The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture

Intersections

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN CULTURE

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The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture

Edited by

Karl A.E. Enenkel and Konrad A. Ottenheym



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Adriaen Collaert (engraver) after Maerten de Vos, The Roman Empire, embodied by Julius Caesar on horseback. Print no. 4 from the series *The Four Empires of the World* (c. 1600). Engraving, 22.4 × 26.9 cm.
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Contents

Acknowledgements IX
Illustrations X
Notes on the Editors XXV
Notes on the Contributors XXVII

The Quest for an Appropriate Past: The Creation of National Identities in Early Modern Literature, Scholarship, Architecture, and Art 1
Karl Enenkel and Konrad Ottenheym

PART 1
The Mediterranean

1 **Claiming and Contesting Trojan Ancestry on Both Sides of the Bosporus – Epic Answers to an Ethnographic Dispute in Quattrocento Humanist Poetry** 15
Christian Peters

2 **Architecture, Poetry and Law: The Amphitheatre of Capua and the New Works Sponsored by the Local Élite** 47
Bianca de Divitiis

3 **A City in Quest of an Appropriate Antiquity: The Arena of Verona and Its Influence on Architectural Theory in the Early Modern Era** 76
Hubertus Günther

4 **Tradition and Originality in Raphael: The *Stanza della Segnatura*, the Middle Ages and Local Traditions** 106
David Rijser

5 **An Appropriate Past for Renaissance Portugal: André de Resende and the City of Évora** 127
Nuno Senos

PART 2
France

6 **The Construction of a National Past in the Bella Britannica by Humbert of Montmoret (d. ca. 1525)** 153
Thomas Haye

7 **Parody and Appropriation of the Past in the *Grandes Chroniques Gargantuines* and in Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532)** 167
Paul J. Smith

8 **Antiquity and Modernity: Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century French Architecture** 187
Frédérique Lemerle

9 **The Roots of Philibert De l'Orme: Antiquity, Medieval Art, and Early Christian Architecture** 210
Yves Pauwels

PART 3
The Low Countries

10 **From Chivalric Family Tree to "National" Gallery: The Portrait Series of the Counts of Holland, ca. 1490–1650** 233
Karl Enenkel

11 **Dousa's Medieval Tournaments: Chivalry Enters the Age of Humanism?** 302
Coen Maas

12 **Living as Befits a Knight: New Castles in Seventeenth-Century Holland** 330
Konrad Ottenheym

13 **'Non erubescat Hollandia': Classical Embarrassment of Riches and the Construction of Local History in Hadrianus Junius' *Batavia*** 361
Coen Maas

14 **Epigraphy and Blurring Senses of the Past in Early Modern Travelling Men of Letters: The Case of Arnoldus Buchelius** 383
Harald Hendrix

15 **'Sine amore, sine odio partium': Nicolaus Burgundius' *Historia Belgica* (1629) and his Tacitean Quest for an Appropriate Past** 397
Marc Laureys

16 **The Mediaeval Prestige of Dutch Cities** 418
Konrad Ottenheym

17 **An Appropriated History: The Case of the Amsterdam Town Hall (1648–1667)** 455
Pieter Vlaardingerbroek

PART 4
The Holy Roman Empire

18 **Germany's Glory, Past and Present: Konrad Peutinger's *Sermones convivales de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus* and Antiquarian Philology** 485
Christoph Pieper

19 **Translating the Past: Local Romanesque Architecture in Germany and Its Fifteenth-Century Reinterpretation** 511
Stephan Hoppe

20 **The Babylonian Origins of Trier** 586
Hubertus Günther

PART 5
Poland and Sweden

21 **History and Architecture in Pursuit of a Gothic Heritage** 619
Kristoffer Neville

22 **Early Modern Conceptualizations of Medieval History and Their Impact on Residential Architecture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth** 649
Barbara Arciszewska

PART 6
Britain, Scotland, and Ireland

23 **Writing about Romano-British Architecture in the Late Seventeenth Century** 685
Matthew Walker

24 **Preserving the Nation's Zeal: Church Buildings and English Christian History in Stuart England** 707
Anne-Françoise Morel

25 **'A Great Insight into Antiquity': Jacob Bryant and Jeremiah Milles and the Authenticity of the Poems of Thomas Rowley** 731
Bernd Roling

26 **Phoenician Ireland: Charles Vallancey (1725–1812) and the Oriental Roots of Celtic Culture** 750
Bernd Roling

Index Nominum 771

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Illustrations

0.1 Adriaen Collaert (engraver) after Maerten de Vos, *The Roman Empire*, embodied by Julius Caesar on horseback. Print no. 4 from the series *The Four Empires of the World* (ca. 1600). Engraving, 22.4 × 26.9 cm. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 4

0.2 Julius Caesar, depicted as a medieval knight with the Habsburg coat of arms. Woodcut from: *Die jeeste van Julius Cesar* (ca. 1490). Image © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 6

0.3 Otto van Veen, *Brinio raised on a shield as the leader of the Caninefates* (1600–1613). Oil on panel, 38 × 52 cm. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 8

0.4 The Baptistery of Florence, depicted as an antique Temple of Mars during the destruction of the city by Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, in Giovanni Villani's *Chronica* (mid-14th century). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Chigiano LVIII 296, fol. 36r. Image © public domain 10

2.1 The surviving arches of the amphitheatre of Santa Maria Maggiore Capua Vetere (first century AD), Capua. Image © HistAntArtSI 48

2.2 The arena of the amphitheatre of Santa Maria Maggiore Capua Vetere (first century AD), Capua. Image © HistAntArtSI 49

2.3 Castello delle Pietre, Capua (12th century). Image © HistAntArtSI 52

2.4 Cathedral bell-tower of Capua (11–12th century). Image © HistAntArtSI 53

2.5 Giuliano da Sangallo, Sketch of the steps of the amphitheatre of Santa Maria Maggiore Capua Vetere (1488). Pen on paper. Siena, Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, Cod. S.IV.8, fol. 27r. Image © Biblioteca Comunale di Siena 56

2.6 Palazzo Antignano (ca. 1450), Capua. Image © HistAntArtSI 59

2.7 Church of the SS. Annunziata (1521–1585), Capua. Image © HistAntArtSI 62

2.8 Palazzo di Giustizia (1531–1590), Capua. Image © HistAntArtSI 63

2.9 Porta Napoli (1577–1582), Capua. Image © HistAntArtSI 68

2.10 Sketch of the layout of stones of the amphitheatre in Porta Napoli. Ink on paper. Capua, Biblioteca Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua, 22, fol. 271v (1st December, 1578). Image © Archivio Comunale di Capua 69

3.1 Arena of Verona, with the (fake) building inscription, added as a manuscript annotation by Vincenzo Scamozzi. Taken from Scamozzi's copy of Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (Venice: 1551) 72. Image © Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich 78

3.2 Enea Vico (engraver), *The Arena of Verona* (ca. 1550) with the (fake) building inscription (bottom left). Engraving, 52.4 × 88.2 cm. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 80
3.3 Arena of Verona (first half of the first century AD), remains of the outer wall. Image © author 82
3.4 Arena of Verona, elevation and details of the articulation. From: Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (Venice: 1540). Image © author 83
3.5 Arco dei Gavi, Verona. From: Torello Sarayna, *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae* (Verona: 1540). Image © author 86
3.6 Verona, Loggia del Consiglio. Image © author 86
3.7 Porta dei Borsari. From: Verona, in Torello Sarayna, *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae* (Verona: 1540). Image © author 87
3.8 The Arena of Pola, elevation und details of the articulation. From: Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (Venice: 1540). Image © author 89
3.9 Tuscan Order. From: Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole generali di architettura* (Venice: 1537). Image © author 98
3.10 Tuscan Order. From: Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice: 1570). Image © author 100
3.11 Tuscan Order. From: Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea dell'architettura universale* (Venice: 1615). Image © author 101
4.1 Raphael, *School of Athens* and *Parnassus* framed by pavement and ceiling. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican City, Rome. Image © public domain 107
4.2 Arch of Constantine, Rome. Detail from the northern façade with the Hadrianic tondi. Image © Konrad Ottenheym 109
4.3 Raphael, *Disputa*. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican City, Rome. Image © public domain 114
4.4 Raphael (with Lorenzo Lotto), *Scenes illustrating Justice*. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican City, Rome. Image © public domain 115
4.5 Apse mosaic, Santa Pudenziana, Rome (end of 4th century). Image © public domain 118
4.6 Apse mosaic, San Clemente, Rome (early 12th century). Image © author 119
4.7 Apse mosaic, Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome (mid-13th century). Image © Martje de Vries 119
4.8 Apse mosaic, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (completed 1296). Image © public domain 120
4.9 Giacomo Grimaldi, *Old Saint Peter's Apse mosaic*. Watercolour, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome. Image © public domain 122
5.1 Church of Saint Vincent, Évora. Image © Nuno Senos 133
5.2 The Roman temple of Évora. Image © Nuno Senos 135

5.3 Detail of the cloister of the monastery of Jerónimos, Lisbon. Image © Nuno Senos 136
5.4 Interior of the church of Valverde near Évora. Image © Nuno Senos 136
5.5 Façade of the church of Graça, Évora. Image © Nuno Senos 137
5.6 The Roman temple of Évora before restoration. Photo Pereira&Prostes. Image © Arquivo Fotográfico da Câmara Municipal de Évora 139
5.7 Inscription on the construction of Évora's aqueduct by Quintus Sertorius, Museu de Évora. Image © Nuno Senos 144
5.8 Section of the aqueduct of Água da Prata, Évora. Image © Nuno Senos 146
5.9 Water reservoir, part of the aqueduct of Água da Prata, Évora. Image © Nuno Senos 148
5.10 Water fountain (Chafariz das Portas de Moura), Évora (1556). Image © Nuno Senos 149
7.1 François Rabelais, *Pantagruel, roy des Dipsodes, restitué à son naturel, avec des faictz et prouesses espoventables, composez par feu M. Alcofribas, abstracteur de quinte essence* (Lyon, F. Juste: 1542), fol. 8r. Bibliothèque nationale de France RES-Y2–2135. Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France 173
7.2 Joris Hoefnagel, The "Pierre levee", in Georg Braun – Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum* vol. 5 (Cologne: 1596), detail. Image © author 178
7.3 Louis Boudan, The *Pierre levée.* Watercolour, in *Veüe de Pierre-Levée, prez Poictiers, sur la hauteur du fauxbourg St Saturnin, qui est toute d'une pierre et que l'on vien voir par curiositez estant tenu comme une sépultures des antiens Pictes* (1699). Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, EST VA-86 (3). Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France 179
7.4 Anonymous, Geoffrey Long-Tooth. Engraving, taken from: André Thévet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens*, vol. 2 (Paris, widow of I. Kervert and Guillaume Chaudière: 1584), fol. 239r. Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France 184
7.5 Anonymous, Geoffrey Long-Tooth. Detail from Fig. 7.4 184
7.6 Stone head found in April 1834 in the cathedral of Maillezais. Print taken from: Thomas Adolphus Trollope, *A summer in western France* (London: 1841) 114. Image © Wikimedia 185
8.1 Left: The Mausoleum of Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence). Right: The clock tower of the Hôtel de ville at Arles. Images © F. Lemerle 192
8.2 Left: The Roman bridge of Saint-Chamas. Right: The entrance pavilion of Château La Tour d'Aigues (Vaucluse), 1571. Images © F. Lemerle 193

8.3 Left: Maison Carrée at Nîmes. Right: The entrance pavilion of Château La Tour d'Aigues (Vaucluse). Images © F. Lemerle 193
8.4 Left: "Arcade of Mercy", the north side of the theatre at Arles. Right: "Tower of Roland", the southern side of the same theatre. Images © F. Lemerle 194
8.5 Left: Doric entablature of the "Arcade of Mercy" at the theatre of Arles. Right: Doric entablature (second level) of the "Tower of Roland" of the same theatre. Images © F. Lemerle 196
8.6 Doric entablature of Hôtel de Donines, Arles. Image © F. Lemerle 197
8.7 Doric entablature of the Belfry of the Hôtel de ville, Arles. Image © F. Lemerle 198
8.8 Doric entablature of Château of Uzès (Gard). Image © F. Lemerle 198
8.9 Doric entablature of Château of Bournazel (Averyon). Image © F. Lemerle 200
8.10 Pierre Le Pautre, "Piliers de Tutelle" at Bordeaux. From: Claude Perrault, *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve* [...] (Paris, Jean-Baptiste Coignard: 1684) 219. Image © Architetura, Cesr 203
9.1 Detail of the copestones of the towers of the Saint-Gatien Cathedral at Tours (1507–1547). Image © Y. Pauwels 213
9.2 Collegiate Church St. John the Baptist at Les Roches-Tranchelion (ca. 1527). Image © Y. Pauwels 213
9.3 Château Azay-le-Rideau (1518–1527). Image © Y. Pauwels 214
9.4 Allegory of the bad architect. From: Philibert De l'Orme, *Le premier tome de l'architecture* (Paris, Federic Morel: 1567), fol. 281. Image © Architectura, CESR 215
9.5 Philibert De l'Orme, Hôtel Bullioud, Lyon (1536). Image © Y. Pauwels 218
9.6 Capital of the staircase of château Oiron (ca. 1540). Image © Y. Pauwels 218
9.7 Philibert De l'Orme, Dome of the chapel of château d'Anet (1553). Image © Y. Pauwels 221
9.8 Philibert De l'Orme, Entrance of château d'Anet (1553). Image © Y. Pauwels 222
9.9 Abbey church Saint-Gilles at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (1120–1160). Image © Y. Pauwels 223
9.10 Philibert De l'Orme, Capital of the chapel of château d'Anet (1553). Image © Y. Pauwels 227
9.11 Capital of the nave of S. Pudenziana, Rome (end of the fourth century). Image © Y. Pauwels 227
10.1 Hendrick Goltzius, Portrait of the engraver Philip Galle (1582). Engraving 22.3 × 14.5 cm. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 236

10.2 Michiel Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578), title page. Image © Utrecht University Library 237
10.3 Philip II of Spain as the 36th Count of Holland. Engraving by Philip Galle, taken from: Michiel Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578) 79. Image © Utrecht University Library 239
10.4 Dirk I ("Theodoricus [ab] Aquitania"), the First Count of Holland. Engraving by Philip Galle, taken from: Michiel Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578) 3. Image © Utrecht University Library 241
10.5 William I, the 16th Count of Holland. Engraving by Philip Galle, taken from: Michiel Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578) 35. Image © Utrecht University Library 242
10.6 Dirk II, the Second Count of Holland. Engraving by Philip Galle, taken from: Michiel Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578) 5. Image © Utrecht University Library 250
10.7 Dirk I (Diederick I) and Dirk II (Diederick II), the First and Second Counts of Holland. Haarlem, Town Hall, *Gravenzaal*, second painted panel in the series *Counts of Holland* (ca. 1486–1491). Oil on panel. Image © Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem 251
10.8 Herald narrating the origins of the Counts of Holland. Haarlem Town hall, *Gravenzaal*, first painted panel in the series *Counts of Holland* (ca. 1486–1491). Oil on panel. Image © Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem 253
10.9a Coat of arms of the Counts of Holland: red lion on yellow field 254
10.9b Coat of arms of Aquitania (from 1259 onwards): yellow lion on red field 254
10.10 The coronation of Otto II and Theophanu as Holy Roman Emperor and Empress (982). Ivory panel, 18.5 × 10.6 cm. Musée de Cluny, Paris. Image © Musée de Cluny, Paris 257
10.11 Haarlem Town Hall. Image © Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem 259
10.12 The *Gravenzaal* in the town hall of Haarlem. Image © Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem 259
10.13 The militia hall (Schuttersdoelen) at Leiden. Engraving by Abraham Delfos, taken from: Frans van Mieris, *Beschrijving der stad Leijden*, 2 vols. (Leiden: 1770), vol. II, 408. The building was demolished in 1821. Image © Prentverzameling Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Leiden 261
10.14 Willem Thybaut, *Dirk VI, Count of Holland* (1587). Stained-glass window made for the Schuttersdoelen of Leiden, 141 × 66 cm. Image © Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden 262

10.15 Willem Thybaut, *William I, Count of Holland* (1587). Stained-glass window made for the Schuttersdoelen of Leiden, 141 × 66 cm. Image © Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden 263
10.16 Roeland Roghman, The Castle of Warmond (ca. 1650). Drawing 31.2 × 47.6 cm. See also Fig. 12.5. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 264
10.17 Johan II van Duivenvoorde (1547–1610), Lord of Warmond, at the age of thirty-two (1579). Engraving by Hendrik Goltzius. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 264
10.18 Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen, The counts of Holland, from left to right: Count Aernout I, Dirk III, Dirk IV, and Floris I. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 267
10.19 Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen, The counts of Holland, from left to right: Maria of Burgundy, Maximilian I, Philip the Handsome, and Charles V. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 268
10.20 Bernard of Orley, *Portrait of Prince Charles*. Oil on panel, 37 × 27 cm. Image © Bourg-en-Presse, Musée de Brou 273
10.21 Hadrianus Barlandus, *Hollandiae comitum historia et icones* (Leiden, Christopher Plantin: 1984), title page. Image © Utrecht University Library 276
10.22 Dirk I, Count of Holland. Engraving by Cornelis Visscher II (1650), taken from: Petrus Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae* [...] (Haarlem: 1650). Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 278
10.23 The university library of Leiden in 1610. Engraving by Willem Isaacsz. van Swanenburg, after Jan Cornelisz. van 't Woudt, 33 × 40.3 cm. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 279
10.24 The assassination of William of Orange in 1584, in the Prinsenhof (Delft). Anonymous engraving after Frans Hogenberg, 1613–1615. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 282
10.25 St Peter's Cathedral in Antakya (Antioch), Turkey. Image © Volkan Hattan 284
10.26 Floris II, Count of Holland. Engraving by Cornelis Visscher II (1650), taken from: Petrus Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae* [...] (Haarlem: 1650). Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 285
10.27 Coat of Arms of the City of Haarlem (Town hall, Grote Vierschaar) 287
10.28 Cornelis Visscher, *Self-portrait* (1649). Engraving. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 291

10.29 Frontispice of Petrus Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae* [...] (Haarlem: 1650). Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 293
10.30 Bartolomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of Petrus Scriverius* (1651). Oil on canvas, 115.2 × 98.5 cm. Image © Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden 294
10.31 Dirk I, Count of Holland. Engraving by Cornelis Visscher II (1650), in Petrus Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae* [...] (Haarlem: 1650). Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 295
10.32 Dedication (inscription) of Petrus Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae* [...] (Haarlem: 1650). Image © Utrecht University Library 296
11.1 Leonhard Beck, woodcut depicting a jousting scene. From: *Die Geverlicheiten und eins Teils der Geschichten des loblichen streitbaren und hochberümbten Helds und Ritters Tewrdanncks* (Augsburg, Schönsperger: 1519), fol. L r (woodcut no. 103). Image © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 307
11.2 Willem van Swanenburgh, portrait of Janus Dousa the Elder. Engraving, taken from: Johannes Meursius, *Athenae Batavae* (Leiden, Andries Clouck – Officina Elzeviriana: 1625) 87. Image © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 308
11.3 Title page of Dousa's *Annales* (1599). Image © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 310
11.4 Jost Amman, The tournament in Magdeburg. Woodcut, taken from: Georg Rüxner, *Anfang, ursprung unnd herkommen des Thurniers inn teutscher nation* (Siemern, Hieronymus Rodler: 1532), fold-out sheet with signature fiiij, inserted between fols. xxxiij en xxxiv. Image © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 318
11.5 Johan Wierix, portrait of Philips of Marnix (1581). Engraving. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 325
12.1 Salomon de Bray (architect), The new vestry behind the choir of St. Bavo's church in Haarlem (1658). Image © author 332
12.2 Hendrick de Keyser, Noorderkerk in Amsterdam (1620–1622). Image © author 333
12.3 Ferniehirst Castle, Scotland, seat of the Kerr clan. Founded in 1470 but reconstructed in the late 16th century. Image © public domain 334
12.4 Zuylen Castle (Maarssen), seen from the North. Founded in the 13th century and several times enlarged and reconstructed. The northern walls date mainly from the 15th and 16th centuries. Image © Merlijn Hurx 338
12.5 Warmond Castle. Design from 1629 by Salomon de Bray for a new entrance wing, showing two options for the central projection. Drawing by Pieter Saenredam (1632), 31 × 20.4 cm. See also Fig. 10.16. Image © Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief 339

12.6 Huis Oudegein at Nieuwegein, built in 1633 on the remains of the former castle of the 13th and 14th centuries. Image © RCE 340
12.7 Castle Rijnhuizen at Jutphaas, built in 1637 as a classicist house on the foundations of a castle from the 14th and 15th centuries. Image © RCE 341
12.8 Huis ten Bosch at Maarssen, the country house of the Amsterdam merchant Pieter Belten (1628), designed by Jacob van Campen. Image © author 342
12.9 Hoensbroek Castle. The medieval castle has been rebuilt in 1643–1656 by the architect Matthieu Dousin. The main tower from 1360 was consciously maintained and even enlarged by a new, high spire. Image © RCE 346
12.10a Drakestein at Lage Vuursche, built in 1640–1643 as a classicist house in the shape of an octagonal tower. Its medieval predecessor was situated elsewhere on the grounds. Drawing R.G. Bosch van Drakestein. Image © B. Olde Meierink *et al., Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* (Utrecht: 1995) 178 347
12.10b Drakestein. Engraving by Hendrik Spilman (circa 1747) after Jan de Beyer. Image © RCE 347
12.11a Heemstede castle at Houten, built 1645 some hundred meters from the ruin of its medieval predecessor. Drawing R. G. Bosch van Drakestein. Image © B. Olde Meierink *et al., Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* (Utrecht: 1995) 248 348
12.11b Heemstede castle. Image © author 349
12.12a Renswoude castle, built in 1654 probably on the foundations of its medieval predecessor. Drawing R.G. Bosch van Drakestein. Image © B. Olde Meierink *et al., Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* (Utrecht: 1995) 178 351
12.12b Renswoude Castle, front. Image © Stephan Hoppe 351
12.12c Renswoude Castle, rear. Image © Stephan Hoppe 352
12.13 Huis Ilpenstein, a country house near Purmerend, built in 1622 as a mock castle. Photo taken shortly before its destruction in 1872. Image © Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem 353
12.14 Herman Saftleven, *Huis te Linschoten* (1654). Oil on canvas, 88 × 128 cm. Image © Stichting Landgoed Linschoten 355
12.15 Jacob Kortebrant, *Het Huis Polderburg zoals het was voor het jaar* 1489. Drawing, 1752. Image © Gemeentearchief Rotterdam 358
13.1 Hadrianus Junius, *Batavia* (Leiden: 1588), title page. Image © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 366
13.2 Philip Galle, *Portrait of Hadrianus Junius* (1572). Engraving. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 367
13.3 The abbey of Egmond. Woodcut, taken from: Cornelius Aurelius, *Die cronyke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant* (Leiden, Jan Seversz.: 1517). Image © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague 379

14.1 Arnoldus Buchelius, *Inscriptiones monumentaque in templis et monasteriis Belgicis inventa*. Utrecht University Library, ms. 1648, 64–65. Image © Utrecht University Library 388

14.2 Arnoldus Buchelius, *Commentarius rerum quotidianarum*. Utrecht University Library, ms. 798 vol. 2, fol. 30v. Image © Utrecht University Library 392

14.3 Bernardino Scardeone, "De sepulchris insignibus Patavii iacentium", in idem, *Historiae de urbis Patavii antiquitate, claris civibus Patavinis libri tres* [...], appendix "De sepulchris insignibus exterorum Patavii iacentium" (Basel, Nicolaus Episcopius: 1560) 398–399. Image © Utrecht University Library 394

16.1 Dordrecht, the former trade hall of 1383, since 1544 in use as town hall. Drawing by Paulus Constantin La Fargue (ca. 1770), Gemeentearchief Dordrecht. Image © Gemeentearchief Dordrecht 422

16.2 Market square and town hall of Haarlem before its transformation of 1630–1633. Etching by Jan van de Velde II after Pieter Saenredam. From: Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (Haarlem:1628). Etching and engraving, 16.1 × 23.8 cm. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 424

16.3 Haarlem town hall. Photo ca. 1920. Image © RCE 426

16.4 Anonymous artist, Alternative design for the transformation of the town hall's facade (ca. 1630). Current location unknown. Image © RCE 427

16.5 The old town hall of Delft before the fire of 1618. Detail from the map of Delft in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (ca. 1580). Image © public domain 428

16.6a Hendrick de Keyser (architect), Town hall of Delft (1618–1620). Image © author 429

16.6b Town hall of Delft, ground plan. Drawing A. de Groot. Image © *Bulletin KNOB* 83 (1984) 13 430

16.7a The Court of Justice of Leiden ("het Gerecht"). Drawing H.A. van Oerle. Image © H.A. van Oerle, *Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten* (Leiden: 1975) 71 433

16.7b Leiden, Court of Justice ("het Gerecht"). Image © author 433

16.8 Jean-François Daumont, View on Dam Square of Amsterdam, with the town hall built in 1648–1667. Etching and watercolour (ca. 1750), 28.5 × 42.7 cm. See also Fig. 17.6. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 434

16.9 The town hall of Gouda (1450–1459). Image © RCE 436

16.10 Upper hall of the Gouda town hall, interior created 1692–1695 by Hendrick Schut. Image © RCE 437

16.11 The capture of the port of Damiate as depicted on the window offered in 1596 by the city of Haarlem in de St. Jan's church, Gouda. Detail from a print by Pieter Tanjé and Julius Boétus after Willem Thybaut (1738–1754). Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 440

16.12 The Keep of Leiden, "de Burcht" (the 12th-century fort) and its surroundings at the confluence of two branches of the river Rhine. Image © Gemeente Leiden 442

16.13 Entrance gate to the "Burcht" of Leiden (1658–1659), architect Pieter Post. Image © author 445

16.14 Dirck Wouters, The hero Hengist (Engistus), founder of castle of Leiden in ca. 440 AD (ca. 1570). Nationaal Archief 3.20.87, Van Wassenaer van Duvenvoorde 1226–1996, inv. no. 3A, fol. 10. Image © National Archief 446

16.15 Dirck Wouters, Knight Alewijn, the first documented viscount of Leiden, with Leiden and its keep in the background (ca. 1570). Nationaal Archief 3.20.87, Van Wassenaer van Duvenvoorde 1226–1996, inv. no. 3A, fol. 27. Image © Nationaal Archief 447

16.16 Capital in the composite order from the facade of the Amsterdam town hall, with the double eagle and the imperial crown (ca. 1650). Image © author 448

16.17a The former "Leidse Poort" on the Leidse Plein in Amsterdam, built 1664 by Daniel Stalpaert. Photo taken before its demolition in 1862. Image © Stadsarchief Amsterdam 451

16.17b Amsterdam, ground plan of the former Leidse Poort. Drawing, 1787. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Image © Stadsarchief Amsterdam 452

17.1 The medieval town hall of Amsterdam as it appeared during the visit of Maria de Medici in 1638. Salomon Jacobsz. Savery after Jan Martsz. de Jonge, taken from: Caspar Barlaeus, *Blyde Inkomst der allerdoorluchtighste Koninginne Maria de Medicis t'Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, Johan and Cornelis Blaeu: 1639). Etching, 28.5 × 38 cm. Image © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 457

17.2 Philips Vingboons, (unexecuted) design for the Amsterdam town hall (1647). Drawing, 28.6 × 40.9 cm. British Library, Map Library, Collection Beudecker, Maps C.9.d.10, fol. 105. Image © British Library 459

17.3 Cornelis Danckerts de Rij, The final building plot of the Amsterdam town hall (1648). Drawing. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Image © Stadsarchief Amsterdam 461

17.4 Artus Quellinus, *The Allegory of Peace*, on top of the town hall of Amsterdam (1665–1667). Copper. Image © author 462

17.5 Jacob van Campen (architect), First or main floor of the Amsterdam town hall as depicted in *Afbeelding van 't Stadt Huys van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, Dancker Danckerts: 1661) Print B. Image © Utrecht University Library 464

17.6 Jacob van Campen (architect), The exterior of the Amsterdam town hall (1648–1667). Image © Rijksvastgoedbedrijf, Wim Ruigrok. See also Fig. 16.8 465

17.7 The interior of the Great of Citizens' Hall ("Burgerzaal") of the Amsterdam town hall (1648–1667). Image © Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, Chris Booms 465

17.8 Unknown draughtsman, Section of the north wing of the Amsterdam town hall, showing a double Corinthian order. Drawing, 140.1 × 40.1 cm. Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Image © Stadsarchief Amsterdam 466

17.9 The Temple of Jerusalem with Solomon's Palace at its left. From: Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijving van gantsch Syrië en Palestijn of Heilige Lant* (Amsterdam: 1677). Image © author 470

17.10a The Temple and the Palace of King Solomon in Jeruzalem. Detail of the map of Jerusalem from Juan Bautista Villalpando, *In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hiersolymitani* (Rome: 1596–1605), vol. II. Image © University of Amsterdam, Library 474

17.10b The Palace of Solomon. Detail of Fig. 17.10a 474

17.11 Hubertus Quellinus after Artus Quellinus, *The Judgment of Solomon* (1655). From: Quellinus Hubertus, *Prima pars praecipuarum effigierum ac ornamentorum amplissimae Curiae Amstelrodamensis maiori ex parte in candido marmore effectorum per Artum Quellinium* [sic] *eiusdem civitatis statuarium. Het Eerste Deel. Van de voornaemste Statuen ende Ciraten, vant konstrijck Stadthuys van Amstelredam, tmeeste in marmer gemaeckt, door Artus Quellinus, Beelthouwer der voorseyde Stadt. La Premier Partie. De plusieurs Figures et ornements, de la Maison de Ville d'Amsterdam, le plus grand part faict d'marbre d'Artus Quellinus, Sculpteur de la ditte Ville* (Amsterdam, Artus Quellinus: 1655). Image © Utrecht University Library 478

17.12 Hubertus Quellinus after Artus Quellinus, The Amsterdam town hall, the sculpted tympanon at the side of Damsquare with the Personification of Amsterdam on a throne of lions. From: Quellinus Hubertus, *Secunda Pars praecipuarum effigierum ac ornamentorum amplissimae Curiae Amstelrodamensis maiori ex parte in ca<n>dido marmore effectorum per Artum Quellinium* [sic] *eiusdem civitatis statuarium. Het Tweede Deel van de voornaemste Statuen ende Cieraten van't konst-rijcke Stadt-huys van Amstelredam 'tmeeste in Marmer gemaeckt door Artus Quellinus Beelthouwer der voorseyde Stadt* (Amsterdam, Artus Quellinus: 1663). Image © Utrecht University Library 479

19.1 Left: Dresden, residential palace (Schloss), attributed to Arnold of Westfalen (ca. 1468–ca. 1475). Right: Albrechtsburg in Meißen, by Arnold of Westfalen (1471–ca. 1490), roughly the same scale. Image © author 513
19.2 Arnold of Westfalen, Albrechtsburg in Meißen, Great Staircase Tower (ca. 1485). Image © author 517
19.3 Arnold of Westfalen (attributed), Dresden, Schloss, ground floor hall of the east wing with its Romanesque Renaissance vault, so called "Gotische Halle" (ca. 1470–1475). Image © Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen 520
19.4 Top: Arnold of Westfalen, Albrechtsburg in Meißen, ground floor room (ca. 1475). Below: Upper Chapel of the Kaiserburg at Nuremberg, in the second half of the 15th century regarded as a Roman Temple dedicated to Diana (in reality built ca. 1200). Top image © author; bottom image © Tilman2007 Wikimedia CC BY-SA 4.0 521
19.5 Graz Castle, ground floor hall, "Einstützenhalle" (ca. 1460–1470). Image © author 522
19.6 Ulrich Pesitzer (attributed), Burghausen (Bavaria), ground floor hall with a Romanesque Renaissance vault (ca. 1480). Image © author 523
19.7 Ulrich Pesitzer (attributed), Burghausen (Bavaria), inner Palace Chapel with the Romanesque Renaissance vault of the ducal gallery (ca. 1480–1490). Image © author 525
19.8 Hohensalzburg Palace at Salzburg, central staircase hall (ca. 1480–1485). Image © author 526
19.9 Jerusalem Chapel in Bruges (ca. 1470–1483). Image © Krista De Jonge 528
19.10 Dalheim monastery (Westphalia), cloister (ca. 1470–1480). Image © author 529
19.11 Johann of Bebenhausen, Bebenhausen monastery (Swabia), so called "Laienrefektorium" (ca. 1495–1500). Image © the author 531
19.12 Margaret's Tower of the Kaiserburg in Nuremberg, depicted as a Roman temple. Engraving, taken from: Lazarus Carl von Wölckern, *Singularia Norimbergensia* (Nuremberg: 1739). Fig. after page 244. Image © public domain 537
19.13 Hans Pleydenwurff, *Adoration of the Magi with the palace of King David* (detail); part of the *Löwensteinsches Marienretabel* (ca. 1455). Nuremberg, Germanisches National Museum. Image © author 547
19.14 Sigismund Meisterlin, *Augsburger Chronik,* Veneration of the pagan goddess Cisa, Stuttgart version from 1457 (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, manuscript HB V 52, fol. 21r). Image © WLB in the public domain 549
19.15 Jörg Syrlin the Elder and Michel Erhart, choir stalls of Ulm Minster with the busts of Seneca and Ptolemy (1469–1474). Image © author 550

19.16 Above: Jörg Syrlin the Elder and Michel Erhart, choir stalls of Ulm Minster with knot column (1469–1474). Below: Romanesque knot columns *Jachin and Boaz*, Würzburg Cathedral (ca. 1230). Images © author 551
19.17 Monastery of Millstadt, Romanesque Renaissance vault (ca. 1490). Image © Foto Marburg 557
19.18 Wolfgang Wiser, (southern) porch with Romanesque spolia (1499), Salzburg, Nonnberg monastery. Image © author 558
19.19 St. Leonard church of Frankfurt am Main, portail with Romanesque spolia (ca. 1507). Image © author 560
19.20 Left: Romanesque Renaissance column from an Ulm townhouse (1482). Museum Ulm. Right: Romanesque column, Regensburg St Emmeram West Crypt (ca. 1050). Image © author 577
19.21 Moritz Ensinger, north-east portal of Ulm Minster, with branch work of ca. 1470. Image © author 578
20.1 Image of Trier, from: Matthias Merian, *Topographia Germaniae, Archiepiscopatuum Moguntiensis, Trevirensis, et Coloniensis* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1646). Image © author 587
20.2 The Basilica or Aula Palatina at Trier (ca. 310 AD). Image © author 588
20.3 The Porta Nigra (180 AD) of Trier, field side. Image © public domain 588
20.4 Caspar Merian, Porta Nigra, town side with the church of St. Simeon. From: Christoph Brouwer – Jacob Masen, *Antiquitatum et annalium Trevirenisium libri XXV* (Liège, Johannes Mathias Hovius: 1670–1671) vol. 1. Image © author 589
20.5 Anonymous artist, *Trebeta as legendary founder of cities* (1559). Painting, destroyed during World War II. Image © G. Kentenich 1925 595
20.6 The "Red House" ("Rotes Haus"), Trier, Market place (1684). Image © Konrad Ottenheym 598
20.7 Virgil Solis, *The Temple of Solomon*, from: Luther Bible, *Das ist die gantze Heylige Schrifft* […] (1588). Image © Evangelische Bibliothek des Kirchenkreises Dortmund 607
20.8 Trebeta's Trier, from: Hartmann Schedel, *Das buch der Croniken* (Nuremberg: 1493). Image © author 609
20.9 Babylon, from: Hartmann Schedel, *Das buch der Croniken* (Nuremberg: 1493). Image © author 609
20.10 Pieter Brueghel the Elder, *The Tower of Babel* (1563). Oil on panel, 114 × 155 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Image © Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 611
21.1 Church at Old Uppsala (twelfth century with later changes). Image © Gabriel Neville 624

21.2 Ancient Temple at Old Uppsala. Woodcut illustration from: Johannes Magnus, *De omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (Rome, Joannes Maria de Viottis: 1554), book I, 29. Image © The Huntington Library, San Marino, California 625
21.3 Thor. Etching from Erik Dahlbergh, *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* (Stockholm, n.p.: 1715). Image © The Royal Library, Stockholm 629
21.4 Ancient temple and church at Old Uppsala. Etching from Erik Dahlbergh, *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* (Stockholm, n.p.: 1715). Image © The Royal Library, Stockholm 630
21.5 Seventeenth-century church at Old Uppsala. Woodcut from Olaus Verelius, *Hervarar saga på Gammal Götska med Olai Vereli uttolkning och notis* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1672). Image © The Huntington Library, San Marino, California 634
21.6 Ancient temple at Old Uppsala. Woodcut from Olaus Verelius, *Hervarar saga på Gammal Götska med Olai Vereli uttolkning och notis* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1672). Image © The Huntington Library, San Marino, California 635
21.7 Olaus Rudbeck, Ancient temple at Old Uppsala. Woodcut from: Olaus Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1675–1702). Image © repr. ed. Axel Nelson (Uppsala: 1937–1939), image volume, plate 12 639
21.8 Olaus Rudbeck. Ancient temples. Woodcut from: Olaus Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1675–1702). Image © repr. ed. Axel Nelson (Uppsala: 1937–1939), image volume, plate 41 641
22.1 Representation of Władysław Jagiełło. From: Marcin Bielski, *Kronika polska* (ed. Joachim Bielski) (Cracow: 1597) 271. Image © author 655
22.2 Representation of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. From: Marcin Bielski, *Kronika polska* (ed. Joachim Bielski), (Cracow: 1597) 386. Image © author 657
22.3 Dębno Castle. Image © John Cieslik-Bridgen 659
22.4 Szydłowiec Castle. Image © Visual Archive, Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw 667
22.5 Ciechanów Castle. Image © Visual Archive, Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw 667
22.6 Ogrodzieniec Castle. Image © Łukasz Śmigasiewicz 668
22.7 Drzewica Castle. Image © Jarosław Kruk 669
22.8 Royal Castle in Piotrków. Image © Jerzy Strzelecki 670
22.9 Residential tower in Rzemień. Image © Kroton 671
22.10 *Kasztel* in Szymbark. Image © Marek Arciszewski 672
22.11 Castle Krzyżtopór in Ujazd. Image © Visual Archive, Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw 675
22.12 The gate house of Castle Krzyżtopór in Ujazd. Image © Marek Arciszewski 675

22.13 Firlej Castle in Janowiec. Image © Semu 676
23.1 The London Stone (currently on display in the Museum of London). Image © author 690
23.2 Arthur's O'on, from: Robert Gordon, *Itinerarium septentrionale: or, A journey thro' most of the counties of Scotland* (London: 1726). Image © author 692
23.3 The Multangular Tower, York. Image © author 696
23.4 John Savage, Illustration of the Multangular Tower, York. From Martin Lister, "Some Observations upon the *Ruins* of a *Roman* Wall and *Multangular-Tower* at *York*", *Philosophical Transactions* 13, 149 (1683). Image © author 696
24.1 Robert White, Henry VIII and Thomas Cranmer. Frontispiece engraving to Richard Burnet, *A History of the English Reformation* [...] (London: 1679). Image © London, National Portrait Gallery 709
24.2 Wenceslaus Hollar, "The sanctity of the religious endowments". From: William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* [...] (London, Richard Hodgkinson: 1655–1673). Image © Ghent University Library 711
24.3 Wenceslaus Hollar, "Interior view of St Paul's Cathedral's east end, with coat of arms and description in medallions at top". From: William Dugdale, *The History of St Pauls Cathedral in London* (London, Thomas Warren: 1658). Image © London, Metropolitan Archives, Main Print Collection 720
24.4 St Martin's Church, Fenny Stratford (1724–1730), John Simmonds. Image © Historic England Archive (National Heritage, Images of England. Nick Jarvis) 726
24.5 St Mary Magdalen's Church, Castleton Dorset (1715), William Digby. Image © Historic England Archive (National Heritage, Images of England. Alec Howard) 727
24.6 William Pearson, *View of St George in the East, Stepney, Nicholas Hawksmoor* (ca. 1815). Watercolour. London, Metropolitan Archives, Wakefield Collection. Image © London, Metropolitan Archives 728

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INTRODUCTION

The Quest for an Appropriate Past: The Creation of National Identities in Early Modern Literature, Scholarship, Architecture, and Art

Karl Enenkel and Konrad Ottenheym

When thinking about the creation of "national literature" and "national styles" in art and architecture, most people will associate these developments with the nineteenth century: this period was characterized by the emergence of national states and attempts to codify specific geographically and nationally defined identities in art, architecture, and literature, based on models from a glorious past.[1] However, in the period from 1400 to 1700, as a result of a complex amalgam of political, intellectual, and religious developments, humanist scholars, artists, noblemen, and political leaders all over Europe were engaged in a similar effort.[2] The numerous developments and changes in politics and religion represented a challenge. And this challenge called for a response in terms of new efforts of legitimization and authorization. Central in these attempts was the search for suitable and impressive roots in a distant past, which one may call "antiquity". In late medieval and early modern Europe, "antiquity" was all the more important because political authority was formally based on lineage. In early modern times, all over Europe ruling princes, their courtiers, the civic elite, etc., were preoccupied with their line of descent – and as a result, so too were the humanist scholars, architects, and artists in their circles. Claims of heroic ancestry, lineage, and history for the dynasty became crucial points

1 Cf. e.g. Leerssen J., *National Thought in Europe. A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: 2006); Klaniczay G. – Werner M. – Gecser O. (eds.), *Multiple Antiquities – Multiple Modernities: Ancient Histories in Nineteenth-Century European Culture* (Frankfurt a. M. – New York: 2011). For the Low Countries cf. e.g. Leerssen J., *De bronnen van het vaderland. Taal, literatuur en de afbakening van Nederland 1806–1890* (Utrecht – Nijmegen: 2006/2011); and Mathijsen M., *Historiezucht. De obsessie met het verleden in de negentiende eeuw* (Nijmegen: 2013).

2 Cf. Marcu E.D., *Sixteenth Century Nationalism* (New York: 1976); Asher R.E., *National Myth in Renaissance France: Francus, Samothes and the Druids* (Edinburgh: 1993); Kidd C., *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: 1999); Helmrath J. – Muhlack U. – Walther G. (eds.), *Diffusion des Humanismus. Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten* (Göttingen: 2002); Enenkel K. – Ottenheym K., *Oudheid als ambitie. De zoektocht naar een passend verleden 1400–1700* (Nijmegen: 2017).

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of reference in establishing or disputing hierarchies among countries, among ruling kings and queens, among noble families, and among cities.[3] Therefore, political ambitions and territorial claims were regularly underpinned by historical arguments, true or otherwise. Literature, architecture, and paintings were used to present these arguments, and to make them acceptable and plausible.

The massive quest for an appropriate past that took place in the early modern period has not been studied so far from a broad, European, and truly interdisciplinary perspective. The present volume aims at filling this gap. It brings together scholars from various fields of literature, historians of art and architecture, and specialists for different parts of Europe, such as Italy, Portugal, France, the Holy Roman Empire, Poland, Sweden, England, and Ireland. Our volume is the result of a research project supported by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW). Between 2014 and 2016 an international group of scholars from various disciplines came together in five conferences. The present volume offers a selection of about the half of the 60 total contributions; they appear here in a greatly revised and rewritten form. One of the outcomes of the project is that the close collaboration of Neolatinists and historians of architecture especially turned out to be most fruitful in mapping out the various strategies used in the period 1400–1700 in order to construct appropriate local or national antiquities, and in analysing the ways in which the processes of legitimization took shape.

1 Various Antiquities: The Perspective of Early Modern Historical Periodization and Its Consequences

If one wants to understand these strategies and processes, one must take into account that during the centuries in question the ideas on the periodization of history differed greatly from our present ones, and that for the intellectuals of those days, "antiquity" did not mean the same thing it does for us.[4] For us, "antiquity" is part of the generally known, so-called classical system of periodization: it refers to the civilizations around the Mediterranean, in the Middle East and parts of Europe, and denotes the period from the invention of written records (around 3000 BC) to ca. 500 AD or to the sack of Rome (476). Furthermore, it is split into a number of sub-periods – like the archaic,

3 Melville G., "Vorfahren und Vorgänger. Spätmittelalterliche Genealogien als dynastische Legitimation zur Herrschaft", in Schuler P.J. (ed.), *Die Familie als sozialer und historischer Verband. Untersuchungen zum Spätmittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit* (Sigmaringen: 1987) 203–309.

4 For these aspects and additional bibliographical references cf. Enenkel – Ottenheym, *Oudheid als ambitie* 76–88.

classical, and Hellenistic periods of Greece, the Roman republic, Roman empire, late antiquity, etc. In this system, "antiquity" is followed by the period of the "Middle Ages" (ca. 500 to ca. 1500), again subdivided into the early Middle Ages, the Carolingian period, the high Middle Ages, and the late Middle Ages.

For early modern intellectuals, "antiquity" was chronologically, historically, and stylistically less clearly defined; "Middle Ages" did not have the status of a generally accepted and positively defined historical period; and the divisions between antiquity and the present time were partly vague, partly perceived in a different way. In general, the idea of long chronological and cultural *continua* was more important than more or less subtle divisions into various historical periods. Above all, the divisions derived from the Bible, and they were based on theological concepts.

For early modern intellectuals, the history of the world started with the Creation, i.e. about 4000 BC. Human civilization had its restart with Noah and his sons after the Flood, which was dated ca. 2600 BC. If one departed from those premises, there were still various ways to divide the history of the world into periods. A very influential periodization was that of the "Three Eras", based on the prophecy of Elijah:

1. the period before the giving of the law through Moses (*ante legem*), ca. 4000–2000 BC
2. the period subject to the law (*sub lege*), ca. 2000 to Christ
3. the period from the birth of Christ on to the present day (*sub gratia*).

The result was three long continuous, theologically defined periods, and importantly, the third one included everything from antiquity to the present day. The status of the present time was very unclear and feeble because the "Three Eras" division was frequently combined with millenarian ideas. Interestingly, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this periodization with its intermingled millenarian thoughts was adopted by both Catholics and Protestants. The most influential chronicle of the Lutheran Johannes Carion was based on it; continued by Casper Peucer and Philipp Melanchthon, it was used as a schoolbook at Lutheran and Calvinist universities as well.[5]

Another frequently used system of periodization had similar features – that of the "Four Empires". This system was based on the idea of succession of the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman empires in terms of both chronology and actual power. The last and conclusive empire, the Roman empire, was conceived as starting in 50 BC, with Julius Caesar, and continuing to the present day [Fig. 0.1]. Thus again, this system offered an enormously long

5 Neddermeyer U., *Das Mittelalter in der deutschen Historiographie vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Kölner historische Abhandlungen 34 (Cologne – Vienna: 1988).



FIGURE 0.1 Adriaen Collaert (engraver) after Maerten de Vos, *The Roman Empire*, embodied by Julius Caesar on horseback. Print no. 4 from the series *The Four Empires of the World* (ca. 1600). Engraving, 22.4 × 26.9 cm
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

continuum of at least 1500 years, which included everything from antiquity to the present day; again, it was combined with millenarian ideas, and again, it was used by Catholics and Protestants alike. Their interpretation of history, however, was much different. For Protestants, the time period that started with Constantine the Great and spanned to the present day (ca. 300 AD to the sixteenth century) was a period of constant decay; for Catholics, it marked the triumph of the true belief viz. Christ's Church. Furthermore, there were different opinions on the status and value of the Roman empire. Intellectuals in favour of the Holy Roman Empire regarded the German empire as the legitimate heir of the Roman Empire of antiquity, via Charlemagne, and of course they subscribed to legitimacy of the *translatio imperii*. Others denied the *translatio imperii*, for example Italian humanists, such as Francis Petrarch.

