca 17. storočia patrí medzi kľúčové epochy našich dejín. Porážka uhorského vojska pri Moháči najlepšou armádou vtedajšieho sveta otvorila Osmanskej

¹ Vzhľadom na rozsiahlu bibliografiu k danej problematike, ktorú na tomto mieste nie je možné uviesť a ani to nie je zámerom tejto reflexie, spomeniem len niektorých autorov. V systematickom spracovaní témy osmanskej prítomnosti na území Uhorského kráľovstva dominuje maďarská historiografia, zo starších napr. práce Gézu Fehéra; z novších práce Pála Fodora, Gábor Ágostona, Gézu Pálffyho, Jánoša Szabó a ďalších. Z rakúskeho prostredia sú to najmä kritické edície prameňov z Rakúskeho štátneho archívu (fond Turcica) Ernsta D. Petritscha, Sándora Pappa, či Gisely Procházka-Eisl a Claudie Römer. V domácej historiografii sa osmanskej problematike venovali najmä staršie práce Vojtecha Kopčana a Kláry Krajčovičovej, Vojtecha Dangla, edícia prameňov k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov Jána Lukačku, Viliama Čičaja a Petra Kónyu (hl. editor Pavel Dvořák); z posledného obdobia sú to napr. práce Štefana Szalmy a Heleny Gahérovej (Markuskovej), edícia prameňov k vojenským dejinám Slovenska Vladimíra Segeša a Boženy Šedovej, práce Pavla Maliniaka a Imricha Nagy, či najnovšie edície naratívnych prameňov k moháčskym udalostiam Vladimíra Segeša a Ivana Mrvu.

² K ohlasom v tlači pozri napr.: PAVLÍKOVÁ, M.: Kurátor výstavy o Osmanoch Martin Čičo: Nepriateľov na bojisku zmierovala sila umenia. In: *Standard* (29. 3. 2025). Dostupné online: <https://standard.sk/907965/kurator-vystavy-o-osmanoch-martin-cico-nepriatelov-na-bojisku-zmierovala-sila-umenia>; RUSINA, I.: Blíži sa 500. výročie bitky pri Moháči: SNG prináša pohľad na tureckú okupáciu v obrazoch. In: *Pravda* (05. 05. 2025). Dostupné online: <https://kultura.pravda.sk/galeria/clanok/750324-blizi-sa-500-vyrocie-bitky-pri-mohaci-sng-prinasa-pohlad-na-turecku-okupaciu-v-obrazoch/>; ČOBEJOVÁ, E.: O výstave v SNG s názvom Plody sváru Užitočná výstava, ale niečo tu mierne vyrušuje. In: *Postoj* (26. 1. 2025). Dostupné online: <https://www.postoj.sk/169383/uzitocna-vystava-ale-nieco-tu-mierne-vyrusuje>; Fotodokumentácia: Plody sváru – Obraz osmanskej prítomnosti. Svet medzi dvoma kultúrami. Foto: Nora Sapárová. In: *Archinfo* (28. 07. 2025). Dostupné online: <https://www.archinfo.sk/diela/interier/plody-svaru-obraz-osmanskej-pritomnosti.html>

riši pod vedením Sulejmana I. cestu k obsadeniu centrálnej časti krajiny a radikálne zmenila nielen geopolitickú ale i kultúrnu a spoločenskú mapu strednej Európy. Bitka trvala presne hodinu a pol, napísal vo svojom diele o udalostiach z 29. augusta 1526, ktoré ukončili existenciu stredovekého Uhorského kráľovstva, ich očitý svedok Štefan Brodarič. No bol to práve nástupnícky konflikt medzi Jánom Zápoľským a Ferdinandom Habsburským o uhorskú korunu, ktorý viedol k ďalšiemu deleniu krajiny a Zápoľského vmanévroval do spojenectva so sultánom. Práve tu začína kapitola osmansko-uhorských vzťahov, ktorá potvrdila osmanskú prítomnosť v krajine a dala jej legitimizačný rámec na ďalších 150 rokov. Jedna vec bolo totiž vojenské víťazstvo v bitke, aj keď rozhodujúcej, druhá dlhodobé obsadenie a ovládnutie častí územia Uhorského kráľovstva, ktoré bolo potrebné „vyriešiť“ aj inou, ako len vojenskou cestou. Akt legitimizácie sa udial takmer presne na výročie moháčskej bitky. V auguste 1529 uzavrel Ján Zápoľský so Sulejmanom I. vazalskú zmluvu, ktorá ho zaväzovala platiť tribút výmenou za spojenectvo a vojenskú podporu. Takýto krok bol dovedy bezprecedentný – katolícky panovník pobožkal ruku a uznal nadradenosť moslimského vládcu. Osmanské kroniky Zápoľského zobrazujú ako legitímneho panovníka, ktorý sa obrátil na sultána o pomoc proti uzurpátorovi uhorského trónu, Ferdinandovi Habsburskému. Súčasne prezentujú obraz Sulejmana ako „udeľovateľa korún panovníkom sveta“, čím legitimizujú jeho moc v širšom imperiálnom kontexte, najmä v súperení s cisárom Karolom V. Habsburským. Tieto udalosti našli svoju vizuálnu podobu v súbore osmanských miniatúr z druhej polovice 16. storočia. Ako súčasť reprezentácie a obrazu sultána Sulejmana sa v nich objavuje jedinečný obraz kresťanskej kráľovskej rodiny – Jána Zápoľského, Izabely Jagelovskej a ich syna Jána Žigmunda – ktorý nemá v našom priestore paralelu. Zápoľský obhajoval svoje spojenectvo aj pred pápežom, bol pevne presvedčený, že bojoval za obranu kresťanstva, pretože územia, ktoré mal vo svojej moci, boli a zostali kresťanské.

V priebehu nasledujúcich desaťročí prebiehala ďalšia etapa diferenciacie medzi tromi časťami Uhorska: katolíckym Kráľovským Uhorskom pod vládou Habsburgovcov, moslimským Budínskym pašalikom pod vládou Osmanov a konfesiónálne experimentál-

ným, čiastočne autonómnym Sedmohradskom. Tento „trojdielny“ rámec predstavuje jeden z hlavných kľúčov k pochopeniu historického kontextu výstavy. Nešlo pritom len o rozdelenie územia, ale o vznik priestoru hraničnosti a prechodnosti – územia, na ktorom sa stretávali armády, konfesie, kultúrne vplyvy, jazyky, právne tradície aj rôzne reprezentácie moci. Po dobytí Budína Osmanmi v roku 1541 sa hranica konfliktu neposunula len na mape, ale prenikla aj do každodenného života. Územie dnešného Slovenska, ktoré tvorilo jadro Kráľovského Uhorska, sa postupne stalo hraničným pásmom medzi dvoma mocenskými blokmi.

Mestá ako Bratislava, Trnava či Košice, rovnako ako banské mestá stredného a východného Slovenska, nadobudli nový význam ako hospodárske, administratívne a vojenské centrá habsburskej časti krajiny. Bratislava sa stala korunovačným mestom uhorských kráľov, Trnava sídlom ostrihomského arcibiskupa a významným cirkevným a intelektuálnym centrom. Boli to priestory, kde sa pretínali záujmy dvora, šľachty, konfesiónálnych skupín aj vojenských stratégií. Umelecké diela vznikajúce v tomto prostredí boli súčasťou mechanizmov, prostredníctvom ktorých sa nová politická realita legitimizovala a stabilizovala. Výstava ukazuje, že ranonovoveké umenie v Uhorsku nevznikalo napriek kríze, ale priamo v jej vnútri. Portréty aristokracie, náboženské objednávky, mestské reprezentácie či pamäťové monumenty neboli v čase neistoty estetickým luxusom, ale nástrojmi, pomocou ktorých spoločnosť usporadúvala svoj svet. Obrazy pomáhali potvrdiť pôvod, vieru, vernosť, stavovské postavenie aj nárok na politickú autoritu. Vystavené diela možno zároveň čítať aj ako svedectvo o tom, že dejiny 16. a 17. storočia neboli iba dejinami bojov s Osmanmi. Protiosmanský konflikt síce vytváral navonok rámec jednoty krajiny, no v jej vnútri prebiehali ďalšie, nemenej významné zápasy: medzi panovníkom a sedmohradskými stavmi, medzi katolíkmi a protestantmi, medzi centrom a perifériou či medzi aristokratickou autonómiou a dynastickým centralizmom.