Petrarch was one of the first intellectuals who initiated the idea of a Renaissance of Roman antiquity in a narrower sense. He regarded the time since the sack of Rome (476) as a period of decay and loss of culture, as a kind

of dark age. He very much hoped that these dark times would come to an end, but he was not sure when and how. In any event, he was not convinced that this goal might be achieved by a humanist revival of antiquity alone. In fact, he also believed in millenarian ideas. His visionary empire after the appearance of the Antichrist, however, had an antiquarian touch: he hoped that the Roman emperor would reside again in Rome and that Rome would be restored in all its antique glory. For him, the period of Roman antiquity was defined by the concept of virtue: when virtue departed, the Roman empire expired. Thus, in Petrarch's definition, Roman antiquity was limited to the Roman republic (ca. 500 BC) up to Emperor Trajan (117 AD). After Trajan a period of moral decay came into being, culminating in Petrarch's own age, the fourteenth century, which he regarded as the worst of all ages.

Humanists after Petrarch further developed his idea of the revival of Roman antiquity in various ways; first with respect to the rebirth of the Latin language, Latin literature, and scholarship, and later with respect to the "rebirth" of the arts, architecture, and various other segments of culture as well. Over the course of the fifteenth century, some humanists became more and more convinced that they had succeeded with their programme of the revival of antiquity. Roman humanist and papal secretary Biondo Flavio invented the notion 'aetas media' (middle age); however, this was not meant as a distinctive, neutrally defined period, but more as a negatively conceived intermediary time between the glory days of Roman "antiquity" and the present glorious renaissance of classical culture in the fifteenth century, especially in centres such as papal Rome, Naples, and Florence. Who was responsible for the cultural and moral decay? In Flavio's eyes, it was the barbarian people who had invaded the empire, and in the end the German emperors too. Needless to say, Biondo's term of 'aetas media' was not accepted by all humanists, and especially not by humanists north of the Alps.

If one takes into account these various ideas on periodization and their ideological consequences, it becomes clear that the early modern constructions of "antiquity" could be rather diverse. Most importantly, a big part of what is nowadays labelled the "Middle Ages" was regarded as antiquity as well. Thus, chivalric myth up to 1200 could also be used in these constructions of local antiquity. Roman heroes, such as Scipio Africanus Maior (second century BC) and Julius Caesar (first century BC), were usually depicted as medieval knights [Fig. 0.2]. Charlemagne himself was conceived both as a medieval knight and as a Roman. Moreover, all over Europe Trojan heroes were being reinvented as ancestors of various dynasties, local noble families, and even of nations.[6] And

6 Cf. e.g. Homeyer H., "Beobachtungen zum Weiterleben der Trojanischen Abstammungs – und Gründungssagen im Mittelalter", *Res publica litterarum* 5 (1982) 93–123; Fochler P., *Fiktion*



FIGURE 0.2
Julius Caesar, depicted as a medieval knight with the Habsburg coat of arms. Woodcut from: *Die jeeste van Julius Cesar* (ca. 1490)
IMAGE © KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, THE HAGUE

they, too, were imagined as ancient Romans and medieval knights. Over the course of our programme it turned out that in numerous cases "medieval antiquities" were chosen as the most appropriate past in order to legitimize the political status quo. This goes for, for example, the Low Countries (see the contributions by Enenkel, Maas [on Dousa], and Ottenheym [on "New Chivalric Castles"]), Sweden (Neville), and Poland (Arciszewska). Furthermore, no contradiction existed between medieval and Trojan ancestry. Maybe a bit surprisingly, in the Eighty Years' War the medieval counts of Holland were still being legitimized by their supposed Trojan forefathers (Enenkel), and the coat of arms of the counts of Holland and that of Troy were still considered to be identical. Trojan heroes turned up all over Europe: as the contribution by Christian Peters demonstrates, they were even used to affirm the political claims of the Turkish Ottomans.

2 The Importance of Having Appropriate Ancestors

Claims of heroic ancestry, lineage, and history of the dynasty were in the first place not the result of a romantic ache for history or just a fascination with the

als Historie. Der Trojanische Krieg in der deutschen Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts (Wiesbaden: 1990); Shepard A. – Powell S.D. (eds.), *Fantasies of Troy: Classical Tales and the Social Imaginary in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Toronto: 2004). For the Low Countries, see especially Keesman W., *De eindeloze stad. Troje en de Trojaanse oorsprongsmythen in de (laat) middeleeuwse en vroegmoderne Nederlanden* (Hilversum: 2017).

culture of Greek and Roman antiquity; more often they were calculated instruments of political power play. Lineage and ancient roots caused and justified claims for privileges and superiority. In early modern Europe the strategies for distinguishing a state, a ruling family, or a city varied. Nevertheless, a certain common pattern appears. The virtues of forefathers, such as Trojans, Romans, or biblical heroes, were thought as still being present in the current members of the family, city, or nation.

The search for very old ancestors, generally speaking, offers a number of possibilities: the first, of course, is to sustain a claim of having an antique Roman origin. In the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries patrons and artists in Western Europe were well aware that their countries once had been part of the Roman empire, and more than once these roots were consciously used in their political legitimization of power (cf. the contributions by Senos, Lemerle, Maas [on Junius], Hendrix, and Pieper). The second way was to claim an even more ancient, and therefore more noble, origin, such as the cities of Capua, Trier, and Amsterdam (cf. the contributions by de Divitiis, Günther, and Vlaardingerbroek), or the province of Holland did (contribution by Enenkel). All of these entities pretended to be older than Rome itself: Trier boasted of its supposed Babylonian origin (second millennium BC!), Holland of the Trojan descendance ascribed to the counts (Troy, too, was thought to have been founded in the second millennium BC), and Amsterdam – as the construction of its new town hall in the middle of the seventeenth century demonstrates – claimed as forebear the Jewish King Solomon (tenth century BC, cf. the contribution by Vlaardingerbroek). This second manner of legitimization, of course, became especially relevant in northern and north-eastern Europe, where claims of any direct bloodline going back to the ancient Romans were almost impossible to establish in a plausible way. In these cases the strategy was: *if you can't join them – beat them.*

With respect to nobility, to demonstrate descendance from the ancient Romans was not the only way to achieve legitimacy. The rich treasure-house of history offered many possibilities: Trojans, Babylonians, and Jews (biblical heroes), but also the various local tribes mentioned in Greco-Roman history. In a sense, the ancient Germans were especially appealing because they mostly managed to remain independent, and they finally even conquered the empire. Having been a part of the Roman empire was, of course, already in itself noble and impressive (Pieper), but one could present it as being even more noble to never have been conquered by the Romans, as the Goths, the forebears of the Swedes (Neville), and a number of German tribes demonstrated. The Hollanders wanted to have the best of both worlds: they claimed the tribe of the ancient Batavians – extremely brave and strong people – as their ancestors [Fig. 0.3]. In the eyes of the early modern Hollanders the Batavians were on



FIGURE 0.3 Otto van Veen, *Brinio raised on a shield as the leader of the Caninefates* (1600 – 1613). Oil on panel, 38 × 52 cm
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

the one hand respected by the Romans as equals and 'brothers', since they had never been conquered; but on the other hand they partook in the advanced civilization of the Roman empire, and they were thought even to have built cities. Last but not least, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hollanders were convinced that the ancient Batavians had lived in the area of modern-day Holland. As later archaeological research demonstrated, this was all based on a kind of phantastical antiquarian construction. In the German empire the claim of going back to German tribes of antiquity (as they were described by Tacitus in his *Germania* and *Historiae*) became an important issue in humanist antiquarian discussions, from Conrad Celtis on (cf. the contributions by Pieper and Hoppe), while the new Swedish dynasty derived its legitimacy from its supposed descendance from the ancient Goths (contribution by Neville), and the Polish nobility of her phantastical "Sarmatian" origin (Arciszewska).

Importantly, these claims were underpinned by scholarly studies, such as Konrad Peutinger's *Sermones convivales de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus* (cf. the contribution by Pieper), Olaus Magnus's *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Neville), and Hadrianus Junius's *Batavia* (Maas). Moreover, the new discipline of archaeology played an ever more important part in this

process of reactivating local antique pasts. Early or proto-archaeology, called also antiquarianism or *Ars antiquitatis*, became an effective weapon in sustaining claims of ancient origin, and collections of antiquities such as the one of Konrad Peutinger, served the same goal. It was the task of the humanists to unveil these proofs of ancient forebears in treatises and poems, as Hadrianus Junius and Dousa did (cf. the contributions by Maas), and of the artists to express them in new visual creations and in architecture. Humanist and antiquarian scholarship was seen as being closely related to literature and art. This is one of the reasons why early modern intellectuals were able to display a great amount of creativity in their constructions of appropriate ancestries.

3 Various Antiquities: Problems with Differentiating and Dating Building Styles

In these processes, the material remains, especially those of "ancient" buildings, became incredibly important sources of inspiration for new *all'antica* architecture that was meant to display the continuity between the past and the present. However, early modern intellectuals, humanist scholars, antiquarians, artists, and architects alike faced substantial problems with the dating and determination of "ancient" buildings. In fact, they had no clue as to which period certain remains of walls belonged, what the various styles of architecture were, and how to date Roman brickwork. Without the help of written evidence, such as building inscriptions in stone or descriptions in Roman literature (e.g. by Pliny the Elder, Vitruvius, or Ovid), it was almost impossible to identify a building. And even in such cases it was difficult to reach any certain conclusion. The Pantheon, the best-preserved temple in Rome, was wrongly attributed to Augustan times solely because of its building inscription, which says that it was erected by Augustus's son-in-law Marcus Agrippa ('M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT'),[7] whereas it was actually built by Trajan and Hadrian. Even in Rome itself – where numerous remains were comparatively well preserved – it took centuries to understand the true function of the ruins and to identify them. Erroneous attributions were the rule rather than the exception. For example, the huge remains of imperial bath complexes (e.g. the Baths of Caracalla) were generally interpreted as having been the palaces of senators or Roman emperors, and many late antique Christian churches were – if they

7 'Marcus Agrippa, the son of Lucius Agrippa, has built it when he was consul for the third time'.



FIGURE 0.4 The Baptistery of Florence, depicted as an antique Temple of Mars during the destruction of the city by Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, in Giovanni Villani's *Chronica* (mid-14th century). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Chigiano LVIII 296, fol. 36r
IMAGE © PUBLIC DOMAIN

were central buildings – usually regarded as having been pagan temples. Given this situation one can easily understand that early modern intellectuals were deriving their ideas from a wide spectrum of possible interpretations in their effort to understand the antique remains, and that this spectrum brought forth a considerable amount of creativity aimed at underpinning antiquarian claims (cf. e.g. the contributions by Hoppe and Ottenheym).

An additional difficulty, but also an opportunity, for creative interpretations was the fact that the Roman antiquities in some provinces (e.g. the Rhine provinces) were quite different from those in Italy – for example, the Porta Nigra in Trier. The Porta Nigra was actually a Roman port building dating from about 180 AD; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, intellectuals were convinced that because of its archaic stone cubes it dated from Babylonian times, i.e. the second millennium BC (cf. Günther [on Trier]).

The 'gothic style' (*maniera gotica*) was called 'modern' because it referred to buildings that were made in the recent past (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries). But anything before ca. 1200, what we would now call Romanesque, Ottonian,

Carolingian, Byzantine, late antique, imperial Roman, etc., was regarded as "antique".[8] We should not forget that the stylistic concept of "Romanesque art" was invented only in the early nineteenth century. In the early modern period there was a massive amount of confusion between Roman and Romanesque architecture. This phenomenon was not limited to Northern Europe, as is demonstrated by the famous example of the baptistery of Florence, which from the fourteenth up to the seventeenth century was regarded as an antique temple of Mars [Fig. 0.4]. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries intellectuals were not able to differentiate between architecture from the times of King Solomon, Emperor Augustus, or Charlemagne: anything from roughly 1000 BC to 1100 AD could be labelled as "antique". This, again, opened up a wide field for artistic and literary inventions: old buildings of different styles and periods were used as authoritative sources of new *all'antica* art. For example, in southern Germany Romanesque buildings were regarded as antique and were used as examples of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century architecture, as Stephan Hoppe demonstrates.

A volume like this inevitably has its limitations. Although numerous early modern appropriations of the past are discussed, and antiquities from various regions and periods are addressed, it is, of course, impossible to cover all regions of Europe and to include all relevant humanist treatises and all early modern works of art and architecture. So there still remains a considerable amount of material awaiting further analysis. This inevitable fact, however, relates to a pivotal aim of the present volume. The authors hope that it may evoke further research and stimulate specialists from various disciplines to closely study the fascinating early modern constructions of the past, and to analyse the various claims for national or regional antiquity. Legite feliciter!

Monasterii (Münster) – Traiecti (Utrecht)
Die 31° Martii MMXIIX

8 Cf. Hoppe S., "Romanik als Antike und die baulichen Folgen", in Nussbaum N. – Euskirchen C. – Hoppe S. (eds.), *Wege zur Renaissance. Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen neuzeitlicher Kunstauffassung im Rheinland und den Nachbargebieten um 1500* (Cologne: 2003) 88–131; Wood C., *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: 2008); Wood C., "The Credulity Problem", in Miller P.N. – Louis F. (eds.), *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China* (Ann Arbor: 2012) 149–179.

PART 1

The Mediterranean

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CHAPTER 1

Claiming and Contesting Trojan Ancestry on Both Sides of the Bosporus – Epic Answers to an Ethnographic Dispute in Quattrocento Humanist Poetry

Christian Peters

1 Introduction: Humanists and Troy

Humanist, or humanist-inspired, philology and antiquarianism are one of the chief suspects for tearing down the idea that all European peoples originated in Troy – and the cultural and political prestige that idea conveyed – to make way for new national identities. Local and regional antiquarian endeavours had provided the critical tools that would later foment the rise of historical and archaeological sciences. Still, in other areas of humanist writing, those ideas and concepts could prove to be quite persistent and were aspiring to new heights of creativity and inventiveness. The notions humanism brought forth of antiquity as an actually foregone era inspired new needs for and strategies of imitating and rivalling the classical literature and synchronizing what it had in store with the authors' own age. This pattern of simultaneous continuity and dissociation, as well as the attempt to manage it, becomes particularly palpable in epic poetry, especially when it chooses as its subject contemporary history, never willing or able to shake off the ancient epic's inclination to make poetic sense of history, not only on the conceptual level, but also by the adaptation of contents that link antiquity and pre-history to, say, the fifteenth century. In contrast to antiquarianism or ancient history, which denote their subjects as something to recover, humanist epics habitually and blatantly, by devices such as the divine machinery or other structural elements, make their world the same as the one in which classical heroic epics had taken place.

That tracing one's own origins back to Troy played a potentially crucial role in medieval attempts to harness history in order to legitimize one's reign goes as uncontested as the fact that classical texts speaking of the Trojan War and its aftermath gained additional momentum thanks to the humanists' devotion

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to antiquity.[1] Speaking of Troy and Trojans in the Middle Ages was in most cases a matter of 'intentional history',[2] which turned into 'virulent collective memory' in issues of political import.[3]

To be sure, exploiting a claim to a Trojan origin,[4] i.e. sharing ancestry with Rome, is a phenomenon even older than the canonical text for the phenomenon of exploiting Trojan origins politically, the *Aeneid*.[5] However, the *Aeneid*, Dares the Phrygian, and Dictys of Crete – the last two being pseudepigraphic eyewitness accounts actually stemming from late antiquity, which were considered more reliable sources for the Trojan War in the Middle Ages than the texts of the Augustan poets[6] – do not offer any starting point for construing, for example, the Frankish or British legends tracing their civilization back to Troy. It is established no sooner than in the *Chronicon* of Ps.-Fredegar and

1 Cf. on this Garber J., "Trojaner – Römer – Franken – Deutsche. 'Nationale' Abstammungstheorien im Vorfeld der Nationalstaatsbildung", in Garber K. (ed.), *Nation und Literatur im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frühe Neuzeit 1 (Tübingen: 1989) 108–163, here 116, who offers a very concise summary of the idea: 'Die antike Geschichte wird auf die Gegenwart ausgerichtet, indem der Einbruch zwischen Antike und mittelalterlicher Herrschafts- und Volksgeschichte durch Abstammungsgenealogien mit fiktivem Kern geschlossen wird. Die Abstammungsgenealogie ist das zentrale Legitimationstheorem der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung. Die extreme zeitliche Zurückdatierung des gentilen Ursprungsstatus erfolgt mit der Zielsetzung, erfahrbare Geschichte durch Heroengeschichte zu ersetzen'. The connection Garber draws between Trojan ancestry and the idea of the Golden Age, on the other hand, is less plausible ("Trojaner" 121).

2 Gehrke H.-J., "Was heißt und zu welchem Ende studiert man intentionale Geschichte? Marathon und Troja als fundierende Mythen", in Melville G. – Rehberg K.-S. (eds.), *Gründungsmythen – Genealogien – Memorialzeichen. Beiträge zur institutionellen Konstruktion von Kontinuität* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2004) 21–36, here 25.

3 Gehrke, "Was heißt" 36.

4 The most extensive recent treatment of this subject is Kellner B., *Ursprung und Kontinuität. Studien zum genealogischen Wissen im Mittelalter* (Munich: 2004) 131–296. Particularly elucidating are her thoughts on Troy as the earliest testified event in non-biblical history. For secular nobility, the self-inscription into the aftermath of the Trojan War was thus particularly attractive, because it meant that one's own kind had been there all the time, since the dawn of history, cf. ibidem 131–133.

5 There are hints that already in Caesar's Gallic War the Haeduans received special diplomatic treatment due to their supposed status as relatives of the Romans. Fraudulent use of a fictional Trojan origin can be traced at least to a passage in Lucanus, echoed later by Sidonius Apollinaris, in which the Arvernian people successfully try to associate themselves with the Haeduans' hitherto exclusive standing, cf. Hommel H., "Die trojanische Herkunft der Franken", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 99 (1956) 323–341, here 335–337. In a striking conclusion, Hommel relates this phenomenon to the Roman custom of adoption, in which a mere social and juridical act is then expanded to biological and genealogical heritage.

6 See Kellner, *Ursprung* 155–156.

the *Liber historia Francorum* afterwards.[7] The search for, or invention of, an

7 The construct drew its plausibility mainly from the amalgamation of the two versions of pseudo-Fredegar and the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. Concurring claims led to the drive for a more or less 'gapless' Trojan ancestry. Thereof the *Speculum regis* by Geoffrey of Viterbo bears witness, in which a version is found that unites both strands of the Trojan *origo*, the Roman one via Aeneas, and the Frankish one via Priam in Charlemagne; cf. Garber, "Trojaner" 134f. An erroneous ascription is made by Stohlmann J., "Trojadichtung. II. Mittellateinische Literatur", *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 8 (1997) 1035–1036, here 1035, who states that a poetic reference to the Trojan origin of the Franks is made by the anonymous author of a panegyric poem to Charles the Bald. The poem makes no such allusion, and the name of the Franks is explained by an etymology that goes back to Isidorus, cf. the anonymous *Carmen de Exordio Gentis Francorum*, ed. E. Dümmler, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae 2* (Berlin: 1884) 141–145, here 142, v. 34. Despite this, there is actually ample evidence of Trojan genealogies for Carolingian monarchs, cf. Görich K., "Troia im Mittelalter – der Mythos als politische Legitimation", in Zimmermann M. (ed.), *Der Traum von Troia. Geschichte und Mythos einer ewigen Stadt* (Munich: 2006) 120–134, here 129. A few more stations of the development of Trojan origin as a widespread idea in Western Europe should be mentioned in short: Albert of Stade, *Troilus*, ed. T. Gärtner, Spolia Berolinensia 27 (Hildesheim: 2007) mentions, in a sort of poetic balance sheet at the end of the sixth book, the casualties on both sides of the Trojan War (6, 705–716) and traces the paths of the Trojan and Greek heroes further, until their respective deaths (6, 717–880). He makes no mention, however, of any descendant of King Priam, who later might have become the founder of a European dynasty. The numbers he tells are from Dares' feigned *eyewitness* report of Troy's fall. A meticulous study of all classical references in the *Troilus* is to be found in Gärtner T., *Klassische Vorbilder Mittelalterlicher Trojaepen*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 133 (Stuttgart – Leipzig: 1999) 409–556. On the author's life, cf. ibidem 409–416. Joseph Iscanus, a poet from twelfth-century Britain, refers to the Trojan origin of the British (by Priam's son Brutus) in his fragmentary *Antiocheis*, about the third crusade, cf. Joseph Iscanus, *Antiocheis* 1–3. Cf. Gompf's introduction to Iscanus Joseph, *Werke und Briefe*, ed. L. Gompf, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 4 (Leiden – Cologne: 1970) 64. In exhaustive detail, Gärtner, *Klassische Vorbilder* 9–408, traces the classical models of Joseph's *Ylias.* On the author's life, cf. ibidem 9–13. He is thereby mainly relying on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*; see Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. A. Griscom (London – New York – Toronto: 1929). Although mainly in prose, this text gives an account of the Trojans' role in the primordial history of Britain that is modelled on Virgilian epic: Brutus, grandson of Aeneas, is exiled from Italy and, on his journey through the Mediterranean, he finds an oracle of Diana, where he is told to seek an island beyond Gaul and to settle there (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia* 1, 14–15) Brutus encounters the goddess clad in cultic garments and with sacrificial instruments in her hands. Both his request and Diana's answer are metric. Later on, then, he and his fellows find the promised island of Albion and take possession of it (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia* 1, 22). This bears proof of the fact that in the medieval imagination as well, the further paths of the Trojan refugees were a mission guided by fate rather than a mere escape resulting in the founding of European reigns by accident. On the other hand, it was not an obligation for poetic accounts of the Trojan War to imply any mythic-historical perspective beyond the one Virgil had offered. Simon de Capra Aurea's poem on the destruction of Troy and the voyage of the Aeneads to Italy, e.g., relies on Virgil almost exclusively. The most complete version of the poem is found in Boutemy A., "La Version parisienne du

eponymous hero from Troy had a special significance in these matters.[8] For this, the catalogue of Trojan refugees in Western Europe, as presented by Guido delle Colonne, was a valuable resource.[9] In Hartmann Schedel's *World Chronicle*, a 'Franco' is still a son of Hector and forefather of the Franks. Yet, belief in the Trojan origins of European dynasties and peoples was waning among Western humanists, culminating in assessments like that of the humanist Stephanus Pighius, who denounced the whole endeavour to find Trojan

poème de Simon Chèvre d'Or sur la guerre de Troie (Ms. lat. 8430)", *Scriptorium* 1 (1946–1947) 267–288. An important source for the major strands of genealogic attribution is the version of the destruction of Troy that Guido delle Colonne tells. In the beginning of his *Historia*, the author collects a variety of legends, among others those of Francus (France), Brutus (Britain), Antenor (Venice), and Sicanus (Sicily). Guido drew his inspiration largely from Benoît de Saint-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, which already found connections between Troy and its Norman audience, but Guido's Latin version had paramount influence in multiplying these constructs all over Europe, along with matching contemporary taste through a chivalric re-contextualization of the heroic deeds from classical epics. On this cf. Tanner M., *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: 1993) 52–66. The other main reason for the success of Trojan legends with the elites of the Middle Ages was that they offered a device for creating political legitimization and identity; cf. Görich, "Troia" 124; for a summary account, see Contamine P., "Trojanerabstammung der Franken", *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 8 (1997) 1041. There are countless additional examples of genealogies in various parts of medieval Europe that show how widespread the idea of being descended from Trojan refugees was at that time and in that part of the world. An overview is offered by Görich, "Troia" 128–131; see also Karsenti T., "From Historical Invention to Literary Myth: Ambivalences and Contradictions in the Early Modern Reception of the Franco-Trojan Genealogy", in Montoya A. – van Romburgh S. – van Anrooij W. (eds.), *Early Modern Medievalisms: The Interplay between Scholarly Reflection and Artistic Production*, Intersections 15 (Leiden – Boston: 2010) 93–110, here 95.

8 Görich, "Troia" 124. Cf. e.g. Warnefridus Paulus, *Liber De Episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. G.H. Pertz, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores 2 (Hanover: 1829) 260–268, here 264, 36–40: '[…] Nam gens Francorum, sicut a veteribus est traditum, a Troiana prosapia trahit exordium'. This was further transmitted e.g. in the *Genealogiae Karolorum*, ed. G. Waitz, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores 13 (Hanover: 1881) 241–248, here 11, 40–41.

9 The value of such concepts was manifold: primacy in rank and prestige, legitimizing one's own type of rule, refutation of foreign claims to dominance, strengthening of one's own identity as opposed to the others', and bridging the gap between biblical ethnic genealogy and the ethnic present; cf. Görich, "Troia" 125. On the last point, cf. Tanner, who in an intriguing, although at times slightly unsystematic, study assembling the different strands of a Trojan-Frankish tradition, suggests that not only was the Trojan bloodline supposed to be harnessed to political and dynastic legitimacy, but it could also function as a means to establish a sacred dimension of rule by hinting at the imperial cult invented by the Julio-Claudian dynasty, which could additionally be expanded by a Christian edge through connections to a Mosaic or Davidian legacy; cf. Tanner, *Last Descendant* 23–44 and 67–90. The second part of her study traces primarily this latter strand, thus rendering the book's title slightly misleading.

ancestry as a *Troicum delirium*, and even French writers had started to have growing doubts about the *Francus* issue, too.[10]

Whereas epic poets could not ignore the success humanist philology and antiquarianism had in making their monuments crumble, the idea of Trojan origins and a fateful mission rising from the ashes of Troy still could have a remarkable persistence in the genre whence it had come in the first place – and this shall be the topic of this paper. Therefore, it appears appropriate to take a glance at both an epic that conveys the traditional notion of European dynasties going back to Troy and one in which their putative nemesis in the 15th century, the conqueror of Constantinople, justifies his military and territorial aggression with the very same claim. On a very basic level, this dispute appears to be the ideal research sample for identifying a specifically epic quest for an appropriate past: Laying claims to, e.g., a founder is not as delicate as laying claims to an ancestor. Up to a certain number of cities or states, it is not implausible that, say, Antenor founded them all on his way. Emphasizing or forging a certain lineage, on the other hand, may lead to a circle of relatives the ruler of a fifteenth-century state or head of a noble family would rather not care to be associated with. And it was exactly that issue which became the matter of discussion concerning the Trojans.

2 Refugees Welcome – Trojans and Other Stray Heroes in Tito Strozzi's (1425–1505) *Borsias*

Tito Strozzi's *Borsias* is a panegyric epic rich in not only the fruits of humanist imitation and emulation of classical poetry, but also reflections of what a humanist court-poet – who was at the same time a magistrate of Ferrara, the state of his patrons, the Este *marchesi* and dukes from Leonello to Ercole I – dealt with in everyday politics, ideological concepts, and diplomatic manoeuvres.[11] The writing of the poem accompanied the last fifty years of Tito Strozzi's long life, and thus it echoes matters of the Este court in regional and international politics all through the second half of the quattrocento. We will concentrate on a passage that was presumably written in the 1480s.

10 Gehrke, "Was heißt" 36. On the later fate of the Trojan Francus legend in France, see Karsenti, "From Historical Invention" 96–109.

11 See Walther Ludwig's introduction to the edition of Strozzi Tito, *Borsias*, ed. Walther Ludwig, Humanistische Bibliothek, Reihe II: Texte 5 (Munich: 1977) 11–58, and Peters C., *Mythologie und Politik. Die panegyrische Funktionalisierung der paganen Götter im lateinischen Epos des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Wissenschaftliche Schriften der WWU Münster 24 ,10 (Münster: 2016) 265–269.

By presenting an account of the Trojan origins in the sixth book of his *Borsias*, Strozzi is heeding his own announcement from the epic's first proem, where the poet states, after appealing to the addressee Borso himself as the source of inspiration, rather than the Muses, that he 'will tell of both brave leaders (or dukes) and the noble beginnings of the Ateste kin, stemming from Trojan origin' ('Magnanimosque duces atque alta exordia dicam / gentis Atestinae Troiana ab origine ductae').[12] Strozzi makes good on this promise, but he lets an intradiegetic narration do the job for him. As an avatar, he introduces a contemporary figure, the respected court physician of the Este, Girolamo Castelli, to tell Giovanni Pontano (a diplomatic envoy to Ferrara) about Duke Borso's youth, and the origins of the Este.[13]

Seen within the larger narrative framework of the *Borsias*, the colloquial situation of Strozzi's Trojan *origo gentis* legend for the Este is striking insofar as it provides the tale with a double authorization. The first is by virtue of having an esteemed local humanist tell it, whose narration occupies virtually half the epic, spreading from the beginning of book 6 to the sudden end of the unfinished poem in book 10. His narration comprises various topics, such as the military achievements of young Borso; the marriage of Niccolò to Ricciarda di Saluzzo, resulting in the birth of Borso's successor, Ercole I; the Este family's rise to power in Ferrara; and the history of their rule. The account of the Este family's Trojan origins forms part of the latter.

Second, Castelli's entire speech is directed to Giovanni Pontano, doubtlessly one of the most respected humanists of the time. Pontano becomes part of the *Borsias*' plot when his – historically not proven – visit to Ferrara is the climax of a series of three visits to the city in the fifth book of the poem. First, Pius II comes to town, maybe in preparation for a narration of Borso's appointment as duke of Ferrara in the final books of the Borsias, which have never been written. Then, emperor-to-be Frederick III passes through the city on his way to Rome, where he is supposed to be crowned by the pope, and invests Borso as duke of Modena and Reggio. The three visitors were probably grouped by Strozzi to pay respect to all three fundaments of Este power: the pope as their liege in Ferrara, the emperor as their liege in Modena and Reggio, and Pontano, who visits Ferrara in diplomatic service for the king of Naples, representing the city's importance as a diplomatic player mediating between the larger powers

12 Strozzi, *Borsias* I, 9–10. Unless indicated otherwise, all translations are my own.

13 Strozzi, *Borsias* VI, 1–7, 565.

in Italy.[14] The emphasis on Pontano, in that nearly half of the extant epic is an intradiegetic narration directed to him, may be understood, then, as stressing the primacy of humanist cultural ambitions over petty politics – to be sure, the *Borsias*' Pontano uses his stay to visit the hinterland of the Po delta, where he immediately encounters two nymphs, who tell him about a metamorphosis being the aetiology of a bird common to the area.[15]

The actual shape into which Strozzi casts his account of the Este origins resonates with the instability and uncertainty to which humanists had exposed the traditional narratives of Trojan origins. As Walther Ludwig shows, in the commentary alongside his excellent edition of the *Borsias*, the actual version of the Trojan origin of the Este family is a more or less conventional one, as will be made clear. The impression that the genealogical account in the form of an interior narration might work just as well as a standalone epyllion-like work is supported by the fact that it is this very portion of about three hundred verses that Strozzi presented to Ercole d'Este as a sample of his poetry. Nonetheless, what must interest us about it is its very careful imitation of the *Aeneid*, which is all the more striking, the more its embedding makes it an epyllion-like interior narration resembling the Virgilian *Iliupersis* in the second and third books of the *Aeneid*. Strozzi makes the exposition of his account of the Trojans' journey to France a veritable sound-alike of the *Aeneid*'s proem without ever citing more than two words in a row:

> Argolicis cum iam cecidissent Pergama flammis
> Et profugi incerto diversa per aequora cursu
> Classibus errarent Teucri, satus Hectore Francus
> Iactatur vento Scythiae glacialis ad oras
> Atque illic parvam, ut perhibent, sibi condidit urbem.
>
> When Troy had already fallen to the fires of the Greeks, and the Trojans were roaming various seas as fugitives with an uncertain route with their fleets, Francus, son of Hector, driven by the wind, washed up on the Scythian shore, and there he founded a small town, as they say.[16]

14 Strozzi, *Borsias* V, 52–315 (Pius II); V, 316–361 (Frederick III); V, 468–551 (Pontano's arrival).

15 On this cf. Ludwig's in-depth analysis in his commentary accompanying the edition of the *Borsias*, 300–307, and Peters C., "Founding Sisters. Nymphs and Aetiological Fiction in Quattrocento Latin Poetry", in Enenkel K. – Traninger A. (eds.), *The Figure of the Nymph in Early Modern Culture*, Intersections. Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 54 (Leiden-Boston: 2018) 421–444.

16 Strozzi, *Borsias* VI, 246–250.

as opposed to

> Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
> Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque venit
> Litora – multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
> Vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
> Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
> Inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum
> Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.[17]
>
> Arms and the man I sing, who first from the coasts of Troy, exiled by fate, came to Italy and Lavine shores; much buffeted on sea and land by violence from above, through cruel Juno's unforgiving wrath, and much enduring in war also, till he should build a city and bring his gods to Latium; whence came the Latin race, the lords of Alba, and the lofty walls of Rome (trans. Fairclough).

The reader will notice a shift of focus regarding the purpose of the Trojans' odyssey: While there clearly is a purpose in what Aeneas and his fellow refugees have to face, Francus' journey seems to be intentionally blurred: Virgil has his hero be *fato profugus*, and all the other *Teucri* (note the plural) are travelling *incerto cursu*. The multitude of Trojan refugees may stand for the multitude of conflicting or just neighbouring claims to Trojan ancestry – what Strozzi can do is put the tale back where it belongs, that is: the epic tradition. A potential lack of reliability in the medieval and supposed ancient sources, like Dares, Dictys, and Fredegar, makes way for the primal literary dignity of the epic – the genre from which not only the idea of a Trojan origin, but also its attractiveness as a source of political prestige originated.

The account Strozzi has Castelli tell broadens the perspective of lineage.[18] It is conventional for the most part and provides the Este with a maximum amount of noble kinship. Great historic and prehistoric personalities from all three parts of the known world are inserted into their ancestry. The son of Trojan Francus, Belfortes, settles in Gaul; a relative of his, prince Rugerus, has a posthumous son of the same name, whom his mother, a Libyan princess stemming from Alexander the Great, gives to Atlas, descendant of the mythical bearer of the sky axis, to have him educated. Atlas teaches him thoroughly, but then at first refuses to let him go, knowing it's the Rugerus that later will

17 Virgil, *Aeneid* I, 1–7.
18 Strozzi, *Borsias* VI, 246–550.

fight the Libyan peoples,[19] that is, the Muslim Caliphate – as Strozzi's readers knew well from chivalric romance and the beginnings of Italian vernacular epic, of which Ferrara was a foremost centre at the time. In this cornucopia of genealogical attributions, Strozzi nonetheless never neglects to echo Virgilian *fatum*; Atlas, for example, cannot hold Rugerus in Africa, just like Dido cannot stop Aeneas,[20] and with a 'Heldenschau' in the moment of parting, confronts Rugerus with his descendants.[21]

Finally, the poem refers to the Este coat of arms with the white eagle as core element, a symbol honouring the abducted Ganymede, thereby coming full circle with the reason why Francus had to leave Troy in the first place.[22] Although he mentions it, Strozzi falls conspicuously short of giving a similar aetiology for the *fleur-de-lis* granted to the family by the French king in 1431.

When implementing the genealogy into the *Borsias*, the decision to make it a part of Castelli's narration to Pontano seems a natural one. Thus, Strozzi could have a local humanist present a local version of the Trojan origins of the

19 Strozzi, *Borsias* VI, 322–326: 'Talem igitur pacis Rugerum finxerat Atlas / Artibus et, quoniam fatorum haud nescius illum / Noverat exitio Lybicis fore gentibus et, quas / Prisca superstitio posuit mortalibus, aras / Eversurum olim, summis in rupibus arcem / Struxit, ubi exigeret secura per ocia vitam, / Quo saltem miseris aliquam, si forte liceret, / Adderet ipse moram tali conamine rebus' ('Into such a man Atlas had shaped Rugerus with the arts of peace, and, since he, who could foresee the course of fate, knew that one day Rugerus would be the African peoples' doom and would overthrow the altars that the old superstition had built for mortal men, built a fortress high up in the mountains, where his pupil would lead a life of calm, so he could at least delay, if at all, the sad events a little with such an undertaking').

20 Strozzi, *Borsias* VI, 334–339: 'Verum, ubi consilio fatorum infringere legem / Non datur et magicae nequicquam innititur arti / Nec retinere valet precibus discedere certum / Et maiora sequi pulchra pro laude parantem, / Tristior atque pio pueri commotus amore, / Quo virtus et fata vocant, permittit abire' ('But, since deliberation is not allowed to break the rule of fate, and he is neither willing to use magical powers nor able to stop him by pleading, who is determined to leave and ready to pursue greater and more beautiful things for glory, he all too sadly permits the boy, to whom he attached in pious love, to go where virtue and fate call him').

21 Strozzi, *Borsias* VI, 378–446.

22 Strozzi, *Borsias* VI, 539–545: 'Forsitan et quaeras, magni Iovis unde ministram / Gens ea portet avem, quae rostro armatur et uncis / Unguibus atque alas ingentes candida pandit. / Hanc Phryges illato superis Ganymede ferebant; / Haec quoque magnanimis gestanda nepotibus ipsi / Signa reliquerunt Troes, quibus aurea miscent / Lilia, cognatae monumentum nobile gentis' ('You might also wonder where the Este kin got the bird of Jupiter in their coat of arms from, armed with beak and hooked claws and, white in colour, spreading its enormous wings. The Phrygians wore it, after Ganymede had been carried away to the gods; and this coat of arms was also bequeathed by the Trojans themselves to their great descendants, to which they added golden lilies, as a noble monument of their kinship').

medieval Franks and then have it recognized by another humanist from outside of Ferrara of high esteem and rank.[23] Considering the specific qualities of the epic discourse in a panegyric situation – namely to tie local or momentary fragments of history to a universal backdrop of epic 'Geschichtshermeneutik' – it does not seem beyond the realm of belief that Strozzi resorted to that very discourse in order to stabilize an ethnographic and genealogical tradition which otherwise might not prevail over critical scrutiny by humanist antiquarianism. As we will see, humanists around Pius II, an important character in book V of the *Borsias*, had put great scholarly effort into discrediting one genealogical construction – namely the Trojan origin of the Turks – in the same medieval source that provided the first and most important fundament for any connection drawn between the Trojans' escape from their blazing home and the recent European peoples and kingdoms. If one could prove the medieval sources wrong concerning one issue, why shouldn't this be the case with other genealogical constructs?

While Strozzi more or less openly discards the idea that divinely sanctioned fate is behind the Trojans' westward journey, he still seems willing to underline the possible facticity of a Trojan origin for his patron's kin. To be sure, there were Ferrarese traditions that tried to establish a direct link from Troy to the Este, instead of the complicated one via the Franks.[24] In the late thirteenth century, a Milanese local chronicler by the name of Galvano Fiamma etymologizes, in a somewhat clumsy aetiological hyperurbanism, a Trojan noble named Marthus as being the eponymous founder of the so-called Marchesana region.[25]

Overall, it seems convincing that Strozzi wanted to assist his patron Ercole in stressing a closer relation to the French, who were increasingly becoming a power to be reckoned with in Northern Italy in the second half of the Quattrocento. In addition, another reason might have been the dwindling plausibility of the manifold local apocryphal Trojan forebears in the wake of humanist philology. In that case, the amalgamation of a well-established

23 The role of the humanist dialogue in verifying the Este origins should not be overemphasized; the topic forms only a tiny part of Castelli's narration that extends over the last five, out of ten, books of the *Borsias*.

24 See Ludwig's introduction to the *Borsias*, 67–68.

25 The source is available in Muratori L.A. (ed.), *Antichità Estensi ed Italiane*, 2 vols. (Modena, Stamperia Ducale: 1717–1740), vol. I (1717) 67: 'Sextus Princeps Trojanus […] qui obsedit Mediolanum, dictus est Marthus, qui in quodam monticulo civitatem construxit, quam ex suo nomine Marthum appellavit, quae toti Contratae nomen dedit, quae dicitur Marthesana in praesentem diem' ('The sixth Trojan prince of Milan was called Marthus, who, on some hill, founded a namesake city, which gave the name for the entire area, which up to this day is called Marthesana').

literary tradition for content (French Francus legends) with one for form (epic poetry) might have appeared more attractive for a tasteful and politically farsighted and informed court poet like Strozzi was. Therefore, Strozzi's compositional choice to make Castelli tell the story about the origins of the Este not only authorizes the obsolescing Trojan legend, but also objectifies and externalizes it as an item of humanist antiquarian discourse. Strozzi posits that a conventional account of the Este's Trojan roots is something humanists would agree upon in learned yet casual environments. His reluctance to make good on the proemial promise that he himself will tell of the *exordia gentis* may thus result not merely from his obedience to the rule of epic poetry – never to tell things in the *ordo naturalis* – but also from a wish to delegate some of the scholarly responsibility implied in his narrative to a wider circle of experts.

3 Trojan Turks in the Humanist Latin Epic

It was the same humanist enthusiasm and diligence in rediscovering actual or supposed antiquities that led to the demise of most of the claims to Trojan ancestry. Probably not the starting point, but a major catalyst for this development was the effort made by Pius II to denounce the idea of the *Turci* being descendants of the phonetically similar *Teucri*, for which purpose he, when still a cardinal, had the Greek Nicolaus Sagundinus find proof for a Scythian origin of the Turks.[26] Humanism, with its historical concept of demise and rebirth of the ideal classical culture, had to create friction with those former notions not only in that they based themselves on the presupposition of continuity – *translatio*[27] –but also on the grounds of a newfound individual dignity of nations and cultures other than Rome.[28] It should be stressed, though, that for

26 The letter with Sagundinus' report is edited as an appendix to Pius' *Carmina*, ed. A. van Heck, Studi e Testi 364 (Vatican City: 1994) 217–225. See Görich, "Troia" 133–134, and Helmrath J., "Pius II. und die Türken", in Guthmüller B. – Kühlmann W. (eds.), *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance* (Tübingen: 2000) 79–138, here 87, who stress that disregarding the impact or non-impact of Pius' writings about the Turks in the political and military fields, their value as a source for the intellectual climate of the encounter between East and West is paramount. Cf. also Meserve M., "From Samarkand to Scythia: Reinventions of Asia in Renaissance Geography and Political Thought", in Martels Z.R.W.M. – Vanderjagt A.J. (eds.), *Pius II – 'El Più Expeditivo Pontifice': Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini* (*1405–1464*), Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 117 (Leiden: 2003) 13–39, here 17–35.

27 Garber, "Trojaner" 145–154.

28 Garber, "Trojaner" 154–163.

most of the early modern period, the scholarly effort to gain actual knowledge about origins and history of the Turks was far from all-encompassing.[29]

4 How the West was Won – Fate, Vengeance, and Dynasty in Gian Mario Filefo's (1426–1480) 'Amyris'

To contrast Strozzi's relative nonchalance towards the Trojan forebears of the d'Este, I want to turn to an epic poet who very much embraces the idea of an authoritative genealogical line and purpose behind the Trojans' and their descendants' way through history, and exploits it to create a cultural middle ground, at least in the form of a consistent poetic fiction. Gian Mario Filelfo's (1426–1480) *Amyris*,[30] a work from the first half of the 1470s, deals with the Turkish menace, which is a sort of cosmic microwave background in most quattrocento Latin epics,[31] in a very special kind of way, in its hero Sultan Mehmed II, conqueror of Constantinople, because the poem was, at least in its original version, a contracted work for a businessman from Ancona, Lillo Othman Ferducci, for whom reaffirming his ties with the Ottoman court was of vital entrepreneurial import and who therefore in the early 1470s ordered a Latin epic to dedicate to the sultan.[32] Subject matters and panegyric context

29 Even when contacts and acquaintances grew and information about the host society of tradesmen in the Levant became economically virulent, there were cases of 'cultivated ignorance' and 'proactive […] ignoring', as Zwierlein C., "Coexistence and Ignorance: What Europeans in the Levant did not read (ca. 1620–1750)", in Zwierlein C. (ed.), *The Dark Side of Knowledge: Histories of Ignorance, 1400 to 1800*, Intersections. Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 46 (Leiden – Boston: 2016) 225–265, here 256–257, shows.

30 Recent readings of the *Amyris* featuring biographical details on the author are Bihrer A., "Der Feind als Held. Türkische Heroen in der italienischen Renaissance: Gian Mario Filelfos *Amyris* im Kontext turkophiler Schriften des 15. Jahrhunderts", in Aurnhammer A. – Pfister M. (eds.), *Heroen und Heroisierungen in der Renaissance*, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung 28 (Wiesbaden: 2013) 165–180, and Peters, *Mythologie* 392–433. Filelfo, whose biography is summarized by Haye T., "Die *Cosmias* des Giovanni Mario Filelfo", in Baker P. – Kaiser R. – Priesterjahn M. – Helmrath J. (eds.), *Portraying the Prince in the Renaissance: The Humanist Depiction of Rulers in Historiographical and Biographical Texts*, Transformationen der Antike 44 (Berlin – Boston: 2016) 271–286, here 271–274, with further literature, suffered heavy insults from twentieth-century philology for praising the sultan; cf. Belloni A., *Il poema epico e mitologico*, Storia dei Generi Letterari Italiani 8 (Milan: 1912) 107.

31 Conspicuous examples are Basinio da Parma's *Hesperis* and Tito Strozzi's *Borsias* (see below, Conclusion), cf. Peters, *Mythologie* 38–392.

32 Filelfo's father already had, in a Greek letter from 1454, offered – next to what ransom he could afford – especially his rhetorical skills for the praise of the sultan in exchange for the freedom of his mother-in-law, Manfredina Chrysolorina, and two of her daughters, who had been sold as slaves after the sack of Constantinople, cf. Filelfo, *Epistolarum Libri*

apparently situate the poem in the flagrant discourse among humanists on where to locate the origin of the Turks.[33] What is more, the early 1470s had seen a new rise of publicist interest (for the first time coinciding with the spread of printing technology) in the events in the Greek east with the sack of Venetian Euboea (Negroponte) in July 1470, which provoked a widespread response of politically endorsed, printed *lamenti* and other poetry, Latin and vernacular, on the horrific events that marked a new milestone of what was perceived as the Turks' unstoppable march on the Latin West.[34]

XII, 4, 7–9. See also Hankins J., "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995) 111–207, here 130.

33 See the most comprehensive bibliography on the topic in Helmrath, "Pius II.", n. 25. Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders" 135–144, gives a concise survey of the competing and conflicting theories on the *origo Turcarum*; Meserve M., *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, Harvard Historical Studies 158 (Cambridge, MA – London: 2008) 22–64, treats the issue in more detail. In a recent study Döring K.D., *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert. Mit einem Katalog der europäischen Türkendrucke bis 1500*, Historische Studien 503 (Husum: 2013) 173–176, while discussing the deep interconnection between political agitation and ethnographic expertise in the treatise by Sagundinus and its intellectual context, shows that Sagundinus actually was a far-sighted and profound expert on Turkish matters, the political usage of his knowledge notwithstanding. Höfert A., *Den Feind beschreiben. 'Türkengefahr' und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600*, Campus Historische Studien 35 (Frankfurt/Main: 2003) 170, 185–186, and 197, touches upon the origins of the Turkish-Trojan legend only superficially, without underpinning the political motives behind its disintegration or connecting it to the work of Sagundinus. On the stance Greek intellectuals took towards the Turkish issue in exile, cf. Schwoebel R., *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (Nieuwkoop: 1967) 153–166. The political dimension of courtly art having 'Turkish' Trojans as a subject matter is analysed convincingly with regard to the visual arts by Harper, who traces the flourishing and the decline of Trojans looking Turkish in frescoes, tapestry, etc. during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; cf. Harper J., "Turks as Trojans, Trojans as Turks: Visual Imagery of the Trojan War and the Politics of Cultural Identity in Fifteenth-Century Europe", in Kabir A.J. – Williams D. (eds.), *Postcolonial Approaches to the Middle Ages: Translating Cultures* (Cambridge: 2005) 151–179, here 155–170. Most striking is his example of the 'Hall of Troy' in Mantua, in which the iconographic programme undergoes a shift to an unfavourable depiction of 'Turkish' Trojans in the moment of the Gonzaga duke's marriage to a Byzantine princess in exile. Schwoebel, *The Shadow* 188–189, shows, by the example of the German pilgrim Felix Fabri, that a detailed and affirmative account of the Ottomans' Trojan origins would, from a Christian standpoint, still not lead to the acknowledgement of their claim to Greece as a legitimate one.