Už od druhej štvrtiny 16. storočia sa Uhorsko stalo priestorom intenzívneho šírenia reformácie. Luteránstvo, kalvinizmus a ďalšie reformačné prúdy našli silnú odozvu najmä medzi mestským obyvateľstvom a časťou šľachty. Následná protireformácia a rekatolizácia, spojená s príchodom jezuitov, opäť

menila konfesijnálnu mapu krajiny a spolu s ňou aj vizuálnu kultúru. Historik tieto procesy vníma predovšetkým ako materiálny prejav zápasu o autoritu – o to, kto smie kázať, kto má právo vlastniť chrám a kto určuje podobu verejného rituálu. Napokon, prvým symbolom, ktorým sa osmanská prítomnosť na práve dobytom území legitimizovala, bolo odstránenie kresťanských krížov z kostolov a na ich mieste vztýčenie polmesiaca. V tomto kontexte sú pozoruhodné artefakty cirkevného pôvodu, uložené v zbierkach slovenských inštitúcií. Dokumentujú kultúrny transfer, ktorý zaevidovali už dobové vizitačné protokoly daných farností. Ide najmä o sekundárne použitie textílií, ako napr. pri kazule z Rudna, liturgickom odevu rímskokatolíckeho kňaza pôvodom z osmanského kaftanu (SNM – Etnografické múzeum v Martine), alebo oltárnej prikrývke zo Štítника, ktorá bola pôvodne prikrývkou na turban, či prikrývkou označenou ako „turecký koberec“ rovnako zo Štítника (Cirkevný zbor ECAV). Do už zložitých jestvujúcich konfesijnálnych reálií tak vstupovali ďalšie vrstvy, ktoré vo svojej podstate mali často aj prozaické pozadie. Poukazujú na pragmatické i estetické aspekty dobovej materiálnej kultúry, zjednodušene povedané – pekné a kvalitné látky či predmety sa neničia, hoci aj pochádzajú od nepriateľa.

Osobitnú úlohu v konfesijnálnom vývoji Uhorska zohralo územie Sedmohradska. Hoci syn Jána Zápoľského, Ján Žigmund, nikdy nebol korunovaný za uhorského kráľa, jeho vláda predstavovala významný posun v politickej organizácii krajiny. Manévrovaním medzi Osmanmi a Habsburgovcami sa mu podarilo udržať relatívnu stabilitu územia. Sedmohradsko síce bolo formálne osmanským vazalom, no zachovalo si značnú mieru autonómie, vlastnú vnútornú správu aj kultúru ovplyvnenú uhorskými tradíciami a európskymi reformnými prúdmi. Ján Žigmund bol zároveň jedným z prvých panovníkov v Európe, ktorý oficiálne uznal princíp náboženskej tolerancie. Edikt z Turdy z roku 1568 zaručoval slobodu vierovyznania pre katolíkov, luteránov, kalvínov aj unitárov a vytvoril zo Sedmohradska špecifický model multikonfesijnálnej spoločnosti v období náboženských vojen. Od začiatku 17. storočia sa však toto územie zároveň premenilo na centrum protihabsburského odporu. Povstania sedmohradských stavov boli dôsledkom viacerých krízových faktorov – náboženského napätia, zásahov do stavovských práv i rozsiahlej vojenskej devastácie.