34 See Meserve M., "News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press", *Renaissance Quarterly* 59, 2 (2006) 440–480, especially 445, where Meserve emphasizes the humanist dominance in the discourse on the events that is illustrated by the dominance of literary renderings of the events instead of mere news bulletins. Meserve speaks in favour of the vernacular writings, when she states that 'the ballads embody a sort of organically grown urban discourse while the highly artificial humanist Latin confections represent little more than the personal ambitions of the men who composed them.'; cf. ibidem 461. A valuable observation is the

The *Amyris* takes its starting point from one particularly controversial aspect of this discourse that is exemplified vibrantly by the Turks' most ardent adversary in the West, Pius II.[35] Analyses of his speeches and writings have shown the massive employment of classical political rhetoric by the pope in his advertisement of a new crusade.[36] The aspects by which Pius tried to reprove the Turks – most of which, as we shall see, Filelfo is eager to falsify – are following various strategies of agitation. Next to denouncing the wrathful, voluptuous, and unreliable character of the Turkish people as a whole and of Mehmed II as an individual,[37] he employs primarily an argument based on ethnographical concepts – either using an innovation, by declaring the Turks descendants of the Scythians,[38] or by falsifying contemporary figurations of the Turks as the rightful heirs to Troy. How virulent this latter idea was can be observed an account of the Byzantine historian Kritoboulos of Imbros, who dedicated his work to the conqueror of Constantinople. In a chapter of the fourth book, he shows the sultan's acts honouring the Trojan heroes in what he believed to be the ruins of Troy, thereby imitating Alexander the Great in his envy of both

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fact that the new technology was endorsed for the spread of poetically processed news by ambitious humanists, who tried to appeal to future patrons, but hardly ever by leading intellectuals of the day to further actual political agitation; cf. ibidem 467–469.

35 In that the aspects in which Pius tries to denounce the sultan betray what the pope's contemporaries might have considered acceptable or approvable concerning the Turkish monarch and his military ambitions, cf. Helmrath, "Pius II." 114–115.

36 Helmrath, "Pius II." 92–98; Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders" 115–135; Schmugge L., *Die Kreuzzüge aus der Sicht humanistischer Geschichtsschreiber*, Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel 21 (Basel: 1987), and Schmugge L., "'Deus lo vult?' Zu den Wandlungen der Kreuzzugsidee im Mittelalter", in Schreiner K. – Müller-Luckner E. (eds.), *Heilige Kriege. Religiöse Begründung militärischer Gewaltanwendung: Judentum, Christentum und Islam im Vergleich*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs 78 (Munich: 2008) 93–108, here 104–106. As for the epic fashioning of the ideal Western leader for a campaign or crusade, see Schaffenrath F., "Riccardo Bartolinis *Austrias* (1516) oder: Wie ein Herrscher zum Feldherrn gegen die Türken wird", in Baker P. – Kaiser R. – Priesterjahn M. – Helmrath J. (eds.), *Portraying the Prince in the Renaissance: The Humanist Depiction of Rulers in Historiographical and Biographical Texts*, Transformationen der Antike 44 (Berlin – Boston: 2016) 193–213, who analyses how Riccardo Bartolini's *Austrias* shapes an image of Emperor Maximilian I as the obvious leader of the Turkish war.

37 Helmrath, "Pius II." 104–106 and 111–114.

38 An idea that, of course, permeated into poetry as well; cf. e.g. Marsi Paolo, *De crudeli Eurapontinae urbis excidio sacrosanctae religionis christianae lamentatio* ([Rome, Silius Italicus: ca. 1471]), an early printed work appearing shortly after the sack of Negroponte and offering an epicized eyewitness account of the events; it speaks of a 'Caucasian army', 'swarming in from the frozen plains' ('Caucaseum gelidis agmenque irrupit ab arvis', fol. 1 v), and later on explicitly calls the Turks a *Scythica gens* (fol. 7 v). On the *Lamentatio*, see Meserve, "News" 459–460.

the ancient heroes' deeds and their luck to have had a poet to celebrate them, to then declare the sultan's conquests of Byzantine territories as acts of vengeance for the Trojan War:

> Καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον κατεθεᾶτο τά τε ἐρείπια τούτου καὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῆς παλαιᾶς πόλεως Τροίας καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν θέσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῆς χώρας ἐπιτηδειότητα καὶ ὡς ἔκειτο γής καὶ θαλάσσης ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡρώων τοὺς τάφους ἱστόρει, Ἀχιλλέως τέ φημι καὶ Αἴαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἐπῄνεσε καὶ ἐμακάρισε τούτους τῆς τε μνήμης καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὅτι ἔτυχον ἐπαινέτου Ὁμήρου τού ποιητοῦ· ὅτε λέγεται καὶ μικρὸν συγκινήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰπεῖν· "ἐμὲ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς οἰκητόρων ἐν τοσούτοις περιόδοις ἐτῶν ἐκδικητὴν ἐταμιεύετο ὁ θεός· ἐχειρωσάμην γὰρ τοὺς τούτων ἐχθροὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις αυτῶν ἐπόρθησα καὶ Μυσῶν λείαν τὰ τούτων πεποίημαι. Ἕλληνες γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ Θετταλοὶ καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι οἱ ταύτην πάλαι πορθήσαντες, ὧν οἱ ἀπόγονοι τοσούτοις ἐς ὕστερον περιόδοις ἐνιαυτῶν νῦν ἐμοὶ τὴν δίκην ἀπέτισαν διά τε τὴν τότε ἐς τοὺς Ἀσιανοὺς ἡμᾶς καὶ πολλάκις γενομένην ἐς ὕστερον ὕβριν αὐτῶν".
>
> And when he came to Ilion, he beheld its ruins and the traces of the old city of Troy for a long time, its size and its position, the general amenity of the landscape and the advantages of the site towards both the land and the sea. What is more, he went to the graves of the heroes, that is: the ones of Achilles and Ajax and the others, and praised them, calling them blessed both thanks to their fame and because they had found the singer of their praise in Homer. Gently moving his head, he is said to have uttered: 'God spared me for all those years, so I could become the avenger of this city and its inhabitants. I have subdued its enemies, destroyed their cities and turned their possessions into a "Mysians' prey". For it was the Greeks, Macedonians, Thessalians and Peloponnesians, who once razed this city to the ground, whose descendants now, after so many years, have paid to me for their hybris against us Asians back then and on many later occasions'.[39]

Thus, the Sultan's expedition to what he considered the ruins of Troy was an anecdote from recent history, the circulation of which Mehmed approved of. What his historian Kritoboulos has him declare on-site provides him with double authorization as a ruler and a commander-in-chief. Visiting the memorial site of the Trojan and Greek heroes places Mehmed in a long tradition

39 Kritoboulos of Imbros, *Historiae*, ed. D.R. Reinsch, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 22 (Berlin – New York: 1983) IV, 11, 5.

that includes Caesar, and even Alexander. However, Mehmed surpasses both of these ancient rulers by understanding an age-old call to arms emanating from the Trojan graves that is addressed to him in particular. More than merely imitating and emulating heroic virtues of old, he accepts the historic mission to take revenge for the injustice done to his ancestors. In the Latin West this specific idea, which mostly hinged upon the etymology of *Turci* from *Teucri*, was considered explosive enough that Pius II commissioned a rebuttal of this theory by the Byzantine exile scholar Nicolaus Sagundinus. The epic echoes of this controversy will be addressed again later.

Back to the *Amyris*: Tracing the Sultan's conquests in the narrative of Filelfo's epic one by one would be tedious and exceed the scope of this paper – rather, let us hear how the Sultan himself, in an apostrophe to the Greeks, summarizes the gist of his mission:

> Namque Phryges nisi vos, Graeci, tot funera passos
> Oppressissetis, regnumque a culmine totum
> Corporaque ampla virum vinclis et carcere duro
> Vestra manus traheret, nisi tanta incendia belli
> Ex Helenes moechae vitio commissa fuissent,
> Rex Mahomettus ea nunc vos non mente tulisset
> In praeceps, nec vellet eis committere bellum
> Cum quibus ulla foret non causa, nec ullus habendi
> Adiectus stimulus.[40]

Anything the Greeks are presently suffering is justified because of their forefathers' unjust war against the Trojans. Shadow is also cast on the morals of Western *moecha* Helena, who out of petty desire draws her entire world into war – especially if this passage is read against what the epic Mehmed announces earlier, in book one, where he promises to avenge the violence against the bravest of the Trojan virgins:

> Namque litabo tuo cineri quandoque Pelasgos,
> Ut nostra Aeacidae tam pulchra Polyxena quondam
> Fertur amatori iniusta ratione litatata.

40 Filelfo Gian Mario, *Amyris*, ed. A Manetti (Bologna: 1978) 3, 566–574.: 'For had you, Greeks, not overwhelmed the Phrygians, who suffered the deaths of so many, and had your hand not drawn the valiant bodies of heroes from the height of rule in chains and captivity, had there not been so many fires of war risen from the fault of the adulterous Helena, king Mehmed wouldn't have brought about your downfall now with this in mind, and wouldn't want to wage war against those with whom he wouldn't have any quarrel otherwise, and no desire to conquer whatsoever'.

> I will appease your ashes by sacrificing the Greeks one day, like they say our fair Polyxena once was offered in a nefarious manner to make atonement for Achilles who had loved her.[41]

Gian Mario Filelfo's poetical wit resorted to de- and re-contextualizing these acts of political symbolism into the genre whence it originally came. I want to illustrate this with two more examples. First, he uses his domain as an epic poet as an instrument to create new mythic-historical fiction: He inserts a new element into the family tree from which all pretensions to a Trojan ancestry by European rulers had sprung, that of King Priam. But instead of inventing just another hitherto unknown son or grandson of Priam or Hector, he speaks of a certain Othman as *quartus proavus* of Erichthonius, who would, depending on how one reckons, at least be a grandfather of the eponymous Teucer, whose namesake people and their family ties with the *Turci* were so heavily contested:

> […] Othman nam maximus ille
> Quartus Ericthonio proavus fuit; ille relatus
> Chaldaeo quandoque solo, bellisque fugatus
> Persarum strepitu, Phrygiam superaverat oram,
> Et Lyciam, Mysasque truces.
>
> For that great Othman was the fourth great-grandfather of Erichthonius; one day, carried to Chaldean soil, and chased away by the Persians' sabre-rattling, he conquered the Phrygian shore, Lycia and the savage Mysians.[42]

With this fiction, a very peculiar variety of what Karl Enenkel calls a 'Stammbaumimplantat' in the case of the sixth *Panegyricus Latinus*,[43] Filelfo not only constructs a foundation for depicting Mehmed's conquests as a rightful act of retribution, but might also be alluding to the self-fashioning of the Christian adversary, Pius II, as an *alter Aeneas*, who by calling together Europe's powers for a new crusade, would found Rome and Western civilization once again. Filelfo develops a similar link between prehistoric past and present: Osman I, depending on the semantics of *proavus* possibly also highlighted by Filelfo as the *quartus proavus* of Mehmed II, is shown as the one who reclaims

41 Filelfo, *Amyris* I, 994–995. For the role of violence as a legitimate means to contain (sacrilegious) violence in founding myths, see Kellner, *Ursprung* 146–147.

42 Filelfo, *Amyris* I, 476–480.

43 Enenkel K., "Panegyrische Geschichtsmythologisierung und Propaganda. Zur Interpretation des Panegyricus Latinus VI", *Hermes* 128 (2000) 91–128, here 103.

what has rightfully been his since the times of the prehistoric Othman. As the founder of the Ottoman dynasty and conqueror of large parts of Asia Minor, Osman lived up to his prehistoric ancestor and typological role model far better than the Western *Pius Aeneas*. How so? Mehmed, in an elaborate and lengthy *Hercules in bivio* – like scene, is tempted by Venus, who tries to talk him out of waging war against the Christians, but he does heed the virtuous option proposed by Bellona.[44] Thus, at the same time, the Romans are flawed by their unwarlike goddess, whom the greatest of their generals had even claimed as his ancestor.[45]

Filelfo does not stop at justifying the Turks' supposed campaign of vengeance using genealogical fiction: He also transfers the divine *telos* of the Augustan model *Aeneid* to the conquests of his hero Mehmed. Right after the beginning of the *Amyris*, the birth and infancy of the future ruler are treated, and with them, the portents and prodigies that accompanied them.

> Namque ubi liquisset nondum cunabula, visa
> Flama fuit cinxisse caput; miratur alumna,
> Ancillaeque instant flagrantem extinguere. Sed res,
> Fatiferi ostensura viri memorabile signum,
> Prosequitur commissa sibi, celsasque per aedis
> Labitur, et Pursae complectitur amphitheatrum.
> Concurrunt proceres, quaeruntque quid inclyta flamis
> Regia tam diris urbsque undique tota cremetur.
> Denique conspiciunt purum super aethera ferri
> Hunc ignem, nec obesse urbi, nec gentibus ullis,
> Nec domui regis. Portenta ea sola fuisse,
> Ex quibus infantis Mahometti gloria cerni
> Posset et egregium decus et virtutis imago;
> Haud decernentes quae multa incendia dicat

44 Bihrer, "Der Feind" 174–180, shows how Filelfo concentrates his angle of view on the military excellence of the sultan to signpost which of his qualities not even Westerners could question.

45 Filelfo, *Amyris* 1, 232–235: 'At Caesar, cui tantus honos, quem progenitorem / Erexere tui, nonne est quandoque remissus / Et Veneri ascriptus, quando est ea sola voluptas / Quae generat terris quidquid laudatur in amplis?' ('But Caesar, upon whom so much honour was bestowed, and whom your people made their forebear, didn't he ease off from time to time, and don't they ascribe him to Venus, since she is the only joy that creates anything that receives praise in the wide world'). In addition, an allusion to the Judgement of Paris may be intended in order to further augment Mehmed's moral superiority. This can be corroborated by intertextual reference to the account of the myth in Ovid's *Heroides*; cf. Peters, *Mythologie* 407.

Ignis is illorum patriae, quos castra sequentur
Discordes animis, quamquam ampla laude beatos.
Certus Amorattim tunc nuncius ante parentem
Admonet, inde omnis populosque ducesque, quid instet
Sperandum Othmannis praeclaro sanguine cretis
Troados eximiae stirpis, quam Iupiter, alto
Prospiciens solio, tanto decoraret honore.[46]

The reader sees baby Mehmed in his cradle, when suddenly a ring of fire engulfs the future sultan's head. The nurse and the maids at court are stricken with awe and terror and try to extinguish the flames. They do not succeed, but the flames turn out to be harmless and are then seen to spread out to the city of Bursa, where the scene is set, embracing its ancient amphitheatre. The court is rushing together, trying to interpret the signs that eventually rise up to the sky. Mehmed's father, the ruling sultan Murad II, feels reaffirmed about the great expectations his son aroused within the Ottoman dynasty.

Now, what to make of this? At first glance, Filelfo is merely imitating the fire prodigy seen on Ascanius' head in the second book of the *Aeneid*, forming part of the *Iliupersis* and marking the decision to leave Troy in search of a new home in the West[47] – as Claudian had already done in his panegyric on

46 Filelfo, *Amyris* I, 15–37: 'For even before he had left his cradle, a flame was seen to encircle his head; his nurse is astonished, the maids are rushing to extinguish the burning child. Then an event granted to him takes place, revealing a memorable sign of how fateful this man would be, and [the flame] soars through the high palace and hovers around the amphitheatre of Bursa. The nobles run together and wonder if the famous palace and with it the entire town were about be burnt down altogether. Finally, they see that fire ascend into the clear sky, not harming the city or any of its inhabitants, or the royal house. That this was only a foreboding sign, from which the future fame of young Mehmed was to be seen, his outstanding honour and exemplary virtue; they do not understand, however, how much destruction this fire predicted for their homelands, whom, valiant, yet estranged in their hearts, war would reach in the end. Then, a reliable messenger informs first Murad, the father, then all the peoples and their leaders, what to hope for from the Ottomans, born from the noble blood of great Trojan ancestry, onto whom Jupiter, looking down from his high throne, bestows such honour'.

47 Virgil, *Aeneid* II, 679–691: 'Talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat, / Cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum. / Namque manus inter maestorumque ora parentum / Ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli / Fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis / Lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci. / Nos pavidi trepidare metu crinemque flagrantem / Excutere et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis' ('So crying, she filled all the house with moaning; when a sudden portent appears, wondrous to tell. For between the hands and faces of his sad parents, from above the head of Iulus a light tongue of flame was seen to shed a gleam and, harmless in its touch, lick his soft locks and

the fourth consulship of Honorius.[48] However, unlike the Virgilian model, the city of Bursa is not burning and will not burn anytime soon. Instead, the poet insinuates that another city will burn, i.e. Constantinople, and great misery will come to that city's inhabitants. Thus, Filelfos constructs a direct analogy between Aeneas heeding the *telos* of fate in history towards the foundation of the Roman Empire and Mehmed II heeding the *telos* towards completing the foundation of the Ottoman Empire by conquering Constantinople. To corroborate this, we must turn to a small but crucial detail through which Filelfo is deliberately manipulating the historical facts. When in his text he speaks of Bursa as the site of Mehmed's birth and childhood, he seemingly errs, as the capital and residence of the Ottomans had been Adrianople (Edirne) for a few years after its conquest by Mehmed's great-grandfather Murad I in 1362. Filelfo, who was born in 1426 in Constantinople, had studied in the Byzantine capital from 1439 to 1441 and was connected to the Byzantine nobility via family ties, and he would have been sufficiently informed to know in which direction, seen from the Eastern Roman capital, its mortal enemy had been lurking for decades. Now, what Filelfo achieves by messing with information about contemporary politics is the ability to model Mehmed's conquests even closer to the *Aeneid*. This way, Mehmed's campaign to fulfil heavenly sanctioned *telos* leads him West, from Asia to Europe, like Aeneas. Had he started his career in the *Amyris* from Adrianople, west of Constantinople and on European soil, this literary device would have been far less effective. We do not need to stretch as far as modern readings of the *Aeneid*, which trace the lure of Virgilian *fatum* urging westwards expansion as far as the Old West frontier, Vietnam, or the moon,[49] to see that myth-laden topography held promise for a humanist poet: Perhaps the most elaborate and ingenious panegyric epic poem of the Quattrocento, Basinio Basini da Parma's *Hesperis*, was concerned enough about seeing its

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pasture round his temples. Trembling with alarm, we quickly shake out the blazing hair and quench with water the holy fires' – trans. Fairclough).

48 Claudian, ed. and trans. M. Platnauer, Loeb Classical Library 135–136, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA – London: 1922), *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of Emperor Honorius* 182–202. Cf. very recently Ware C., *Claudian and the Roman Epic Tradition* (Cambridge: 2012) 90–97.

49 Waswo R., *The Founding Legend of Western Civilization: From Virgil to Vietnam* (Hanover, NH: 1997). For criticism of the East/West-dualism in the *Aeneid*, see Reed J.D., *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the 'Aeneid'* (Princeton – Oxford: 2007) 3–7. There is a recent assessment of the ideological implications of spatial absorption via escape and foundation (in the *Aeneid*) or imperial conquest (in Petrarch's *Africa*) in Huss B. – König G. – Winkler A., *Chronotopik und Ideologie im Epos*, GRM-Beiheft 76 (Heidelberg: 2016) 64–95 and 123–166. For medieval notions on this transition from East to West, see Kellner, *Ursprung* 134.

hero, Sigismondo Malatesta, move west, despite actually facing an enemy *from* the west, i.e. Aragonese Spain, that it made him embark on a fictitious journey to the Isle of the Blessed.[50]

Even while tampering with political geography on purpose, Filelfo still uses his profound knowledge of humanist philology and antiquarianism: The fire prodigy is not only recognized by the court and people of Bursa and the Ottoman Empire as a sign of future victory for their 'Trojan kin' (*Troados stirps*), but also Jupiter is verified as its author. He can cast his benevolent gaze upon the city quite comfortably from his 'high throne' (*alto prospiciens solio*), since Bursa is situated beneath the slopes of the Uludag, a mountain range, known to antiquity as the *Olympus* of Bithynia, as Filelfo could know from Strabon or Pliny, both Major and Minor.[51]

Thus, Filelfo has the Turks and Mehmed II equipped with a full-blown Virgilian *telos*, and all the birthrights deriving from it, to face the European adversaries as equals, while sweeping the Greeks away; plus, he provides an additional notion of primacy by not having in their ancestry the bloodline of Venus, whom the poem denounces as an obstacle to virtue and glory. Therefore, within the epic coordinates of the *Amyris*, Mehmed is fully justified when he announces exactly what humanist discourse suspected his motivation to be. Gian Mario Filelfo's reworking of the Turkish aggression as an act of retribution for the former crimes of the Greeks is probably the most elaborate and in many respects the most subtle version of a very common motif employed by humanist poets and writers. Earlier poetic treatments of the sack of Constantinople feature depictions of the sexualized violence inflicted upon the women in the conquered city, most prominently in Ubertino Pusculo's eyewitness epic account *Constantinopolis*:

> Femineis resonant ululatibus omnia tecta,
> Diripiuntque domos Teucri, sacrataque templa,
> Thesauros rapiunt veteres; puerique puellae
> Et matres, pulchraeque nurus in castra trahuntur,
> Captivique viri.
>
> Every home resounds with the cries of women, and the Trojans loot the houses and the sacred temples, they rob them of their ancient treasures;

50 Cf. Peters, *Mythologie* 202–213.

51 Strobel K., "Prusa, Prusa ad Olympum", in *Der Neue Pauly*, 15 vols. (Stuttgart, Metzler: 1996–2002), vol. X (2001) 490–491.

> boys and girls alike, mothers and fair maidens are drawn to the encampment, as well as the men in captivity.[52]

Elsewhere, Pusculo takes the Janissary corps, an Ottoman elite troop made up of Christians who had been abducted as children and forced to convert, as evidence that the Sultan's sexual transgressions do not refrain from boys. Filippo da Rimini, the Venetian chancellor of the isle of Corfu, tells how the Sultan himself ceremonially raped a daughter from the imperial family in the Hagia Sophia as an act of retribution for the rape of Cassandra in the Trojan War.[53] Filelfo counters this strategy of Western humanists to discredit the Ottomans on the grounds of their supposed moral, and particularly sexual, depravity by underlining that it had been the Greeks who threw the first rock ages ago.

5 How the East was Lost – Trojan Retribution from a Christian Point of View

Beyond these generic insults against a conqueror deemed barbaric, however, Filelfo is by far not the only one to make an epic figure out of Mehmed II in the model of a vengeful Trojan heir. Either aspect – a supposed Trojan ancestry of the Turks or their conquests as retribution for the sack of Troy – plays a role in other contemporary epic poetry as well, so Filelfo may be understood as a challenge to their assumptions regarding Greek guilt and Trojan vengeance. The Turks' vengeance for the suffering of their Trojan ancestors also is palpable, albeit more subtly, in Ubertino Pusculo's epic, when it tells of Mehmed's westward campaign:

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52 Pusculo Ubertino, *Constantionopoleos libri IV*, ed. A. Ellissen, in A. Ellissen (ed.), *Analekten der mittel – und neugriechischen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: 1855–1862), vol. III, 1 (1857), appendix, 4, 1056–1060. Depictions of sexual violence against Greek women persist in anti-Turk poetry, e.g. on the sack of Negroponte in 1470, cf. Paolo Marsi's *Lamentatio Christianae Religionis* fol. 7 r: 'Virgineus nudatur honos, omnemque per urbem / Traxerunt nudas barbara mo[n]stra nurus' ('Stripped of all cover is the virgins' chastity, and the barbarian monsters drag the naked girls all through the city').

53 Meserve, *Empires* 37. Francesco Filelfo, in a long letter from 1464 offering – probably unsolicited – strategic advice to the Venetian doge Cristoforo Moro on the Republic's steps against the Turks, at times turns into a veritable rant against Mehmed's character, and depicts in detail the sumptuous infrastructure the sultan purportedly maintained for the fulfilment of his rapacious sexual desires, with *satellites* scouting for and administering the boys and girls for the sultan to rape; cf. Filelfo Francesco, *Epistolarum libri*, ed. J. de Keyser, 4 vols. (Alessandria: 2015) XXI, 1, 184–203.

[…] Mycenas,
Regis Troianum qui regnum evertit Atridae
Sedem olim primam, tunc Phryx obsederat, altis
Montibus, et fortem, generosamque aere, Corinthum.[54]

Florentinus Liquenaius, a jurisprudent from Tours who did not leave any other mark on fifteenth-century Latin literary history, composed a short work by the name of *De Constantinopolitana destructione sive De Troianorum in Grecos ultione*, which already in its title lays bare Liquenaius' adoption of the idea of a Turkish vengeance for the sack of Troy. The work was written in the late 1450s and is preserved in two early prints.[55] It treats the last stand of the Byzantine in the battle for Constantinople and the Turks' ultimate victory with a special emphasis on the cruelty and the war crimes committed by the Ottoman conquerors, to end in a passionate appeal to the Greeks to reclaim their lost territories with Western aid. For our topic, we shall focus on the divine consultations at the beginning of the narrative. They imitate the prophecy Jupiter reassures Venus with in the first book of the *Aeneid* and tie the latter's sorrowful plea to the political realities of the 1450s. Venus, whose miserable appearance adopts elements of the depiction of the personified *Roma* in Claudian's *Bellum Gildonicum*,[56] addresses Jupiter, urges him to take a stand and offer help. She recalls the destruction of Troy, the dispersion of the survivors and, most of all, the revenge Jupiter had promised her as the patron of the Trojans.

Summe Pater, qui fata regis, qui tela gigantum
Fulmine delesti, tua vana potentia visque?
Oblitusne mei es? Memoras Danaumne ruinis
Immeritis quae passa fui? […]
[…]
Tu quoque Troiugenum fatorum archana repandens
Ossibus ex nostris ultorem sepe futurum
Pollicitus; steteratque mihi solamen id unum.
Que tua mens? Nunquam Troianos ultus acerbe
Martia cum Grecis furibundus bella parabis,

54 Pusculo, *Constantinopolis* II, 81–84: 'The Phrygian first conquered Mycenae, once residence of the king from the house of Atreus, who overthrew the Trojan realm, then Corinth, strong with mountains high and ennobled by its richness in bronze'; for Pusculo's anti-Greek bias, cf. Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders" 143.

55 Liquenaius Florentinus, *De Destructione Constantinopolitana* (Paris, Antoine Denidel: ca. 1500). What little is known about the author and the early prints in which the work appeared is collected in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. VIII (1978) nos. 10045 and 10046.

56 Claudian, *Bellum Gildonicum* 17–127.

> Et, tua bellorum cui summa potentia, Mars, est?
> Hectoris indomiti velox ulciscere funus.
> Aspera gens bello viget, et validissimus oris
> Morbezanus in his dominatur corde feroci.
> Eya age, bella ciant sine Iuppiter optime divum!
>
> Highest father, have you, who rules fate, who smote the giants' weapons with a thunderbolt, forgotten about me? Has your power and your might come to naught? Don't you remember what I suffered by the destruction wrought upon the Greeks undeservingly? […] You, as well, promised, when revealing the secrets of the Trojans' fate to me, that there would be many an avenger from our bones, and only that gave me comfort. Now what do you have in mind? Will you never furiously wage war against the Greeks, avenging the Trojans, or you, Mars, to whom is given the supreme command over warfare? Make haste and avenge the death of untameable Hector! A violent tribe is strong in war, and Morbezanus, the strongest of all, rules over their lands with a wild heart. Now then, Jupiter, greatest of the gods, permit them to unleash war![57]

One may note the allusion to Dido's words shortly before her suicide in the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, linking her thirst for revenge as a patron of Troy with the trail of destruction among other civilizations Aeneas' sense of duty towards the *fata* left behind, leading to the escalation of divine sentiments in the *Aeneid*.[58] While the Punic Wars avenge Dido's bleeding, the conquest of Constantinople requites the injustice committed by the Achaeans of old. However, the diachronic tension between the event that justified retribution and the retribution itself is stronger here than in the Virgilian model, as the distance between the two is much greater: The sack of Troy happened at least quite some time before Dido's suicide, while the Punic Wars are substantially earlier than the recent events in the Byzantine Empire – one teleology encapsulates the other. Unlike the *Aeneid*, Liquenaius' poem lets Mars intervene with a speech. He taunts Jupiter by implying that he may have lost his control

57 Liquenaius, *De destructione*, fol. 2v. 'Morbezanus' is a pseudonym for Mehmed II, by whose name several spurious letters to the pope circulated in the aftermath of the sack of Constantinople. Meserve, *Empires* 34–44, traces the *Morbezanus* literature. She also deals briefly with the poem by Liquenaius, cf. ibidem 40–41.

58 Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 625–627: 'Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor / Qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos, / Nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires' ('Arise from my ashes, unknown avenger, to harass the Trojan settlers with fire and sword – today, hereafter, whenever strength be ours!' – trans. Fairclough).

over fate, and then insists that the sack of Constantinople shall quench the Turkish-Trojan thirst for vengeance.

> Conditor eterne rerum, nunquam patietur
> Troia suos bellis ulcisci filia natos?
> Num tua fata regis? Et Grecos nonne potestur
> Armisonis Troie Teucro subvolvere telis?
> En manus armipotens et Morbezanus Achivos
> Odit. Diruere vice versa desine Grecos.
> Constantina ruat Troie pensando ruinam.
> Edicas igitur bellum, ne semper inulta
> Troia suum fleat occasum.
>
> Eternal founder of all, will our daughter Troy tolerate never avenging her sons in war? Do you even rule fate? Won't Teucer be able to subdue the Greeks under the clashing arms of Troy? Look, a powerful army and Morbezanus himself hate the Achaeans. Stop scattering the Greeks in their turn. The city of Constantine shall fall and atone for the ruin of Troy. Therefore, declare war, so that Troy will not bewail its downfall ever forth.[59]

This redundant involvement of the god of war makes, if nothing else, the ensuing order by Jupiter more affirmative of the Trojans' claim. Jupiter's mind is already made up, and he grants his children their wishes and thereby ensures the fulfilment of fate in history. Full atonement will be achieved only by the total submission of Greece under Turkish rule. Liquenaius' *ultio Turcorum* suggests a continuous thread of Fate overarching the gap between the heroic age and contemporary history, a thread that sees fulfilment no sooner than the author's own time or even later. Hence the vengeful Turks strike Greece *robore memori*; and in Liquenaius' work as well as in the *Aeneid*'s proem, Juno's *ira memor* is the reason for the Trojan refugees' suffering, *memor* occupying the same slot in both lines, respectively.

> Desine gnate meas vires incendere probris.
> Novi Troianos consumere posse Pelasgos
> Ulcisci Partumque suum Troiam potuisse
> Hectora sed fati series immobilis arctat
> Eventus rerum. Sunt expectanda diebus

59 Liquenaius, *De destructione*, fols. 2v–3r.

Tempora, quis victis Turcus dominabit Argis
Omnibus, et sacri populabitur atria ligni.
Fraudis Ulixee Troiam ulciscetur Achivos
Robore contundens memori, sparsosque per arva
Destruet Argolicos furiato Marte quirites.
Hoc ego iandudum conceptum mente revolvi:
Clara deum proles, tua te manet ultio digna.
Quid mea, nate, tuis sic verbis fata lacessis?

Son, stop fanning the flames of my power with your insults. I know that the Trojans are able to consume the Greeks and the Troy could have avenged its son Hector, but the unalterable course of fate narrows down the outcome of things. We will have to expect a time in which the Turk rules over all the Greeks, and will devastate the palaces of the True Cross. He will avenge Troy for the cunning of Ulysses, smiting the Achaeans with unforgiving strength, and annihilate the Argolians, scattered through their lands, with furious war. I have been going over this plan for a long time now: Illustrious offspring of the gods, you will have your rightful vengeance. So why do you, son, taunt with your speech the fate I control?[60]

The *Amyris*, when read against the backdrop of these poems, offers a positive interpretation of Mehmed's intentions, or at least it does not make them appear severely delusional. He is neither a wrathful savage nor in league with Satan. Rather, he makes a perfectly reasonable decision in front of a mythic-historical backdrop that had already benignly seen his Western opponents (or: relatives?) rise to glory. In the *Amyris*' logic, the descendants of Troy cannot deny one of their own the right to walk in their footsteps. There is, however, another reason this mythic-historical approach is more attractive. It dispends the author from the duty of depicting the Turkish march on Europe as a 'clash of religions'.[61] While earlier epic or epicizing appeals to the Europeans,[62] not least those made by Pius II,[63] urged them to unite against Mehmed in the role

60 Liquenaius, *De destructione*, fol. 3r–3v.

61 Note the valuable and cautious assessment in Gehrke, "Was heißt" 25, that the 'clash of civilizations', as formulated by Samuel Huntington, has only a limited validity for matters of the Turkish issue in the early modern period.

62 An early but already very elaborate poetic intervention is the verse epistle Leonardo Dati sent to Pope Nicholas V, *In Thurcum Mahomet*, which is edited in Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders" 169–176, and analysed in Peters, *Mythologie* 433–438.

63 There is also a poetic branch of Pius' tireless efforts of advertising a new crusade, namely two longer pieces in his *Carmina*. The first one strictly rejects the idea of a Trojan ancestry

of Satan's accomplice or disciple, the continuous defeats of the Europeans would ask of the epic poet to show Christianity losing to Satan over and over again. The urgency of a concerted European response to the Turkish threat notwithstanding, this type of didactic-protreptic tough love would have struck a fifteenth-century reader not only as unpleasant, but as downright un-epic. This is not the case when showing Sultan Mehmed calling in debts from the times before Christian revelation was even an issue. To be sure, Filelfo explicitly states that the whole conflict is not about religion:

> Nam locus hic fidei non est reserare volumen,
> Scindere nec lites sectarum.
>
> For this is not the right place to open the book on belief, nor to tackle the quarrels of religious factions.[64]

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of the Turks. Instead, it endorses the notion of a Scythian origin of the Ottomans, cf. the poem in Piccolomini Enea Silvio, *Carmina*, ed. A. van Heck, Studi e Testi 364 (Vatican: 1994) 101, 11–12: 'Non hoc Dardanidum genus est nec sanguine Teucro / Ducit avos: Scythica est tetraque barbaries' ('They are not a Dardanian people, nor have they forefathers of Trojan blood: They are a ghastly barbarian tribe from Scythia'). When he makes the strong opposition against upgrading the Turks to Trojans a prominent point of his poem and states – seemingly uncalled for – who they do not descend from, Pius illustrates how common this ethnographic attribution was at the time and how dangerous it was considered to be by its chief antagonist. Cf. the short note on Pius' anti-Turk poems in Helmrath, "Pius II." 98. Mark also that, despite his fierce opposition to the etymology in question, earlier on in his career Pius had used the name *Teucri* for the Turks without any further reflection or hesitancy, as his epitaph for Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, who had perished in the battle of Varna in 1444, lays bare; cf. Pius II, *Carmina* 128, 5–6.

64 Filelfo, *Amyris* I, 46–47. Some years earlier, his father Francesco Filelfo, with whom he seems not to have corresponded about their respective epic projects, had urged Venetian doge Cristoforo Moro to eradicate the *Mahumetanorum secta* altogether. Tellingly, in the few instances when Christianity prevailed against a Turkish campaign, the Christian colouring of poetry kicks back in – like in the case of the *Triumphus Hydruntinus*, a short epic from 1482 celebrating the liberation of Otranto one year before; cf. Probo da Sulmona Marco, *Triumphus Hydruntinus*, ed. M. Pisani Massarmomile (Naples: 1979). In this text, the pagan gods and heroes in Greece literally pack their bags and flee westwards to those better equipped to protect them, while the bastions of real Christendom, like Rhodes, withstand the Turkish storm, probably also because not only did they do away with paganism, but they also did not give in to the schismatic aberrations of the Eastern church; cf. Peters, *Mythologie* 438–448. The sieges of Rhodes and Otranto were met with publicist interest in the early printing business as well; cf. Meserve, "News" 444–445. Both for success and setbacks in the Turkish war, very similar aspects and strategies could be poetically employed. Schindler C., "*Barbarico tingi sanguine vidit aquas*. Die Schlacht von Lepanto in der neulateinischen Dichtung", in Föcking M. – Schindler C. (eds.), *Der Krieg hat kein Loch. Friedenssehnsucht und Kriegsapologie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, GRM-Beiheft

Despite Filelfo's resourcefulness, this eccentric nuance of humanist approach to the Turkish issue also excludes the Turks from Europe, in that it renders them driven by the belated strive to avenge primordial injustice, thus making them incompatible with present. Whether the *Amyris* failed due to its philo-Turk stance or not,[65] it is an obvious failure when measured against its foremost intention, which was to be a stepping stone for the career of one of the most prolific humanist poets of the fifteenth century – a career which refused to kick into gear for most of his life. It is, however, a fascinating document of a humanist poet turning humanist philology and antiquarianism against themselves to shape a past that his addressee could endorse and that his addressee's enemies would not be able to debunk.

6 Conclusion

By epic means, Filelfo stresses primacy for the most unlikely contestant in a competition that put its candidates – think of Strozzi's *profugi* and their *incertus cursus* – at risk of becoming the stray dogs of history.[66] The Turkish-Trojan link may, then, also be vital in understanding Tito Strozzi's peculiar treatment of the Este genealogy, if we observe it once again under the issue of what's in a name: Strozzi conspicuously avoids calling the Turks anything other than *Getae* when in the first book the very *raison d'être* of the eponymous Borso d'Este is discussed by the Olympian gods, who then decide to cause his birth, in order to show mankind a perfect human being, so they will put down their arms and gather for the liberation of the Greek East, so it won't go down in flames again like Troy once had.[67] So, there is fate at work in the events of

65 (Heidelberg: 2014) 114–140, shows how Latin epic poems on the Battle of Lepanto 1571 aimed to both praise the moral and military qualities of the victorious leaders and to exhort Christendom – newly split into confessional groups – to unite against a common enemy that could well be understood as a divine scourge for either heresy or the corruption of the church.

65 Bihrer, "Der Feind" 167–169; Helmrath, "Pius II." 111; Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders" 130.

66 Slightly odd is the fact that there are no lasting attempts, among the many conceits of Trojan origin claiming to predate one another, to make something out of the Penates' mandate to Aeneas to bring them back to their and the Trojan ancestors' actual former home in Italy (Virgil, *Aeneid* III,153–168). On this cf. Tanner, *Last Descendant* 12f.

67 Strozzi, *Borsias* I, 197–200: 'Imperium Europae manus invasura Getarum / Argolica iam nunc speret de gente triumphos. / Invisas testor Lethaei gurgitis undas, / Me Troiae excidium graviter Priamique tulisse' ('By now, the hordes of the Gets, about to invade the realm of Europe, may very well already hope for victory over the Greek people. By the odious waves of the Lethean stream, I swear that I did not take lightly the fall of Troy and king

the *Borsias*; it even partially accounts for the very existence of its namesake hero, but Strozzi cannot (and does not need to) rely on it as an authorizing link across the ages between his hero and epic antiquity, while it is vital for Filelfo's work to establish fate as a category apart from politics or ethnographic scholarship, in order to make its protagonist a plausible hero.

Poets had access to a variety of both pasts and patterns of adopting and endorsing one of them. Tito Strozzi conservatively maintains a poetically plausible and intellectually acceptable version of the European nobility's common past and heritage, with just the right mixture of distancing and authorization. Filelfo, on the other hand, makes up for in resourcefulness what he may have lacked in sense of style and decency: He actually stages the mortal enemy of Western Christendom as a ruler on the quest for an appropriate past. For the sake of this, he appropriates the means of attaching oneself to whatever past appears the most suitable and prestigious he might have observed with his opponents in the Latin West, thereby subverting the humanist monopoly on scholarly appropriation of any given past by means of poetic fiction.

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Priam'). Similar avoidance can be observed in Francesco Filelfo's *Ode* 3, 1, where the muse Euterpe asks the poet to exhort the French King Charles VII to wage war against the Turks, edited in Filelfo, Francesco, *Odes*, ed. D. Robin, I Tatti Renaissance Library 41 (Cambridge, MA – London: 2009). The muse invokes the Trojan ancestors of the Franks as typological role models for the monarch, an argument that is, of course, incompatible with a Trojan origin for the Turks. Hence Mehmed II is depicted rather with conventional stereotypes of the voluptuous and intemperate barbarian. Paolo Marsi's *Lamentatio*, fol. 3r, next to *Scythica gens*, also calls the Turks *Getici*. The exclusion of the *Getae* from the common Greco-Roman cultural heritage hearkens back to Claudian; cf. Schinder C., "Pagane Mythen – christliche Herrscher. Mythos und Mythologie in den politischen Dichtungen Claudians", in Leppin H. (ed.), *Antike Mythologie in christlichen Kontexten der Spätantike*, Millennium Studies 54 (Berlin – Munich – Boston: 2015) 19–42, here 24.

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CHAPTER 2

Architecture, Poetry and Law: The Amphitheatre of Capua and the New Works Sponsored by the Local Élite

Bianca de Divitiis

Despite the spoliations which affected it over the centuries, for two thousand years the colossal amphitheatre of Santa Maria Maggiore Capua Vetere has dominated the surrounding landscape, testifying to the glory of the ancient Roman city of Capua [Figs. 2.1–2.2].[1] Second in size only to the Colosseum in Rome, the Capuan amphitheatre, also known as the "Anfiteatro Campano", still preserves its monumental arena and wide underground structures. Two adjoining arches of the lower order and part of an arch of the second one in the east sector remain to remind us of the external double portico which surrounded the *cavea*. Built with regular blocks of local limestone, the portico was originally formed of three stories of arcades in the Tuscan order and an upper level adorned with statues. The portraits of Diana and Juno which adorn the two keystones of the arches at ground level survive as remnants of the extraordinary iconographic scheme which consisted of eighty half-busts of divinities which originally decorated the first level of the arcades, the most distinctive feature of the Capuan amphitheatre.

Early modern sources tell us that what we still see today was more or less the state of the amphitheatre in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the monument became the most important ruin embodying the antiquity of the city.

In this essay I will demonstrate how, in this period, in the context of a new and general antiquarian interest in the history and in the monuments of ancient Capua, the amphitheatre became the central element in a strategy of urban identity carefully devised by the local elite of the new Capua, which had the same name as the ancient city, but had been built a few kilometres away. By sponsoring the creation of new *all'antica* works of art and architecture which explicitly redeployed its *spolia* as well as new literary works in praise of its vast

1 For the amphitheatre, with a complete previous bibliography, see Foresta S., "Lo sguardo degli dei. Osservazioni sulla decorazione architettonica dell'anfiteatro campano", *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'arte* 59 (2008) 93–112.

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FIGURE 2.1 The surviving arches of the amphitheatre of Santa Maria Maggiore Capua Vetere (first century AD), Capua
IMAGE © HistAntArtSI



FIGURE 2.2 The arena of the amphitheatre of Santa Maria Maggiore Capua Vetere (first century AD), Capua
IMAGE © HistAntArtSI

dimensions, the local elite enhanced the public image of the monument so that it became the symbol of the spiritual and material continuity of ancient Capua and the new city.

In the light of this I will consider new evidence which emerges from the decrees issued by the city council during the sixteenth century: these new documents allow us to read the connection between the ancient monument and the creation of new works, and reveal how juridical, artistic and literary aspects, which at first sight seem quite distinct, were instead part of an integrated strategy which aimed to reconnect Capua with the glories of its ancient past.

1 The Amphitheatre between the Ancient and New Capua

Constructed after the Colosseum, between the end of the 1st century CE and the beginning of the 2nd century CE, the amphitheatre had replaced a previous

smaller one built in the 1st century BC, famous for being the place where the insurrection led by the gladiator Spartacus started.[2] Despite a brief interruption during the Gothic war (535–554), throughout the late and post-antique period the large imperial amphitheatre was still used as an open-air venue for entertainment and performances. It was only in 841, when the inhabitants of Capua abandoned their city to escape the Saracen siege, that the amphitheatre stopped hosting performances. From that time onwards the glorious ancient metropolis fell gradually into decay, together with its monuments, becoming a small, rural and semi-abandoned town, renamed Santa Maria Maggiore (later Santa Maria Maggiore Capua Vetere). Of the many ancient buildings which marked the city, apart from the amphitheatre, only the theatre, the arch of Hadrian, the aqueduct, and several tombs remained partially visible, while the cryptoporticus, even if underground, was still viable and used.[3]

The name of Capua had in the meantime been transferred to indicate the new city founded by the refugees who had fled Saracens in the ninth century a few kilometres away from the former city on the site of the ancient river port *Casilinum*, in a bend of the river Volturno. The ancient and new cities of Capua were therefore linked in an ambivalent relationship, as Capua's past was not to be found directly in the new medieval city, but in the ruins of Santa Maria Maggiore. The lack of physical continuity with the Roman settlement created the need to rebuild a continuity of identity, not only through the transfer of the name, but also through the movement of *spolia* from the ancient to the new city. Apart from being juridically annexed to the new Capua, Santa Maria Maggiore thus became an archaeological site which the new city used as a supply of ancient building material. Following a similar fate to those suffered by other amphitheatres such as Lucca, Verona, Nimes and Arles, in the ninth century the amphitheatre of Capua was turned into a fortress, even giving the epithet of 'Colossense' to the Lombard captain Guaiferio (9th century).

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2 Sampaolo V., "L'Anfiteatro Campano", in Spina L. (ed.), *L'Anfiteatro Campano di Capua* (Naples: 1997) 15.

3 For the monuments of Santa Maria Maggiore in the sixteenth century see, with previous bibliography, Lenzo F., "Mario Cartaro e il perduto affresco della Capua Vetus di Cesare Costa (1595)", in De Divitiis B., Nova A., Vitali S. (eds.), *Antichità, identità, umanesimo. Nuovi studi sulla cultura antiquaria nel Mediterraneo in età rinascimentale, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 60 (2018) 68–90. On the foundation of the new Capua and its medieval history see Di Resta I., *Capua* (Rome – Bari: 1985) 13–26; Visentin B., *La nuova Capua longobarda: identità etnica e coscienza civica nel Mezzogiorno altomedievale* (Manduria: 2012).