Obr. 1: Počiatky legitimizácie uhorsko-osmanských vzťahov v roku 1529 – sultán Sulejman prijíma uhorskú kráľovskú korunu, vpravo sedí uhorský kráľ Ján Zápoľský. Miniatúra je súčasťou Süleymannâme, MS Hazine 1517, fol. 309a (Múzeum Topkapı). Foto (repro): FEHÉR, G.: *Türkische Miniaturen. Aus den Chroniken der ungarischen Feldzüge. Budapest 1979, tabuľa XVII.*

Uhorská šľachta tak nevystupovala iba ako „obranca kresťanstva“, ale aj ako aktívny odporca vlastného panovníka. S rastúcou centralizáciou a absolutistickými snahami dvora sa časť elít čoraz výraznejšie profilovala v opozícii voči nemu. Tieto konflikty zároveň zapadali do širšieho európskeho kontextu – stretu medzi habsburským katolíckym univerzalizmom a protestantsko-stavovským partikularizmom. Boli tiež úzko prepojené s veľkými vojenskými konfliktmi doby, najmä s pätnásťročnou vojnou (1593 – 1606) a tridsaťročnou vojnou (1618 – 1648), v ktorých uhorskí povstalci vystupovali ako spojenci Osman-



Obr. 2: Sultán Sulejman s imperiálnou korunou – tzv. „benátskou prílbou“. Anonymný umelec (Taliansko/Benátky), okolo 1540 – 1550. Foto: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/338723>. Licencia: Public domain.

skej ríše alebo ako súčasť protihabsburských koalícií v strednej a západnej Európe.

Práve v tomto prostredí sa v priebehu 16. storočia výrazne rozšíril osobitý fenomén, ktorý dosiahol svoj vrchol v 17. storočí. Išlo o tzv. osmanizáciu odievania, ale aj celkového vzhľadu príslušníkov vysokej šľachty, ako dokumentuje napr. Portrét Františka

Ilešháziho v osmanskom odevu, ktorý v roku 1663 padol v bitke pri Štúrove/Parkáni (zo zbierok Trenčianskeho múzea v Trenčíne). Keď sa v roku 1528 pripravovalo stretnutie Zápoľského so sultánom, jeho kľúčový diplomat Hieronym Laski sa na túto „tureckú“ misiu dôkladne pripravil. Podľa dobových svedectiev bol „totus in Turcum mutatus“ – teda úplne premenený na Turka, hoci vo svojom vnútri zostal, ako pozorovatelia uvádzali, verný kresťan. V roku 1566, krátko pred bitkou pri Sihoti (Szigetvár), Ján Žigmund prišiel vzdať hold Sulejmanovi a „v súlade so sultánovým milostivým zvykom dostal (...) sedlo zdobené drahými kameňmi a dokonalého, ušľachtilého koňa s rovnako bohato zdobeným postrojom ako aj zlatou šablou. Bol obdarovaný zlatom vyšiványmi rúchami a ťažkými kaftanmi, šľachtici, ktorí s ním prišli, tiež dostali bohaté rúcha a všetci, ktorí ho sprevádzali, každej hodnosti a postavenia, dostali primerané kaftany, ktorých boli hodní.“³ Boli to teda najmä diplomatické misie, ceremoniálne dary či vojnová korisť, ktoré stáli za šírením a transferom či už módy alebo iných artefaktov do nášho prostredia. Mohli nimi byť napríklad aj osmanské reflexné kompozitné luky, vysoko cenené a obľúbené zbrane, pochádzajúce z majetku šľachtických rodov (dnes v zbierkach Múzea mesta Bratislavy, SNM – Spišského múzea a SNM – Múzea Červený Kameň.) V prostredí Sedmohradska plnila táto móda aj významnú symbolickú funkciu – predstavovala formu protestu a vedomého dištancovania sa od západného dvora Habsburgovcov, najmä od konca 16. storočia. Preto sa stala obzvlášť populárnou medzi sedmohradskými kniežatami v období protihabsburských povstaní. Pre niektorých mala táto forma odievania aj čisto praktický význam – pomáhala im napríklad prežiť v situáciách, keď takto zaodení prechádzali cez nepriateľské územia.

Ak výstavu čítame pozorne, umožní pochopiť, že dejiny Uhorska medzi Moháčom 1526 a Viedňou 1683 neboli lineárnym príbehom obrany voči Osmanom, ale zložitým príbehom vnútorne rozpornej a rozdelenej krajiny. Krajina mohla byť súčasne proti osmanskej expanzii aj proti habsburskému centralizmu. Rovnako ukazuje, aké nejednoznačné bolo chápanie pojmu „vernosť“ – vernosť kraji-

³ KUCHARSKÁ, V.: *Imago regis: Ján Zápoľský a jeho doba v pamäti 16. storočia*. Bratislava 2025, s. 259.

ne, stavovským slobodám a panovníkovi sa mohli rozchádzať. Rok 1683 a slávne víťazstvo Jána III. Sobieskeho pri Viedni býva často interpretovaný ako veľký civilizačný obrat, ktorý viedol k postupnému a definitívnemu vytlačeniu Osmanov z veľkej časti Uhorska a napokon k (znovu)dobytiu Budína v roku 1686. Dejiny a bitky sa však neodohrávali len na bojiskách pri Moháči, Vozokanoch alebo pri Viedni; odohrávali sa aj v kostoloch, v mestských radniciach, v šľachtických sídlach, v reprezentácii rodovej pamäti, v obrazoch, ktoré mali zabezpečiť ideovú kontinuitu tam, kde politická kontinuita bola narušená alebo chýbala. Výstava v tomto smere presvedčivo ukázala svet elít, tých, ktorí po sebe zanechali exkluzívne vizuálne či materiálne artefakty; menej alebo vôbec však svet tých, ktorých stopy nachádzame skôr v archívnych prameňoch.

Výstava zároveň kládla na laického návštevníka pomerne vysoké nároky. Jej sila spočívala v rozsahu materiálu a kvalite interdisciplinárneho výskumu, menej presvedčivá bola miestami jeho prezentácia. Návštevníkovi ponúkla množstvo cenných vizuálnych a materiálnych dokladov, no interpretáciu vo viacerých prípadoch ponechala na ňom samom. To, čo je pre odborníka podnetnou materiálou základňou, mohlo pre širšie publikum pôsobiť ako náročný, miestami až neprehľadný súbor exponátov (najmä pomerne veľké množstvo grafičiek). S tým súvisela aj čiastočná absencia výraznejšej naratívnej línie, ktorá by jednotlivé časti expozície (sály) zreteľnejšie prepájala, vzájomné vzťahy artefaktov či vizuálnych dokumentov neboli vždy jednoznačne artikulované. Sprievodné texty boli miestami jazykovo náročné, použitá terminológia predpokladala určitú mieru historických alebo kunsthistorických znalostí. Expozícia sa sústredila najmä na vizuálne reprezentácie, menej priestoru dostali konkrétne ľudské príbehy, ktoré mohli sprostredkovať historickú skúsenosť prístupnejším spôsobom. Práve identifikácia s jednotlivcom alebo konkrétnym osudom často predstavuje pre laického návštevníka vstupnú bránu k pochopeniu širších historických procesov. Zaujímavým bol napríklad interaktívny panel venovaný ceste českého šľachtica Heřmana Černína do Konštantínopolu, ktorý ponúkol pohľad na diplomatické kontakty medzi habsburským a osmanským svetom. Podobný prístup mohol byť rozvinutý aj prostredníctvom iných autentických svedectiev pôvodom priamo

z územia dnešného Slovenska, napríklad cestovného denníka banskoštiavnického mešťana Pavla Rubigala z jeho cesty do Konštantínopolu. Jedným z najsilnejších momentov expozície bol monumentálny výjav z pohrebnej procesie štyroch bratov Esterházióvcov v Trnave, ktorí padli v bitke pri Vozokanoch. Dielo, ktoré sa podarilo získať zo súkromnej zbierky Esterházióvcov, pripomína osobnú cenu jedného rodu za víťazstvo v bitke.