At the same time, the building began to be known also through the Lombard name of Berelais, and its variations such as Virilasci, Berlascio or Morlacci.[4]

Besides being a fortress, the amphitheatre was perhaps the largest open air quarry for prestigious building material in the area, which between the eleventh and fourteenth century the Lombard, Norman and Swabian rulers used to construct the main public buildings in the new Capua. The so-called Castello delle Pietre (11th century)[Fig. 2.3] and the bell tower of the cathedral (11th–12th century) [Fig. 2.4] were built entirely with its isodomum blocks of limestone.[5] The monumental gate created by the emperor Frederick II at the entrance of Capua (ca. 1233) relied on the amphitheatre both for materials and as a model for the sculptural work which adorned the central part and the adjoining towers.[6] During the thirteenth and fourteenth century the ancient stones from the amphitheatre were also occasionally used in important semi-public buildings, such as the palace of the proto-notary Bartolomeo De Capua, which later housed the ruling dynasty of Anjou Durazzo.[7]

The situation begun to change in the fifteenth century when the dismantling of the amphitheatre stopped and the monument became an object of study and source of inspiration for architects and humanists, as well as an important monument in the quest for the antique which inspired first the Araragonese and then the Viceroyal rulers. At the same time, selected *spolia* begun to be used by the local Capuan elite as precious relics both in private and public monuments, becoming the central element of the contemporary identity of the city of Capua.

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4 On the use *Borlasci* see Lupi C., "Sull'origine e significato della voce Parlascio", *Archivio Storico Italiano* 120 (1880) 492–505; Iacobone D., *Gli anfiteatri in Italia tra tardo Antico e medioevo* (Rome: 2008) 12–13, note 18. On Guiaferio see Granata Francesco, *Storia Civile della fedelissima città di Capua*, 3 vols. (Naples: 1752), vol. II, 371.

5 Pane G. – Filangieri A., *Capua. Architettura e arte, catalogo delle opere*, 2 vols. (Capua: 1994), vol. I, 210–231; vol. II, 533–536. On the bell tower see Campone M.C., "Il campanile della cattedrale di Capua e l'inedito progetto di Enrico Alvino", *Capys* 36 (2003) 17–26. On the Castello delle Pietre see Pistilli P.F., "Un castello a recinto normanno in Terra di Lavoro: il castrum Lapidum di Capua", in Cadei A. et al. (eds.), *Arte d'Occidente: temi e metodi*, 3 vols. (Rome: 1999), vol. I, 143–149. See also de Lachenal L., *Spolia. Uso e reimpiego dell'antico dal III al XIV secolo* (Milan: 1995) 170. For a general overview of the reuse of the amphitheatre *spolia* see Giorgi L., "L'anfiteatro Campano: i materiali di spoglio nelle architetture dal IX al XVIII secolo", in Corvese F. – Tescione G. (eds.), *Itinerari storici ed artistici in Terra di Lavoro* (Naples: 1995) 17–26.

6 D'Onofrio M., "Porta di Capua", in *Enciclopedia Federiciana* (Rome: 2005): http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/porta-di-capua_(Federiciana)/.

7 Di Resta I., "Il palazzo Fieramosca a Capua", *Napoli Nobilissima* 9 (1970) 53–60.



FIGURE 2.3 Castello delle Pietre, Capua (12th century)
IMAGE © HistAntArtSI



FIGURE 2.4 Cathedral bell-tower of Capua (11–12th century)
IMAGE © HistAntArtSI

2 A New Interest: Fifteenth-century Refractions of the Amphitheatre

During the fifteenth century Capua was one of the most important cities of the Kingdom of Naples and, thanks to its strategical position, was never subject to a baron, but always remained part of the royal domain. The city was governed locally by a captain, as a representative of the king, and was administered by a council formed of eighty Capuan citizens, called *Consiglio dei Quaranta* (i.e. Council of the Forty), and by an executive committee of six *Eletti*. The importance of the city is evident from the vast territory it controlled, which also included the ancient site of Santa Maria Maggiore, together with its amphitheatre and its other ruins. Thanks to a series of royal privileges issued by the king at the beginning of the fifteenth century, being a Capuan citizen signified a particular status: it implied not only a position of local prominence, but was also a precondition for participation in the government of the city; moreover, it ensured legal and fiscal privileges throughout the entire kingdom of Naples.[8]

The privileged relation that the royal court held with Capua is evident from the very frequent visits that members of the royal family paid to the city, during which they also occasionally stopped to look at the amphitheatre. We know for example that, on 5 October 1488, the Duke of Calabria Alfonso of Aragon (1448–1495), the future Alfonso II, visited the "Morlacci", and several other antiquities in the area; on this occasion he was presented with a medal which had just been found.[9] It is well known how the Aragonese promoted the study of ancient monuments across the kingdom and encouraged the creation of new works which were directly inspired by the antique. The attention the royal family devoted to theatres and amphitheatres is a perfect example of the fifteenth-century cultural fervour that, from the works of Leon Battista Alberti onwards, consciously chose this type of building as a privileged object of study and as a model for new projects. The Aragonese interest in amphitheatres is demonstrated by the project of the new royal palace for king Ferrante of Aragon (ruled 1458–1494) and those for the luxurious villas of the Duchesca and Poggioreale commissioned by Alfonso of Calabria: dated 1488, all three residences featured a central courtyard conceived as a rectangular *cavea* surrounded by seats, which was destined to host large-scale royal ceremonies and the new refined theatrical works created by the court

8 Senatore F., *Una città, il Regno: istituzioni e società a Capua nel XV secolo* 2 vols (Rome: 2018) vol. I, 179–213.

9 Leostello da Volterra J., "Effemeridi delle cose fatte per il Duca di Calabria (1484–1491)", in Filangieri G. (ed.), *Documenti per la storia, le arti e le industrie delle province napoletane*, 6 vols (Naples: 1891), vol. I, 162–163.

humanists.[10] In this context the vast edifice of the Capuan amphitheatre must have been regarded by the court not only as an adornment to their royal domain, but also as a specific model for such new projects of architectural magnificence. It is not by chance that in the very same year Alfonso visited the monument, the Florentine architect Giuliano da Sangallo (ca. 1445–1516), who had designed Ferrante's royal palace and was probably involved also in the projects of the other residences, visited the amphitheatre in Capua. Of this visit we have just one surviving document represented by a little sketch of the steps of the amphitheatre, which Giuliano names as the 'Le grade del Chuliseo da Chapua Vechia' [Fig. 2.5].[11] The sketch was probably carried out by Giuliano with a specific interest in this particular feature, while seeking for a solution for the new courtyard of the new royal residence. It was possibly in the same period that the court humanist Jacopo Sannazaro composed *In theatrum Campanum*, an epigram dedicated to the amphitheatre where the poet, looking at the 'great masses of stone [...] now scattered', evokes the voices and applause of the audience which could still be felt resonating in unison among the ruins.[12] Apart from composing theatrical pieces and devising figurative schemes for the court, in those years Sannazaro was officially given the task by the Aragonese royals of inspecting antiquities throughout the territory of the Kingdom together with architects and antiquarians, such as when in 1489 he visited Gaeta and then Pozzuoli with Fra Giocondo da Verona. It would be tantalizing to imagine that Sannazaro composed the epigram on the amphitheatre of Capua as the result of an antiquarian expedition with Giuliano da Sangallo.[13] Even if this joint visit cannot be proved, Sangallo's sketch and Sannazaro's epigram are evidence of a simultaneous interest in the most important monument in Capua and a shared commitment towards the Aragonese court's project to recreate in their new royal residences the atmosphere of the ancient building for

10 De Divitiis B., "Giuliano da Sangallo in the Kingdom of Naples: Architecture and Cultural Exchange", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 74 (2015) 164–166. For Poggioreale see Modesti P., *Le delizie ritrovate: Poggioreale e la villa del Rinascimento nella Napoli aragonese* (Florence: 2014).

11 Taccuino Senese, Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, Cod. S.IV.8, fol. 27. See de Divitiis B., "Giuliano e le antichità della Campania", in Belluzzi A. – Elam C. (eds.), *Giuliano da Sangallo* (Milan: 2017) 169–187.

12 Sannazaro Jacopo, *Latin Poetry*, ed. M.C.J. Putnam (Cambridge, Mass.: 2009), Epigrams, II,25, 324–325.

13 Fontana V., "Giovanni Giocondo e Jacopo Sannazaro a Mola e a Gaeta", *Napoli nobilissima* 28 (1989) 287–288; De Divitiis B., "Fra Giocondo nel regno di Napoli: Dallo studio antiquario al progetto all'antica", in Gros P. – Pagliara P.N., *Giovanni Giocondo architetto, umanista e antiquario* (Venice: 2014) 263–277.



FIGURE 2.5
Giuliano da Sangallo, Sketch of the steps of the amphitheatre of Santa Maria Maggiore Capua Vetere (1488). Pen on paper. Siena, Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, Cod. S.IV.8, fol. 27r
IMAGE © BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE DI SIENA

performances.[14] As we will discuss later, a similar conjunction of architectural and literary interest in the monument would inspire the history and reception of the Capuan amphitheatre throughout the sixteenth century.

In parallel to the attention devoted by the Aragonese royal family and by artists and humanists working for the court, the amphitheatre became the object of a renewed and growing local interest from the members of the Capuan elite, who chose the monument as the central symbol of the ancient origins of the city, placing it at the core of commissions of new works of art, architecture and literature.

Directly involved in the government of the city, between the fifteenth and sixteenth century the members of the Capuan elite promoted an authentic strategy, documented by the minutes of the council meetings, which aimed at increasing the 'fame and honour' of their 'magnificent city'.[15] In this context, a new interest in the history and monuments of the city was paralleled by the need to display the material remains of the city's ancient past.

Though Capuan citizens and humanists could not be certain of the exact extension of ancient Capua and the foundation date of the new Capua, at the same time it was an acknowledged fact that the origins of the city went back to pre-Roman times. This was shown by the monumental remains located a few kilometres from the new city and by the conspicuous *spolia* which had been reused since medieval times to construct its main buildings. Another piece of evidence was the foundation myth according to which ancient Capua had been founded by Capys, a Trojan hero and friend of Aeneas, recalled by Hecataeus of

14 De Divitiis, "Giuliano" 177–178.
15 Senatore, *Capua* 368–369.

Miletus (*Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, I, F 62), Virgil (*Aeneid* II, 135) and Suetonius (*Divus Iulius* 81).[16] A proof of the intersections between antiquarian research and the political and administrative spheres can be seen in the illuminated image of Capys, depicted as Saint Michael, which adorns the initial letter of the little parchment manuscript containing the copies of the privileges assigned to Capua, a document of high civic value that had been signed by the *Eletti* and was preserved in the city's archives.[17] In this context of the quest for an authoritative ancient past, the monumental amphitheatre of Santa Maria Maggiore came to be seen as the embodiment of the continuity between the ancient and the new Capua.

The importance of the amphitheatre for the citizens of Capua finds its expression in a hitherto unnoticed and quite specific phenomenon, whereby blocks from the amphitheatre were reused in the portal jambs of many palaces of the new city almost like relics. Among the twenty palaces built between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which can still be seen in the streets of the centre of Capua, at least fourteen display *spolia* of local provenance, such as monumental funerary inscriptions or funerary *stelae* portraying standing togated figures, as bases of the portal jambs.[18] Within this group, there are at least eight palaces which display in one or both portal jambs antique, compact blocks of smooth white limestone; these are less striking in their appearance than the inscriptions and *stelae* found in other palaces but hold a special intrinsic value because of their provenance. Gleaming white and compact in form, marked only by the holes for scaffolding or beams, these blocks quite clearly come from the amphitheatre of ancient Capua and their provenance is equally clearly intended to be explicit. The presence of such *spolia* in the jambs is made even more striking by the contrast between the ancient white limestone and the dark grey local stone in which the rest of the portals was constructed, a two-colour scheme that was to become a standard feature

16 Senatore F., "Capys, Decio Magio e la nuova Capua nel Rinascimento", *Incidenza dell'antico* 14 (2016) 127–148.

17 Senatore F., "Le scritture delle *universitates* meridionali. Produzione e conservazione", in Lazzarini I. (ed.), *Scritture e potere. Pratiche documentarie e forme di governo nell'Italia tardomedievale* (*secoli XIV–XV*), Reti Medievali 9 (Florence: 2008) 1–34.

18 See Pane – Filangieri, *Capua*, vol. I, 124–125 (via Gianfrotta); 173–174 (Palazzo Saitta); 174–177 (Palazzo Rinaldi Campanino); 178 (palace in via Bartolomeo de Capua 10); 187 (Palazzo Fazio); vol. II, 174–177 (Palazzo Rinaldi Campanino); 297 (vico Giuseppe de Capua 5); 300 (vico San Giovanni a Corte); 307 (via Roma 50); 318–319 (Palazzo Rinaldi-Milano); 324 (Palazzo Antignano); 328 (Corso Gran Priorato 70); 329–330 (Palazzo De Capua); 513 (Palazzo Prestieri); 517 (Palazzo Boccardi).

of buildings in the town.[19] These blocks appear in variable sizes in many palaces, regardless of the shape of the portal and the architectural character of the building, from the portal with a flattened arch of the Rinaldi Milano (ca. 1470), to the impressive centre-arched doorway of the Rinaldi Campanino palace (ca. 1470). Even the "intrata magna" of the palace of the Antignano family (1453) recurred to this specific "Capuan" way of using antique remains, placing the monumental flamboyant portal made of lava stone on two large blocks of white limestone that bear signs of beam holes and iron marks [Fig. 2.6].[20] On the one hand the inclusion of such elements could have originated spontaneously as a consequence of the wide availability of ancient material and as a response to structural and functional requirements, such as building a more robust base which could resist the impact of carts and carriages; on the other hand it is also true that the re-deployment of ancient pieces at the entrance became an indispensable feature of fifteenth-century Capua palaces, one which must have been much more widespread than what we can still see today.

The large number of palaces which adopted this systematic way of reusing *spolia* with a recognizable local provenance testifies that, far from being an unthinking reuse of ancient material, what we see instead is a self-aware phenomenon, a precise strategy carried out by the members of the local elite who wished to show that the families living in those palaces had their roots in antiquity and that the new Capuan citizens, as direct heirs of the *cives capuani*, enjoyed a privileged status within the kingdom as a whole.[21]

That there was an awareness governing these choices is proved by the social and cultural context within which this phenomenon emerged, that of a highly refined and educated elite, who became increasingly steeped in classical culture, hired important humanists for public education, devised curricula incorporating classical texts, and begun calling their children with classical names.[22] That this was a self-conscious phenomenon is made even clearer if we consider another palace built in Capua at the end of the fifteenth century, located in Via Pier delle Vigne: with its use of classical orders, the building is an example of the Tuscan Renaissance style imported into Capua, and confirms

19 De Divitiis B., "Architettura e identità nell'Italia meridionale del Quattrocento: Nola, Capua e Sessa", in Burns H. – Mussolin M. (eds.), *Architettura e Identità locali*, vol. II (Florence: 2015) 317–318.

20 See Di Resta, *Capua* 37–41; Andreucci Ricciardi A., "Il palazzo Rinaldi-Campanino a Capua: rinascimento e maniera", *Capys* 17 (1984) 29–40; Di Resta I., "Capua catalana: palazzo Rinaldi-Campanino", *Capys* 17 (1984) 20–28; Robotti C., *Palazzo Antignano e l'architettura rinascimentale a Capua* (Naples: 1983).

21 De Divitiis, "Architettura e identità" 317–318.

22 Senatore, *Capua* 346.



FIGURE 2.6 Palazzo Antignano (ca. 1450), Capua
IMAGE © HistAntArtSI

that Florentine stylistic language was just one choice among many possible ways of choosing to be *all'antica*, one moreover which did not necessarily meet the requirements of the Capuan elite who preferred to incorporate ancient material of local origin, especially material from the amphitheatre.[23]

3 Decrees and New Works Sponsored by the City

It was possibly the need to regulate a spoliation that had become uncontrolled which induced the city council on 6 May 1514 to issue a decree which declared that the amphitheatre, together with the cryptoporticus, represented the 'fame and glory of this ancient city of Capua', and imposed a substantial fine on anyone responsible for removing the stones.[24] A similar decree had been issued some years earlier in Verona to preserve the Arena which, like the amphitheatre of Capua, had long been used as an open air quarry for building materials.[25] Promulgated in the same years as Raphael's letter to Leo X, the decree reflects the perceived importance of the amphitheatre for Capua's identity and the threat that this major testimony to the city's ancient glory would be totally dismantled to a point beyond recognition. It also shows the total control that the *Eletti* exercised over the monument. At the same time, we should not be tempted to interpret the decree from a contemporary perspective, as an attempt to conserve the ancient monument in its entirety. That this was not the case is proved by the decrees issued by the city council during the following years, which show how the *Eletti* continued to allow the stones of the amphitheatre to be used for both public and private commissions; however, they only permitted the *spolia* which were already lying on the ground to be taken, thus ensuring that the structures which were still in place and in

23 Pane – Filangieri, *Capua*, vol. II, 509–512; De Simone A.L., "Capua, palazzo Verazzo", in Gambardella A. – Jacazzi D. (eds.), *Architettura del classicismo tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento. Campania, ricerche* (Rome: 2007) 147–149; De Divitiis, "Architettura e identità" 318–321.

24 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 10, fol. 102r (6 May 1514). The document is transcribed in Minervini G. – Iannelli G., "Relazione sull'Anfiteatro Campano", *Atti della Commissione conservatrice dei monumenti ed oggetti di antichità e belle arti nella provincia di Terra di Lavoro* 4 (1873) 59–60. See also De Divitiis, "Architettura e identità" 321. The most ancient repertoire of the archive is Manna Giovanni Antonio, *Prima parte della cancellaria* [...] *della fedelissima città di Capua* (Naples, Orazio Salviani: 1588) fol. 21r.

25 The Arena is defined as 'edificio memorabile che porta onore alla città' (*Statuti*, IV, cap. 56). See Pellegrini F.C., *Degli statuti di Verona e qualcuno dei più segnalati giuristi* (Padua: 1840) 21.

particular the two arches of the external portico which still displayed monumental keystones remained standing.

In 1531 the city council allowed the stones of the amphitheatre to be used in the reconstruction of the medieval church of the Annunziata [Fig. 2.7]. This was a church which formed part of a particular kind of institution which was common in southern Italy from the thirteenth century onwards including together with a convent also a hospital and a hospice. These institutions were run by the city, rather than by a religious order.[26] The decree specified that the master masons could 'take the stones of the *Borlasci* which are on the ground so that the building will not be ruined'.[27] The Council itself invested notable energy in selecting the project for the church. After approving in 1521 a model and drawing for the church sent from Rome, in 1531 the council paid the 'master Batista Fiorentino living in Rome', perhaps Giovan Battista da Sangallo, 'for the model of the building and the bell tower' and also for transporting the model from Rome to Capua.[28] The project must have already included plans to reuse the stones of the amphitheatre, since this was granted in the same year. In 1538 the earlier projects were replaced by a new one presented by an unspecified 'master architect from Naples', while construction work on the site was supervised from 1555 by the local architect Ambrogio Attendolo (1505–1585).[29] Despite his Lombard origins, Attendolo had acquired Capuan citizenship, also becoming a member of the administrative executive committee of the *Eletti*. In his double capacity as architect and *Eletto*, in this same period Attendolo became responsible together for the Annunziata also for other major public commissions in Capua, playing a key role in the study, protection and reuse of the stones of the amphitheatre in the city's new building projects. In the Annunziata the ancient blocks were reused for the creation of

26 Di Resta, *Capua* 67; Giorgi L., *Architettura religiosa a Capua. I complessi della SS. Annunziata, S. Maria e S. Giovanni delle Dame Monache* (Rome: 1990) 29–57; De Rosa D., "La chiesa dell'Annunziata di Capua: contributo storiografico e nuovi documenti", *Capys* 34 (2001) 131–148.

27 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 15, fol. 50 (15 October 1531); Manna, *Prima parte della cancellaria* fol. 60v; Giorgi L., "Sangallo ed il modello ligneo della Chiesa della SS. Annunziata di Capua", *Capys* 28 (1995) 44–48.

28 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 15, fol. 31r (6 June 1521); Manna, *Prima parte della cancellaria* fol. 60v. See Giorgi, *Architettura* 29–30.

29 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 15, fol. 137r (December 1538); Manna, *Prima parte della cancellaria* fol. 61r. Giorgi, *Architettura* 33–37 identifies the architect Giovanni Francesco di Palma, known as Mormando, while De Rosa, "La chiesa" 134–135 identifies him with Ambrogio Attendolo. On Attendolo see Di Resta, *Capua* 55–56, 61, 65. The decision to build the palace and acquisition of properties on site began already in 1539.



FIGURE 2.7 Church of the SS. Annunziata (1521–1585), Capua
IMAGE © HistAntArtSI

the monumental isodomum base, where they supported the set of Corinthian pilasters across the façade and two sides of the church. The updated character of the project and the direct involvement of the civic authorities point to the ideological nature of the reuse of blocks from the amphitheatre, as if the *spolia* were relics in which the civic identity of the city was rooted.

The way in which the council deliberately and carefully used the stones of the amphitheatre is clear from another major project carried out by the city council, the construction of the Palazzo di Giustizia, also known as Palazzo dei Giudici [Fig. 2.8].[30] This was the palace of the viceroyal governor; even though it represented the central authority of the Kingdom it was built with the city's money and also hosted, together with the criminal court, the civil

30 Pane – Filangieri, *Capua*, vol. II, 445–446; Di Resta, *Capua* 63–5; Giorgi L., "Maestranze 'forestiere' attive a Capua e Caserta dalla seconda metà del 1500 agli inizi del 1600", *Rivista di Terra di Lavoro* 2 (2007) 5–13.



FIGURE 2.8 Palazzo di Giustizia (1531–1590), Capua
IMAGE © HistAntArtSI

court, generally administered by local citizens – these were the *giudici* or judges – as well as the prisons. Therefore, the Palazzo di Giustizia represented an intermediate level between the central state and local administration, which was perfectly compatible with the general political arrangements of the city within the kingdom, as a permanent part of the royal domain whose citizens, thanks to the privileges granted by the central court, were citizens throughout the entire southern realm. The palace adjoined the building which most fully represented the civic authority, that is the Palazzo dell'Udienza where the official meetings of the city council and Eletti took place and where the public clock was located, and the Seggio dei Giudici (or of Sant'Eligio), one of the three Seggi of Capua, open vaulted passages which hosted the meetings of a select group of citizens.

The design and supervision of the works, which lasted from 1563 to 1594, were again entrusted to Ambrogio Attendolo. With a façade consisting in two stories, with no orders, but simply marked by rustication in the corners and by

a portal with a rusticated arch, the palace recalls the works carried out in those years by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger in Rome and Lazio.[31] For its most representative building the council granted itself not only the use of the ancient limestone blocks, which were reworked to create works of "intaglio", but also decided to reuse seven monumental keystones featuring busts of divinities and theatrical masks. One of the ancient portraits representing an unidentified male divinity was used as the keystone in the arch of the portal of the palace, so closely recalling its original function. The other keystones, including a portrait of Jupiter Ammon, Mercury, Apollo and four theatrical masks, were originally located immediately above the ground floor windows, thus recalling the same view from ground level as in the amphitheatre. This arrangement was lost around 1800 when the creation of a mezzanine meant that the keystones were moved to their current positions below the windows.[32] Compared to the Annunziata, the political and juridical character of the building makes the reuse of *spolia* an even more significant ideological operation. The importance of the need to create a direct connection, both in terms of material and identity, between the amphitheatre and the new monument representing the central and civic authority is also reflected in the notable effort which would have been involved in the transfer from Capua Vetere of the monumental keystones whose dimensions ranged from 80 cm to 1 m in height.[33] By evoking the unique iconographic scheme of the ancient building, such a public collection of ancient portraits would have bestowed on the Palazzo di Giustizia a sense of *gravitas* and an aura of sacredness which had characterized the amphitheatre in the antique and post-antique period. The gaze of the divinities who for centuries had beckoned spectators to pass through the arches and, while taking their seats in the *cavea*, to assume a state of mind befitting the ancient political, religious and communal order, in their new location on the façade of the governor's palace and tribunal of the new city now acted as ancestors who surveyed contemporary Capua and its administrative activities.

The presence of ancient *spolia* to enhance the authority of places where official public or semi-public functions were performed was not new to Capua: before the construction of the Palazzo di Giustizia, trials and the public declaration of chapters of statutes were executed below the so-called *columna*

31 Most documents relating the construction of the palace are in Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 19; Manna, *Prima parte della cancellaria* fols. 188v–189v. See Di Resta, *Capua* 63–65; Giorgi, "Maestranze" 7.

32 Di Resta, *Capua* 64–65; Foresta, "Lo sguardo" 98.

33 Foresta, "Lo sguardo" 104–108.

judicum, presumably an ancient column which then occupied the same site where the palace would be built.[34] It is also known that the meetings of the citizens in the Seggi were made more solemn by the *stelae* with toga'd figures and inscriptions displayed on the walls. The Seggio dei Giudici, the one of the three existing at the time which was considered the major repository of local antiquities, occasionally hosted also the official meetings of the city council and of the *Eletti*.[35] The use of local *spolia* as a mean to emphasize the juridical and administrative authority, both central and local, was a common phenomenon throughout the Italian peninsula since the middle ages, which continued throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Rome at the time of Pope Martin V (1417–1431) notaries issued their acts below ancient arches or next to monuments which were recognized to have existed throughout the centuries.[36] It is well known that in Rome Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitol, site of the *magistrature*, was adorned with prominent Roman antiquities since the famous donation of Sixtus IV in 1471.[37]

Connected to such phenomena is the use of images of ancient "ancestors", both mythical and real, on the facades of palaces where judicial procedures were carried out. In the thirteenth century relief portraits of Virgil were displayed on the facade of the Palazzo della Ragione in Mantua.[38] In Padua in 1426 the sense of *gravitas* appropriate to the law courts was enhanced by immuring a bone from Livy's skeleton in the western wall of the Palazzo della Ragione, while two marble high relief busts of the Roman historian were displayed respectively on the external loggia of the palace and on the Porta delle Debite, which connected the Gran Sala to the prisons for insolvent debtors.[39] Furthermore in several other cities of Lombardy and the Veneto which in the fifteenth century fell under the dominion of the Venetian *Repubblica*, such as

34 Senatore, *Capua.*

35 Lenzo, *Memoria* 122–123; 156–157.

36 Lenzo, *Memoria* 109.

37 Christian K., *Empire without End. Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350–1527* (New Haven – London: 2010) 104–113.

38 Portioli A., "Monumenti a Virgilio in Mantova", *Archivio storico lombardo* 4 (1877) 532–557; 552–553.

39 Billanovich G., "Tradizione classica e cristiana e scienza antiquaria", in Arnaldi G. (ed.), *Storia della cultura veneta: dalle origini al Trecento*, vol. I (Venice: 1976) 124–134; Trapp J.B., "The image of Livy in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance", *Lecturas de historia del arte* 3 (1992) 210–238; Ferrati M. – Milani G., "Prima di Firenze: funzioni delle immagini nei comuni dell'Italia settentrionale", in Donato M.M. –Parent D. (eds.), *Dal Giglio al David. Arte civica a Firenze fra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Florence: 2013) 67–71. For Livy's monument created in 1547 see Siracusano L., *Scultura a Padova: 1540–62. Monumenti e ritratti* (Ph.D. dissertation (Università degli Studi di Trento: 2010–2013) 104–118.

Bergamo or Verona, the communal palaces transformed into "palazzi di giustizia" displayed either authentically ancient or *all'antica* portraits which evoked the authority of antiquity. As these examples show, the practice of displaying antiquities and images of ancestors on the law courts is closely interwoven with a similar one for the palaces representing civic authority throughout Italy, as occurs in Brescia and Palermo, but also in other European areas, as demonstrated by examples in France which have recently been studied.[40] In southern Italy, a similar effect would be achieved in the same period in the new Palace of Justice in Tricarico in Basilicata, not with the use of ancient fragments, but by displaying on the portal all'antica profile portraits of the *consules* Brutus and Fabritius who with their victory in the 3rd century BC over the Italian occupiers of the region could be regarded as the city's ancestors, so increasing the authority of the palace.

Seen in this context the Palazzo di Giustizia in Capua displayed a group of ancestors consisting of divinities and ancient figures, whose gigantic portraits systematically arranged on the facade formed a kind of civic collection. The sense of ancient sacredness and surveillance over contemporary life was reinforced by the alleged provenance of the keystones, which at the time were all thought to come from the amphitheatre. Only recent archaeological studies have shown that of the seven keystones, only the ones portraying Jupiter Ammon, Mercury and the unidentified figure in the portal formed the original decoration in the lower order of the amphitheatre, while Apollo and the four theatrical masks, which are smaller in scale and feature different mouldings around the portrait, come instead from the theatre.[41] Even though the theatre was still visible at the time, the keystone portraits were probably moved in medieval times to the *cavea* of the amphitheatre, which served as a large open-air deposit for ancient materials taken from different sources. From the description of the German humanist Lorenz Schrader, who visited the monument in the mid-sixteenth century, the amphitheatre had the same two arches with keystones portraying Juno and Diana which we still see today, implying that the other monumental heads reused in the Palazzo di Giustizia must have been lying on the ground, probably together with the ones originating from the theatre. It was this casual assemblage which must have given rise to the belief

40 Stenhouse W., "Roman antiquities and the emergence of Renaissance civic collections", *Journal of the History of Collections* 26, 2 (2014) 131–144; Stenhouse W., "Reusing and Redisplaying Antiquities in Early Modern France", in Christian K. – De Divitiis B. (eds.), *Local Antiquities, Local Identities: Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Early Modern Europe*, (Manchester: 2019) 121–141.

41 Foresta, "Lo sguardo" 103–105.

that the keystones all came from the amphitheatre.[42] An image of how all the *spolia* must have laid scattered on the ground near the amphitheatre is found in another decree, issued on 11 August 1577, for the construction of the new city gate of Porta Napoli (1577–1582) [Fig. 2.9].[43] While assigning the new project once again to Ambrogio Attendolo and stipulating that the Doric order should be used in its design, the city council decided that the 'entire doorway should be built from the *Borlasci* stones of Capua, since these are the best and most suitable for the work' and went on to specify that the stones should be cut from the 'monte delle ruine', that is the pile of fragments 'that lie fallen on the ground, without touching any of the stones which still form part of the building'.[44] The decree also laid down that any mason who contravened this rule would lose his place and would also have to replace the blocks at his own expense as well as submitting to other penalties imposed by the *Eletti*. Together with its vivid image of the mountainous pile of fragments, the decree also makes clear the distinction which was made of which material could be used without causing any further damage to the monument. It is interesting to note that in the same period Ambrogio Attendolo asked for the streets to be repaired and adapted for the removal of the blocks from the amphitheatre to the new building site.[45] All such prescriptions suggest that Attendolo was supervising not only the two construction sites, the ancient one and the new one, but also that he was responsible for the arrangement of the relevant parts of the council minutes, with which he enclosed also drawings of the new layout of the ancient stones in the gateway [Fig. 2.10].[46] The doorway too was originally decorated with a keystone head representing a radiated Apollo, most probably from the amphitheatre, which was still in place on the gate in 1810 when it was drawn by the Milanese artist Giuseppe Bossi.[47]

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42 Lorenz Schrader was in Italy in 1556 and in 1568. Schrader Lorenz, *Monumentorum Italiae* [...] *libri quattuor* (Helmstedt, Jacobus Lucius: 1592) fol. 258v. For the amphitheatre as a deposit for materials from other monuments see C. Capaldi, "Una nuova attestazione dell'evergetismo edilizio di Augusto a Capua", in Chioffi L. (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo e la storia. Epigrafia e archeologia in Campania. Letture storiche* (Naples: 2010) 109.

43 On Porta Napoli see Di Resta, *Capua* 67–71; Pane – Filangieri, *Capua*, vol. II, 529–530.

44 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 22, fols. 174v–181r (11 August 1577); Manna, *Prima parte della cancellaria* 197. According to Di Resta, *Capua* 57 also Porta Sant'Angelo had been built in 1543 with the stone of the amphitheatre.

45 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 26, fol. 181r (30 August 1577).

46 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 22, fol. 271v (1 December 1578).

47 The keystone was probably lost during the 1830 restoration of the monument, when the door was moved from its original location to the present site. Corlita Scagliarini D.,



FIGURE 2.9 Porta Napoli (1577–1582), Capua
IMAGE © HistAntArtSI

While allowing the use of the *spolia* from the amphitheatre for their own projects, the *Eletti* also granted concessions to selected citizens, always specifying that the stones should be those 'lying on the ground so to create no damage to the remaining building'. In 1562 fifteen blocks were given to Giovan Battista del Tufo from Aversa.[48] Some months later in 1563 Baron Vincenzo del Balzo received permission to use all the blocks he needed for the construction of his palace in Capua.[49] In September 1585 twelve carts of stone from the *Borlasci*

"Viaggio archeologico tra Capua ed Aquino in un quaderno di Giuseppe Bossi", *Prospettiva* 9 (1977) 44, 48, 54.

48 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 19, fol. 167r (6 July 1562).

49 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 19, fol. 200v (10 February 1563).

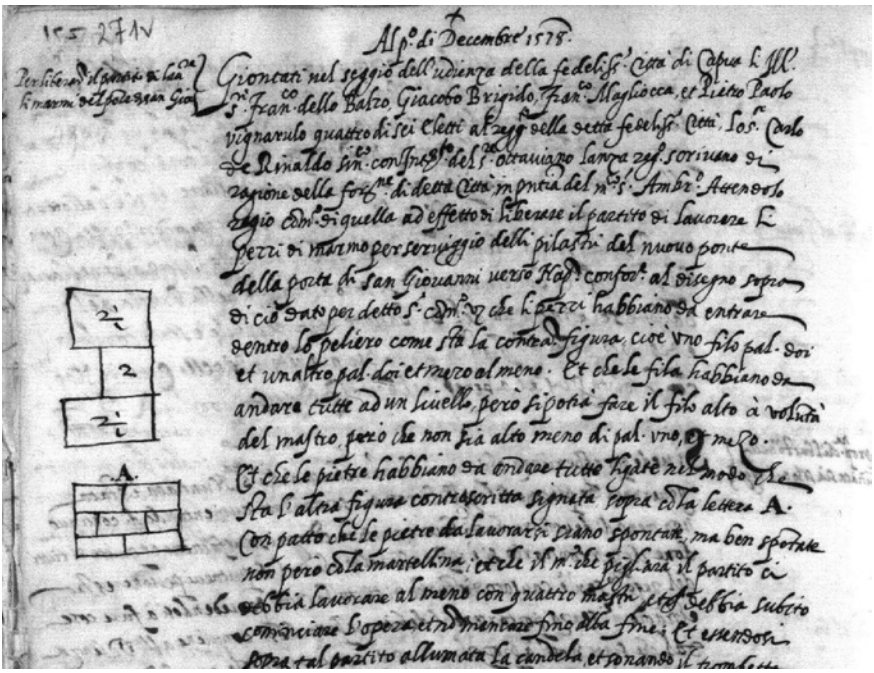


FIGURE 2.10 Sketch of the layout of stones of the amphitheatre in Porta Napoli. Ink on paper. Capua, Biblioteca Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua, 22, fol. 271v (1st December, 1578).
IMAGE © ARCHIVIO COMUNALE DI CAPUA

were donated to the Capuan nobleman Annibale Lanza and 'some marbles' were given one month later to the 'magnifico' Francesco di Franco.[50]

This careful control over the use of the stones from the amphitheatre is even more striking when we recall that while the council issued these decrees to protect the amphitheatre, excavations were being carried out to find treasures which could be exported as part of the antiquarian trade. This was the case of the large marble statue of Venus which was transferred to the palace of Adriano Guglielmo Spatafora in Naples before 1563, and the statue of Minerva which some decades later was sent to Rome to add to the Vitelleschi collection.[51] The export of such precious ancient pieces outside Capua highlights the special case of the amphitheatre, where the selection, transfer and re-use of *spolia* was

50 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 24, fol. 319r (13 October 1586); Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 24, fol. 150r (15 September 1584).

51 Iasiello I., *Il collezionismo di antichità nella Napoli dei viceré* (Naples: 2003) 75–76.

regulated down to the smallest detail, with the explicit purpose of preserving the monument as a standing edifice. Maintaining the few surviving arches of the amphitheatre, complete with their distinctive figured keystones, was not only a way of preserving a visible testimony to the ancient origins of the city but also served as a visible proof that all the stones reused in the new buildings in the city were authentic. It must have been the need to further protect the arches and prevent improper use of the ancient monument that the city council decided in 1580 and in 1585 to surround the amphitheatre with a wall.[52]

In this context the role of Ambrogio Attendolo was central: by conveying the materials and controlling the transfer and distribution of stones, as well as supervising the conservation of the amphitheatre itself, the architect was responsible for the delicate operation of bonding the ancient and new identities in Capua. It was while carrying out this official task that Attendolo executed the survey of the amphitheatre which his son Giovan Battista recounts in one of his literary works.[53] Even if the drawings from the survey have not survived, this information helps us to compare Attendolo with other architects and antiquarians who were carrying out similar drawings of their local amphitheatres in other cities, such as Giovan Francesco Caroto's of the Arena in Verona, produced at the same time.[54] Attendolo's survey of the amphitheatre was the culmination of a wider architectural interest in the monument within the local Capuan antiquarian ambience, which led to hypothetical reconstructions of its original form. This is confirmed by a recently discovered sketch which served as a preparatory drawing for the depiction of the monument as part of the remarkable view of ancient Capua showing all its Roman monuments which the local archbishop Cesare Costa commissioned in 1595 as a fresco on one of the walls of the main room in his palace in the new city.[55]

52 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 24, fol. 243r (21 October 1585).

53 See below.

54 Burns H. "I monumenti antichi e la nuova architettura", in Marini P. (ed.), *Palladio e Verona* (Verona: 1980) 103–123; Franzoni L., "La conoscenza dell'anfiteatro di Verona dal XVI al XIX secolo", *Historia Antiqua* 9 (2003) 117–121.

55 Miletti L., "Sulla fortuna di Livio nel Cinquecento. Le domus dei nobili capuani nella veduta di Capua vetus di Cesare Costa", *Bollettino Studi Latini* 44 (2014) 107–126; Lenzo, "Capua vetus".

4 Poems on the Amphitheatre

While carrying out a strategy of preservation of the amphitheatre and public display of its material remains, the Capuan *Eletti* also promoted with official decrees the publication of literary works celebrating the ancient origins of the city and especially the amphitheatre, as its most representative monument. As the construction of the Annunziata and Palazzo di Giustizia were well under way, in 1562 the *Eletti* paid for the publication of the Latin work *Campania* by Antonio Sanfelice, in which, as part of a reconstruction of the ancient Roman region based on classical sources, the role of ancient Capua and of its two main surviving monuments, the cryptoporticus and the amphitheatre, were highlighted.[56] According to Sanfelice, the 'vast edifice' of the amphitheatre, described as Doric, continued to be the image and memory of Capua's past triumphs, even though the barbaric devastations had severely defaced this image. Sanfelice's work also included the first new epigram on the amphitheatre, after the one composed some decades earlier by Jacopo Sannazaro. The *Eletti* regarded Sanfelice's work, dedicated to the 'Senate and People of Capua', so highly that they commissioned a translation into Italian from the city's public teacher Girolamo Aquino.[57] Apart from translating Sanfelice's epigram on the amphitheatre, Aquino himself composed another poem on the monument entitled *Superbi Sassi*.[58] Aquino's composition was so successful that in 1577 the Eletti commissioned a certain Don Cristoforo Calderino to compose a version of Aquinas' poem 'in arte di canto figurato' to be performed by six voices.[59]

Such literary fervour over the amphitheatre was further echoed by Giovan Battista Attendolo, a pupil of Aquino's and the son of the architect Ambrogio Attendolo.[60] While his father was surveying and directing the collection and use of blocks for the construction of the Annunziata and the Palazzo di

56 Sanfelice Antonio, *Campania* (Naples, Mattia Cancer: 1562), with unnumbered pages. See Amsteladami edition, 1656, 47–48. See Miletti L., "L'anfiteatro e il criptoportico di Capua nell'antiquaria del Cinquecento: due sonetti inediti di Giovan Battista Attendolo", *La parola del passato* 67 (2014) 139–140.

57 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 19, fols. 92r–93r (29 giugno 1561); Manna, *Prima parte della cancellaria* fol. 24. Aquino's translation was published only in 1796. See Miletti, "L'anfiteatro".

58 Aquinas' epigram was published in 1665, together with the translation of Sanfelice's and another poem on the monument by Carlo Noci, as an appendix to Monaco Michele, *Oratione in lode dell'illustrissima e fedelissima città di Capua* (Naples, Agostino de' Tomasi: 1665), fols. A14r–A15v. See Miletti, "L'anfiteatro".

59 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 19, fol. 197v (20 January 1563); Manna, *Prima parte della cancellaria* fol. 24r–v.

60 On Giovan Battista Attendolo see Miletti, "L'anfiteatro" with previous bibliography.

Giustizia, Giovan Battista Attendolo contributed significantly to the series of literary celebrations of the amphitheatre, which included an interesting reference to the monument in the funerary oration he composed in 1571 for Charles of Austria.[61] After asking how the prince would have reacted if he could have visited the amphitheatre together with his father Ambrogio Attendolo, he imagines how gazing entranced at the monument he would have declaimed Aquino's sonnet *Superbi Sassi*. Attendolo also adds that 'from the few remaining marble stones in the Tuscan and Doric order, it is possible to imagine the no longer surviving upper levels of the Ionic and Corinthian order, and the attic'. This remark, in addition to confirming that at the time only the lower arches were visible, expresses for the first time the idea, based on the Colosseum in Rome, that the amphitheatre of Capua originally displayed superimposed orders, a belief which was to be repeated in almost all the subsequent literature on the monument.[62] In those same years, Giovan Battista Attendolo also composed his own poem celebrating the amphitheatre.[63] The composition of poems by Capuan men of letters continued also in the following century and a partial collection of these texts was published at the beginning of the work that the antiquarian Alessio Simmaco Mazzocchi dedicated to the amphitheatre in 1727.

The sixteenth-century proliferation of compositions on the amphitheatre finds a parallel in the poems celebrating another important monument for the identity of Capua, the medieval city gate of Frederick II, which had been pulled down by the Spanish viceroy in 1557 and reduced to a medieval ruin consisting of the bases of the two towers on either side. The destruction was due to the creation of a new defensive wall circuit by the Spanish viceroy, but Chancery registers record the event as a genuine trauma for the citizens: it caused Capuans 'so much sorrow and weeping [...] that they began to write many compositions, in order to transmit its memory to posterity'.[64] In the same spirit with which they preserved the two surviving arches of the amphitheatre, in 1584 the *Eletti* decided to save the surviving sculptural fragments

61 Attendolo Giovan Battista, *Oratione* [...] *nell'essequie di Carlo d'Austria Principe di Spagna* (Naples, Giuseppe Cacchi: 1571). Miletti, "L'anfiteatro".

62 Morelli Giovanni Carlo, *Opera* (Naples: 1613). Mazzocchi Alessio Simmaco, *Mutilum Campani Amphitheatri titulus* (Naples, Felix Musca: 1727) 122–123.

63 Miletti, "L'anfiteatro".

64 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 18, fols. 264–265 (19 February 1557); Willemsen C.A., *Kaiser Friedrichs II. Triumphtor zu Capua* (Wiesbaden: 1953) 80, note 29; Paeseler G. – Holtzmann H., "*Fabio Vecchioni und seine Beschreibung des Triumphtors in Capua", Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 36 (1956) 205–247; *Centore G., Capua: le torri di Federico* (Maddaloni, CE: 2003) 13–15.

from the Gate by arranging them in a sort of tomb erected near one of the two towers, so keeping alive the memory of the monument and 'preserv[ing] the ancient memory and grandeur of spirit of the *patria*'.[65] If the poems on Frederick's Gate were intended to exorcise the loss of the Gate itself, immortalising its memory in words, the poems on the amphitheatre were part of a deliberate strategy on the part of the Capuan elite to preserve the monument as a testimony to the ancient glory of the city and to make it part of the daily life of the citizens by making it live again in the buildings of the new city.

5 The Amphitheatre and Capuan Identity

The set of decrees issued from 1514 onwards explicitly show the conscious strategy pursued by Capua's city council to enhance the importance of the amphitheatre and underline a hitherto unnoticed connection between the redeployment of *spolia*, new architectural projects and the production of literary works. Such documents show how, while allowing the use of materials for the construction of new buildings, the *Eletti* ensured that the amphitheatre would not be damaged any further and promoted the celebration of the edifice by sponsoring the publication of new literary works.

The blocks from the amphitheatre were regarded highly for their quality: as entrances to the palaces they were hard-wearing and, as we have seen with Porta Napoli, the council considered them to be the most suitable material for the project. The appreciation of their structural quality is also shown by the fact that in 1567 the council ordered the stones of the amphitheatre to be used for the bastion which replaced Frederick's gate.[66] In 1592 they were even used for the corners of the cistern for the fountain in front of Palazzo di Giustizia.[67] Even the lime which was made from the broken-up stones was considered desirable.

Together with their quality which made them suitable for solid constructions, their provenance was a sign of prestige and identity. The decrees of Capua can be seen as to some extent a successful political operation, since they managed to preserve the arches of the portico which can be still be admired today, and they display an awareness of the importance of local

65 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 22, fol. 37r (3 January 1584).

66 Manna, *Prima parte della cancellaria* fol. 197v.

67 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 24, fol. 229v (6 April 1592): I thank Fulvio Lenzo for this information from his work on the Capuan aqueduct.

antiquities which has hitherto not been found in the other urban centres in southern Italy. For example, in Venosa in about the 1530s a hunt was triggered to uncover the so-called "treasure of Lucullus", the remains of an ancient building outside the city that was excavated while the large number of antiquities which were found there were plundered by the viceroy Pedro de Toledo (ruled 1532–1553), who added them to his collection in Naples.[68] The hunger for hidden treasures continued: a new hunt was organized in 1606 by the viceroy Juan Alonso Pimentél de Herrera (ruled 1603–1610) who ordered the excavation of a site near Cuma, where thirteen intact marble statues were found, which were first exhibited in his palace in Naples and some years later transferred to Spain.[69] Capua instead managed to maintain a certain degree of control over its antiquities, with very few exceptions, such as the case of two statues which ended up in the Vitelleschi collection in Rome and in the Spatafora collection in Naples. This form of antiquarian control is confirmed by a 1563 document in which the *Eletti*, in granting Ambrogio Attendolo the permission to carry out an excavation in Santa Maria Maggiore on the site where a large marble column had just been discovered, stipulated that any beautiful object which was found belonged to the city.[70]

As part of a general attitude which saw local antiquities as a proof of the continuity between the ancient and the new Capua, the amphitheatre testified to the city's glorious past more than any other antiquities which were either buried underground, such as the cryptoporticus, or less well preserved, such as the theatre. While in the fifteenth century the *spolia* from the amphitheatre were "shared" among the local elite who used its blocks like precious relics that emphasized the privilege of being Capuan, in the sixteenth century the monument was under the complete control of the city council who, despite their anxiety to keep its surviving parts standing, transferred from Santa Maria Maggiore to Capua entire wagon-loads of blocks extracted from the pile of fragments lying on the ground. The availability of large quantities of *spolia*, officially recognized as the best and most appropriate building material because of its high quality and as a symbol of the fame and glory of Roman Capua, led the *Eletti* to grant its use in the construction of public buildings,

68 Cappellano Achille, *Venosa 28 febbraio 1584. Descrittione della città de Venosa, sito et qualità di essa*, ed. R. Nigro (Venosa: 1985) 35.

69 Ferro Antonio, *Apparato delle statue trovate nella distrutta Cuma* (Naples, Tarquinio Longo: 1606). See Lenzo F., "'Che cos'è architetto'. La polemica con gli ingegneri napoletani e l'edizione del *Libro secondo*", in Curcio G. et al. (eds.), *Studi su Domenico Fontana* (Mendrisio: 2011) 273.

70 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 19, fol. 193v (5 February 1563).

private palaces and even infrastructure, as in the case of the cistern. At the same time by displaying the collection of monumental portraits on the façade of the Palazzo di Giustizia they also attempted to recreate the sense of sacredness and authority which characterized the ancient monument. Acting as though they intended to build the entire city out from the blocks of the *Borlasci*, even those parts of it which were not outwardly visible, the *Eletti* thus restored to new Capua its ancient history and its glorious past.[71]

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Miletti L., "Sulla fortuna di Livio nel Cinquecento. Le domus dei nobili capuani nella veduta di Capua vetus di Cesare Costa", *Bollettino Studi Latini* 44 (2014) 107–126.

Minervini G. – Iannelli G., "Relazione sull'Anfiteatro Campano", *Atti della Commissione conservatrice dei monumenti ed oggetti di antichità e belle arti nella provincia di Terra di Lavoro* 4 (1873) 59–60.

71 The research leading to these results received funding from the European Research Council under the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC Grant agreement n° 263549; ERC-HistAntArtSI project Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, PI: Bianca de Divitiis. I am particularly grateful to Francesco Caglioti, Caroline Elam, Fulvio Lenzo, Lorenzo Miletti, Antonio Milone, Konrad Ottenheym and Francesco Senatore for discussing with me the contents of this essay. I would also like to thank Stephen Parkin for revising the English text.

CHAPTER 3

A City in Quest of an Appropriate Antiquity: The Arena of Verona and Its Influence on Architectural Theory in the Early Modern Era

Hubertus Günther

Some curious observations led me to the argument of this contribution. Firstly, in Sebastiano Serlio's book on Roman antiquities – precisely, in its second edition – I found the comment on the Arena of Pola that

> the manner of this articulation is obviously very different from those used in Rome, and I for my part would not adopt members such as those of the Amphitheatre in Rome in my works, but would willingly avail myself of those of the building in Pola, as they are done in a better manner and are better conceived, and I am sure that this was done by a different architect and that by chance he [i.e. the one of the Coliseum] he was a German, because the members of the Coliseum have something of the German manner.[1]

'German manner' (*maniera tedesca*) was the usual term for the style of medieval buildings generally despised in Italy at that time, and German in this context means Germanic. As was well known in the Renaissance, the Roman amphitheatre called the Colosseum had been built under Vespasian some ten years before Tacitus wrote his famous account of the Germanic tribes, reporting that they still lived in wooden huts spread out between large forests. In Serlio's time it was already an absurd idea that one of these primitives from the northern timberlands might have designed a monument as magnificent as the Colosseum.

1 'La maniera di questi corniciamenti è molto differente da quelle di Roma, come si puo vedere, & io per me non faria cornici come quelle de l'Amphitheatro di Roma ne le mie opere: ma diquelle de l'Edificio di Pola si bene me ne serviria: perche elle sono di miglior maniera e meglio intese, e tengo per certo che quel fusse un'altro Architetto differente da questo, e per aventura questo fu Thedesco: percioche le cornici del Coliseo hanno alquanto de la maniera tedesca': Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro, nel qual si figurano e descrivono le antiquita di Roma e le altre che sono in Italia e fuori d'Italia* (Venice, Francesco Marcolini: 1544) 78. The translations were done by the author of the present article.

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Gradually I began to grasp what the extravagant judgement might mean when I found the copy of Serlio's book in which Vincenzo Scamozzi had inserted his own glosses.[2] Scamozzi reproduces there the following 'ancient inscription' of the Arena of Verona [Fig. 3.1]:

> Q. L. FLAMINEVS. COS. ROM.
> AC. VNIVERSAE GRAECIAE DO
> MINATOR. AMPHITHEATRVM
> VERONAE. PROPRIIS. SVM
> PTIBVS. A. FONDAMENTIS
> EREXIT. ANNO. AB. VRBE
> CONDITA. DIII.
>
> Quintus Lucius Flamineus, Consul of the Romans
> and conqueror of all Greece, erected in Verona this
> amphitheatre by his own
> expense from the fundaments in the year
> 503 after the foundation of Rome.[3]

As was also well known in the Renaissance, the date 503 after the foundation of Rome (753 BC) means: in the year 250 before Christ. According to today's knowledge or to the edition of the *Fasti consulares* published by Carlo Sigonio in 1550 and revised by Onofrio Panvinio in 1558, a consul with the same name as indicated in the "ancient inscription" did not exist in Rome at the time indicated. At best, one might think of Gaius Flaminius (consul in 223 and 218 BC), who, as a censor, had created the Via Flaminia from Rome to Ravenna and built the Circus Flaminius in Rome (220 BC), or of Lucius Quinctius Flamininus (consul in 192 BC), who led the administration of the province of Gallia Cisalpina and also resided in Upper Italy, who as an aedile was responsible for the organization of the *ludi scenici* (in 201 BC) and who was mentioned by Valerius Maximus in connection with theatres.[4] Moreover, at the time indicated in the inscription, the first war against Carthage was taking place (264–241 BC), and Rome did not yet dominate the Greek world or any other territory outside

2 Cf. Günther H., "Scamozzi kommentiert Serlio", *Riha-Journal*, Special Issue "Vincenzo Scamozzi" (November 2012), online at http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2012/2012-oct-dec/special-issue-scamozzi/guenther-scamozzi-kommentiert-serlio (retrieved 18 September 2017).

3 Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (Venice, Pietro de Nicolini de Sabbio: 1551; *ex libris Scamozzi*) 72 (Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich).

4 Valerius Maximus, *Facta et memorabilia* IV, 5, 1.

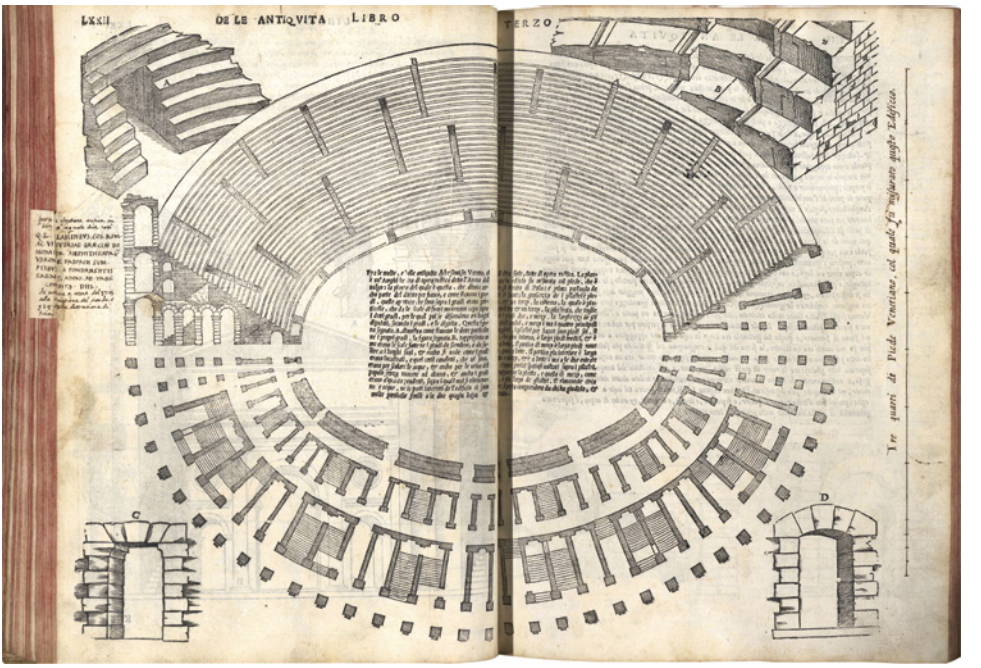


FIGURE 3.1 Arena of Verona, with the (fake) building inscription, added as a manuscript annotation by Vincenzo Scamozzi. Taken from Scamozzi's copy of Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (Venice: 1551) 72
IMAGE © ZENTRALINSTITUT FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE, MUNICH

Italy, but was still fighting to gain supremacy in Italy; during the Second Punic War Hannibal had almost conquered the city. All this was well known to Renaissance historians. these historical circumstances actually do not suggest that Rome in those days had the capacity to erect huge theatres. I will show on the following pages that the puzzle of both these curious cases can be solved when it is placed in the context of the quest for an appropriate past.[5]

1 Veronese Patriotism and the Arena of Verona

Hardly any other European city was associated with as many expressions of deep affection as Verona was. The following verses by Giovanni Cotta

5 An earlier, but partially more detailed version of my research is: Günther H., "Antike Bauten im venezianischen Hoheitsbereich. Historische Einordnung und Bewertung in der Renaissance, Einfluss auf die Säulenlehre Palladios und Scamozzis", *Eirene* 48 (2012) 60–81.

(ca. 1480–1510), for example, were repeated several times in Verona during the Renaissance:

> Verona, qui te viderit
> Et non amarit protinus
> Amore perditissimo,
> Is, credo, seipsum non amat,
> Caretque amandi sensibus,
> Et odit omnes gratias.
>
> Verona, who has seen you
> and has not immediately fallen in love with you
> with the most awesome love,
> he, I think, does not love himself,
> and completely lacks the ability of feeling love
> and hates all grace.[6]

The typical declarations of love for Verona were apparently widely known in Europe. William Shakespeare, in his *Romeo and Juliet*, paraphrases them in the verses:

> There is no world without Verona walls,
> But purgatory, torture, hell itself.
> Hence banished is banish'd from the world,
> And world's exile is death [...].[7]

These intimate verses of national love were also an expression of a nostalgic retrospect of the great past of the blissful city, once powerful but in more recent times deprived of her autonomy. During the Middle Ages, Verona was the most important metropolis between Venice and Milan, and in antiquity, as the Veronese claimed time and again, her splendour was second only to that of the Eternal City. Her many magnificent ancient monuments exuded the highest pride. The uncontested highlight was the Arena [Fig. 3.2].[8] It was

6 Mistruzzi V., "Giovanni Cotta", *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* suppl. 22–23 (1924) 1–131, esp. 119.

7 Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, act 3, scene 3; cf. D'Amico J., *Shakespeare and Italy: The City and the Stage* (Gainesville: 2001) 24–25. Höttemann B., *Shakespeare and Italy* (Vienna etc.: 2011) 184–185, 225–240. Fischer R. (ed.), *Quellen zu Romeo und Julia*, Shakespeares Quellen in der Originalsprache und deutsch 2 (Bonn: 1922).

8 Maffei Scipione, *Verona illustrata* (Verona, Jacopo Vallarsi e Pierantonio Berno: 1731–1732), vol. 4, 68–135; Coarelli F. – Franzoni L., *L'arena di Verona* (Verona: 1972); Arich D. – Spalviero F.,



FIGURE 3.2 Enea Vico (engraver), *The Arena of Verona* (ca. 1550) with the (fake) building inscription (bottom left). Engraving, 52.4 × 88.2 cm
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

famous throughout Europe. In Antoine Desgodets' *Les édifices antiques de Rome* (1682) the Arena is the only monument outside Rome the author deems worthy of consideration. Andrea Palladio listed the arenas of Verona and Pola together with the Colosseum as being among the great monuments of Rome's flourishing period.[9] The Veronese often emphasized that their Arena was barely ranked behind the Colosseum, the greatest Roman amphitheatre preserved. Pietro Donato Avogaro and similarly Giovanni Agostino Panteo even praised the Arena as

> [...] this noble amphitheatre, the biggest building of all that have ever been erected by the hands of men, even destined for eternity, with which neither the miraculous pyramids can be compared [...] nor can

L'Arena di Verona: duemila anni di storia e di spettacolo (Verona: 2002); Weiss R., *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Norwich: 1988²) 117–118.; Golvin J.-C., *L'amphithéâtre Romain*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1988) 169–173; Gros P., *L'architecture romaine du début du III^e siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire*, vol. 1 (Paris: 2002²) 317–345. The graphic reproductions of the Arena are reproduced by Schweikhart G., *Le antichità di Verona di Giovanni Caroto* (Verona: 1977), Figs. 29–59.

9 Andrea Palladio, *Scritti sull'architettura* (1554–1579), ed. A. Puppi (Vicenza: 1988) 158.

> the stupendous labyrinths invented by human ingenuity [...] nor these amphitheatres which one can see in Rome or Pola.
>
> [...] amphitheatrum illud nobile, opus maximum omnium, quae unquam fuere humana manu facta aeternitatis etiam destinatione, cui neque pyramidum miracula [...] neque labyrinthorum portentosissima humani ingenii opera neque eorum, quae Romae et Polae visuntur, comparari possunt.[10]

Although large parts of the outer ring wall had collapsed due to an earthquake in 1117, Renaissance writers often referred to the Arena as the best-preserved building for spectacles because the *cavea* was – and still is – better preserved there than anywhere else. Here it was possible to verify what Vitruvius wrote about the *cavea* of theatres. One of the many foreign visitors to the Arena emphasized that here was the rare occasion to proof the acoustics of ancient theatres in reality.[11] The *cavea* is so well preserved because the Arena was protected by the city government and used for performances even during the Middle Ages and afterwards. This tradition continues with the Opera Festivals today as an international attraction.

The outer ring wall of the Arena has three storeys of arcades [Figs. 3.2–3.4]; it is completely rusticated; in the first two floors, between the arcades there are extremely slender pilasters, while the pilasters on the third floor are either extremely broad or narrow. Based on the capitals, the entire articulation might be assigned to the Doric order, but the bases are missing and the entablatures with their rich mouldings cannot be connected with any specific order of columns.

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10 Avogaro Pietro Donato, *De viris illustribus antiquissimis qui ex Verona claruere*, ca. 1493, ed. in Avesani R., "Il 'De viris illustribus antiquissimis qui ex Verona claruere'", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 5 (1962) 1–84, esp. 68–84, for the Arena: 77–78. Panteo Giovanni Agostino, *De laudibus Veronae* (Venice, Bernardino Vitali: 1505), fols. P Iv–IIr. Esch A., "Staunendes Sehen, gelehrtes Wissen: zwei Beschreibungen römischer Amphitheater aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1987) 385–393, esp. 385–388, 392–393; idem, "Anschauung und Begriff. Die Bewältigung fremder Wirklichkeit durch den Vergleich in Reiseberichten des späten Mittelalters", *Historische Zeitschrift* 253 (1991) 281–312, esp. 309–311.

11 Fichard Johann, *Italia* (1536), ed. J.C. von Fichard, *Frankfurterisches Archiv für ältere deutsche Litteratur und Geschichte* 3 (1815) 129.



FIGURE 3.3 Arena of Verona (first half of the first century AD), remains of the outer wall
IMAGE © AUTHOR

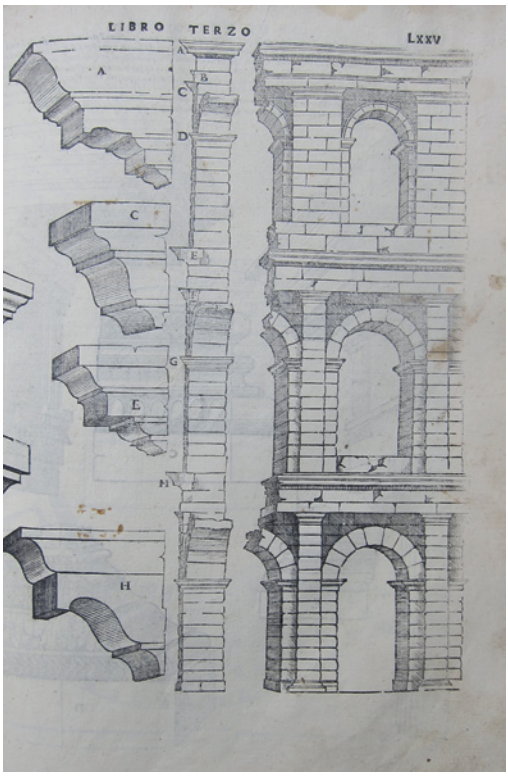


FIGURE 3.4
Arena of Verona, elevation and details of the articulation. From: Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (Venice: 1540)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

2 Dating of the Arena of Verona in the Renaissance

Regarding the circumstances of the construction of the Arena of Verona, there is nothing handed down in ancient sources. Early in the fifteenth century, the Veronese were amazed at this lack of information, since otherwise ancient writings mention great monuments, such as the Colosseum. The best example of the discussion on the phenomenon may be found in the long eulogy to Verona written by Francesco Corna in 1477. It treats all the antiquities of the city; twelve whole stanzas are devoted to the Arena.[12] Corna reports that the opinions about the origins of the Arena varied widely: some thought that it was built by one of the seven kings of Rome (ca. 750–500 BC) or by a Roman consul or by King Theoderic of the Ostrogoths (died 526 AD in Ravenna). Coma held that all these opinions were wrong and instead dated the Arena to the era

12 Corna da Soncino Francesco, *Fioretto de le antiche croniche de Verona e de tutti i soi confini e de le reliquie che se trovano dentro in ditta citade*, eds. G.P. Marchi – P. Brugnoli (Verona: 1973) 55–59, stanzas 149–161.

of Augustus. We shall return to the dating later. However, that is not the main point of the discussion: Corna sought an explanation for the phenomenon that the Arena's founder is not known. He considers it unlikely that a single man founded this theatre; because of the magnificence of the monument, his name would be known and he would be famous as a great ruler. Corna solves the problem by this argument: 'In truth it is most probable that the people as a community had made it to exalt their native city with great praise, glory and condition, for they used to make buildings with great art everywhere'.[13] I suppose that this idea derives from the Latin signature 'Senatus Populusque Romanus', which in many ancient inscriptions, official documents, and other writings rhetorically attributes the authority or the responsibility for an activity, and in particular a building initiative, to the Roman people. Even a Veronese municipal council decree of 1568 regarding a restoration of the Arena considers it most probable that the community of the Veronese citizens had constructed the Arena.[14] Here, fervent patriotism created a profaned version of the medieval report of how all the people in common collaborated in the construction of the cathedral of Chartres.[15]

The dating of the Arena to the golden era of Augustus had its origins in the Middle Ages. The first person to adopt it during the Renaissance was Ciriaco d'Ancona, and then this practice became normal in Verona.[16] This had to do with the fact that in Verona and in other northern Italian places Vitruvius was considered a native of Verona, because the Arco dei Gavi in Verona bears an inscription indicating that it had been built by an architect named Lucius Vitruvius Cerdo, and this person was identified as being the author of the

13 Corna, *Fioretto*, stanza 159: 'Queste cotal ragione a mi non pare / aver de fede vera conclusione, / ma inver più presto lo facesse fare / el populo per sua communione, / vogliando lor la sua patria exaltare / de grande fama, laude e condizione: / ché gli era usanza quasi in ogni parte / fare qualche edificio con grande arte'.

14 Cf. below, note 54.

15 Letter of the Abbot Haimo of St-Pierre-sur-Dives (Calvados) to Tutbury Priory in England 1145. Kimpel D. – Suckale R., *Die gotische Architektur in Frankreich 1130–1270* (Munich: 1985) 72.

16 Ciriaco d'Ancona, *Itinerarium*, ed. Laurentius Mehus (Florence, Giovanni Paolo Giovannelli: 1742) 28. Cited by Sarayna Torello, *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae* (Verona, Antonio Putelleti: 1540), fols. 13r–15r; and Panvinio Onofrio, *Antiquitatum Veronensium libri VIII* (Passau, Paolo Frambotto: 1648) 93–95, who also evokes a 'very old' chronicle. Maffei, *Verona illustrata* vol. 4, 68–69. Marchi G.P., "Ciriaco negli studi epigrafi di Scipione Maffei", in Paci G. – Sconocchia S. (eds.), *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'umanesimo* (Reggio nell'Emilia: 1998) 453–467, here 460–461. Ciriaco d'Ancona visited Venice several times, and in 1423 he visited Pula, cf. Colin J., *Cyriaque d'Ancône. Le voyageur, le marchand, l'humaniste* (Paris: 1981) 36–38.

famous treatise of architecture from the era of Augustus [Fig. 3.5].[17] It was not only a patriot like Francesco Corna who accepted this identification – even the critical Antonio da Sangallo did so as well when studying the monument.[18] In the Renaissance, the citizens of Verona exalted the great personalities of antiquity who originated from their native town, like the ancient buildings as a badge of honour for the city. Among them were both Plinys, the authors of the *Natural History* and of the *Letters*, respectively, which were most important for architecture, too. The ancient personalities are represented by the statues on top of the Loggia del Consiglio, which was built in the late fifteenth century opposite the town hall of Verona at the Piazza dei Signori [Fig. 3.6]. Vitruvius stands over the corner of the building between the Piazza dei Signori and the main street leading from there to the cathedral. The attribution of the Arco dei Gavi was often also transferred to the Arena, at first by Ciriaco d'Ancona and Filarete, then by the Venetian historian Marino Sanudo and many others.[19]

In 1540, the Veronese lawyer and antiquarian Torello Sarayna published a treatise about the antiquities of Verona which was richly illustrated with large woodcuts [Figs. 3.5 and 3.7].[20] It was the first treatise on local antique architecture outside Rome ever printed. The book is imbued with the same passionate love for the native city as Corna's eulogy was. The above-quoted epigram by Corna is printed at the beginning of Sarayna's work. Sarayna emphasizes that only Rome is as rich in ancient monuments as Verona, and he praises the great men of ancient Verona, including Vitruvius, the author of *De architectura*.

As usual, Sarayna treats the Arena most extensively.[21] He repeats that the *cavea* is particularly well preserved and that only the Colosseum surpasses the Arena in size, but the Arena is more elaborate, as it is built of marble. In view of its magnificence, he also dates it to the golden era of Augustus. As with

17 Gallerani P.I., "Andrea Mantegna e Jacopo Bellini, percorsi epigrafici a confronto", *Aquileia nostra* 70 (1999) 177–214, esp. 191–197; Beltramini G., "Mantegna e la firma di Vitruvio", in Marini P. – Marinelli S. (eds.), *Mantegna e le arti a Verona 1450–1550* (Venice: 2006) 137–144.

18 Gallerani, "Mantegna e Bellini" 191–197; Beltramini G., "Architetture firmate nel Rinascimento italiano", in Beltramini G. – Burns H. (eds.), *L'architetto: ruolo, volto, mito* (Venice: 2009) 49–66, 52–53. For the opinion of Antonio da Sangallo on the Arco dei Gavi, cf. Uffizi, GDSU A 1382: 'Questo archo è di mano di Vetruvio ed è bellissimo'. Cf. also Vasori O., *I monumenti antichi in Italia nei disegni degli Uffizi*, ed. A. Giuliano (Rome: 1981) no. 125.

19 Ciriaco d'Ancona, *Itinerarium* 28. Cited by Sarayna, *Verona* fol. 13 v. Averlino Antonio detto il Filarete, *Trattato di Architettura*, ed. A.M. Finoli – L. Grassi (Milan: 1972) 337. Sanudo Marino, *Itinerario di Marin Sanuto per la terraferma Veneziana nell'anno MCCCCLXXXIII*, ed. R. Brown (Padua: 1847) 101.

20 Sarayna, *Verona*.

21 Sarayna, *Verona*, fols. 13 v–15 r, and 37 v.

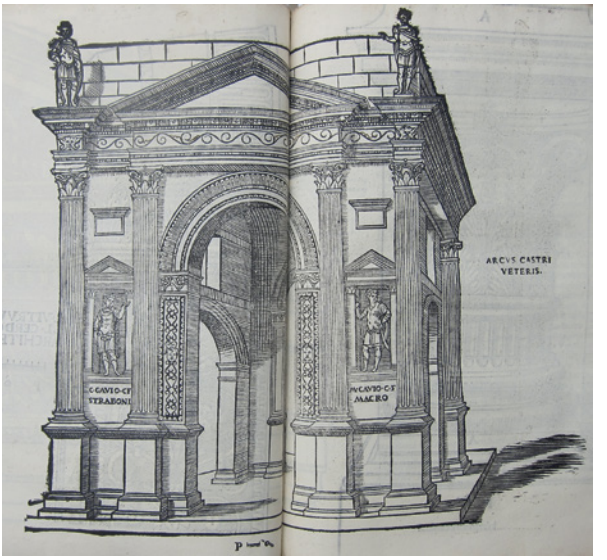


FIGURE 3.5 Arco dei Gavi, Verona. From: Torello Sarayna, *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae* (Verona: 1540)
IMAGE © AUTHOR



FIGURE 3.6 Verona, Loggia del Consiglio
IMAGE © AUTHOR



FIGURE 3.7 Porta dei Borsari. From: Verona, in Torello Sarayna, *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae*. (Verona: 1540)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

Francesco Corna, it appears as a sign of the ancient freedom of Verona, since Sarayna also claims that it was founded not by a single person or Roman potentate, but by the community of citizens.

The ancient monuments also influenced the new architecture in Verona, Venice, and the Veneto. Mauro Codussi had already imitated some of its motives in Venice; Giovanni Maria Falconetto and others took the Arco dei Gavi as a model for the unusual idea of signing their own buildings.[22] Michele Sanmicheli imitated elements of the Arena and the Porta dei Borsari [Fig. 3.7].

22 Burns H., "Le antichità di Verona e l'architettura del Rinascimento", in Marini P. (ed.), *Palladio e Verona*, exh. cat. (Verona: 1980) 103–118. Beltramini, "Architetture firmate" 54–61.

The Palazzo Bevilacqua is the main example of this: it adopts on the ground floor the articulation of the Arena, with its slender rusticated pilasters, and upstairs it takes on that of the nearby Porta dei Borsari, with its special window frames and spiral fluting of the columns.

3 Sebastiano Serlio's Opinion on the Arena of Verona

This ideal world was disrupted by Sebastiano Serlio after he had settled in Venice. He had become famous as a theorist of architecture for his book on the orders of columns published in 1537, which was the first profound treatise dedicated to that matter. Before he moved to Venice, he had lived in Rome, where he thoroughly studied the ancient monuments. A few months before Sarayna's book appeared, Serlio published his work on the antiquities of Rome and of all Italy, which would remain a classic in the field until the end of the seventeenth century.[23] As he states explicitly, the main aim of this work was to teach its readers how to differentiate between good and bad architecture.[24] In his presentations of the ancient buildings, he evaluates them. Thereby the ancient buildings of Verona come off quite badly. Serlio rejects the claim that Vitruvius was the architect of the Arco dei Gavi,[25] and by consequence also the assumption that he was a native from Verona and might have built the Arena is cancelled. Moreover, Serlio criticizes some monuments of Verona for violating the classical rules. He disqualifies the Porta dei Borsari of being so 'barbaric' that it was not even worthy of being recorded in his book at all [Fig. 3.7].[26]

The Arena, however, was too famous to be so overtly attacked. Therefore, Serlio makes a detour: he only remarks briefly that the Arena is made in the same style as the Arena of Pola.[27] This makes sense [Figs. 3.4 and 3.8]. But then Serlio delivers the verdict that was quoted already above in a later, distorted version:

23 Serlio Sebastiano, *Il terzo libro, nel qual si figurano & descrivono le antichità di Roma & le altre, che sono in Italia & fuori d'Italia* (Venice, Francesco Marcolini: 1540).

24 Günther H., "Sebastiano Serlios Lehrprogramm", in Boschetti-Maradi A. – Kersten W. (eds.), *Fund-Stücke – Spuren-Suche*, Zurich Studies in the History of Art 17/18 (Berlin: 2011) 494–517.

25 Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (1540 edition) 131.

26 Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (1540 edition) 141.

27 Regarding the architectural members: 'le quali hanno forma diversa da quelle di Roma, e paion de la maniera di quelle de l'Amphitheatro di Pola'. Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (1540 edition) 74.

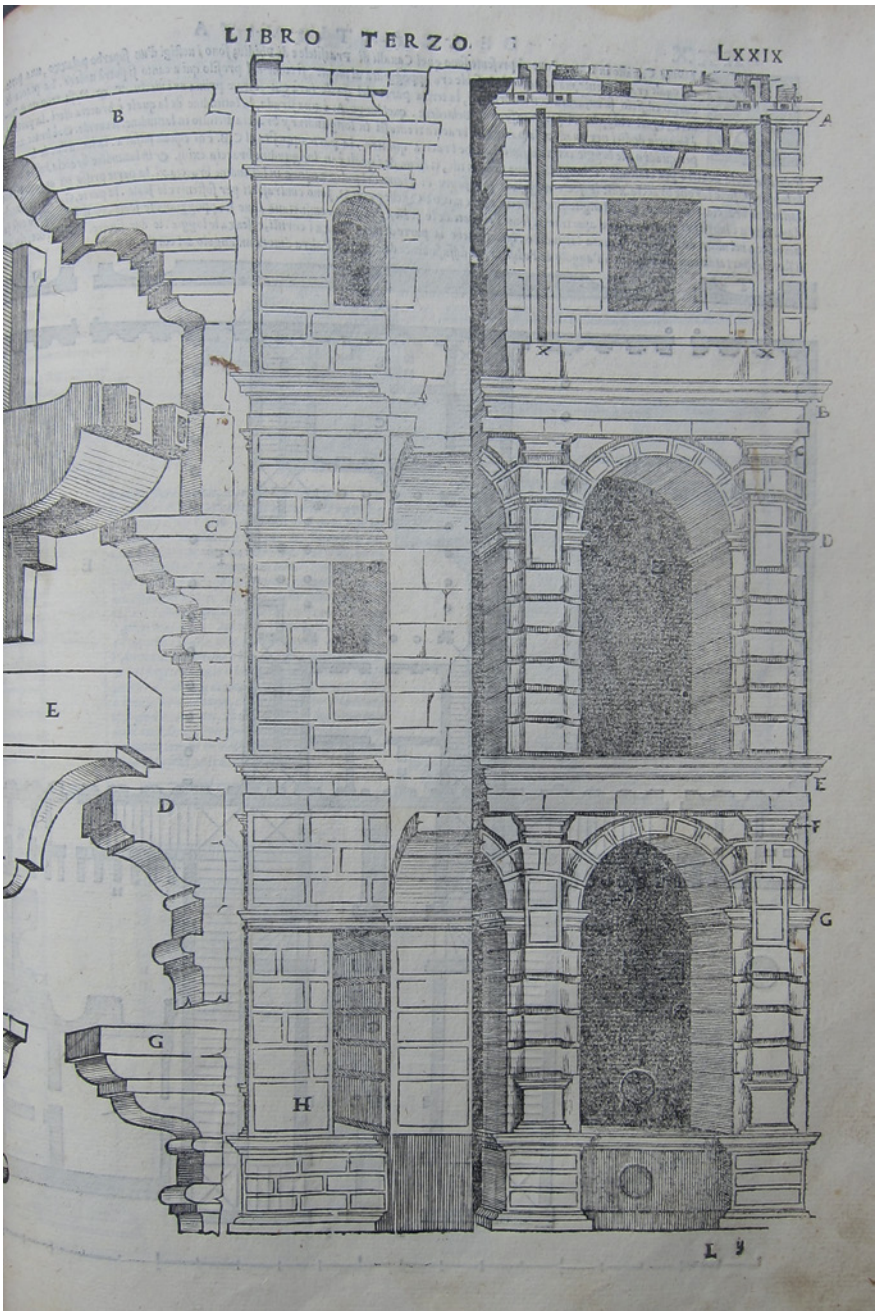


FIGURE 3.8 The Arena of Pola, elevation und details of the articulation. From: Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (Venice: 1540)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

> The manner of this articulation [of the Arena] is obviously very different from that used in Rome and I for my part would not adopt such members in my works, but avail myself willingly of those of the Theatre in Pola, as they are of a better manner and better conceived; I am sure that this was a different architect than this one; and by chance he was a German, because the members have something of the Germanic manner (*maniera tedesca*).[28]

Please observe the slight but grave differences from the text of the distorted version: in the original version a Germanic architect should have built not the Colosseum, but the arena of Pola, and hence that of Verona. In the next chapter I will discuss the reason for this change.

I suppose that in the original context Serlio did not intend to refer to the Germanic tribes as described by Tacitus, but to the Ostrogoths, who settled in northern Italy and Dalmatia during the sixth century. It was well known in the Renaissance that the king of the Ostrogoths, Theoderic the Great, had established a residence in Verona.[29] This fact was distorted during the Middle Ages into the legend that Theoderic had built the arenas of Verona and Pola and had even dwelt there.[30] The Arena of Verona was also known as 'the palace of Theoderic'. As mentioned above, Francesco Corna reports this as one of the opinions about the person who had built it and it was repeated by many foreign visitors of Verona during the Renaissance. It was particularly attractive for German visitors because they identified Theoderic with Dietrich of Bern, the hero of the Nibelungen saga who was king of 'Bern' or 'Dietrichsbern' – the old German name for Verona. In 1521, Count Palatine Ottheinrich still remarked during his visit in Verona:

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28 Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (1540 edition) 78: 'la maniera di questi corniciamenti è molto differente da quelle di Roma, come si puo vedere ed io per me non faria tal cornice [instead of 'cornici come quelle de l'Amphitheatro di Roma', as in the edition of 1544] ne le mie opere: ma di quelle del theatro [instead of: 'de l'Edificio' of the 1544 edition] di Pola si bene me ne servira: perche elle sono di miglior maniera e meglio intese, e tengo per certo che quel fusse un'altro Architetto differente da questo e per aventura questo fu Tedesco: percioche le cornici [missing: 'del Coliseo'] hanno alquanto de la maniera tedesca'.

29 Cassiodorus, *Variae* X, 27; XII, 27. Procopius, *Bellum Gothicum* II, 12. *Excerpta Valesiana* 71. Cf. the articles 'Theoderich', 'Verona', and 'Ticinum' in *Pauly-Wissowas Realencyklopädie des Classischen Altertums*; Flavio Biondo, *Italia illustrata* (Basel, Officina Frobeniana: 1531) 345; idem, *Le historie da la declinatione de l'Impero di Roma insino al tempo suo*, trans. L. Fauno (Venice, Michele Tramezzino: 1543–1550), vol. I, fols. 24r, 25r, and 178v.

30 Coarelli – Franzoni, *Arena di Verona* 69–70. Esch, "Staunendes Sehen" 390.

> [...] I have seen a great Colosseum, in which Dietrich of Bern dwelt.[31]

Someone who was able to found complex buildings, such as S. Vitale and the Mausoleum in Ravenna, could also be trusted to have built the arenas of Verona and Pola. However, the casual expression 'per avventura questo fu Tedesco' (by chance this was a German) suggests that behind the attribution of the arenas to an Ostrogothic architect Serlio hid some irony about the medieval Veronese tradition.

4 First Responses to Serlio's Opinion

Torello Sarayna reacted furiously to Serlio's book on ancient buildings. On the back side of the title page of his book Sarayna had printed a warning to the reader. It states that a certain Sebastianus Sergius from Bologna had published a book in which he treats some monuments of Verona along with many antiquities, but as he had not seen them for himself, he had either carelessly deformed what he had taken over from others, or had consciously distorted it.[32]

Sarayna was a powerful personality. Even today, his sumptuous tomb and the huge altar screen erected by him in S. Fermo in Verona hold up his wealth before our eyes. Serlio would suffer for having degraded the monuments of Verona. One year after the publication of his book on ancient buildings, he was promoted far away from Venice, in France, with the help of Pietro Aretino. Guillaume Philandrier, while staying in Venice as the secretary of the French ambassador there, had worked amicably with Serlio, but in 1544 in his commentary on Vitruvius he distanced himself from Serlio because he had published his book on ancient buildings very precipitously.[33] Then followed such a stream of criticism that Egnazio Danti wrote some forty years later: 'I do not

31 *Hertzog Ott Heinrichs raißbeschreibung in Palaestinam*, ed. and trans. in Reichert F., *Die Reise des Pfalzgrafen Ottheinrich zum Heiligen Land 1521* (Regensburg: 2005) 102–243, here 108–109: 'unndt hab do geseh<en> ein große Colise, do der Berner in gewohnt hat'. Indicated to me courtesy of Hanns Hubach.

32 'Hic te admonendum lector putavimus, quod ante hanc nostram impressionem, quidam Sebastianus Sergius [sic] Bononiensis inter multorum locorum antiquitates, quarum volumen ab se compositum dedit, Veronensium etiam monumentorum aliquot se antiquarium professus est, quae, quia ipse non vidit, imprudenter fortasse ab alterius incuria sumpta, aut non recte designavit, aut non cognita subticuit. [...]'.

33 Philandrier Guillaume, *In decem libros M. Vitruvii Pollionis de architectura annotationes* (Rome, Giovanni Andrea Dossena: 1544) 137.

know any architect who would not extensively use his works, although I have seen few who do not criticize these works'.[34]

In 1544 the second edition of Serlio's book on ancient buildings was published. As Serlio was absent from Italy then, the publisher could eliminate the derogatory treatment of the Arenas of Pola and Verona. He did so by redirecting Serlio's attribution regarding a German architect from the Arena of Pola towards the Colosseum. In this way the bizarre attribution of the Colosseum to a German architect came into being. Although the frivolous substitution is just a joke that evokes the evil tongue of Pietro Aretino, it remained in all later Italian editions of Serlio's book on ancient buildings, but it usually was not adopted in the translations published in foreign countries.

However, Serlio's critical attitude could not be easily dismissed after some great architects had come to northern Italy who, like Serlio, had been shaped by the classicism of the Roman High Renaissance: Michele Sanmicheli returned to Verona, Jacopo Sansovino was appointed state architect of Venice, and Giulio Romano had moved to Mantua as court architect. The Doric articulations, which all three of them used in many buildings, usually follow the rules established in Rome and are in obvious contrast to the articulation of the Arena of Verona. The identification of the architect of the Arco dei Gavi with the author of the Augustean architectural treatise became obsolete after the curators of its major editions, Fra Giocondo and Cesariano, had abandoned it. Also Philandrier agreed with their opinion.

5 Dating of the Arena in Early Periods of Italian Architecture

Nevertheless, there remained a way to save the honour of the Arena. This path branches out from the two other old opinions that Francesco Corna reports on the origins of the Arena, namely that it was founded either by one of the kings of Rome or by a Roman consul. The "seven mythical kings of Rome" means the seven mythical kings of Rome from the Etruscan period, i.e. from Romulus to Tarquinius Superbus. It was well known that the Etruscans also populated parts of northern Italy. Flavio Biondo already stated that they had founded Mantua.[35] I suppose that Leon Battista Alberti wanted to revive this heritage with his idea of giving S. Andrea in Mantua the form of an Etruscan

34 Barozzi da Vignola Jacopo, *Le due regole della prospettiva practica*, ed. E. Danti, (Rome, Francesco Zannetti: 1583) 82: '[…] nessuno Architetto ho mai conosciuto, il quale non si serva grandemente dell'opere sue, se bene rari n'ho visti, da'quali dette opere non siano biasimate'.

35 Biondo, *Italia illustrata* (Basel, Officina Frobeniana: 1531) 360.

temple.[36] Sarayna tries to prove in detail that the Etruscans also founded Verona. For this, he refers to the fragments of the Elder Cato's *Origines*; however, he did not refer to what is known of the work today, but to one of the forgeries that Annio da Viterbo edited together with his notorious Berosus falsification in 1498 and to which many Italian humanists, as well as Scamozzi, gave credence.[37]

The early dating apparently belongs in the context of the competition between cities for the oldest tradition. In Italy as well as elsewhere, many cities claimed that Trojan heroes had founded them; so, in the vicinity of Verona, Padua had her origins traced back to Antenor. Therefore, the Veronese could not but pretend that the foundations of their city had been laid before the Fall of Troy and before Antenor came to Italy.[38] Sarayna argued that Verona had originated in Babylonian times.[39] Marin Sanuto writes in 1483 that Shem, a son of Noah, had built the first city of Verona.[40] As Sarayna further reports furthermore, during recent construction works, caves were discovered in Verona that looked just like those Vitruvius had described as the earliest dwellings of mankind.[41] Thus, the first human beings might have settled in the place. About the same time as, Corna composed his elegy on Verona, Sigismund Meisterlin wrote his chronicle of Augsburg in which he gave a vivid description of the life the descendants of Noah's son Japhet led in Europe and how they began to build primitive dwellings.[42]

About the Roman consul whom some believed to be the founder of the arena of Verona, Francesco Corna stated that he was involved in the battles of Bedriacum (69 AD), from which Vespasian emerged as the victor and subsequently rose to the rank of emperor.[43] However, the consul then took on an

36 Krautheimer R., "Alberti's templum etruscum", *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 12 (1961) 65–73.

37 M. Porcius Cato, "Fragmenta ex libris originum", in *Fragmenta vetustissimorum auctorum summo studio ac diligentia nunc recognita*, ed. Annio da Viterbo (Basel, Johannes Bebel: 1530) 6; Nanni Giovanni, *Le antichità di Beroso Caldeo sacerdote. Et d'altri scrittori cosi Hebrei, come Greci, Latini, che trattano delle stesse materie*, trans. F. Sansovino (Venice, Altobello Salicato: 1583) 62.

38 Valerini Adriano, *Le bellezze di Verona. Nuovo ragionamento* (Verona, Girolamo Discepoli: 1586) 8.

39 Sarayna, *Verona* fol. 5 v.

40 Sanuto, *Itinerario* 96.

41 Sarayna, *Verona* fol. 7 r.

42 Meisterlin Sigismund, *Ein schöne Cronick und Hystoria, wye nach der Synndtfluß Noe die teutschen, das streitpar volck, iren anfang enpfangen haben* (Augsburg, Melchior Ramminger: 1522), fol. 4 v.

43 Sartori F., "Un fabbro umanista del '400: Francesco Corna da Soncino", in Accademia di agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona (ed.), *Il Territorio Veronese in età Romana. Convegno del 22–23–24 ottobre 1971: atti* (Verona: 1973) 691–727, esp. 721–722.

entirely different identity. The new version was advanced in a debate about the Arena which was conducted in 1526 during a dinner at the court of Marquis Federico II of Mantua. Perhaps it was Giulio Romano who raised the issue, as he had just begun building the Palazzo Tè on behalf of the Marquis. The *rustica* that he had extensively adopted to decorate the palace might have attracted the interest of the courtiers in the Arena of Verona, and perhaps Giulio, as a scholar of Raphael, had already criticized the articulation of the monument. The Count Ludovico Nogarola, a learned gentleman from Verona who had been brought to the court of Mantua by the future Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, was then asked who had founded the Arena, and answered in a way that seems to have been intended to protect the monument of his hometown against such criticism: a monk, he said, had indicated to him that at S. Frediano in Lucca there was a building inscription commemorating as the founder a person named L.Q. Flaminius. After he had returned to Verona, the count wrote a letter to the marquis where he records the discussion for posterity and strengthens his answer by reproducing *in extenso* the inscription that Scamozzi later annotated on Serlio's representation of the Arena (albeit with some small variations) – thus proving the great antiquity of the monument.[44]

Although its magnificence suggested a date in the Augustean era for the Arena, apparently it was also imaginable that such a building had already been built in the early days of Rome. Sarayna reports that theatres and amphitheatres were already common in Greece and Italy before the Romans seized power, and this was still confirmed by Scamozzi.[45] Statilius Taurus erected the first amphitheatre in Rome (29 BC), but ancient writings report that a gladiator battle was fought in Rome as early as 264 BC and that circuses had existed in Rome as early as in the time of the kings and the republic: King Tarquinius Priscus founded the Circus Maximus, while the censor and later consul C. Flaminius Nepos founded the Circus Flaminius only ca. 30 years after

44 'L. Q. Flaminius roman. cons. ac universae / Greciae domitor, Amphitheatrum Veronae / Sumptibus propriis a fundamentis erexit/ Anno ab urbe condita DIII': Archivio di Stato Mantova, A.G., Busta 1560. Biadego G., "Una falsa iscrizione intorno all' Anfiteatro di Verona", *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 40 (1904–1905) 86–93. Brown C.M., "The decoration of the private apartment of Federico II Gonzaga on the pianoterreno of the Castello di San Giorgio", in Belfanti C.M. – D'Onofrio F. – Ferrari D. – Guerre C.M. (eds.), *Stati e Città. Mantova e l'Italia Padana dal secolo XIII al XIX* (Mantua: 1988) 315–343, esp. 326.

45 Copy of a draft of Scamozzi's fourth book of the *Idea*, on theatres, in the Biblioteca Bertoliana, Vicenza, MS 3314, p. 4. Lippmann W., "Frammenti del manoscritto inedito del IV libro dell'Idea della architettura universale: i due capitoli su teatri e anfiteatri", in Barbieri F. – Beltramini G. (eds.), *Vincenzo Scamozzi 1548–1616* (Venice: 2003) 479–482: '[…] l'uso degli Amphitheatri pare antichissimo non solo appresso a Greci […]'.

the alleged creation of the Arena of Verona by the consul Quintus Flaminius.[46] The shape of the circuses is not mentioned, but Pliny's description of the legendary grave of King Porsenna testifies that a colossal Etruscan monument already existed around 500 BC.[47] Daniele Barbaro writes in his comment on Vitruvius that Vitruvius had treated the Etruscan way of building, because architecture did arise first by the Etruscans and because their kings had built many generous monuments and buildings.[48] In the Palazzo d'Arco at Mantua, Giovanni Maria Falconetto depicted the appearance of Mutius Scaevola before Porsenna against the background of an amphitheatre similar to the Arena of Verona (ca. 1515).[49]

The foundation inscription of the Arena of Verona is a fake.[50] As initially mentioned, it contains obvious inconsistencies. Its strange location far from Verona, in Lucca, and the monk from Lucca as reporter of the inscription seem to have been invented as a classical rhetorical device to absolve Count Nogarola from responsibility for the fake. Verona as the native town of Felice Feliciano was a centre of humanistic epigraphy and of inventing ancient inscriptions.[51] I doubt whether the count was really serious about the inscription. His story might as well have been an intellectual play, as they were common in the courtly societies of the Renaissance. Mantua was a centre of courteous culture, and vivid testimonies of the wit cultivated there have been passed down.[52]

Anyway, for a long time nothing more was heard of the faked inscription. Sarayna and some later authors do not take it into account. The *Antiquitates Veronenses* by the great historian Onofrio Panvinio (1529–1568), and an engraving published in 1560 in Rome by Antonio Lafreri retained Sarayna's dating of the Arena to the Augustean era.[53] Afterwards, a dating even to late antiquity

46 Livy, *History* III, 54, 15.

47 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XXXVI, 91, 93. Fane-Saunders P., *Pliny the Elder and the Emergence of Renaissance Architecture* (Cambridge: 2016) 271–275.

48 Barbaro Daniele, *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio* (Venice, Francesco de' Franceschi – Christoforo Chrieger: 1567) 193.

49 Signorini R., *Il palazzo d'Arco in Mantova: da casa a museo* (Mantua: 2016) 52–88.

50 *CIL* V, 1, 36–42, no. 411.

51 Mitchell C., "Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy", in Jacob E.F. (ed.), *Italian Renaissance Studies* (London: 1960) 455–483, here 480–481; idem, "Felice Feliciano", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 47 (1961) 197–221. Grafton A., *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (London: 1990).

52 Cf., for example, Günther H., "Badekultur in der italienischen Renaissance", in Deutsch K. – Echinger-Maurach C. – Krems E.-M. (eds.), *Höfische Bäder in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin – Boston 2017) 25–45, esp. 39, 43–44.