Zvlášť treba vyzdvihnúť komentované prehliadky kurátorskej dvojice Martina Čiča a Denisa Haberlanda. Ich výklad bol nielen pútavý, ale aj mimoriadne podnetný – dokázali návštevníkom zrozumiteľne sprostredkovať širšie kontextuálne súvislosti, odhaliť menej viditeľné významové vrstvy a priblížiť aj samotné pozadie pôvodu vystavených diel. Práve tu ale i pri ďalších sprievodných podujatiach a tematických prednáškach sa naplno ukázal skutočný potenciál výstavy. Výstava tak nepôsobila len ako statická prezentácia, ale ako živý a dynamický dialóg medzi kurátormi, dielami, témami a návštevníkmi.

Otázkou nie je, či je Plody sváru kvalitnou výstavou — bezpochyby je. Otázkou je, aký typ skúsenosti chcela návštevníkovi ponúknuť. Je to projekt, ktorý si vyžaduje čas, trpezlivosť a ochotu čítať obrazy pozorne. Neponúka jednoduché emócie ani jednoznačné posolstvá, vytvára priestor na premýšľanie o tom, ako sa dejiny zapisujú do vizuálnej a materiálnej kultúry a ako tieto diela formujú naše predstavy o minulosti. Pripomína, že dejiny raného novoveku nemožno redukovat' na príbeh nástupu ranonovovekého štátu ani na jednoduchý duel Habsburgovcov ako obrancov kresťanstva a pohanských Osmanov. Je to obraz dejín krajiny, ktorá bola rozdelená, ale kultúrne produktívna; vystavená cudzej moci, ale zároveň formovaná vlastnými vnútornými konfliktmi. Svár tu nie je len deštruktívny — je aj tvorivý, pretože z neho vyrastajú nové identity, pamäťové formy a vizuálne jazyky. Výstava zároveň návštevníkovi ukázala, že obraz je špecifický historický prameň — nie preto, že by zobrazoval realitu „tak, ako bola“, ale preto, že odhaľuje, ako sa sama doba chcela vidieť, legitimizovať a pamätať.

Plody sváru môžu byť prvým krokom — výskumným, interdisciplinárnym a systematickým, ktorý otvára priestor pre nové otázky a interpretácie obdobia osmansko-uhorských vzťahov na našom území. Druhým krokom by mohol byť projekt

širšieho stredoeurópskeho významu, nadväzujúci aj tematicky a realizovaný v spolupráci viacerých vedeckých a kultúrnych inštitúcií. Jedinečná možnosť na prípravu takéhoto reprezentatívne koncipovaného projektu sa ponúka pri príležitosti 500. výročia ustanovenia Bratislavy za hlavné mesto Uhorského kráľovstva v roku 1536. Práve vtedy sa mesto, dovtedy regionálne centrum na západnom okraji krajiny, stalo politickým a administratívnym jadrom Kráľovského Uhorska. Od roku 1563 sa zároveň stalo miestom korunovácií uhorských kráľov a kráľovien

z dynastie Habsburgovcov, ktoré tu prebiehali počas nasledujúcich takmer troch storočí. Paradoxne, nič z tejto kapitoly dejín by sa pravdepodobne neodohralo, keby uhorské vojsko pri Moháči roku 1526 nad Osmanmi zvíťazilo. Katastrofálna porážka otvorila cestu k tomu, aby sa dnešná Bratislava stala centrom politického života a zažila svoju najslávnejšiu epochu. Podarí sa v nasledujúcom desaťročí potenciál týchto udalostí využiť? Najbližšie roky ukážu, či dokážeme historické konflikty premeniť na plody spolupráce – vedeckej, kultúrnej aj spoločenskej.

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