53 Schweikhart, *Antichità di Verona* Fig. 46. Panvinio, *Antiquitatum Veronensium* 93.

emerged.[54] However, in 1550 the historian Leandro Alberti from Bologna published the faked inscription in his scholarly guidebook of Italy, which had ten further editions in Venice until 1631, as well as two German translations.[55] He presents the fake as a serious document and deduces from it that the Arena is very old. From then on, the false inscription appeared again and again in books and illustrations as a basis for dating the Arena of Verona [Fig. 3.2]. In 1560 Giovanni Caroto, who had supplied the illustrations in Sarayna book on the antiquities of Verona, inserted it in his own picture book *The Antiquities of Verona*, which he had published with the intention to 'represent the grandeur and inestimable magnificence of his hometown' as, no less than Sarayna's, also 'his soul was always inflamed to make himself and his nation immortal'.[56] Even the Veronese municipal council decree of 1568 regarding a restoration of the Arena mentions the consul as its founder.[57] In this frame belongs the gloss of

54 Sigonio Carlo, *Historiarum de Occidentali Imperio libri XX* (Basel, Thomas Guarini: 1579) 30.

55 Alberti Leandro, *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (Bologna, Anselmo Giaccarelli: 1550), fol. 413r: 'L. V. Flaminius Rom. Cons. ac universae Graeciae Domitor, Amphitheatrum Veronae propriis sumptibus erexit Anno ab Urbe Condita. D.III'. Marijke Ottink (Commission for the edition of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften) indicated to me a somewhat strange article by Ridolfi M., "Sopra alcuni quadri di Lucca restaurati: ragionamento quinto", *Atti della R. Academia Lucchese di scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 14 (Lucca: 1853) 299–391, esp. 306–308. There, the inscription published by Leandro is quoted in the following manner: 'L. Q. Flaminius C. / Ac universae Graeciae domitor / Amphitheatrum….. /…….. Veronae / S …….. /An. ab Urbe cond … DIV….'. According to Ridolfi, Alberti filled the *lacunae* as follows: '[…] / Amphitheatrum *hoc* / *Sicut illud* Veronae / Suis expensis fieri curavit / Anno ab Urbe condita *DLXIII'* (emphasis mine). In reality, this deviates from Leandro's transcription. There is no explanation for Ridolfi's version.

56 Caroto Giovanni, *De le antiquità de Verona con nuovi agionti* (Verona, Paolo Ravagnan: 1560). Schweikhart, *Antichità di Verona* pl. 60; preface: 'Essendomi gia molto per spasso & utilita dell'architettura et anchora dilettato di investigar, ritrovar & ritrar in disegno anticaglie di molte sorti & havendone abundantemente ritrovate nella patria mia, le quali in molti modi mi hanno dato maraviglia, parte per bellezza & artificioso lavoro, ch'io ho veduto & notato in quelle, parte perche da loro mi e stata rappresentata la grandezza & la magnificenza inestimabile, nella quale si puo facilmente giudicare esser stata nobilissima & antichissima la citta di Verona mi venne voglia di metterle in stampa & farne parte a tutti … & cosi mostrar a tutto il mondo l'amplitudine & grandezza della nostra citta.' Subsequent first eulogy on Caroto: '… Il Carotto alto e divino/ In cui fu sempre mai l'anima accesa/ Di far se stesso e la Patria immortale'.

57 Biadego, "Una falsa iscrizione" 86: 'Amphitheatrum nostrum, quod Arena nuncupatur, spectaculis et ludis publicis destinatum a Quinto Flaminio Romano Proconsule, ut ferunt, seu potius a Republica Veronensi conditum'.

Scamozzi on Serlio's representation of the Arena. It seems to be copied from Caroto.[58]

How Leandro and others came to know the false inscription and to take it seriously, I do not know. Leandro does not reveal his reasons; instead, he cites only Sarayna as the source of his information on the antiquities of Verona. From Sarayna, he adopts *inter alia* the argumentation based on the false Cato that the Etruscans had founded Verona.[59] But Leandro was not the only source for the dissemination of the fake inscription, because often – in all the examples cited above – a version of it that is closer to Nogarola's letter than to Leandro's guidebook was adopted (mainly the initials of the name of the consul is indicated here as 'L.Q.', instead of 'L.V.' as in Leandro). Apparently Nogarola's version was circulating in Verona and its surroundings.

6 The Arena of Verona as a Model for the Tuscan Order of Columns

The love for Verona inspired further historical inventions in honour of the city. For example, the actor with literary ambitions Adriano Valerini writes about the etymology of her name (1586) that 'Verona' is derived either from 'vera una, veramente unica e sola di bellezza al Mondo', surpassing Rome and all the wonders of the world, or it stems from 'verità' in the sense 'that the people of Verona are honest, which does not apply to many other peoples, especially not to those of Greece, who forever have the epithet or the gift of being deceptive and false, if it is permissible to call this vice giftedness'.[60]

A more important new invention was the idea to make the Arena of Verona the model for the Tuscan order of columns. It was assumed that the Etruscans adopted this order together with the Rustica, i.e. only roughly hewn stonework as at the Arena, before the Greek orders penetrated into Italy or even before they had been invented. As was usual in the Renaissance, Andrea Palladio characterizes the Tuscan order in his *Quattro libri* (1570) as 'the most simple and plain order, because it retains something of its early antiquity and lacks all the ornamentation that makes the others [the Greek orders] respectable and

58 This is proved by the accordance of the wording in contrast to other early quotes of the inscription as in the two etchings (one anonymous, dated 1558, the other by Enea Vico ca. 1550), reproduced by Schweikhart, *Antichità di Verona* Figs. 44–49.

59 Sarayna, *Verona* fols. 3 r–4 v.

60 Valerini, *Bellezze di Verona* 8–9: 'Molto più mi piace il nome di Verona, che di Brennona, poi che discende dalla verità, che dinota i Veronesi eßer veraci, il che die molti atri popoli non aviene, e particolarmente di quelli della Grecia, laquale ha per epiteto perpetuo, & per dote, l'eßer mendace, e bugierda, se però è lecito che il vitio si chiami dote'.



FIGURE 3.9
Tuscan Order. From: Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole generali di architettura* (Venice: 1537)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

beautiful'. He bases his opinion, as he says, on 'what Vitruvius says and what can be seen in reality'.[61] Indeed, the source for the design of the Tuscan order hitherto had been the description of the Etruscan temple by Vitruvius (IV, 7): The temple had columns of a simplified Doric form and above them a simple wooden beam and wooden roof. In his book on the orders of columns, Serlio replaced the wooden beam, as he had learned in Rome, with a stone entablature, which – like the column – is just a simplification of the Doric one.[62] This design of the Tuscan order became obligatory until nowadays [Fig. 3.9].

61 Palladio Andrea, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice, Domenico de' Franceschi: 1570) I, 16: 'L'ordine Toscano, per quanto ne dice Vitruvio, e si vede in effetto, è il più schietto, e semplice di tutti gli ordini dell' Architettura: percioche ritiene in se di quella primiera antichità, e manca di tutti quegli ornamenti, che rendono gli altri riguardevoli, e belli'.

62 Serlio Sebastiano, *Regole generali di architettura sopra le cinque maniere de gli edifici cioe, thoscano, dorico, ionico, corinthio, et composito, con gli essempi dell'antiquita, che per la magior parte concordano con la dottrina di Vitruuio* (Venice, Francesco Marcolini: 1537), fols. 6 v–8 r. Günther H., "Gli ordini architettonici: rinascità o invenzione? parte seconda", in Fagiolo M. (ed.), *Roma e l'antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento* (Rome: 1985) 272–310.

In spite of his reference to Vitruvius, however, Andrea Palladio deviated from the standard design and determined the form of the Tuscan order instead by following the example of the arenas of Verona and Pola [Figs. 3.4, 3.8, and 3.10]. He confirms this explicitly, but he does not indicate concise reasons for this.[63] The rich setting of the members with many profiles might rather speak against taking the elements of their articulation as a model for an order characterized by its primitivism. In building practice, Palladio never used the Tuscan order that he had conceived in theory, but adopted Serlio's version or something similar to it. Nevertheless, Scamozzi in his *Idea della architettura universale* (1615) followed Palladio's conception. Like Palladio, he classifies the articulation of the Arena of Verona as Tuscan and takes it as a model for his representation of the Tuscan order. However, he added a further thought to it: he inserts the Doric triglyphs in the frieze because they have evolved from the primitive wooden construction and he thinks that the Tuscan order should 'preserve the simplicity of its origins' [Fig. 3.11].[64] The main reasons for Palladio and Scamozzi to use the Arena of Verona as a model for the Tuscan order were obviously the alleged very early date of its construction and its uncanonical style, which they considered a sign of premature architecture because from the view of Roman classicism it seemed primitive.

7 Conclusion

The various individual facts that have been examined thus far, all together prove that the souls of many natives of Venice and the Veneto were as inflamed as that of Caroto to make their nation immortal. Incited by the same patriotism, the Venetian publisher distorted Serlio's text in the second edition of the book on antique buildings because it degraded the antique monuments in the *terra ferma*, and a Veronese gentleman invented a fake inscription to demonstrate the old age of the Arena of his hometown; after all, Palladio and Scamozzi altered architectural theory with the same desire that, according to Scamozzi, induced the Florentines 'to adopt the Tuscan order or *Rustica* in

63 Palladio, *I quattro libri*, lib. I, 19, sustains that the arenas of Verona and Pola would have partially the same proportions as the Tuscan order; In lib. I, 14, he mentions the two arenas also as examples of the Rustica.

64 Scamozzi Vincenzo, *L'Idea della architettura universal*, vol. II (Venice, *expensis auctoris*: 1615) 53–68.

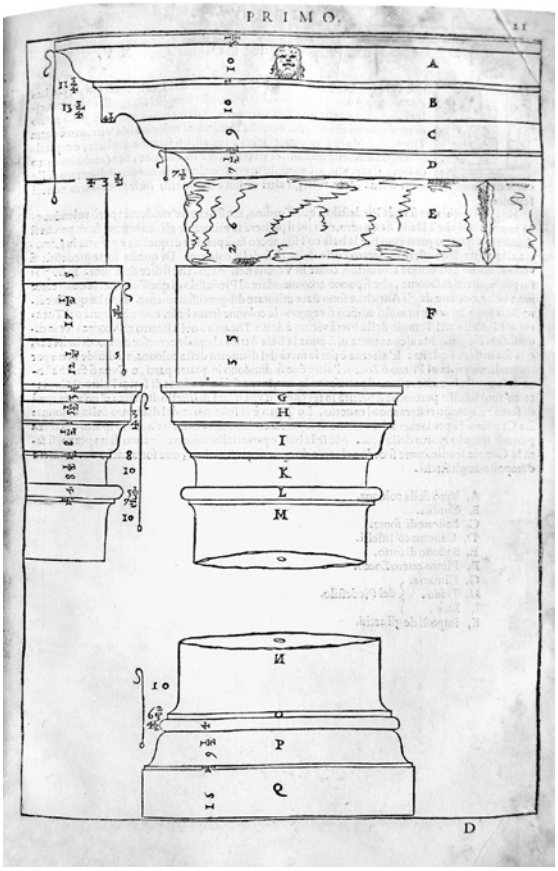


FIGURE 3.10
Tuscan Order. From: Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice: 1570)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

order to preserve their former antiquity'.[65] The new historical classification of the Arena fended off its degradation from the classical perspective, because the violations of the classical rules were supposed to depend on the structure's early date, when architecture was still primitive. Critics might have been scandalized by them, but the advantage of the new classification of the Arena was that now Verona was the only city and the territory of Venice the only region with a great monument of the original Italian style, which was later suppressed by the foreign influence of Greece throughout Italy. Luca Pacioli had criticized Leon Battista Alberti for having neglected the Tuscan order in his architectural

65 In the indices added to the 1619 edition of Serlio's complete works Scamozzi added to the item 'Edificii d'opera Toscana, e Rustica usati assai da' Fiorentini 26.t.12.': 'secondo il Scamozzi, per mantenere la prima Antichità loro […]'. Cf. Scamozzi, *L'Idea della architettura universale*, vol. II, 55.

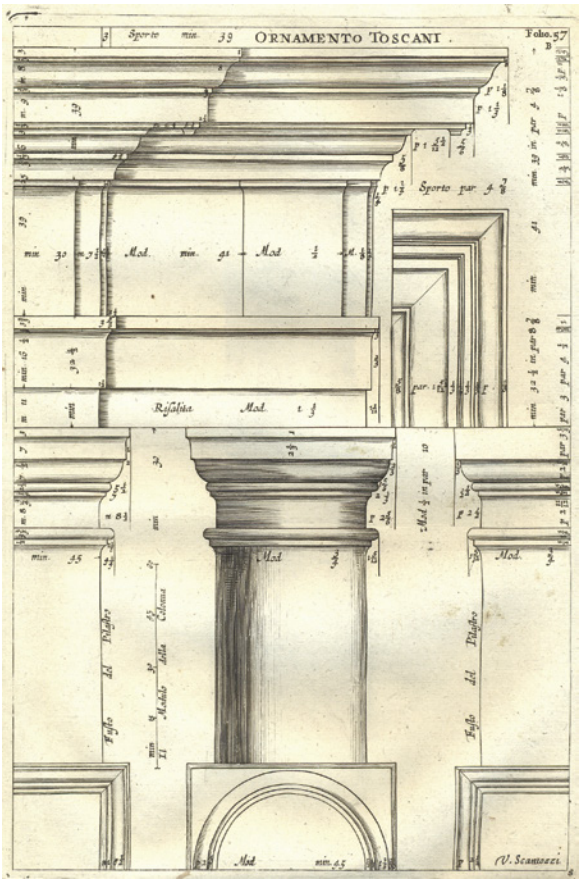


FIGURE 3.11
Tuscan Order. From: Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea dell'architettura universale* (Venice: 1615)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

treatise, despite his Tuscan nationality, and thereby not respecting the 'moral example that makes it everybody's duty to fight for the fatherland'.[66] Palladio and Scamozzi fulfilled their patriotic duty by creating a Tuscan order after the model of the Arena of Verona. Modern historians might as well fulfil their professional duty by placing individual facts and abstract thoughts, which are handed down, in the frame of a living image of history beyond classifying them in theoretical categories.

66 'non abia osservato in essa el morale documento, qual rende licito a cadauno dovere per la patria combattere': Pacioli Luca, *De divina proportione* (Venice, Antonio Capella: 1509), fol. 29 v. Bruschi A. – Tafuri M. – Bonelli R. (eds.), *Scritti rinascimentali di architettura*, Trattati di architettura 4 (Milan: 1978) 122.

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CHAPTER 4

Tradition and Originality in Raphael: The *Stanza della Segnatura*, the Middle Ages and Local Traditions

David Rijser

However much has changed in Renaissance studies, the iconicity of Raphael's *School of Athens* in the Vatican *Stanze* tenaciously continues to hold sway, even when scholars seemingly undermine it by innovative research. Thus a recent attempt to explore undeniably new ways of looking at functions and versions of the past in Renaissance culture eventually cedes to 'the compulsion to end the account with Raphael'.[1] Concluding their study of the interaction between the "substitutional" (that is, art independent of time, author and style but as an instance in a chain of replicas) and the "performative" (art as authorial enunciation) in Quattrocento artistic production, Nagel and Wood in *Anachronic Renaissance* present a Raphael rightly seen *à cheval*. Stunningly innovative and stylistically individualized as Raphael's frescoes were, they were in fact positioned within a traditional context of a (pseudo-) mosaic ceiling and a (neo-) cosmatesque pavement, a defining frame the modern viewer all too easily blocks out of view, concentrating instead on the frescoes as easel-pieces.[2] Yet if Raphael's art indeed advanced a highly individual artistic claim for excellence, it did so quite consciously within a monumental context that played the old game of reproducing form including its "atmosphere" that was as highly traditional [Fig. 4.1].

The authenticating function of "substitution" as construed by recent scholarship is surely relevant for the search for an appropriate past studied in this volume.[3] The recreation of ambience and concomitant content was the essential tool with which to manipulate visitors and viewers of representative space

1 Nagel A. – Wood C.S., *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: 2010) 358. See also (independently) Rijser D., *Raphael's Poetics. Art and Poetry in High Renaissance Rome* (Amsterdam: 2012) 246–247.

2 Although Nagel & Wood also acknowledge 'traditional' motifs in the content of Raphael's frescoes, including the apse-iconography in the *Disputa*, they do not pursue the possibilities offered here.

3 Apart from *Anachronic Renaissance*, see e.g. Belting H., "In Search of Christ's Body: Image or Imprint?", in Kessler H.L. – Wolf G. (eds.), *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*

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FIGURE 4.1 Raphael, *School of Athens* and *Parnassus* framed by pavement and ceiling. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican City, Rome
IMAGE © PUBLIC DOMAIN

into accepting as natural the traditions their patrons wanted to appropriate or associate themselves with. There is no doubt that Julius II as patron of the *Stanza della Segnatura* wanted to do just that. Yet the observation of Nagel and Wood that, apart from the classical past, medieval traditions played a significant role in the *Stanza* as well can be taken further. In fact, a more radical application of the concept of substitution than that performed by the closing chapter of *Anachronic Renaissance* may suggest in what way and for what purpose Julius II connected to tradition in the *Stanza*. This argument entails a demonstration of Raphael's embeddedness in "medieval" iconography in a

(Bologna: 1998) 1–11 and now Thunø E., *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome. Time, Network and Repetition* (Cambridge: 2015).

much more profound sense than has been usual for quite some time.[4] As a consequence, the inveterate tendency of critics to be drawn to the *School of Athens* as moths to a flame appears in a different light, and our attention is allowed to move to the proper focal point, the *Disputa*, at least from the perspective of a reading of the ensemble consistent with *local* tradition.[5] When the argument of the papers in this volume is taken at all seriously, we should *a priori* try and interpret the *Stanza* in connection with its past rather than, as has been done too often, its future as the cradle of Classicism. The fascinating thing is that this issue, in this case as well, is the recent medieval past as much as the more distant classical past.

But we need to begin with the classical tradition Raphael has long been seen to epitomize. As the reader of the present collection will notice time and again, the traditional focus on classical antiquity in Renaissance studies seriously distorts the actual diversity of early modern attitudes towards the past. When broadening the scope of research as attempted here, both periodization of what was considered classical, and the topographical and cultural unity of the classical tradition seem to become fluid. This allows us at least three important perspectives: to view local traditions as bearers of historical and cultural authorisation and legitimation on a par with the classical pasts of Greece and Rome; second, to mistrust the topical Renaissance affirmation of historical otherness, the alleged discontinuity with the recent past that is so central to the agenda of humanists like Petrarch or Valla, and finally, by contrast, become even more aware than previously of striking continuities with what we now call medieval traditions at the very same time.[6]

Such a view of Renaissance culture, however, poses a problem. For the classical "otherness" we had for so long been accustomed to call "Renaissance", *is* prominently present in Raphael's frescoes. It would be as counterintuitive to deny the relevance of the art and culture of classical antiquity for the decoration of the *Stanza*, as it would be to do so for the Latin of Petrarch and

4 Notable exceptions being two articles by Arnold Nesselrath, "Raphael and Pope Julius II", in Chapman H. – Henry T. – Plazotta C. (eds.), *Raphael, from Urbino to Rome*, exh. cat., The National Gallery London (London: 2004) 280–293 and "Raffaels *Madonna von Foligno*", in Henning A. – Nesselrath A. (eds.), *Himmlischer Glanz. Raffael, Dürer und Grünewald malen die Madonna*, exh. cat., Old Masters Gallery Dresden (Munich: 2012) 40–51, from which I take my cue, gratefully acknowledging also personal communication of the author that proved essential for the present article.

5 A failure to grasp the directional dynamics of the room is the main deficiency of Nagel and Wood's interpretation.

6 This has been an on-going project in scholarship from the mid-20th century. For local traditions, different periodisations and continuities with the Middle Ages, see the introduction to this volume.



FIGURE 4.2
Arch of Constantine, Rome. Detail from the northern façade with the Hadrianic tondi
IMAGE © KONRAD OTTENHEYM

Valla. This goes for both content and style. Once more making an example of the *School of Athens*: it contains identifiable portraits of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, and inscriptions of two important works of the latter two; a location moreover evidently evoking antique monumental architecture and sculptural decoration; its narrative (if narrative it is) unfolds under the aegis of Apollo and Minerva;[7] on top of it all, in the vault, a presiding personification inscribed with the Latin tag *cognitio causarum* and seated on a throne supported by the very classical Ephesian Artemis. Lastly, and historically at least as importantly, style: Raphael's representation of figures in space and the ordering of space itself, has since Vasari been seen as his greatest triumph. That triumph arguably owes much to the painter's close inspection of the Hadrianic *tondi* of the Arch of Constantine – as is evinced by the evaluation of this Arch in Raphael's letter to Leo X [Fig. 4.2].[8]

7 Narrativity in the *Stanza* would be rewarding to analyse systematically: on the face of it, it is restricted to liminal areas (e.g., on the *School of Athens* again, the warding off of the messenger on the upper left-side, the *spiegazione* of 'Bramante' on the lower right and the scene of composition with 'Inghirami' on the lower left).

8 Although at the time attributed to the time of Antoninus Pius, see Shearman J., *Raphael in Early Modern Sources* (New Haven: 2003), vol. I, 504, 512, 520.

From that letter it appears that Raphael and his advisers saw a sharp decline of sculptural quality around the third century AD, soon followed by a parallel decline of harmonious architectural form somewhat later, at the time of *i Goti e altri barbari*, presumably referring to the northern peoples that swept over Italy from the early 5th century onwards. If the phrasing remains vague, the general drift is quite clear: decline set in 'from the time when Rome was despoiled and ruined by the Goths and other barbarians, lasting from that time until the Gothic domination of Rome and for one hundred years afterwards'.[9]

Raphael's views on the periodization of classicism are thus attested in authentic pronouncements as co-author (with the help of his humanist friend Castiglione) of an official letter to the Pope, that explicitly stigmatizes 'Gothic' art and architecture as opposed to the classicism of the imperial period that was to be revived by Leo's court.[10] The letter no doubt contains special pleading: its argument is closely connected with the task the writer is to perform, that is, the production of a reconstruction of the ancient city. Yet this does not detract from the forceful implementation of a chronology following the format of (classical) flowering – (Medieval) decadence – Renaissance.

This picture that emerges from the letter to Leo can be corroborated from other sources. Directly after his untimely death at Good Friday 1520, Raphael was praised in an unusual profusion of literary epigrams, of which the one by Bembo that now graces his sepulchral monument is merely the most famous. Without fail, these epigrams mention this very 'restoration of ancient Rome' as Raphael's main claim to fame. That in itself, in Rome, would not be a revolutionary claim: the continuity of the eternal city could only be, and was indeed realized through the medium of restoration and renovation. The striking novelty was that a restoration of *classical* Rome was claimed on behalf of Raphael, for Raphael's activities are represented as a pious restitution, restoration and renovation of a cultural zenith in the classical past. Thus, the discourse on Raphael's activities as a restoration of ancient excellence stressed a gap in time

9 'Anzi, dico che con poca fatica far si può, perché tre sorti di edifici in Roma si trovano: l'una delle quali sono tutti gli antichi ed antichissimi, li quali durarono fin al tempo che Roma fu ruinata e guasta da' Gotti e altri barbari; l'altra, tanto che Roma fu dominata da' Gotti, e ancor cento anni dappoi; l'altra, da quello fin alli tempi nostri' (Shearman, *Raphael*, vol. I, 520; for a bibliography of the letter ibidem 544–545). Gothic domination probably refers to the 'German' Holy Roman Emperors; with the 'addition of a century' the middle period would then extend to the *Trecento*. One example given of 'bad' architecture, the *Torre delle milizie*, indeed dates from the 13th century.

10 The relative contribution of the authors of the letter is hotly debated, yet the collaboration and by implication approval of contents of Raphael is beyond controversy. For a convenient overview of opinions see Shearman, *Raphael*, vol. I, 537–543.

and, with it, in mentality between the substituting present and the past of which it performs substitutions.[11]

That Renaissance Romans saw especially classical Rome in the late Republic and early Empire as their appropriate past, is as evident as are the reasons for it. Rome had been for a time without unblemished splendour, or so it had been suggested by the envious – indeed it had been tainted and humiliated by the Babylonian Captivity. It thus stood in dire need of exclusive ownership of the greatness others continually tried to wrest from her. Hence curials started looking for things specifically and authentically *Roman*. This naturally entailed a focus on the point of time that had established Roman power in its definitive form, at the same time formed the highpoint and zenith of Roman culture, point of reference for all time to come, and last but not least coincided happily with the birth of a new culture and truth, in the form of Christ the King. That is why the period around the beginning of Christ's era was so much more exclusively courted, studied and imitated especially in Rome.

Hence also the tendency, explicitly stated in the historical overview in the first book Girolamo Vida of *De arte poetica* of 1527, to construe literary history as suffering a sharp decline after Cicero and Virgil, only to be revived in the present: this would stress the elective affinity between the receiving culture, the papal court in the Renaissance, and its typological source and counterpart, the establishment of Empire by Augustus and, in tandem, the birth of Christ.[12]

Thus as it were a fifth column of 'historicity' entered the medieval practice of renewal through substitution, that is, the habit of 'replacing' an iconic image or text (differently put: creating a new work in an ancient tradition) was performed with the addition of its projection onto an evaluative time-scale to determine its value; this is exactly what Valla's preface to the *Elegantiae*, the letter to Leo and Vida's *De arte poetica* do. The particular desideratum in cultural matters now became the imitation of the *best* authors and the *perfect* style from the cultural zenith of Rome rather than the tradition as a whole, or

11 Texts in Shearman, *Raphael*, vol. I, s.v. 1520–1521. For discussion see Rijser D., "The Funerary Epigrams on the Painter Raphael: message, function and afterlife", in Beer S. de – Enenkel K.A.E. – Rijser D. (eds.), *The Early Modern Latin Epigram: Towards a Definition of Genre* (Louvain: 2009) 101–131, and Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics* 29–85.

12 Vida *De arte poetica* I, 178–195. It is tempting to attribute the chronologically and topographically more purist Classicism of Raphael, Castiglione and Vida to a change of taste and style under the pontificate of Leo, the historical circumstance of which created an increasing awareness of the need for an "archaeological correctness" polemicizing with the Reformation from the "barbarian" North. This may have played a role (as it did in many other cases), but as the prefaces to Valla's *Elegantiae* attest, in more general terms the discourse was already there.

in general. To be sure, this would not have been possible without two precedents. In the first place Petrarch, who had been motivated by different reasons, but had nonetheless constructed a classical paradigm that had subsequently been developed in Florentine circles and beyond.[13] In the second place, this involvement of the historical in the cultural discourse of nascent Classicism was a revival of arguments from Antiquity itself: for both the implementation of an evaluative historical time-scale, and the identification of a Golden Age of culture (for Roman literature the late Republic and early Empire) were part of the discourse of political and cultural history already in Antiquity, as Renaissance observers could read in e.g. Quintilian and Aulus Gellius.[14] These two precedents, Petrarch's battle-cry for moral regeneration through a confrontation with classical culture in its hey-day, and the discourse of cultural peaks in antiquity itself, could now be harnessed into papal service at the appropriate location, which, of course, could be none other than Rome. The up-shot of all of this is that we are allowed to see more clearly that Classicism, which in the course of its long reign increasingly pretended to encode universal aesthetic (and political) Truths – as indeed universalist tendencies had been clearly present in the venerated examples of Cicero and Virgil – started out on its historical course as a local, Roman tradition.

In an ambience fraught with political and historical claims of superiority as the *Stanza della Segnatura*, Julius's II *oval office*, the presence of classical references, both more general and specifically to the foundational period of the Empire, were natural. But then, what about continuities with the Middle Ages? The answer may be found in the very observation prompted above: that the *Roman* Classicism of the early Cinquecento initially pointed not to a universal, but to a very local tradition. If so, it is likely that traces of local traditions and 'local' history would surface in the form of continuities with medieval traditions, either lurking beneath the surface of the evaluative historicism that we discussed above, or simply there before our noses, unregistered because we used to look in the wrong way.

From this perspective, let us look at the *Stanza della Segnatura*, the paragon of Classicism, once more. The standard version tacitly assumes that Raphael's classical triumph was won over a recent, medieval past now finally discarded thanks to Raphael's classical style, reborn and reaffirmed in contrast with medieval primitivism. Up till now, this surely is what we expect. Yet if so, the visitor of the Vatican *Stanze* is in for a number of surprises. For one thing, references to the Middle Ages in the Vatican *Stanze* are extremely frequent. Not

13 See e.g. Panofsky E., *Renaissance and Renaissances* (London: 1957) 10–18.

14 Quintilian X, 1–13; Gellius XIX, 8,15.

even counting what we would call "late-antique" or "early Christian", it is medieval subject-matter that dominates, in the *Coronation of Charlemagne* of 800, the *Fire in the Borgo* of Leo IV making the sign of cross in 847 and the *Battle of Ostia* of 849. In the *Segnatura* itself there is the *Dedication of the Decretals* of 1230 and in the *Eliodoro* the *Miracle at Bolsena*, the 1263 incident of blood materializing on the corporal of a doubting priest. In fact, tabulation of subject matter in the *Stanze* yields the alarming result that there are only two iconographical subjects exclusively and explicitly corresponding with what subsequently would be called classical: the *Flaying of Marsyas* in the vault of the Segnatura, and the set of grisaille scenes from Roman history in the same vault. The latter by the way are miniature. Apparently, the 'classical' in the *Stanza* has little to do with periodization.

Indeed in the *Stanze*, wherever classical personnel *is* depicted, such as the *School of Athens* or the *Parnassus*, it is always in combination with characters from later periods. In the trans-historical scenes that form the bulk of the *Segnatura* no specific historic occasion is represented, and accordingly a consistent mixture of historical personnel in which the medieval is just as significant as the antique. This very mixture in fact shows that no contrast whatsoever with the Middle Ages in the *Stanze* was intended: everything in these frescoes is directed towards the themes of transmission, reception and continuity.[15]

Protagonists from quite diverse periods and locations converse without effort on the walls of the *Segnatura*, as was recognized by observers from the outset as a matter of course. It would have been quite unnatural to think otherwise, considering the tradition of *uomini famosi* that the *Stanza* refers to and in which exactly the same applies. Thus Zoroaster and Ptolemy mingle with Bramante and Michelangelo, Avicenna with Diogenes. Raphael's addition to that tradition, however, is telling: for he depicts his characters emphatically in the act of *sharing* knowledge, communicating, copying, explaining. The same goes for the *Disputa*, with its trans-historical discussion of the miracle of Transsubstantiation, where Church fathers are happily gathered with medieval theologians and Popes, and *share* views rather than fight out their differences [Fig. 4.3]. If ever there was an image of continuity, this is it.

An aspect of the late antique and medieval scenes illustrates this continuity in yet another way. For by the look of it the most striking aspect of the formal representation of the scenes mentioned above seems to be that the Middle

15 This is in fact a commonplace in criticism, see e.g. Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics* 11–19 and, with a nice example, Hall M., "Introduction", in Hall M. (ed.), *Raphael's School of Athens* (Cambridge: 1997) 13.



FIGURE 4.3 Raphael, *Disputa*. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican City, Rome
IMAGE © PUBLIC DOMAIN

Ages never happened at all. Hardly any visual differentiation between medieval and other scenes obtains:[16] people from Rome are dressed as Romans either secular or clerical (and we should remember that clerical dress code is spun off from ancient Roman practice); soldiers wear Roman armour, architecture is Roman [Fig. 4.4].[17] This is not merely an example of the tendency studied elsewhere in this volume, namely the extension of 'antiquity' to the very recent past. This evident refusal of Raphael and his workshop to differentiate these medieval scenes historically from classical Antiquity results in the suggestion that the medieval past is seamlessly included in a total concept of Roman-ness, and Roman-ness of course should be dressed properly, in classical garb. Thus here, contrary to the letter to Leo, there is not a trace of historicism: rather, we may be reminded of Valla's triumphant claims for the rule of the

16 A minimum in the *Battle of Ostia*, with soldiers wearing trousers and what looks like the Quattrocento Castle of Ostia complete with battlements.

17 Architecture: e.g. *Decretals, Coronation, Fire in the Borgo*; Dress: *Fire in the Borgo, Decretals*; soldiers: *Battle of Ostia*.



FIGURE 4.4 Raphael (with Lorenzo Lotto), *Scenes illustrating Justice*. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican City, Rome
IMAGE © PUBLIC DOMAIN

Latin language: 'Ibi namque romanum imperium est, ubicumque romana lingua dominatur' ('wherever the Latin language reigns, there the Roman Empire is'), reconfigured here to the visual statement that wherever the pope is, there is Rome.[18] Not a trace of contrastive intrusion of medieval elements in an otherwise classicistic formal language is hinted at; yet medieval elements, totally absorbed and thoroughly at home, are very much there.[19] Used to considering the *Stanza* the paragon of Classicism, we tend to overlook this.

The inveterate tendency to see classicism as the norm in the *Segnatura* creeps up in unobtrusive yet decisive ways. One of them is the point of departure of discussion. To start a discussion with the *School of Athens*, as so

18 Valla Lorenzo, "In sex libros elegantiarum praefatio", in Garin E. (ed.), *Prosatori Latini del Quattrocento* (Turin: 1977) 596.

19 That the Middle Ages were all over the High Renaissance Vatican, appears also in other fields, of course. See Rowland I.D., "The Intellectual Background", in Hall M. (ed.), *Raphael's School of Athens* (Cambridge: 1997) 131–170.

many from Vasari onwards have done, both implies a choice of focus on one single item, and suggests some pride of place for this image in particular. The very application of the title *School of Athens* already makes the point: for that title suggests both classical content and, being a "school", a normative value of classical culture.[20] Yet the *Segnatura* is a square room. It thus contains two principal axes and four iconic images, creating in principle a network of interconnections. If we are to look for priorities, we should follow visual clues. These Raphael has provided by having Plato and Aristotle in the *School of Athens* walk in a direction, namely of the *Disputa* on the other side. In other words, the *School of Athens* does not pose as a central shrine, an altar of some sorts – of Classicism as seems to be the suggestion indeed when it is seen out of context – but as a point of departure, as indeed it was for any visitor, who would enter the room through the very wall from which Plato an Aristotle set out their journey to the altar opposite.[21]

When considering the axis of the room thus created, the visual logic of the space instructs us to grant prevalence to that other side towards which the movement is directed, and we immediately sense the dynamics of the symbolic route through a Church, from atrium to apse.[22] That this apse in fact has a western rather than proper eastern orientation, may raise an eyebrow. But in fact the majority of early medieval apses in Rome was oriented to the west.[23] Indeed the *Segnatura* thus follows the orientation of the Sistine Chapel and Saint Peter's Basilica. The *Disputa* being conceived of as an apse implies a ritual and iconographical code of orientation towards the light of Christ. This direction of attention moreover evokes the glory of late antique and medieval Rome, her apse decorations from the Santa Pudenziana, via the Carolingian flowering in the 9th century, to the Indian summer of the 13th century.[24]

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20 It is interesting to speculate what those who employ this title mean by 'school': the depiction of processes of education in Athens, or the educational, and moral value of Athenian speculation. The same problem in Thucydides' endlessly quoted phrase *paideia Hellados*, see Most G., "Athens as the School of Greece", in Porter J.I. (ed.), *Classical Pasts* (Princeton: 2006) 379–385.

21 Nagel – Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* 363 still exemplify the tendency to consider the *School of Athens* as a central, autonomous image and easel piece, wondering why it has not got an altar. For the importance of the concept of easel-pieces and its history, see Puttfarken T., *The Discovery of Pictorial Composition* (New Haven: 2000).

22 The other principal directional axis is from 'Justice' to 'Parnassus', see Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics* 155–176.

23 Following the original shrine for Saint Peter's grave. See also Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic* 132.

24 Especially Arnold Nesselrath has pointed out how essential the iconography of the *Disputa* and its connections to the 'School of Athens' are for a proper understanding of the room (Nesselrath, "Raphael and Pope Julius" 285–288).

If selecting as our companions Plato and Aristotle we follow in their footsteps and walk from the *School of Athens* to the altar of the *Disputa*, we share an itinerary followed by anyone who had visited a Roman church and partook of the ritual since the swaddling clothes of Christianity. This itinerary to the "light" represented by altar and apse was also a way, of course, to Christ and to community with Christ and the Saints.[25] In apse-scholarship, much is made of the dramatic aspects of this mini-pilgrimage of the worshiper to the altar and the reward of epiphany at the end of it.[26] That "drama", of course, was to remain a central element throughout, in Baroque architecture and decoration long after the *Stanza* also.[27] But its beginnings lay in early Christian decoration schemes.

The final reward of the long road to Salvation, realised at the altar in the host under the guidance of the Trinity, was not only symbolised by but experienced with the help of the materiality of decoration, that created light by the gold of mosaics and by the blue of the celestial firmament with which it alternated in different constellations. In Rome, a specific, local tradition of apse decoration evolved along these lines, the most important characteristics of which are all extremely relevant for the *Disputa*.[28] Perhaps 'relevant' is putting it too mildly: to view the *Disputa* from the perspective of early Christian and medieval iconography, completely changes one's experience not only of the fresco, but of the room.

Contrary to eastern conventions, which always tend to some form of narration in the apse, Roman apses tend to represent an epiphany *tout court*, without narration. This is not only important because of the evident reflection of this tradition in the *Disputa* itself. Also, indeed the broad iconographical outline of the *Disputa* provided the point of departure for the decoration of the entire *Stanza*, the epiphanic aspects of the *School of Athens* and the *Parnassus* are likely to have been spun from this format and should be understood as such.[29]

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25 Andaloro M. – Romano S. (eds.), *Römisches Mittelalter. Kunst und Kultur in Rom von der Spätantike bis Giotto* (Regensburg: 2002) 74.

26 For recent scholarship on Roman apses, see Andaloro – Romano, *Römisches Mittelalter* and the brilliant study of Erik Thunø (I thank Sible de Blaauw for bringing it to my attention). In the following I paraphrase especially the latter without continuous reference for the sake of brevity.

27 The dramatic aspect has been well studied by Bert Treffers, e.g. Treffers B., *Caravaggio e il sacro* (Rome: 2015).

28 Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic* 1–12.

29 The only deviation from these epiphanic aspects is the wall with Justice. This was the wall before which Pope Julius had his throne, providing his personal "perspective", for which see Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics* 155–176 with references.



FIGURE 4.5 Apse mosaic, Santa Pudenziana, Rome (end of 4th century)
IMAGE © PUBLIC DOMAIN

In Roman apse-decorations the represented epiphany was centralized by positioning it on the intersection of the horizontal and vertical axes of the visual frame. This graphic format created a virtual cross, but at the same time, in tandem with the cavity of the apse, suggested, and usually displayed, a circle in a variety of forms [Figs. 4.5–4.8].[30] The apsidal epiphany is attended by those who are, literally and figuratively, closest to Christ, among whom the Saints that were especially important for the given church, patron and ecclesiastical community, and Rome in general: the Virgin and Saint John, Peter and Paul, Stephen en Laurence, and papal donors. Thus a community of Saints under the guidance of Christ is suggested, a community that extends over the virtual limit of the artistic medium into the space of the church to reach out to those contained within that space, the worshippers, to whom the experience of virtual adoption in this company is the climax of their "pilgrimage" though

30 Or oval, as in the San Clemente apse. Circular motifs abound in the apses, from the prominently displayed halos (e.g. Christ's in the Santa Pudenziana) to wreaths (again the Santa Pudenziana) or acanthus (San Clemente), to the fully divine central circle of the Santa Maria Maggiore, and the hemisphere of God the Father normally superimposed over the epiphany (e.g. Santa Maria in Trastevere).



FIGURE 4.6 Apse mosaic, San Clemente, Rome (early 12th century)
IMAGE © AUTHOR



FIGURE 4.7 Apse mosaic, Santa Maria in Trastevere, Rome (mid-13th century)
IMAGE © MARTJE DE VRIES



FIGURE 4.8 Apse mosaic, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (completed 1296)
IMAGE ©PUBLIC DOMAIN

the Church. This basic design was then set in a colour-scheme dominated by the alternation of blue and gold.

The iconographical themes that are thus allowed to emerge are interconnected. In the first place, Christ is light, and this supernatural light can be experienced in the City of God, of which the earthly city of Rome is a reflection. The typological relation between the two finds its highest realisation in the Incarnation, the absolute reality of which is experienced through the miracle of the Host, the mystery that is in the keeping of the Roman Mother Church, legitimated by the central issue of the apostolic succession. The Incarnation is that of the Word, which also is in the safe keeping of the Church, and is made present in the tradition of Roman apse decoration in prominently displayed inscriptions. This iconographical system, finally, is brought home by a structural interaction with the worshipping viewer whose experience of the reality of the decoration is his Christian reward and strengthens his Christian resolve.

All these elements return in the *Disputa*, indeed are indispensable for its understanding. Its narration is in fact the epiphany of Christ and His presence in the host. The 'theatre of salvation' is indeed centralised on the intersection of horizontal and vertical lines at the central section of a virtual apse, elegantly combining a thus formed cross motif with four circular motifs of decreasing size, from the hemisphere of the Father to the sun of Christ, to the enveloping circle of the Holy Ghost to the Host, thus revealing the metaphorical light in

visible splendour, and reality of Incarnation by graphic logic. The composition is brilliantly lit in gold and blue. The correspondence between the City of God and that of men is suggested by the mirroring hemispheres, the lower one aptly flanked by scenes of construction on both sides, in this respect evocative of the building efforts of Pope Julius as well as the metaphorical building that provides access to the Divine.[31]

The careful calibration of Christ on horizontal and vertical axes in the apse tradition has also been connected to the theme of Christ's function as cornerstone, the linchpin around which especially the two apostles Peter and Paul revolve, thus graphically illustrating the *concordia apostolorum* and Paul's words that 'no longer strangers […] you are members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, with Jesus Christ himself as the cornerstone' (*Ephesians* 2:20–21).[32] The theme of cornerstone and/or key – or cap-stone had long ago been identified as a structural theme of the *Disputa* in a justly famous article by Matthias Winner analysing the personnel of the *Disputa* as living architecture.[33] Independently Winner on the *Disputa* and Thunø on the early medieval Roman apses thus arrived at the same thematic analysis, thus illustrating how unusually strong the continuity between the *Disputa* and early Roman apses is. Indeed Raphael's *summa* creates a subtle iconographical amalgam between the different variants available in the Roman tradition, *Traditio Legis, Maiestas Domini* and *Deesis*, with special reference, naturally, to the apse of Saint Peter's [Fig. 4.9].[34]

Of the medieval apses, it has been observed that every apse that connects to the tradition is both an instance of that tradition and a variation and development of it.[35] With hindsight, and from the perspective of subsequent Classicism it may seem counter-intuitive to approach the *Disputa* from a perspective such as that. But for any observer in Renaissance Rome, it would of course be the most natural reaction to any evocation of an apse: to take it as an instance, variation and development of the tradition of which it partakes. If we thus take the apse's hint, the *Stanza* forms the stage for a religious drama, parallel

31 At the same time, the two building sites in the lower register also suggest the iconography of the heavenly Jerusalem and Bethlehem of the apse-tradition.

32 Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic* 69–72. The correspondence with the *School of Athens*, by the way, is striking: there also a *Concordia* between Plato and Aristotle is in the making, but incomplete through the very absence of Christ the Cornerstone.

33 Winner M., "*Disputa* und *Schule von Athen*", in Frommel C.L. – Winner M. (eds.), *Raffaello a Roma* (Rome: 1986) 29–46.

34 The first now lost of course but possibly reflected by copies, see Andaloro – Romano, *Römisches Mittelalter* 78; for Raphael the restoration by Innocent III, known from Grimaldi's drawing, would have been relevant, for which see ibidem 94–96.

35 Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic* 61–62. In this sense iconography parallels certain functions of intertextuality.



FIGURE 4.9 Giacomo Grimaldi, *Old Saint Peter's Apse mosaic*. Watercolour, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
IMAGE © PUBLIC DOMAIN

to the sacred space of a Roman Church it evokes. This drama is hosted by the patron, Pope Julius, who officiated from his throne before the Justice wall and thus from a position exactly parallel to that of the officiating pontiff in the Sistine Chapel.[36] The drama enacted by the line-up of Saints on the apses of Roman churches essentially is a virtual realisation of a *communio Sanctorum* of which the worshiper is allowed to partake through interaction with the decoration.[37] That function the *Disputa* in particular performs in a spectacular and triumphant way: it creates a trans-historical community of Saints that interact through diverse figures (leaning over the parapet, pointing at the room etc.) and graphical expedients, with those present in the room.[38] Of course, it must be added that the corpus of saints is significantly enriched in the room, with poets, philosophers and contemporaries. Thus Julius' dreams of the universal, triumphant church in Rome were virtually realized as one trans-historical, 'living' assembly through the brilliant use of the medium of art.

36 Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics* 156, with references.

37 Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic* 172–206.

38 This interaction has usually been interpreted as an illusionistic device and thus as a specifically *artistic* triumph; for other possible resonances see Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics* 123–130.

The emphatic presence of inscriptions in the apsidal tradition also returns in the *Disputa*, through the *incipit* of each Gospel at the very centre of the *Disputa*. Acquiring special emphasis by way of its position as the last, that of John reads: 'In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum'. The identification of God with the Word in this text, immensely important as it is for scriptural traditions in the Middle Ages and beyond, also helps explain the extraordinarily high status of scripture in the *Stanza*. That books and text are so important in this room gave rise to the hypothesis that the *Segnatura* was Julius' library. But from the perspective of the apse-tradition, in combination with the *incipit* of John, such a hypothesis is hardly necessary, indeed seems over-literally minded. The Word Made Flesh, such was the discourse of the apse-tradition, gives light to the world as Logos shines in the darkness. In other words, we do not need to think of the *Stanza* as a library to understand the thematic emphasis on the Word, but should rather think of the medieval iconographical tradition.[39]

Thus Raphael's *Disputa* summarizes and brings to fruition the great tradition of the Roman Church in its architectural and iconographical presence in Rome. If so, the basic question that emerges is, why? This hall is not a Church. Rather than a library, a function like that of an *oval office* seems most plausible.[40] But then, it is the office of the prince of the Church of Rome. As such the room functions as a performative illustration of the protection the Pontiff gives to the Church: as the purveyor and guarantor of the Justice he presides on his throne in front of the wall devoted to that virtue, in a room that replicates in ever decreasing scale the format of, first Saint Peter's (to-be at the time), then the Sistine Chapel. As a secular space the room displays pontiffs crowned with the tiara they were only allowed to wear outside of church, but it represents their legitimacy through apostolic succession. It does so because here, in this very room, the pontiff functions as prince, ratifying appointments, dispensing justice. He does so as princely protector of the Church and its tradition that are represented virtually in the room.[41]

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39 Shearman's library-hypothesis ultimately rested on the observation that 'it is all so terribly bookish', in Shearman J., "The Vatican Stanze: Functions and Decoration", in Holmes G. (ed.), *Art & Politics in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: 1993). For persuasive opposition to that hypothesis see Kempers B., "Words, Images and All the Pope's Men: Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura and the Sythesis of Divine Wisdom", in Hampsher-Monk I. (ed.), *History of Concepts: Comparative Perspectives* (Amsterdam: 1998) 131–165.

40 Kempers, "All the Pope's Men".

41 O'Malley J.W., "The Religious and Theological Culture of Michelangelo's Rome, 1508–1512", in Sears E. (ed.), *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo. The Sistine Ceiling* (Oxford: 2000) xli–lii.

Earlier points of view taken on the reconstruction of the chronology of Raphael's frescoes in the *Stanza della Segnatura*, an issue of long-standing dispute, appear to have a fascinating relationship with the views the given critic entertains on the Middle Ages. Vasari had stated in his *Vita* that the *School of Athens* was painted prior to the *Disputa*. But this position was subsequently over-ruled by Bellori a century later, who proposed that the *Disputa* had precedence, a hypothesis that has been usually followed. Technical data provided by recent restorations now finally seem to clinch the matter: they have confirmed that although Raphael set out to paint the wall of the *Disputa* first after the ceiling, work in this area most probably was interrupted and Raphael apparently, after a first stage of planning, temporarily dropped the *Disputa* and went over to the facing wall with the School of Athens.[42] Now an unusual amount of preparatory drawings for the *Disputa* survive, showing that the overall scheme was drastically altered in the process of composition and this confirms that the road to the final composition was tortuous and difficult – none of these drawings, by the way, deviates from the format of a symmetrical centralized epiphany continuous with the apse tradition, *concordia apostolorum* included.[43] But what these drawings do show is that, more than on any other fresco in the room, Raphael was experimenting and no doubt consulting and discussing with patron and advisors on the iconography. Why would this be so? For the very reason, of course, that the great medieval tradition was at stake in the fresco, and had to be argued through and through, discussed again and again: as Arnold Nesselrath has observed, in this fresco in particular Raphael was under constant surveillance of curial theologians, on a subject that was absolutely central to the papacy.[44]

As said, it was Bellori who proposed that Raphael painted the *Disputa* first in his description of the Segnatura, thus contradicting Vasari. Bellori's agenda was to articulate Classicism as the core of *l'idea del bello*, and Raphael as the epitome of this classicist idealism. Now, for the sake of this argument, he employed an interesting form of historicism. The 'traditional' nature of the *Disputa* on which we have commented above, is configured by him not as a *conscious* reflection of tradition, but as a trace of the Medievalism that Raphael subsequently was to supersede in the most spectacular way. Therefore Bellori states that 'Raphael still upheld in this, his first composition, some traits of the old painters [such as in the naive depiction of the Holy Father with Seraphim],

42 Nesselrath, "Raphael and Pope Julius" 285–288.

43 A representative sample in Chapman – Henry – Plazotta, *Raphael* 232–243 (cat. 78–86).

44 Ibidem 288.

following the old habit of using gold-ground'.[45] Recent restoration, by the way, has shown that this simply is not true: Raphael did not use gold-ground, but brilliantly employed yellow pigments to suggest gold.[46] But most importantly in the present context, Bellori does recognize Raphael's medievalism, yet ascribes it to immaturity: the culmination of his spectacular development, according to him, was yet to come, in the *School of Athens*, and therefore Bellori singles out that fresco as the artistic end in which all previous development culminated. Such a reading exactly reverses the conceptual, theological and intellectual priorities we suggested above in this chapter, not to speak of the spatial movement, for Plato and Aristotle are after all walking towards the altar on the other side. Furthermore, by stating that we should call the fresco on the west wall the 'gymnasium of Athens', adding this is common practice, although actually the first time this predecessor of what would be simplified as school is used as title, Bellori defines the subject of the fresco as classical, setting up an opposition with the "retrograde" Middle Ages.[47] But as we have seen, neither is the *School of Athens* classical – it is trans-historical – nor is the *Disputa* Medieval: the opposition simply does not apply. Bellori's configuration of the Medieval as old-fashioned and classicism as new may have certain grounds; but it also seriously misrepresents what Raphael was trying to achieve in the *Disputa*: a conscious emulation of the great medieval Roman decorative tradition.

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45 'Rafaelle in questo suo primo componimento ritenne qualche tratto de' vecchi Pittori, e sopra nella gloria degl'Angioli intorno al Padre Eterno divise in fasce li Serafini l'uno sopra l'altro direttamente, confor – me la simplicità di quei primi. Seguitò egli ancora il vecchio costume di toccar d'oro gli splendori de' Santi, gl'habiti, gli ornamenti per dar lustro a i colori, et arrichirne l'istoria, come si vede nella sfera di luce che circonda Cristo, nella quale, oltre il campo d'oro puro, accioché meglio spicasse il fulgore, sono puntati li raggi con bollette dorate, ed arricchiti gl'abiti di ricami d'oro'. Bellori Giovanni Pietro, *Descrizione delle imagini dipinte da Rafaelle d'Urbino nelle camere del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* (Rome, eredi Barbiellini: 1751) 27.

46 Nesselrath, "Raphael and Pope Julius" 288.

47 Kempers, "All the Pope's Men" 140–144.

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CHAPTER 5

An Appropriate Past for Renaissance Portugal: André de Resende and the City of Évora

Nuno Senos

1 An Appropriate Past for Portugal

From the mid-fifteenth century, in the period that we call the Renaissance, various Portuguese *literati*, artists, and thinkers-at-large began to ponder their country's past. The predominant lens through which most of us have been taught to look at the Renaissance shows that such historical roots were sought in Roman times. However, as the present volume makes clear, the relationship between the past and the men at the dawn of the early modern age was a more nuanced and complex one.

In this chapter, I shall look at this relationship through the case of Évora, a former Roman city and the seat of a palaeo-Christian bishopric (dating back at least to the early fourth century), which had perished during the times of the Muslim domain over the Iberian Peninsula (from 711 AD onwards) but had been revived during the *Reconquista*, after which point the city (conquered by Christian troops in 1165) became one of the crown's favourites, and therefore a favourite of the aristocracy as well.[1] The combination of all of these factors granted Évora a very central place in the Renaissance construction of a past for Portugal.

Of paramount importance in such an endeavour was the work of Évora-born humanist André de Resende (ca. 1500–1573), which provides a fine example of the intricacies involved.[2] Resende was educated in Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca, and he spent most of the first three decades of his life

1 The bibliography on Évora in the Renaissance is vast. See, for instance, Espanca T., *Évora* (Lisbon: 1993); and Branco M.C., "Renascimento, Maneirismo e Estilo Chão em Évora", in Cunha M.S. da (ed.), *Do Mundo Antigo aos Novos Mundos. Humanismo, Classicismo e Notícias dos Descobrimentos em Évora (1516–1624)* (Lisbon: 1998) 219–247.

2 Most data on the life and work of André de Resende can be found in Ferreira F.L., "Notícias da vida de André de Resende", *Arquivo Histórico Português* 7 (1909) 393–417; 8 (1910) 62–69, 161–184, 338–366; 9 (1914) 177–334. Interesting data and analysis are also in the introductory study of Resende André de, *Oração de Sapiência* (*Oratio pro Rostris*), ed. A. Moreira de Sá (Lisbon: 1956).

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travelling through Spain, the south of France, Leuven (where he published his first books, including an *Erasmi encomium*), Paris (where he studied Greek), and Brussels (where he worked for the Portuguese ambassador to the court of Charles V). He was therefore a cultivated, well-rounded, and widely travelled man when he settled back in his home town in the 1530s, staying there until his death almost five decades later. He devoted himself to the study of the city's past, publishing his *História da antiguidade da cidade de Évora* (History of the Antiquity of the City of Évora) in 1553, later preparing a revised, second edition, which came out posthumously in 1576.[3]

An accomplished Latinist and an admirer of ancient Rome, Resende was at the same time invested in the creation of a national history, a concern that brought about some difficulties, as we shall see. Furthermore, he was a devout Catholic (a Dominican friar, in fact, for a period of his life) who was equally and perhaps even more interested in the Christian history of his country and his city. The reconciliation of these three concerns required some rhetorical gymnastics that Resende navigated with ease but that today requires analysis. While this chapter will not go into detail on all of his points of interest, it is important to make some preliminary remarks in this respect before we focus on the efforts made to create a Roman past for Évora (and, by extension, for Portugal), which included the fabrication of fakes, where they were deemed necessary.

2 National Identity

When writing about Évora, Resende is consistently concerned with the creation of a national history – in other words, a political and cultural Portuguese identity grounded in the past. He begins by trying to identify a founder for his city, a task which he deemed impossible and quickly abandoned. Thus, the history of Évora that he is capable of recuperating truly begins with the Romans. As soon as he starts writing about the Romans, however, the difficulties of the process become apparent. For instance, the fact that the territory that was Portugal in the sixteenth century did not correspond to any Roman administrative district was somewhat problematic. There was no Latin word for the name of the country itself, so Resende, as well as all his fellow authors, referred to Portugal as Lusitania (a practice that persists to this day – 'luso'

3 Resende André de, *História da antiguidade da cidade de Évora* (Évora, André de Burgos: 1553). For the purposes of this chapter, I shall use the modern edition included in Resende André de, *Obras Portuguesas*, ed. J.P. Tavares (Lisbon: 1963).

remains the prefix to denote Portuguese), one of the Roman circumscriptions for Iberia that encompassed a part (but only a part) of early modern Portugal (as well as a part of Spain). Thus, a Latin name created by the Romans was consecrated to refer to a territory that (supposedly) pre-existed the Roman settlement in Iberia.

Referring as little as possible to geography, Resende posited a sort of a cultural Lusitania, which would have existed before the Romans and survived beyond Roman times in the form of Portugal. In his book on Évora, Resende refrains from detailing what cultural Lusitania may have been, a shortcoming he seems to have become aware of later and that he tried to correct in his *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae*, a text he left unfinished and which was posthumously completed, and then published in 1593.[4] In this book the Lusitanians are mostly characterized as a brave, indomitable people that did their best (although they eventually failed) to resist the attacks of the Romans.

What he has to say about the Roman governors of Lusitania is short (in both books) and not particularly complimentary, but perhaps the most interesting aspect of his historical discourse is that it is not the Romans who are the heroes of his history, but rather those who (at least in his eye) resisted the Roman takeover of the Iberian Peninsula. Viriato, still celebrated in both Portugal and Spain as a founding hero, a leader of a pre-Roman Iberian tribe that Resende believed to have been born in the Portuguese part of Lusitania, is his first hero – 'a great Lusitanian', he claims.[5] As a humanist Resende relied on a vast plethora of classical authors to reconstruct Viriato's story, but the ultimate result is a sort of primal Portuguese-before-Portugal, the first general of a proto-independent country that would come into being over a thousand years later.

Resende spends even more pages celebrating another anti-Roman hero (or so he constructs him), Quintus Sertorius, who was in fact a Roman general who had been placed in the Iberian Peninsula in 83 BC. Sertorius established an alliance with the Lusitanians against Rome, where Sulla was in command. At first successful in his resistance against Sulla, he eventually started losing ground and was finally killed by his own men. Sertorius was a favourite of the men of the Portuguese renaissance. In their writings, the intricacies of his opposition to a specific Roman regime – that of Sulla – were transformed into a form of local resistance against a foreign oppressor – Rome – and thus a symbol of Lusitanian independence and bravery in its defence.

4 Resende André de, *De antiquitatibus Lusitaniae* (Évora, Martim de Burgos: 1593). For the purposes of this chapter I shall use the following edition: Resende André de, *As antiguidades da Lusitânia*, ed. R.M. Rosado Fernandes (Lisbon: 1996).

5 'grande Lusitano', Resende, *Obras Portuguesas* 14.

The gap between Viriato's and Sertorius' time and that of the Christian conquest of Évora in the context of the *Reconquista* (1165 AD), a period of over 1,000 years, was smoothly shortened and sometimes altogether obliterated in Resende's narrative; no reference whatsoever is made to the almost 500 years during which Iberia was under Islamic rule. In Resende's discourse, the first kings of medieval, *Reconquista* Portugal were indeed rebuilding pre-Roman Lusitania.[6]

The case of Sertorius is particularly telling since he was believed to have lived in Évora, which he chose not only because of its strategic position, 'in the middle of Lusitania',[7] but also as a form of recognition of the city's support for his (supposedly) anti-Roman cause. An inscription mentioning Sertorius was found near the ruins of a set of Roman *thermae*, and that was used to identify the house in which he had lived and which was henceforth and to this day is known as Sertorius' Palace. According to Resende, the inscription read as follows:

> LARIB.[8] PRO SALVTATE ET INCOLVMITATE DOMUS Q.[9] SERTORII COMPETALIB.[10] LUDOS ET EPULUM VICINEIS[11] JUNIA DONACE DOMESTICA EJVS ET Q. SERTOR.[12] HERMES, Q.[13] SERTOR.[14] CEPALO, Q.[15] SERTOR.[16] ANTEROS LIBERTI.
>
> In honour of the gods of the house. For the health and safety of the house of Quintus Sertorius, financed Junia Donace, his slave born in his house, and his freedmen Quintus Sertorius Hermes, Quintus Sertorius Cepalo and Quintus Sertorius Anteros, public games and a meal for the neighbourhood, held on the feast of the Compitalia.[17]

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6 This is still by and large the rough version of the early history of Portugal that is taught to students in primary schools in the country.

7 'em meio de Lusitânia', Resende, *Obras portuguesas* 16.

8 =LARIB<VS>. I am grateful to Karl Enenkel for the annotation and the English translation of this inscription.

9 =QVINTI.

10 =COMPITALIB<VS>.

11 =VICINIS.

12 =SERTOR<IVS>.

13 =QVINTVS.

14 =SERTOR<IVS>.

15 =QVINTVS.

16 See note 14.

17 Resende, *Historia da antiguidade* 7–8, provides the transcription and the following Portuguese translation: 'Por saude & stabilidade da casa de Quinto Sertorio Iunia Donace

The Roman general was furthermore said to be responsible for the construction of the city's wall, sections of which were (and remain) still visible, and for that of its aqueduct. Sertorius was therefore a particularly relevant figure for the history of Portugal at large and for that of Évora in particular.

As it turns out, most of this is a fabrication. Sertorius did exist – he himself is not the fabrication here – but he did not side with the Lusitanians against the Romans; he engaged their support in a Roman civil war against Sulla. He had nothing to do with a local sense of independence, even less with the idea of a Portuguese independence; he simply wanted to replace those in power in Rome. He may well have lived in Évora, but such a claim lacks historical grounding because no primary source places Sertorius anywhere near Évora, where he may well have never set foot. The abovementioned inscription mentions a Sertorius but not necessarily the one Resende was interested in. And finally, today there is relative consensus that the city wall was probably built in the third century AD, and therefore long after Sertorius' death. The aqueduct, in turn, requires more discussion, and I will come back to it later in this chapter.

Resende was not the first to propose several of these ideas, but his contribution was certainly significant for their consolidation. The fact that they were grounded on the authority of ancient authors and, perhaps even more importantly, on that of inscriptions certainly contributed to the weight of his arguments. Conversely, the shortcomings of Resende's approach did not seem to have raised many eyebrows (a notorious exception will be mentioned later) until modern historians looked into the matter. In any case, this (successful) attempt at constructing a Portuguese past for Évora and for Portugal exemplifies a certain way of looking at history, guided by the clear concern for creating a national identity.

3 The Christian Past

Having established a Roman past for the city, Resende devotes most of the rest of his book to the Christian roots of Évora. His main concern is to prove that Évora is one of the oldest Christian cities in Iberia, which he does, for instance, by referring to the tradition of Saint Manços as the evangelizer of the city. Manços was the disciple of an apostle, Saint James, and he was generally

sua domestica, & Quinto Sertorio Hermes, & Quinto Sertorio Cepalo, & Quinto Sertorio Anteros, seus libertos, aa honra dos deoses Lares, en ho dia da festa chamada Cõpitalia, fezeron jogos públicos & deeran conuite a todos os vizinhos'.

regarded to have been the first bishop of Évora: two degrees of separation from Christ himself made for a very distinguished pedigree indeed. Manços' bodily remains had been buried in a church built for the purpose. During times of Arabic invasion, the saint's body was taken north, to Sahagun, in Asturias, where it was safely kept. Immediately after the *Reconquista* of the city, the bishopric was re-established and a cathedral commissioned. One of its chapels was dedicated to the saint, and it was under this chapel that the founding stone of the new building was placed, in 1186. The story of this saint was therefore known before Resende, and he was keen on going over it in his book and insisting upon the need to further dignify this devotion in the city. Of the church in which the saint was originally buried, which was dedicated to him, only a tower remained, and Resende vehemently deplored the ruinous state in which it was poorly kept. This is an example of how interest in the Christian past would eventually influence the history of renaissance architecture in Portugal, as in 1591 a campaign was started to renovate the remains of the tower and to enlarge them into a whole church, to which some relics of the saint were returned.[18]

A proper Christian past also requires early martyrs from Roman times. Évora, Resende argued, had three of them: the siblings Vincent, Sabina, and Cristeta. Like that of Manços, the history of these three martyrs relied upon rather thin evidence, but for Resende it was important to prove that they were natives of the city and that they had been martyred in the time of Emperor Diocletian, thus showing that Évora had been Christian since the religion's very early days. Both claims were disputed, and Portuguese and Spanish intellectuals had different opinions about them. The point of contention was whether the three siblings were natives of Évora or Talavera, and therefore which of the two cities could use them to support their claims to old Christian roots. The fact that their relics had also been transferred north in Arabic times and were now sumptuously celebrated in their own church in Ávila favoured the Spanish side of the dispute. Nevertheless, in a long letter written in 1567 to a man from Toledo called Quevedo, Resende argues his case along the same lines he had used for his defence earlier in his history of Évora and denoting the same concerns.[19] Relevant to the history of architecture is that in Évora only a small, dilapidated chapel was devoted to the martyrs, and Resende also argued that it should be replaced with a more dignified one. In the 1560s,

18 Cf. Espanca Túlio, *Inventário Artístico de Portugal. VII. Concelho de Évora* (Lisbon: 1966), vol. 1, 373–375.

19 Resende André de, *Carta a Bartolomeu de Quevedo*, ed. V.S. Pereira (Coimbra: 1979).



FIGURE 5.1 Church of Saint Vincent, Évora
IMAGE © NUNO SENOS

under his own initiative and financial support, a new church was finally built, which was dedicated to the three martyrs (and popularly known as the church of Saint Vincent) [Fig. 5.1], and Resende could proudly report to his Spanish interlocutor that the new church was 'artistically adequate and [had] excellent dimensions'.[20] That it was a centralized building and thus particularly suitable for a *martyrium* could well have been Resende's own idea.[21] Once again, concern about a Christian past played a role in the architectural history of the country.

From the point of view of the construction of the past, Resende's approach of the Christian past does not differ much from his fabrication of a national identity: historical sources were used with some liberty in order to prove

20 'Artisticamente cuidado e com excelentes dimensões', Resende, *Carta* 102.

21 On this church, see Espanca T., "Fundação e Evolução Histórica da Igreja dos Mártires de Évora", *A Cidade de Évora* (1st series) 29–30 (1949) 472–483.

the points that mattered the most to him. The past was important mostly to establish that Portugal itself had a very old cultural identity and that that identity was, first and foremost, Christian. The church of the three martyrs functioned as a perfect synthesis of all these concerns: it was built in the shape of a Greek cross, used the classical orders (Doric in this case) to celebrate early 'Portuguese' martyrs, and somewhat brought together the Christian and the Roman pasts, successfully intertwining the prestige of classical times with that of a strongly rooted religion.

4 The Roman Past: The Temple of Évora

While these concerns can be detected in other authors of the period, it must also be kept in mind that these were men (and very few women) who admired the Roman past immensely. They had been educated in Latin, a language in which they corresponded and published; they had read the classics and revered them. For them, the weight of the Roman written word, either published or inscribed, was the ultimate source of historical legitimacy and it was to it that they turned whenever authoritative data were needed.

The architectural remains of the Roman past were treated in a different, somewhat puzzling way. It is most surprising to reflect upon the role played (or not played, as I shall argue) by the Roman temple of Évora [Fig. 5.2]. Built in the first century of our era, it was the temple of the city's forum, a location whose centrality was maintained in medieval times. In fact, it was right next to this temple (although it did not replace it) that the twelfth-century cathedral was built, and then its cloister, and eventually the adjoining bishop's palace. Throughout this process, destructive in nature in so many other respects, the imposing Roman remains were spared, and they have come to us as the most spectacular Roman ruins in the country. Therefore, the men and women of the Portuguese renaissance, those who commissioned buildings, those who designed and erected them, those who wrote about them – they all had this magnificent ruin as their neighbour from which to draw inspiration. If they were interested in classical architecture, they did not have to limit themselves to the many prints that circulated depicting the most famous Italian buildings of antiquity; they could look at their own.

It is therefore surprising to realize that the architectural past that the early Portuguese renaissance was trying to bring back to life does not seem to bear much relationship to the one Roman building that survived in the country. The fanciful fluted columns and the ornate Corinthian capitals of Évora's temple did not appeal to the architects and/or patrons of the



FIGURE 5.2 The Roman temple of Évora
IMAGE © NUNO SENOS

period. In fact, when they were looking for Roman (or Roman-inspired) architectural solutions it was not to Évora that they turned their attention, but rather to printed images that circulated abundantly or to the visual experience brought to Portugal by artists coming mostly from France, Flanders, or Spain.

If one considers the earliest examples of ancient-looking ornamentation used in Portugal – described in the documents as *ao romano* (in Roman style) – dating back to the 1510s, such as the portal of the cathedral of Lamego or the cloister of the Hieronimyte monastery in Lisbon [Fig. 5.3], it becomes very clear that Évora's temple was not the source of inspiration that shaped them. The same conclusion is reached when considering constructions closer to Évora, such as the portal of the church of Arronches or that of the Clarisses from Vila Viçosa, whose authors (even if not always yet identifiable) are likely to have visited Évora. Even those who built the earliest renaissance churches in the city proper [Fig. 5.4], sometimes using the same local granite [Fig. 5.5],



FIGURE 5.3 Detail of the cloister of the monastery of Jerónimos, Lisbon
IMAGE © NUNO SENOS



FIGURE 5.4 Interior of the church of Valverde near Évora
IMAGE © NUNO SENOS



FIGURE 5.5 Façade of the church of Graça, Évora
IMAGE © NUNO SENOS

just a few steps away from the Roman temple – even they were not looking at the actual ancient remain they had at hand.

The explanation for this seemingly strange phenomenon lies in part, but only in part, in the medieval fate of the Roman temple. In fact, the temple was spared the dismantling or the total destruction that happened to so many other buildings during the complex process of the fall of the Western Roman Empire. It did, nevertheless, lose its functionality to become a pointless, incomprehensible, and useless ruin sitting at the very centre of the city. At least as early as the fourteenth century, the space between the surviving columns of the temple had been walled-in, more walls had been built where columns were missing, and crenellation had been added to the full perimeter of the building, which was subsequently reused as the city's butchery [Fig. 5.6].

It was as such that the building remained until the 1840s, when the municipality decided to close down the butchery and restore whatever was left of the original temple while clearing the surrounding area in order to monumentalize it. Promptly, the duchess of Palmela presented the city with her own adjacent property for demolition, including a building whose walls were attached to those of the butchery.[22] There is no record of what the said building may have looked like or how it connected to the ruin, but this must have contributed to its invisibility in medieval and early modern times. Invisibility, in fact, explains why Resende refers to it as 'a handsome portico with Corinthian columns' in the only words that he (or any other renaissance author) dedicates to the Roman remain whose original function had already been forgotten.[23]

5 The Roman Past: The Aqueduct

In spite of this peculiar case, other routes were taken to fabricate a Roman past for Évora. One of the earlier attempts may have been linked to the city's bishop (between 1485 and 1522) Afonso de Portugal, a natural son of the duke of Bragança, who was educated in Salamanca and was an eager collector of Roman inscriptions.[24] When King Manuel came to power in 1495 he

22 Leal J.C., *Giuseppe Cinatti (1808–1879). Percurso e Obra*, MA thesis (Lisbon: 1996) 283–285.

23 'Um belo pórtico de colunas coríntias', Resende, *Carta* 101.

24 Caetano J.O., "Sombras e Alguma Luz Sobre o Bispo D. Afonso de Portugal", *Cenáculo. Boletim On Line do Museu de Évora* 2 (2007) 3–24.



FIGURE 5.6 The Roman temple of Évora before restoration. Photo Pereira&Prostes
IMAGE © ARQUIVO FOTOGRÁFICO DA CÂMARA MUNICIPAL DE ÉVORA

established a vast programme of administrative reforms that included the revision of the *cartas de foral*, the charts that established the rights and duties of every city in Portugal. Évora was one of the first to receive a new chart (1501), and it is possible that Bishop Afonso was behind the illuminated image that illustrates its first page. In it, Évora is presented using its Latin name – Ebvra Colonia Romana – and, to make this claim more effective, the typescript was manipulated to make it look somewhat more ancient, by graphing the 'U' (in 'Ebura') as a 'V' and by inscribing the 'O' (in 'colonia') within the 'C'. Whoever made these choices was certainly paying attention to inscriptions.

There is another aspect of the usage of Évora's Latin name which would have gone unnoticed to most, but certainly not to those who decided to use such a designation: Évora was never a *colonia* but simply a *municipium* whose correct name was actually Ebora Liberalitas Julia. This image and its caption thus show that the construction of a Roman past for Évora was already underway at the turn of the sixteenth century and that liberal inventions were not beyond acceptance by those who were invested in the endeavour.

In January 1531, a strong earthquake hit Lisbon, causing the court to take refuge in Évora, where it stayed until the end of the decade. Along with the king, John III (r. 1521–1557), came the resources and initiative of the country's aristocracy, the talent of its best artists, and the knowledge of its most prominent intellectuals. The king's chroniclers are unanimous in acknowledging the monarch's feeble command of Latin, but the stage was nonetheless set for Évora to become the capital of the Portuguese renaissance.[25] The city's Roman past became, once again, a major concern.

It was in this context that Resende returned to his native city, where he became perhaps the most prominent humanist in the country. As mentioned before, he was also one of the Portuguese *literati* most engaged in the search for the country's Roman past. He thus devoted considerable efforts to identifying Roman inscriptions found in the region. He transcribed several that had been incorporated into the walls of later buildings, but in those years there were many active construction sites in Évora and master builders got into the habit of calling upon him whenever new materials surfaced. Resende quoted these abundantly in his books. He kept several of his findings for himself, in his own house, which makes it difficult to verify some of his claims today. A few of

25 The best analysis of Évora as a renaissance capital under John III remains the unpublished Moreira R., *A Arquitectura do Renascimento no Sul de Portugal. A Encomenda Régia Entre o Moderno e o Romano*, PhD dissertation (Lisbon: 1991).

his findings can be identified and authenticated today; others, however, have been proven to be fakes, pure and simple.[26]

One of the inscriptions that has not survived and is known only through Resende's writings tells of the death of Lucius Sabinus, who fought in the war against the Lusitanians led by Viriato. According to Resende's testimony, the inscription uses expressions such as 'bellum contra Viriatum' (war against Viriato) or 'patria libera' (free fatherland), both of which are unlikely (to say the least) to have been used in their supposed context.[27] In any case, the inscription reveals itself to be a fake beyond any doubt in using the word 'Lusitania', which was not created until over a century after Viriato's death.[28] The inscription was evidently a fake, one of several that Resende created to support his claims.

It is in the third chapter of his *Antiquities of Évora* Resende wrote that the Roman general Sertorius had settled in Évora. His claim was based both on oral tradition and on an inscription that was lovingly preserved throughout the centuries in the Town Hall before it made its way to the city's museum. Today, opinions are divided about this inscription. Some claim it is a fake, while most are of the opinion that the 'Q. Sertori' it mentions is (or at least could just as well be) a different person. In any case, the inscription was found during the construction of a palace whose works did reveal the remains of a Roman construction. Such coincidences were enough for Resende to identify the site as that of Sertorius' ancient house in Évora, and for the count of Sortelha (who owned the construction site) to incorporate the findings into his new palace.

No other source even suggests that Sertorius ever visited, let alone lived in, Évora, but Resende's argument served everyone's interests well, and the square where the palace is located is still called Sertorius' Square. In renaissance Évora, it was important to prove that Sertorius had lived in the city. As mentioned before, Resende credited him with the construction of several pieces of urban infrastructure, including an aqueduct, which had since disappeared and which Resende was struggling to have restored.

Water supply was a major issue for all early modern cities, and all the more so for Évora, which had not been built by a river or any other abundant

26 Examples of inscriptions he kept in his house are mentionned in Resende, *Obras Portuguesas* 11, 24. On his fakes, see Encarnação J. d', "Da Invenção de Inscrições Romanas Pelo Humanista André de Resende", *Biblos* 67 (1991) 193–221.

27 Resende, *Obras Portuguesas* 14–15.

28 On the Roman administrative organization of Iberia, see Fabião C., "A romanização do actual território português", in Mattoso J. (ed.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 1: *Antes de Portugal* (Lisbon: 1992) 203–299.

source of drinkable water. As the population of the city grew larger throughout the fifteenth century, the need for water became ever more pressing, and an attempt to resolve it through the construction of an aqueduct was first put forth by King John II (reg. 1481–1495), a project that was underway at the very end of the monarch's life.[29] This project seems to have been abandoned under King Manuel (r. 1495–1521), who granted the use of the water obtained from whatever had been built of that aqueduct to Jorge da Silveira, a man from his council. Towards the end of his reign, Manuel himself spent over a year in Évora (1519–1521) and was therefore able to experience in person the problems water shortages were causing in the city. He thus decided to reactivate the construction of his predecessor's aqueduct, a desire that generated some legislation regarding 'the pipes that will be built'[30] but actually never were.

For King John III, Évora seems to have been an acquired taste. Immediately after the death of his father, all royal construction sites in the city (including the aqueduct) were halted, and they were not reactivated until a few years later, starting with the royal palace, which was amplified from 1525 on. It was not, however, until the following decade that the court settled in the city for a longer period, and in that context the practical and effective need of water became, once again, a priority. In the meantime, court culture, too, had changed; the influence of humanistic culture had become more prominent, and there was a growing general will to enrich the city with an ancient past and prestigious edifices that could testify to it. An aqueduct served all these needs perfectly: Vitruvius had written about them and nearby Merida (which Resende had visited and which was a rival in the quest for an ancient past) had a Roman one, and if Resende could convince his king that Sertorius had built one, then Évora, too, could claim the reconstruction of an original Roman aqueduct.

Oral tradition, which Resende uses as an argument to prove that a Roman aqueduct had indeed existed is, of course, unverifiable. More palpable are references to toponyms, the names of certain streets that had been used for as long as anyone could remember. For instance, there is Rua do Cano (Pipe Street), which today we can document as having had that name at least since 1290 and which, according to Resende, referenced a street where the old Roman aqueduct used to pass. Arcos do Divor (Arches of Divor) was another toponym

29 The history of the aqueduct before John III was best reconstructed by Bilou F., *A Refundação do Aqueduto da Água da Prata em Évora, 1533–1537* (Lisbon: 2010), which I follow here.

30 'Os canos que se hão de fazer', mentioned in the document from December 1520 that appoints Fernão de Macedo as being responsible for the building site (cited in Bilou, *A Refundação* 48).

that Resende evoked: Divor was the name of the source where water could be captured, and the arches referred to the structure that connected the source to the city. Furthermore, both street and road were located over a line where an aqueduct could, in fact, have been built most effectively. According to Resende, these toponyms preserved the memory of an aqueduct that had existed and since disappeared. At one point during his ramblings in and around Évora in search of ancient vestiges, Resende claimed to have identified the bases of two pillars of the Roman aqueduct. He so wanted to prove that there had indeed existed a Roman aqueduct that he took the king himself to see these archaeological findings, which are impossible to identify today.

An aqueduct such as this one was an expensive project, and the possibility of its construction generated much debate. For the purposes of this book it is especially important to note that Resende, its most prominent proponent, did not use the need for water as an important argument in its favour; for him, the really relevant issue at stake was the possibility of the reconstruction of Roman remains, especially one that was associated with a figure as prestigious as that of Sertorius. It is precisely on these issues that the discussion seems to have hinged in the sixteenth century. Resende's most significant opponent was Bishop D. Miguel da Silva, a close friend of the king[31] who claimed that the Romans had never built an aqueduct in Évora and that Sertorius had never lived there either. Such opposition to Resende's cause justified his writing a text against the bishop's arguments and two further treatises on aqueducts, all of which have been lost and are only known because Resende mentions them in his writings.[32] In all of them Resende evoked written sources, oral tradition, toponymy, and archaeology, as explained above. All these resources, however, did not prove sufficient to convince the various detractors of his claim, and most of all his king who hesitated on the matter.

It was in such context that a (supposedly) Roman inscription made its way into the discussion [Fig. 5.7]. According to this inscription, Sertorius had walled the city in honour of veteran soldiers who had become citizens of Évora:

31 Miguel da Silva and the king were close at that point in time; they would later quarrel and the bishop would flee the country to become a cardinal in Rome. On Bishop Miguel da Silva see Deswarte S., *Il 'Perfetto Cortegiano' D. Miguel da Silva* (Rome: 1989).

32 Resende himself refers to all these in *Obras Portuguesas* 44. For further discussion of this subject, see Deswarte, *Il 'Perfetto Cortegiano'* 84 ff.; and Rodrigues P.S., "A Muralha, o Templo e o Aqueduto Na Tradição de Sertório Construtor da Évora Romana (Séculos XVI–XIX)", in Oliveira F. – Oliveira J. – Patrocínio M. (eds.), *Espaços e Paisagens. Antiguidade Clássica e Heranças Contemporâneas* (Coimbra: 2012) 255–263.



FIGURE 5.7
Inscription on the construction of Évora's aqueduct by Quintus Sertorius, Museu de Évora
IMAGE © NUNO SENOS

furthermore, the inscription tells us that Sertorius had built an aqueduct in order to supply the town with water:

Q.[33] SERTOR<IVS>[34] [.....]35 <IN>/ HONOREM NOMINIS SVI ET COHORT<IS>[36] FORT[37] / EBORENSVM MVNIC.[38] VET.<ERANORUM>[39] EMER.[40]<ITORUM> VIRTVTIS ERGO / DON DON[41] BELLO CELTIBERICO DEQVE MANVBIIS / IN PVBLIC<AM>[42]

33 =QVINTVS. I am grateful to Karl Enenkel for the annotation and the English translation of this inscription.

34 =SERTOR<IVS>.

35 Here almost 80 per cent of the first line of the inscription has been deleted. It is not totally clear what text Resende (or the falsifier) supposed to have been deleted. In any event, the following 'HONOREM' requires an 'IN' just before it. Furthermore, the odd 'DON DON' suggests that a building or another kind of substantial present was meant.

36 It is obvious that, according to Resende (or the falsifier), COHORT.<IS> should be read, the t.t. for a group of Roman army cavalry.

37 Resende must have had FORT<IVM> in mind.

38 Probably believed by Resende (or the falsifier) to be supplied as MVNIC<IPIUM> (plural form of 'municeps'). However, 'MUNIC' is not a normal abbreviation in Roman epigraphy. 'MVNICIPIVM' would ususally have been abbreviated as 'MVN'.

39 Probably thought to be supplied as VET<ERANORUM>.

40 Obviously thought to be supplied as EMER<ITORUM>.

41 The repetitve 'DON DON' is odd. 'D.D.' – which may mean D<ONO> D<EDIT> or D<EDIT> D<ONAVIT> or D<ONO> D<ICAVIT> – would be a normal and accepted abbreviation in Roman epigraphy. It is not entirely clear what Resende had in mind. Maybe it was something like 'DONVM DONAVIT'; however, this is tautological and not a correct formulation of Roman epigraphy either.

42 Obviously thought to be supplied as PVBLIC<AM>. 'PVBLIC', however, is not a normal abbreviation in Roman epigraphy; PVBLICAM would have been abbreviated either as PVB or as PVBL.

MVNIC<IPII>[43] EIVS VTILITATEM VRB<EM>[44] / MOENIVIT EOQUE AQVAM DIVERSEIS[45] IN DVCT<VM>[46] / VNVM COLLECTEIS FONTIB<VS>[47] PERDVCENDAM CVRAV<IT>[48].

Quintus Sertorius, <in> honor of his name and of that of the group of cavalry of brave veterans, citizens of the municipium of Évora, has donated this [.....] to them for their valiantness in the Celtiberian war, and has fortified the city with a wall built from the money that was obtained from the sale of the booty, for the public good of the municipium, and he took care that water was conducted to it by means of an aqueduct in which various springs had been brought together.

Resende mentions this inscription in chapter VI of his book,[49] and a full transcription is given in the fifth book of the *Antiquities of Lusitania*, added by Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos to the unfinished manuscript left by Resende, which Vasconcelos published in a revised form in 1593.[50] According to Vasconcelos, Bishop Miguel da Silva accused Resende of having faked this inscription, arguing that Sertorius was the Roman mother's surname, and not that of his father. The bishop's arguments, however, do not seem to have been considered seriously: prominent sixteenth-century authors, such as João de Barros and António de Castilho, echo Resende in praising the king for having restored a Roman monument ascribed to Sertorius.

It was not until the nineteenth century that epigraphy specialist Emil Hübner provided a critical analysis of Resende's work, exposing parts of it as either over-interpretations or, in the case of this particular inscription, fakes.[51] Since Hübner's work, much has been written about Resende's historiographic work; that the inscription under analysis is a fake has become universally

43 Obviously thought to be supplied as MVNIC<IPII>.

44 Obviously thought to be supplied as VRB<EM>. However, it is an odd mistake by Resende (or the falsifier) to call a 'municipium' an 'urbs'. In Roman antiquity, 'urbs' was usually a privileged title of Rome.

45 'Diversis [...] collecteis fontibus' is odd and does not belong to the language of Roman epigraphy. The falsifier, however, has deliberately used the archaic forms 'diverseis' and 'collecteis' in order to give the inscription an authentic flavour.

46 Obviously thought to be supplied as DVCT<VM> (waterline).

47 Obviously thought to be supplied as FONTIB<VS>.

48 Obviously thought to be supplied as CVRAV<IT>.

49 Resende, *Obras Portuguesas* 50.

50 Resende, *De antiquitatibus Lusitaniae*, liber quintus 14.

51 Hübner E., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* vol. II (Berlin: 1869) 14.



FIGURE 5.8 Section of the aqueduct of Água da Prata, Évora
IMAGE © NUNO SENOS

accepted.[52] The use of terms that were not common at the time or that did not exist, the odd use of abbreviations, and the fact that the part of the inscription that has been damaged does not seem to have ever had any text underneath – all of these arguments have been used to disqualify it as an acceptable historical source.

Be that as it may, in the context of Resende's argument this inscription proved the existence of the city walls and of the aqueduct in Roman times, and it assigned both to the initiative of Sertorius. In a time when inscriptions functioned as the ultimate proof of historical probity, this one seems to have been a final and decisive argument. In 1534 work began on the (re)construction of this major structure crossing the fields from Divor to Évora, some 16 km long, following precisely the line that had been called, from time immemorial,

52 Cf. Pereira's critical remarks to Resende, *Carta a Bartolomeu*; Deswarte, *Il 'Perfetto Cortegiano'*; Encarnação, "Da Invenção"; Bilou, *A Refundação*; and Rodrigues, "A Muralha" 255–263.

Arcos do Divor, Arches of Divor [Fig. 5.8]. Upon entering the city, the aqueduct followed the street that had always been called *Rua do Cano*, or Pipe Street; was punctuated at strategic points by reservoirs [Fig. 5.9]; and finally served its contents to the public through several fountains built throughout the city [Fig. 5.10]. Not only had Évora resolved its water supply problem, it could now also claim the possession of a major public work as useful and monumental as those of the Romans and genuinely based on a Roman precedent. King John III now had more solid grounds to claim for himself the status of *Patris Patriae*, as he proudly did on the façade of the church of Graça, which was being built at the same time, for his own burial.[53] The idea to use such a title on this façade may well have been Resende's.

Whether Resende was right or not about the Roman origins of the sixteenth-century aqueduct remains under discussion. In the 1980s, archaeological campaigns proved that in Roman times water did indeed make it all the way to the highest points in the city: there was the rediscovery, in 1987, of the Roman *thermae* that have already been mentioned (and whose memory had been lost since the eighteenth century), and the discovery in 1989 of water tanks surrounding the Roman Temple.[54] Specialists agree that such structures could not have functioned without an abundant source of water provided by a structure such as an aqueduct. Even more recently, archaeologists seem to have found the remains of a Roman dam as well as some remnants that could correspond to the bases of the arches of an aqueduct,[55] perhaps those Resende showed to his king back in the 1530s. In any case, it seems ever more likely that there was indeed once a Roman aqueduct that brought water from Divor to Évora, just like Resende claimed, even if he had to fake evidence to prove it, and even if Sertorius had nothing to do with it.

In conclusion, it can be said that for Resende, the appropriate past he was trying to construct for his city (and, by extension, his country) had to be simultaneously Roman and Christian. The Roman component brought the prestige that ancient times possessed for all humanists; the aqueduct served this purpose. At the same time, it was crucial to prove that Évora had been Christian from the dawn of Iberian Christianity, not only because in this context it was impossible to conceive identity outside of religion, but also because Resende wanted his city to be able to rival other old Christian centres of the Peninsula,

53 On this church see Branco M.C., *A Construção da Graça de Évora. Contexto Cultural e Artístico*, PhD dissertation (Lisbon: 1990).

54 Silva A.C., "A restauração do templo romano de Évora", *A Cidade de Évora*, 2nd series, 1 (1994–1995) 63–71.

55 Dias C., "Alicerces de Aqueduto Romano Descobertos em Évora", *Público* (1 November 2016).



FIGURE 5.9 Water reservoir, part of the aqueduct of Água da Prata, Évora
IMAGE © NUNO SENOS



FIGURE 5.10 Water fountain (Chafariz das Portas de Moura), Évora (1556)
IMAGE © NUNO SENOS

such as Toledo. Finally, the ultimate goal of the search for both pasts was the creation of a solid national identity, which could require selecting heroes who fought against the Romans, relying on little more than local tradition to argue for Évora as the birthplace of certain saints, or, ultimately, faking inscriptions. A sense of local pride and patriotism justified it all.

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PART 2

France

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CHAPTER 6

The Construction of a National Past in the Bella Britannica by Humbert of Montmoret (d. ca. 1525)

Thomas Haye

1 Introduction

In the early 16th century, the European peoples experienced an extremely dynamic boost to their collective self-reassurance. One particularly important vehicle in this construction of a national consciousness was history as mediated by literature. Interestingly, each of the continent's nations evolved its own system of references, which might be more or less dominant. For example, while in Italy Roman antiquity developed into a central theme, in France it was the immediate past, i.e., the High Middle and Late Middle Ages, that played a markedly greater role. It was especially the dissociation from England during the Hundred Years' War that contributed materially to the formation of French self-consciousness. Antiquity, literally the "old time," here proved to be a serial plural, a succession of historical layers extending from the mythical past into the late 15th century.

How the French "antiquities" were used as the modern era unfolds is exemplified in the historical-panegyric poetry of Humbert of Montmoret (Humbertus Monsmoretanus). Almost nothing is known about the author,[1] except that he came from the Duchy of Burgundy, may have entered the Benedictine monastery near Vendôme toward the end of his life and died there around the year 1525. Surviving in print is a series of his poems in Latin, some of which treat religious themes while others deal with contemporary times and the more recent history of France.[2] Thus, in the year 1513, he

1 On the author, see Provini S., "L'écriture épique de Germain de Brie et d'Humbert de Montmoret et l'humanisme italien", in Deramaix M. et al. (ed.), *L'Italie et la France dans l'Europe latine du XIV^e^ au XVII^e^ siècle* (Mont-Saint-Aignan: 2006) 79–93, here 79–80; Provini S., *L'Écriture épique au début de la Renaissance. Humbert de Montmoret, Germain de Brie, Pierre Choque, L'incendie de la Cordelière* (La Rochelle: 2004) 17–18; Kouskoff G., "Deux Epopées néo-latines à la gloire d'Hervé, le Nauchier breton", in Chevallier R. (ed.), *Colloque L'Épopée Gréco-Latine et ses Prolongements Européens.* Calliope II (Paris: 1981) 199–216, here 200–201.

2 On the epic poems, see Braun L., *Ancilla Calliopeae. Ein Repertorium der neulateinischen Epik Frankreichs (1500–1700)*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 38 (Leiden – Boston: 2007) 74–91.

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publishes a *Herveis*, followed by a *Bellum Ravenne* in 1513/14 and a collection of *Duodecim Silvae* in 1514; also in print is another, undated poem on the life of Christ (*Christis*).[3]

The most significant work in the oeuvre, however, are the *Bella Britannica*, an epic of some 3,000 verses divided into seven books which was published by Josse Bade in Paris in January 1513.[4] Montmoret at this point may already have lived as a monk at Vendôme, since he addressed the poetic *praefatio* (as well as a subsequent series of distichic epigrams) to his abbot Louis de Cravant.[5] In it, Montmoret describes the epic as his literary firstling composed in less than three months.[6] It may be that he had entered the monastery not long before.

The text deals with the years 1422–1429, that is, only a short stretch of the Hundred Years' War. Since the title mentions a 'prima pars',[7] the author may have planned a sequel covering the later years.[8] But there is no trace of it having been realized. Occupying a special place in the narrative are the heroic deeds by the Maid of Orleans; also, King Charles VII of France (1422–1461) takes the stage as a second protagonist. However, this is not to say that the text is exclusively tailored to a single heroic figure. Although Montmoret's epic uses numerous motifs from Virgil's *Aeneid*, it is not primarily oriented toward individual persons (as the title *Bella Britannica* already indicates). It recounts instead the collective struggle of the French people against the English. A better conceptual comparison might be the *Punica* composed by Silius Italicus,

3 On the *Christis*, see Czapla R.G., *Das Bibelepos in der Frühen Neuzeit. Zur deutschen Geschichte einer europäischen Gattung*, Frühe Neuzeit 165 (Berlin – Boston: 2013) 522; IJsewijn J. (with D. Sacré), *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part II. Literary, Linguistic, Philological and Editorial Questions.* Second, entirely rewritten edition, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 14 (Leuven: 1998) 29.

4 See Braun, *Ancilla Calliopeae* 81–88. In what follows, the quotes from the 1513 edition are not graphically modernized; solely the abbreviations (also the *e caudata*) are resolved and the *u* is differentiated from *v*. In this edition, punctuation is minimal. For enhanced understanding, the citations are punctuated according to the rules of German orthography. Upper and lower case are similarly adapted.

5 "Ad reverendum in Christo patrem dominum Ludovicum de Crevanto, abbatem Vindocimensem [!] carmen ex tempore", fol. A II r. In Book 3, the epic deals among others with the *Bellum Cravantinum*, i.e., the battle of Cravant (30 July 1423). The abbot thus may have harbored a local patriotic interest in the account.

6 Praefatio, vv. 16–18 (fol. A II r): '[…] nostri / Ingenii tibi primitias studioque trimestri / Sudatum prebemus opus […]' – 'We hereby render unto you the firstling of our talent, a work we produced with our zealous sweat in three months'.

7 Title leaf: *Fratris Humberti Montis Moretani poetae oratorisque clarissimi Bellorum Britannicorum a Carolo Francorum rege eo nomine septimo in Henricum Anglorum regem foelici euentu auspice puella franca gestorum prima pars continens* […].

8 See Braun, *Ancilla Calliopeae* 81–88.

which also glorify a certain community by differentiating it from another, hostile collective.

Although Montmoret is regarded in modern literary historiography as a poet influenced by Italian humanism, the narrative style cultivated in this epic seems 'eher mediaeval'.[9] This may be accounted for by the fact that most of the poem is based on a prose report from the Late Middle Ages written on royal commission by a monk named Jean Chartier, a contemporary and eye witness of the events depicted whose work was printed in 1476/1477 in the *Grandes Chroniques de Saint Denis* (and again in 1493). Since Montmoret treats not contemporary history but instead France's – more recent – past, he is forced to rely entirely on this written source.

There is also scarcely anything of the humanistic to be found in the literary technique. Certainly, the poem employs the genre-typical elements of the epic, but these cannot be assigned to a particular era: Having come into use in antiquity, most of them were also used in the Middle Ages, and in the Renaissance as well. Moreover, Montmoret follows the *ordo naturalis*, portraying the historical events, particularly military actions on both sides (battles and sieges), sequentially; in addition, he lets divine powers intervene and weaves in some fairly long speeches by and dreams of the protagonists for the sake of relief or characterization. Besides the historical figures, he has God the Father or Jupiter appear, also Mary and the sainted Dionysius; further, there is the sun god Phoebus and the Cyclopes, as well as the personifications *Fama* and *Ratio* and the Furies.

In the first book, the author addresses King Louis XII of France (1498–1515) and promises to sing of him later in panegyric verses (fol. I v):

> Posterius tua facta canam, superataque forti
> Regna manu nostris adiungent saecla libellis.
> Et mea perpetuo describens pagina versu,
> Strenua quae in Latiam gessisti praelia gentem,
> Ibit in aeternos cedro vivacior annos.[10]

Montmoret here holds out the prospect of celebrating contemporary events in song, namely, the successes Louis met with in Italy (and especially against

9 Braun, *Ancilla Calliopeae* 81; see there also 88: 'Mediaeval-statische Beschreibungen'.

10 'Later will I sing of your deeds, and the kingdoms conquered with a strong hand will bestow on our books centuries [sc. of response]. And my page, which, with undying verse, describes what magnificent battles you fought against the Italian people, will stride longer-lived than a cedar into eternity'.

Venice). Let the depiction at hand of the Hundred Years' War hence be nothing more than prelude: '[…] iam nunc praeludia quaedam / […] / Incipiam […]' (fol. I v). This is no empty promise: Already in 1513 (or 1514), the *Bellum Ravenne* appears in print celebrating the victory won by Louis over Pope Julius II and the Holy League.[11]

2 The Presentations of the Past in Montmoret's Epic

In Montmoret's text it is not just the French but also their English adversaries who can look back on a glorious past which impels them to fresh deeds. Thus, the poet describes in the second book how King Henry VI of England (1422–1461 and 1470–1472) and his noble counselors sit at table in a courtly hall that is decorated with marvellous tapestries depicting scenes from Britain's history.[12] They see here first of all the legendary conquest and settlement by the Britons, Picts, and Danes. Then, in a different place, there is the legendary Brittonic King Lucius who is said to have converted his people to Christianity in the 2nd century.[13] Another of the tapestry's scenes shows the Brittonic King Arthur vanquishing the Scots, Saxons, and Romans, aided by Merlin, the equally legendary sorcerer and prophet.[14] Roman antiquity is not entirely eclipsed here, but what dominates is a depiction of a mythic, historic past that is not fixated

11 On the text, see Braun, *Ancilla Calliopeae* 89–91.

12 Fol. XIIII r: 'Atria barbaricis ornata tapetibus intrant / Egregii proceres lanisque insculpta tuentur / Magnorum facta alta patrum moresque vetustos / Actaque magnanimas cernunt stimulantia mentes: / Scilicet ut saevi traiectis Britones undis / Celsa Albioniis posuerunt moenia terris, / Qualiter et Picti Daunique in bella feroces / Struxerunt per rura domos […]' – 'The splendid knights enter halls adorned with barbarian [i.e., dating from pre-Christian times] tapestries and regard the noble deeds – depicted in the wool – of the great forefather and the old customs, and they see actions that make their great hearts pound: say, how the wild Britons after crossing the waves erected steep walls in Albion; and how the warlike Picts and Danes built their houses on the fields'.

13 Fol. XIIII r: 'Parte alia auratis fulgebat Licius armis, / Sancta Panomphaei recolens qui iussa tonantis / Barbara frangebat vanorum altaria divum' – 'In another place, Licius [= Lucius] blazed with golden weapons, and, remembering the sacred orders of the thundering Panomphaeus [= God] he destroyed the barbaric altars of false deities'.

14 Fol. XIIII v: 'Fulminat hic Arcturus atrox Pictosque volucres / Persequitur pellitque suis Saxones ab oris, / Oenotrias sternitque acies ususque sagacis / Merlini auxilio, quo non praestantior alter / Augurio (huic dederat ventura elapsaque summus / Scire pater) bellis terret crudelibus orbem' – 'Here again shines the wild Arthur, and he pursues the fast-moving Picts, drives the Saxons from his shores, subdues the Oenotric [= Roman] hosts, and, helped by the clever Merlin (there was no better seer, for the Father on high [= God] had given him the gift of kenning the future and past), terrorizes the world with merciless wars'.

on Rome but on the British isle and feeds entirely on sources from the Early Middle Ages.

In the epic, to an even greater degree, the thoughts and doings of the French protagonists are determined by a past in which the pagan Rome of antiquity is only one instance among many. Thus, the poet describes how the French king Charles addresses his troops.[15] To fire up his compatriots' patriotism, the monarch reminds them of the purportedly numerous defeats that the French had inflicted on the English in the 14th and early 15th centuries. Going even further, the king evokes the *memoria* of the Migration Period when the Franks defeated the legions of the Roman Emperor Theodosius (379–395).[16] With the English clearly less capable militarily than the formidable Romans, the French were able to beat them without difficulty. Montmoret now explains that the king's address stoked the French soldiers' desire to give battle significantly and then proceeds to a terse characterization of his compatriots. His choice of historical references here is instructive. Thus, he starts off with (fol. XXII v):

> Gallus enim parvo magnas fert corpore vires.
> […]
> Aut quales Orladus atrox, cui corpore parvo
> Tanta fuit virtus, ut pauco milite cinctus
> Impia prostrarit Marsilli castra superbi
> Vicerit et magnum clava, non ense, gigantem.[17]

15 Fol. XXI r–v: 'Nunc opus est obstare animo patriamque focosque, / Uxores, natos, altaria sacra, penates / Nostraque districto defendere corpora ferro. / Post tantos patrum terraque marique triumphos / Turpe foret perferre iugum gentisque superbae / Elatas tolerare manus, quas Gallia saepe / Victrici fudit mediis certamine campis' – 'Now it is necessary to resist courageously and to defend homeland, hearth, wives, children, sacred altars, dwellings and our bodies with drawn sword. After such victories by our ancestors on water and on land, it would be shameful to be yoked and have to abide the hand raised in triumph [or: the boastful troops] of a proud people that Gaul often in victorious battle swept from the midst of the battlefield'.

16 Fol. XXI v: 'Si quondam Oenotrias virtus Franconia gentes / Thedosiique acies campo expulit […], / […] / Cur nunc longe animis Anglos et viribus infra / Non potero assumptis propellere fortiter armis?' – 'If at one time Frankish courage drove the Oenotric [= Roman] people and the legions of Theodosius from the field […], why would I not pick up weapons now and forcefully drive off the English who, in courage and strength of arms, rank far below the Romans?'.

17 'The Gaul may have been of small stature, but he possesses great strengths […] Or, as for example the terrible Roland, who, although he was of slight build still had such great courage that, aided by only a few soldiers, defeated the godless forces of the proud Marsilius, vanquishing the powerful giant with a mere club and not a sword'.

Montmoret here points to the Frankish knight Roland who, legend has it, fought the Saracen prince Marsilus (or Marsilius) with great bravery during Charlemagne's invasion of Spain. This is followed by another historical remembrance (fol. XXII v):

> Fortia quid referam magni certamina regis?
> Cui deus astrifero fluentia misit Olympo
> Lilia [...].[18]

Here Montmoret evokes the Merovingian King Clovis (481–511) who, after beating the Alemanni (i.e., after the battle of Zülpich in the year 496), is said to have converted to Roman Christianity. According to late medieval legend, Clovis was the first to display the lilies sent by God on the Frankish coat of arms. And Charles continues his address thus (fol. XXII v):

> Quid Magnum Magnique patrem fortemque Philippum
> Romula Francigenis miscentem pila catheiis?[19]

Montmoret here points first to Charlemagne's Italian campaign and the victory he scored over the Lombard King Desiderius in the year 774. Second, he refers to Charlemagne's father Piepin the Younger (751–768) and his Italian campaigns in 755 and 756. Third, the poet invokes the French King Philipp II Augustus (1180–1223), who, although he did spend time in Italy on returning from the Holy Land, did not wage war there. Montmoret mentions him here because of his great political and military successes. Finally, the king's speech evokes one more ruler:

> Quid repetam, quanto Lodoicus turbine movit
> In Machometiacos horrentia praelia Turcas?[20]

Meant here is the French King Louis VII (1137–1180) who took part in the Second Crusade to the Holy Land.

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18 'Why should I recall the great king's battles? God let the lilies float down to him from starred Olympus'.

19 'Why should I recall the Great One and his father, the brave Philip? They all let Roman javelins hit Frankish cudgels'.

20 'Why should I remind of the mighty turmoil of Louis waging merciless wars against the Mohammedan Turks?'.

Summing up: The author by a series of short vignettes here recalls for the reader a long history of the Franks and, respectively, the French that stretches from Late Antiquity to the 13th century. This allegedly glorious past does not derive from pagan Roman antiquity, rather it is at best comparable to it.

In the fourth book, Montmoret describes how Saint Dionysius seeks out the sun god Phoebus and implores him while a battle is raging between the English and French to blind the opposing forces with his blaze. He justifies his entreaty by stating that no other nation is as close to his heart as the French.[21] For no other nation is as closely tied to the Christian faith, no other fights the enemies of the Christian God like it does. Here the poet once more alludes to important instances, events, and persons of Frankish and, respectively, French history: The reference here may be to the Merovingian kings adopting the Christian faith and confessing to the Roman church, also the victories won by Charles Martell (d. 741) over the Saracens, as well as Charlemagne proselytizing the Saxons. Indirectly, the military engagement by the French crusaders is also recalled.

In the last half of the seventh book, i.e., toward the epic's end and therefore at a prominent place in the text, the poet describes a tapestry being hung in Joan of Arc's tent. The long section is the counterpart of the aforementioned passage in the second book in which the banqueting English marvel at tapestries illustrating the history of Britain. The tapestry now on display in Joan of Arc's tent shows scenes of the Trojan War and of the Frankish mythology that derived from it.[22] Meeting the eye first is Hector's attack on the Greek ships,[23] a next scene shows the Trojan Francio, mythical progenitor of the Frankish and respectively of the French people, fleeing to Gaul where he trains their

21 Fol. XXXV v: 'Nulla mihi certe picti sub cardine caeli / Gratior esse potest quam Galli bella potentis / Natio. Sacratis nulla est quae saepius aris / Thura ferat. Nulla est, cui post documenta remansit / Clavigeri magis ampla fides; nulla insuper, ipsos / Quae totiens fidei rabidos perterruit hostes' – 'Certainly, no nation under the colorful heavens turning above can be more welcome to me than the splendid nation of the mighty Gaul. No nation sacrifices more often at the sacred altars. There is no nation, so it is handed down to us, that has demonstrated greater enduring loyalty to the key bearer [= the Pope]. Furthermore, no other nation has driven the wild enemies of our faith away more often'.

22 See the table of contents in Braun, *Ancilla Calliopeae* 87.

23 Fol. LVII v: 'Castra coloratis variata tapetibus, in quis / Acta legebantur magnorum illustria regum. / Illis magnanimum crudelibus Hectora in armis / Cernere erat Danaas cupientem accendere puppes' – '[They set up] a camp that was colorfully decorated with colored tapestries. On them they could follow the famous deeds of the great kings. On others they saw how the magnanimous Hector bearing cruel weapons wanted to set the Danaic [= Greek] ships on fire'.

forefathers in how to win at war.[24] The French nobles present in the tent gaze spellbound at the scenes depicted on the tapestry.[25] For the observer, mythical history serves to stimulate his own performance. After they have supped and night has fallen, the nobles sit together to tell stories and reminisce about the glorious events of that day. The visual *memoria* now segues into an oral-auditory one. Spoken of now are the military feats that Joan of Arc accomplished as well as the mythic Franks descended from Priam or other Trojans.[26] Next, a minstrel by the name of Ioppas appears[27] and performs a few songs that also point first to the Franks' Trojan heritage.[28] So, the citharist has the Franks, after vanquishing the Alemanni, also repulse the legions of the Roman emperor Theodosius (370–395).[29] In keeping with the medieval narrative tradition, myth here blends seamlessly into history. Frankish history may be loosely integrated with the history of the ancient Romans and related to it, but, more importantly, it first achieves its own renown by differentiation from the Romans.

Ioppas then continues to sing of the first Merovingian king Pharamond who, legend has it, reigned in the 5th century.[30] Next come allusions to Merovech,

24 Fol. LVII v–LVIII r: '[…] saevisque elapsus Achivis / Francio discedens Gallas veniebat ad oras, / Quas post ipse suo Francas de nomine dixit. / Hic docuit Gallos ferre arma […] / […] / Inclyta sic Francae surrexit gloria gentis' – 'Francio, having escaped the wild Achaeans [= Greeks], reached the Gallic shores which he later called Frankish after his own name. He taught the Gauls how to fight war […] In this way the oft-cited fame of the Frankish people came to be'.

25 Fol. LVIII r: 'Dum passim heroes per castra ornata refusi / Picturam aspicerent, picturam corda moventem / Pascentemque animos imitandaque in acta trahentem, / Exornant famuli mensas […]' – 'While the heroes scattered around the decorated encampment regarded the picture that moves their hearts and feeds their courage and spurs them on to exemplary deeds, the servants set the tables […]'.

26 Fol. LVIII r: 'Vocibus alternis nunc strenua facta parentum / Enarrant proceres, validae nunc quanta puellae / Corpora fulmineo prostrarit lancea cursu. / Priamidas alii genitosque a sanguine Francos / Dardanidum […]' – 'The knights took turns telling now of the ancestors' brave deeds, now of how the strong girl's [= Joan of Arc] spear like lightning threw the bodies [sc. of the enemy] to the ground. Other talked about Priam's descendants and the Franks descended from the blood of the Dardanians [= Trojans]'.

27 See Virgil, *Aeneis* I, 740.

28 Fol. LVIII r: 'Concinit Hectoridas patria a statione repulsos, / Qui Gallas coluere plagas, et Francia tandem / Fortis in immensum victis ut crevit Halanis' – 'He sings of Hector's offspring driven from their homes to then settle the Gallic lands, and how the brave Franconia grew immeasurably after the victory over the Alani [meaning the Alemanni]'.

29 Fol. LVIII v: 'Thedosiique acies violento Marte reiecit' – '[The Frankish people] repelled in violent war the troops of Theodosius'.

30 Fol. LVIII v: 'Hic quoque clara canit Pharamundi gesta diserto / Carmine […]' – 'In his dulcet song, he also extols the renowned deeds of Pharamond'.

according to legend the progenitor of the Merovingians, who also ruled in those days, and to his son Childeric I (d. 481/482) (fol. LVIII v):

> Laudat et insignem clara virtute Moroveum
> Surgentemque illa prolem radice superbum
> Childericum, fudit rigido qui Marte potentes
> Romulidas vicitque ferum sua regna tenentem
> Gillonem et validis Odoagrum reppulit armis.[31]

Montmoret here also shows how the history of the Franks successively emancipated itself from the history of the Romans: Childeric is victorious over the Roman usurper Aegidius (called Gillo here) and the Germanic warlord Odoacer, who was also in Roman service.

After Ioppas has finished his song, an older soldier holds a laudation on the martial prowess of the French, which begins with the following words (fol. LVIII v):

> Francia, magnorum nutrix animosa virorum,
> In magnas laxata acies victricibus armis
> Eoos calcavit agros quaesitaque bello
> regna triumphatis tenuit Nabathaea tyrannis.[32]

With this, the poet again, and now explicitly, refers to the Crusades of the 11th and 12th centuries in which the kings and knights of France played an instrumental part. The conquest and temporary occupation of the Holy Land are presented to the audience as key events from its own *antiquitas*.

The old soldier next states flatly that the Gauls and, respectively, the French had everywhere subjugated other peoples and that this elevates *Francia* to 'Queen of the World' ('mundi regina') and to keeper of the *imperium*.[33] He

31 'He also sings the praise of Moroveus [= Merovech] for his great bravery as well as of the proud Childeric who arose from that lineage as son. Childeric in merciless war vanquished the mighty sons of Rome, he defeated the wild Gillo [Aegidius] who ruled in those days [sc. over Rome] and he pushed back Odoacer with strong arms'.

32 'France, the courageous foster mother to great men, sent out great armies, with victorious arms subjugated the lands of the Orient, and ruled the Nabataean kingdoms taken in war after their tyrants had been defeated'.

33 Fol. LIX r: 'Quid verbis opus est? Totum diffusa per orbem / Francia sic populos contrivit Marte rebelles, / Ut mundi regina foret magnoque teneret / Imperio, quicquid gremio complectitur aequor' – 'What need is there for more words? Francia, spread all over the globe, has annihilated the rebellious peoples in war so much that it was queen of the

concludes his speech by recalling how the Merovingian king Clovis I, after his victory over the Alemanni, was said to have converted to Christianity (fol. LIX r–v). Repeating the late medieval legend, the soldier recounts how Clovis was anointed with holy oil, received the Oriflamme from God and wore the French lilies on his coat of arms. Furnished with these divine attributes, the French had also defeated their Muslim adversaries in the Holy Land.[34] Moreover, the Merovingians had met with success in fighting the Arianic Ostrogoths, i.e., other enemies of the Roman Church and of orthodoxy (fol. LIX v):

> Arrius ambiguum cum sparsit virus in orbem
> Oppressitque errore fidem, Gothus impius urbes
> Francigenas invasit atrox, at fortibus armis
> Cum duce supremam dedit inter praelia vitam.[35]

And on this note the old campaigner's oration ends. A second soldier now appears to extol Charlemagne and his deeds (fol. LX r):

> Finierat senior. Iussus narrare secundus
> Grandia commemorat magni certamina Carli,
> Vicit ut Hunuldum et cogentem in bella cruentos
> Vascones arma Lupum, ut magnum victricibus armis
> Perfregit Desiderium, [...]
> [...]
> Saevaque Tartarei recolentes numina Ditis
> Vicit ut atroces parvum [!] Saxones ad Hesam.[36]

Described here is how Charlemagne defeated Duke Hunold of Aquitaine, who then fled in the year 769 to the Basque Duke Lupos II, the ruler of Gascony,

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world and with its great [sc. imperial] power ruled everything that the [world] ocean encircles in its lap'.

34 Fol. LIX v: 'Et merito: gens nulla fuit, quae fortius hostes / Vicerit et Machometiacas perfregerit aras' – 'Quite rightly: There has never been a people that has beaten the enemy more powerfully and destroyed the Mohammedan altars more effectively'.

35 'While Arius spread his poison in the teetering world and depressed the faith through his false teaching, the sinister, impious Goth attacked the Frankish towns but together with his leader found death in battle thanks to strong weapons'.

36 'The old man has finished. A second figure now is urged to tell of Charlemagne's famous battles, namely how he defeated Hunold and then Lupus who was forcing the bloody Gascons into war and passage at arms, and how he subdued the great Desiderius in victorious battles'.

who, however, turned him over to Charlemagne in 770 and submitted to the king. It is recalled further that Charlemagne in 774 subdued the Langobard king Desiderius. In the following verses, finally, mention is made of the wars against the heathen Saxons (772–804). The second warrior also relates that the apostles had converted Europe's various peoples to Christianity (among them the holy Dionysius the Gauls), but that Spain had remained mired in superstition which was the reason for Charlemagne to march there and convert the Iberians by force of arms.[37] And with that, the second soldiers's encomium also ends. The assembled nobles spend the remainder of the night in the tent praising the rest of the Frankish and French kings of the Middle Ages.[38] This is how the epic concludes.

3 Conclusion and Literary Historiographical Background

In this epic, regarded as humanistic only because of the chronology, the portrayal of a glorious past does not concentrate on pagan antiquity but on late antiquity and medieval legend and, respectively, medieval history. However, the latter does not so much compete with Roman antiquity as it serves as its complement and culmination. Given this sort of perspective, the text is firmly anchored in the medieval tradition of epic narrative, and, indeed, Montmoret conceptually differs only slightly from the great French epic poets of the 12th and 13th centuries (Gilles of Paris, William the Breton, Nicolaus de Braia, among others). Still, it is highly unlikely that he knew of their works, much less used them as literary templates. Both temporally and culturally much closer is another epic by an Italian contemporary: the *Carlias* penned by the renowned

37 Fol. LX v: 'Horruit immensi leges Hispania Christi. / Ad quam magnanimus Francae moderator habenae / [...] / Armatos duxit proceres ritusque profanos, / Quos nequit sanctus sermone Iacobus iniquis / Dissuadere viris, valido mucrone revellit' – 'The Spanish lands recoiled before the laws of the mighty Christ. The magnanimous guide of the Frankish reins led his armed nobles into the land and eradicated with a mighty blade those heathen rituals from which the holy Jacob could not deter the misled people by his sermons'.

38 Fol. LX v: 'Hos quoque, qui gestis famam meruere perennem, / Laudat quisque suo celebrandos ordine reges' – 'One after the other they also laud the praiseworthy kings who earned everlasting fame through their deeds'.

Florentine Ugolino Verino (1438–1516).[39] At least in the initial verses clear parallels can be detected between Montmoret and Verino:[40]

> Montmoret I, 1–2 (fol. I r):
> Praelia Francigenae canimus victricia gentis.[41]
>
> Ugolino Verino, *Carlias* I, 1–2:
> Praelia magnanimi canimus victricia Carli
> Armaque Francorum nullis impervia terris.[42]

The Florentine poet had addressed the dedication copy of his epic to Charles VIII of France (1483–1498) and it is conceivable that the text circulated at the royal court (even if the dedication was unsuccessful and the codex was returned to the author in 1498 after the king's death).[43] Ugolino's work treats both the historic and the fabled and downright fanciful deeds of Charlemagne who is portrayed in the dedication as progenitor of the French royal house. Thus, a larger-than-life figure of France's medieval history is the focus of a humanistic epic that also relates in a certain way to France's contemporary history: As Charlemagne conquered the Langobards, so Charles VIII subdues the Italian peninsula.

It is not only poetic traditions that are responsible for the fact that medieval antiquity plays such a prominent role in Montmoret's work and is featured at such length but so are two extraliterary rationales:

First, France and its kings emerge as the most important defenders of Christendom and the Roman church. Since pagan antiquity cannot contribute anything to this self-definition and self-portrayal, Montmoret has to let this people's relatable past begin in Christian late antiquity. He finds a rich trove of material in the Merovingian adoption of Catholicism, Charlemagne's missionary activity as well as the French kings' engagement in the Crusades of the High Middle Ages to stage a France guided by the 'most Christian king' (it is no coincidence that Charles VII was the first to officially adopt the title of *Rex Christianissimus*). That the religious aspect should figure so centrally in

39 Ugolino Verino, *Carlias. Ein Epos des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. N. Thurn, Humanistische Bibliothek. Texte und Abhandlungen. Reihe II. Texte 31 (Munich: 1995).

40 An exegesis of the first verse in Thurn N., *Kommentar zur Carlias des Ugolino Verino*, Humanistische Bibliothek. Texte und Abhandlungen. Reihe II. Texte 33 (Munich: 2002) 98.

41 'We sing of the victorious battles of the people descended from Francio'.

42 'We sing of the victorious battles of the noble-minded Charles and the weapons of the Franks, for whom no land is inaccessible'.

43 Thurn (ed.), Ugolino Verino, *Carlias* 12.

Montmoret's epic is explained against the background of a prevailing Turkish menace that drove the most important political discourse in the Europe of the 15th and 16th centuries. France had to base its claim to religious leadership on a decidedly Christian-Catholic past to shore up its legitimacy and credibility in this debate, particularly with the Habsburg Empire.

The second reason for so clearly favouring the medieval past can be found in the military successes. The pagan antiquity mythos could only furnish losers: Francio and his companions had to flee from a Troy besieged by the Greeks. That would hardly yield any evidence of military competence. The Trojans were poor refugees who saved themselves by crossing the Mediterranean to the European coast in a boat. This contrasts with the different, more attractive foundation provided by medieval *antiquitas*: a long series of martial successes and territorial expansions. The Merovingian kings Charlemagne and Philipp II Augustus could serve as the most important protagonists in this success story. – The military aspect, too, must be analyzed against the early 16th century background: at that time, only someone who could look back on a glorious past crowned with victories in battle could venture to lay claim to military leadership of Europe, especially in the struggle against the Turks. Both the religious and the military aspects ultimately serve to present France as the political hegemon and *leading nation* that other, smaller states – for instance, in Italy or along the Rhine – had to submit to. To proclaim this message, the poet Montmoret harks back to layers of the past, some old, some more recent, which – going by modern epoch classification – reside not in Roman but in medieval antiquity.

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Thurn N., *Kommentar zur Carlias des Ugolino Verino*, Humanistische Bibliothek. Texte und Abhandlungen. Reihe II. Texte 33 (Munich: 2002).

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CHAPTER 7

Parody and Appropriation of the Past in the *Grandes Chroniques Gargantuines* and in Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532)

Paul J. Smith

In 1532 François Rabelais published his first literary work, *Pantagruel*, which made him immediately known as a satirist. This book (full title: *Pantagruel. Les horribles et espoventables faictz et prouesses du tresrenomme Pantagruel Roy des Dipsodes, filz du grant geant Gargantua, Composez nouvellement par maistre Alcofrybas Nasier* (Lyon, Claude Nourry: n.d. [1532])) recounts the miraculous life of Pantagruel, the first gentle giant in history. The story is structured according to the *topoi* of the classical epideictic biography.[1] In the opening part (*genus*), the ancestors (*maiores*) of the giant (chapter 1) are mentioned; in the following part (chapter 2), the story of the miraculous birth of the giant is told (*genesis*); next, his youth and education are narrated (*educatio*) (chapters 3–24); the rest of the story (chapters 24/25–33) addresses the exploits of Pantagruel – this part coincides with the *facta* or *res gestae* in wartime and in time of peace.[2]

In the *genus* and *educatio* parts, Rabelais gives Pantagruel a place in history – even in world history. Rabelais's comic and parodic tone is evident from the opening chapter, entitled "De l'origine et antiquité du grand Pantagruel". Rabelais bestows his giant with a literally antediluvian genealogy, which can be traced back to times long before the Flood. In doing so, Rabelais satirizes by exaggeration the genealogic pretensions of princes and noblemen all over Europe. Chapter 5 narrates how Pantagruel as a student makes an educational journey, visiting France's most important universities. During his "tour de France" the giant leaves his mark on local history. Thus, some reputed *lieux de mémoire* – the *Pierre levée* at Poitiers, the Pont du Gard near Arles, and the

1 See Smith P.J., *Dispositio. Problematic Ordering in French Renaissance Literature* (Leiden – Boston: 2007) 25–42.

2 All quotations of the French text refer to Rabelais François, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. M. Huchon (Paris: 1994). However, Huchon's edition is based on the 1542 edition of *Pantagruel*, which in many respects (for instance, the number of chapters) is not identical to the 1532 edition. As for the translations, those of the *Grandes Chroniques Gargantuines* are mine, wheras those of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* are taken from the translation by M.A. Screech (London: 2006).

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Amphitheatre of Nîmes – appear to have been created by young Pantagruel. In the same chapter Pantagruel shows how he is fascinated by the history of his own family: the lecture of the chronicles of his ancestors ('les belles chroniques de ses ancestres') makes him visit the tombstone of one of these ancestors, Geoffrey Long-Tooth, one of the sons of the fairy Melusine, from whom the French noble house of Lusignan claimed to be descended.

In this article, I will try to interpret the above-mentioned passages: What is parodied by Rabelais, and how, and what is the place of this parody in the rest of his work? To this end, it is necessary to address preliminarily an anonymous work entitled *Les Grandes Chroniques Gargantuines*, which was not only the model for Rabelais's *Pantagruel*, but also its logical predecessor, because the story is about the giant Gargantua, Pantagruel's father. In this work, too, national and local historiography is an important topic.

1 The *Grandes Chroniques*

There is nothing grand about the *Grandes Chroniques Gargantuines* except its title and its protagonists, who are giants. Indeed, the *Grandes Chroniques* is a little, anonymous chapbook, with no literary pretentions, published around 1530; the first known version dates from 1532.[3] This little book is a parody of the Arthurian novels – i.e. the novels on King Arthur and the Round Table, which in their prose versions were widely read in 16th-century France. Its basic story deals with the miraculous birth of the giants Grandgousier and Galemelle, the parents of Gargantua, who were created from the bones of a whale through witchcraft performed by the well-known magician Merlin. We read a comical erotic description of Gargantua's conception, followed by his birth. It is not clear where and in what country Gargantua was born. The only geographical information given is that the giant family was living on top of a mountain. Merlin gave orders to Grandgousier and Galemelle: once Gargantua reached the age of seven years, they had to come to England in order to help King Arthur against his enemies. Therefore, seven years after Gargantua's birth, the two giants and their son depart for England, but the first stop on their trip was Rome. This is an important detail because it indicates that Gargantua's birth

3 Several versions of this work are known, which are often very different from one another. Rabelais himself probably was co-editor of one of these versions, entitled *Le Vroy Gargantua* (1532). Another version, *Les Chroniques admirables du puissant Roy Gargantua* (s.l.n.d.), is clearly influenced by Rabelais's early works. Some of these versions are included in Huchon's edition of Rabelais's *Œuvres complètes*, some others are edited in *Les Chroniques Gargantuines*, ed. C. Lauvergnat-Gagnière – G. Demerson (Paris: 1988).

and early life took place somewhere in Italy, south or east of Rome – I will come back to this. Following Merlin's orders, both parents bear an enormous stone on their head, in order to show King Arthur their strength. Just before crossing the Channel, they put their stones down in the sea near the shoreline, with the intention of coming back for them; however, they died suddenly of fever. Let us take a closer look at this deposition of the stones:

> [Grandgousier's] rochier à present est appellé le mont Saint-Michel. Et mist ledit grant Gosier la poincte contre mont: et le puis prouver par plusieurs micheletz. Et est ledict rochier tresbien gardé de present au noble roy de France comme vrayes relicques precieuses.
>
> Grandgousier's rock is nowadays called Mont Saint-Michel. And Grandgousier put down the rock with its point upward. And I can prove this by [the testimony] of several Saint-Michel pilgrims. And nowadays this rock is well esteemed by the noble king of France as real precious relics are.

This seems to be important information, as it is supported by the narrator's (mock) protestations of veracity,[4] based on the eyewitness accounts of the 'micheletz'. And it is the only occasion where the king of France is mentioned in the book. Today, Galemelle's stone is called 'Tombelaine', which is a rocky little island in the sea, near Mont Saint-Michel. Merlin buries Gargantua's parents – Grandgousier at Mont Saint-Michel, and Galemelle at Tombelaine.

Before proposing an interpretation of this passage, let us first follow the adventures of Gargantua for a moment. On a magic cloud created by Merlin, Gargantua is transported over the sea to the court of King Arthur. Arthur is presented not as a mighty king, but as a weak, hesitant, and even anxious man, who is not receiving much help from his famous knights of the Round Table. The rest of our story can be summarized briefly: Gargantua helps King Arthur, he defeats all of King Arthur's enemies, and he stays with the king for 200 years, at which point he is transported by Merlin to the Castle of Avalon, where he is still living and feasting with King Arthur.

The *Grandes Chroniques* is not only a literary parody on the Arthurian novels, but also a political satire on Henry VIII, with whom the French king had an alliance against Charles V; this alliance, however, was not always smooth and easy. The French reproached the English king for his general lack of activity

4 This is, accordingly, the comical convention of the liar's tale: the more the tale's veracity is emphasized, the more it is a lie.

in supporting France, and especially, around 1530, for his dismissal of Cardinal Wolsey, who was befriended by the French diplomat Jean Du Bellay. King Henry surrounded himself with young and ambitious counsellors, among whom was Thomas Cromwell, the future 'hammer of the monks'. It is no coincidence that in the *Grandes Chroniques*, Merlin summons King Arthur to ask him to be prudent in listening to his bad advisors. The political message of the *Grandes Chroniques* is that the only real help for King Henry comes from France, personified in the French giant Gargantua.[5]

Another French reproach of the English monarchy was the English king's claim to the French throne – it was only in 1800 that the English King George III dropped this claim and removed the French fleurs-de-lis from the English coat of arms. Henry VIII's aspirations came to the fore by his conviction that he descended from King Arthur – this conviction was based upon the immensely popular 12th-century work *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*History of the Kings of Britain*) by Geoffrey of Monmouth. This *Historia* was well known in France: royal propaganda used it in order to set up the Valois' own genealogy, and much of Geoffrey's information passed into the works of French *chroniqueurs*, including *Les grandes croniques de Bretaigne* (1514), written by Alain Bouchard.[6]

Let us return to Mont Saint-Michel. Geoffrey of Monmouth narrates how King Arthur defeated a giant at 'the top of that which is now called Michael's Mount'.[7] This giant had captured a damsel called Helena. The poor maiden died of fear and was buried in the mountain, 'which, taking the damsel's name, is called *Helena's Tomb* to this day'.[8] This was, according to the fictitious etymology of Geoffrey, the isle of Tombelaine, which should be read as 'tombe Hélène' – in the words of Bouchard: 'Et pour raison de ce quelle avoit nom Helaine et que elle y fut ensevelie, et aussi que elle y avoit sa tumbe, celluy mont fut dehors appelle Tumbelaine'.[9] As we have seen, the *Grandes Chroniques* gives another, absurd explanation of the origin of Tombelaine, probably with the intention of parodying Geoffrey's etymology: the fair Helena being replaced with the giantess Galemelle. And concerning Mont Saint-Michel, the *Grandes*

5 On the political situation at the time of the *Grandes Chroniques*, see a.o. Huchon M., *Rabelais* (Paris: 2011) 136–143.

6 Bouchart Alain, *Les grandes croniques de Bretaigne, composées en l'an 1514*, ed. H. Le Meignen (Rennes: 1886).

7 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* X, 3: 'in cacumen montis, qui nunc Michaelis dicitur', trans. as *The British History* by A. Thompson, revised ed. J.A. Giles (London: 1842) 205.

8 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, X, 3: 'Qui nomen ex tumulo puellae nactus, Tumba Helenae, usque in hodiernum diem, vocatur': trans. ibidem 208.

9 Bouchard, *Les grandes* croniques, fol. 52r.

Chroniques comes up with some other possible allusions to Geoffrey's *Historia* and/or to Bouchard's *Croniques*. Let us first observe the resemblance between the two texts in the naming of 'Mont Saint-Michel'. Geoffrey wrote, 'which is now called Michael's Mount'; this is echoed by Bouchard, who writes, 'qui a present est appellee le mont Sainct Michel';[10] and, the *Grandes Chroniques* has: 'rochier à present est appellé le mont Saint-Michel'. Whereas neither Geoffrey nor Bouchard pays any further attention to this appellation, the *Grandes Chroniques* seems to do so, albeit indirectly.

The question is: What has Gargantua to do with the archangel Saint Michael? For this we have to go back to the origins of the cult of Saint Michael in Europe. The original name of the island was Mont Tombe (it is probably that 'tombe' did not originally mean 'tomb', but is derived from an Indo-European word meaning 'elevated'), but in 710 the island was renamed Mont Saint-Michel because of the appearance of Saint Michael in a dream of the bishop Saint Aubert of Avranches. In this dream, the Archangel Saint Michael told the bishop to erect a sanctuary. In order to underline his words, the archangel drove his finger into Aubert's head; the hole can still be seen in a skull conserved as a relic at the Saint-Gervais Basilica in Avranches.[11] This sanctuary was to be constructed in imitation of another sanctuary, erected at the end of the 5th century, at Mount Gargano in Italy, which itself had been built on the instigation of the Archangel appearing in a dream to Saint Laurence, bishop of Sipontom. The name Gargano is linked to a shepherd, named Garganus, who was miraculously killed by his own arrow on the mountain. On this mountain Saint Michael's sanctuary was built.

Both legends were taken up into the *Legenda aurea*[12] and were well spread throughout Europe. They are at the basis of the so-called *Via sacra Langobardorum*, which connected in a straight line, from northwest to southeast, the four most important monasteries dedicated to the Archangel Michael: Mount St. Michael, a small island in Mount's Bay (Cornwall); the Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy; Saint Michael's Abbey in the Susa-Valley near Turin; and Monte Sant'Angelo at Mount Gargano. This straight line can be extended to Jerusalem.

It is into this intertext that the *Grandes Chroniques* steps in. We have noticed that Gargantua was born not far away from Rome, to the south or east

10 Ibidem, fol. 52v.

11 See https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Normandie_Manche_Avranches5_tang07174.jpg (last consultation 29th October 2017). This skull, by the way, is from a much older, prehistoric date.

12 Jacques de Voragine, *La légende dorée*, ed. and trans. T. de Wyzewa (Paris: 1910) 545–546, with a different version of the Saint Aubert legend.

of the city, possibly on the same mountain on which the shepherd Garganus was killed. Gargantua and his parents follow the opposite direction of the *Via sacra Langobardorum*, from Mount Gargano to Mont Saint-Michel. Gargantua is received at King Arthur's court in Camelot, Geoffrey's 'City of Legions', often identified as Caerleon, situated not far away from Mount St. Michael in Wales. And Tintagel, the place where, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, the conception of King Arthur took place,[13] is also in the same region – at least as seen from the distanced viewpoint of French readers. Thus, Gargantua's and Arthur's places of conception and birth are geographically linked.

Let us now return to the brief sentence we found in the *Grandes Chroniques*: 'Et est ledict rochier tresbien gardé de present au noble roy de France comme vrayes relicques precieuses'. Indeed, for the French kings, Mont Saint-Michel was the symbol of their battle against the English aggressors. This is why in 1469 King Louis XI founded the Order of Saint Michael, the centre of which was Mont Saint-Michel. He did so as a reaction against the English Order of the Garter (founded in 1348) and the Burgundian and Imperial Order of the Golden Fleece (founded in 1430). And in 1532, the period in which the *Grandes Chroniques* was published, King Francis I and his court took Mont Saint-Michel as their starting point for the "tour de France" that they made in order to show the greatness of the French kingdom.

The Mont Saint-Michel episode shows us what has been called a *mythologie française*,[14] which implies a strategy of French nationalistic, regional, or local appropriation or reinterpretation of the past: a new signification is given to old, prehistoric, antique, or medieval monuments, or even to phenomena belonging to the natural world. Thus, besides Mont Saint-Michel and Tombelaine, the *Grandes Chroniques* gives us some other so-called aetiological myths: it explains us, tongue in cheek, why there are no forests in Beauce in Champagne (because Gargantua's mare swept all of the trees away with her tail), why there are no wolves in England (they were all chased and killed by Gargantua), where the Rhône River comes from (from the hot piss of Gargantua),[15] why the Normans have to drink cider instead of wine (as a punishment, Gargantua had destroyed all of their vineyards),[16] and so forth and so on. These comic strategies of popular semantic remotivation would be adopted and developed by François Rabelais.

13 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The British History* 170.

14 See, for instance, Dontenville H., *Mythologie française* (Paris: 1973).

15 *Œuvres* 206. The different versions of the *Grandes Chroniques* mention several other aetiological explanations of phenomena in which Gargantua is involved.

16 Rabelais, *Les Chroniques Gargantuines* 275.

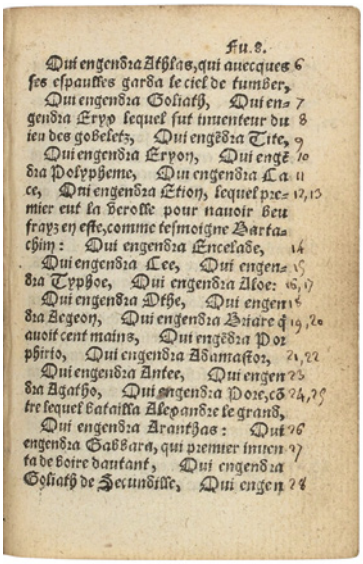

Fu.8.
Qui engendra Athlas, qui auecques 6
ſes eſpaulles garda le ciel de tumber,
Qui engendra Goliath, Qui en- 7
gendra Eryx lequel fut inuenteur du 8
ieu des gobeletz, Qui engẽdra Tite, 9
Qui engendra Eryon, Qui engẽ 10
dra Polyphẽme, Qui engendra La- 11
ce, Qui engendra Etion, lequel print 12,13
mier eut la beroſſe pour nauoir beu
frayz en eſte, comme teſmoigne Barta-
chin: Qui engendra Encelade, 14
Qui engendra Cee, Qui engen- 15
dra Typhoe, Qui engendra Aloe: 16,17
Qui engendra Othe, Qui engen- 18
dra Aegeon, Qui engendra Briare q 19,20
auoit cent mains, Qui engẽdra Por-
phirio, Qui engendra Adamaſtor, 21,22
Qui engendra Antee, Qui engen- 23
dra Agathon, Qui engendra Doxe, cõ 24,25
tre lequel batailla Alexandre le grand,
Qui engendra Arantas: Qui 26
engendra Gabbara, qui premier inuen- 27
ta de boire dautant, Qui engendra
Goliath de Secundille, Qui engen- 28

FIGURE 7.1
François Rabelais, *Pantagruel, roy des Dipsodes, restitué à son naturel, avec des faictz et prouesses espoventables, composez par feu M. Alcofribas, abstracteur de quinte essence* (Lyon, F. Juste: 1542), fol. 8r. Bibliothèque nationale de France RES-Y2-2135
IMAGE © BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

2 Pantagruel's Genealogy

Rabelais's first novel, *Pantagruel* (1532), is a logical sequel to the *Grandes Chroniques* because Pantagruel is the son of Gargantua. But the first chapter on Pantagruel's genealogy also marks a rupture with the *Grandes Chroniques*. Pantagruel's genealogy does not begin with Grandgousier, created by Merlin's witchcraft, but literally goes back to the antediluvian times before Noah, to the time of Cain and Abel. In the first editions this genealogy has the form of a simple, horizontal enumeration in the form of a typographical block, but from the 1542 editions on, this genealogy begins to take, hesitatingly, the form of a vertical list [Fig. 7.1].[17]

The intertext of this chapter is dazzling. It includes the biblical enumerations of the descendants from Adam and Eve to Christ, all summed up in the same repetitive style of the Bible, 'A begat B' – 'Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judas and his brethren' (*Matthew* 1:2). In a seminal study on this chapter, Edwin Duval[18] has counted the total of the generations from Adam to Christ, putting together the information from *Genesis* 5, *Genesis* 10, *Genesis* 11, and *Matthew* 1. Duval arrived at a total of 62 generations between Adam and Christ. Then, Duval counted Pantagruel's ancestors: he

17 For this development from enumeration to list, see Cappellen R. – Smith P.J., "Entre l'auteur et l'éditeur. La forme-liste chez Rabelais", *L'Année rabelaisienne* 1 (2017) 121–144.

18 Duval E.M., *The Design of Rabelais's* Pantagruel (New Haven – London: 1991) 31.

arrived at 61. This is in accordance with biblical genealogy because the Bible goes back to Adam, whereas Pantagruel's genealogy stops at Cain and Abel. I found some other evidence in favour of Duval's interpretation: in a copy of the 1542 edition [see Fig. 7.1], an anonymous reader has counted Pantagruel's ancestors, and he also comes to the total of 61.

It is not only the number that is important, but the organizing principles in this enumeration, namely chronology and the sources used.[19] This I have visualized in the following quotation of the first part of the genealogy. This part consists of 3 biblical names and 3 names with biblical consonance, all of which I put in bold. Of these, the names Chalbroth, Sarabroth, and Faribroth are inventions by Rabelais, coined on the model of the name of the giant hunter Nembroth (Nimrod). The name of Hurtaly is special; I will come back to him. Then there are 25 names (put in italics) taken from the list of giants by Ravisius Textor, and 4 names (bold italics) from other lists. The presence of 'Sisyphus' in this enumeration is bizarre, and it might be a comical correction of Ravisius Textor, because Textor placed Sisyphus into the list of dwarves.

> Et le premier fut **Chalbroth**, qui engendra **Sarabroth**, qui engendra **Faribroth**, qui engendra **Hurtaly**, qui fut beau mangeur de souppes et regna au temps du deluge, qui engendra **Nembroth**, qui engendra *Athlas* qui avecques ses espaules guarda le ciel de tumber, qui engendra *Goliath*, qui engendra ***Eryx***, qui engendra *Titius*, qui engendra Eryon, qui engendra *Polyphemus*, qui engendra ***Cacus***, qui engendra *Etion*, qui engendra *Enceladus*, qui engendra *Ceus*, qui engendra *Typhœus*, qui engendra *Alœus*, qui engendra *Othus*, qui engendra *Aegeon*, qui engendra *Briareus* qui avoit cent mains, qui engendra *Porphyrio*, qui engendra *Adamastor*, qui engendra *Anteus*, qui engendra *Agatho*, qui engendra *Porus* contre lequel batailla Alexandre le grand, qui engendra *Aranthas*, qui engendra *Gabbara*, qui engendra *Goliath de Secundille*, qui engendra *Offot*: lequel eut terriblement beau nez a boire au baril, qui engendra *Artachees*, qui engendra *Oromedon*, qui engendra *Gemmagog*, qui fut inventeur des souliers a poulaine, qui engendra ***Sisyphus***, qui engendra les ***Titanes***: dont nasquit *Hercules*, qui engendra **Enay**,[20]

19 For the identification of these sources, I follow the annotations by Mireille Huchon to her edition of Rabelais's *Œuvres complètes* 1243–1247.

20 Rabelais François, *Les horribles et espoventables faictz et prouesses du très renommé Pantagruel, roy des Dipsodes, filz du grand géant Gargantua, composez nouvellement par Maistre Alcofrybas Nasier* (Lyons, Claude Nourry: s.d. [1532]) n.p. Consultable at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86095855/f18.item.zoom (last consultation 6 March 2017). I follow here directly the original 1532 version of *Pantagruel*, because all reliable modern

The second part of the list has other sources:

> qui engendra **Fierabras**, lequel fut vaincu par Olivier pair de France compaignon de Roland, qui engendra **Morguan**, qui engendra **Fracassus**: duquel a escript Merlinus Coccaius: dont nasquit **Ferragus**, qui engendra *Happemousche* qui engendra *Bolivorax*, qui engendra **Longys**, qui engendra **Gayoffe**, qui engendra *Maschefain*, qui engendra *Brulefer*, qui engendra *Engoulevent*, qui engendra **Galehaut**, qui engendra **Myrelangault**, qui engendra **Galaffre**, qui engendra *Falourdin*, qui engendra **Roboastre**, qui engendra **Sortibrant de Conimbres**, qui engendra **Brushant de Mommiere**, qui engendra **Bruyer**, lequel fut vaincu par Ogier le dannoys pair de France, qui engendra **Mabrun**, qui engendra *Foutasnon*, qui engendra *Hacquelebac*, qui engendra *Vitdegrain*, qui engendra *Grantgousier*, qui engendra *Gargantua*, qui engendra le noble *Pantagruel* mon maistre.

Of this list, 14 names (put in bold) are taken from medieval *chansons de gestes*, and some of them are mock epics: the anonymous *Fierabras*, Luigi Pulci's *Morgante maggiore* (1492), and Teofilo Folengo's *Baldus* (1517), Rabelais's favourite models. There are also 12 names (in italics) taken from folklore or invented by Rabelais, who found his inspiration in popular culture, such as the tradition of Carnival. The first few of these 12 names have to do with eating and swallowing: Happemouche ('Fly-snapper'), Bolivorax (literally 'Earth-eater', which is a composition of Greek *bolos*, earth, and Latin *vorax*, eater), Engoulevent ('Wind-swallower'), and Machefain ('Straw-chewer') – which means that in all four cases these giants are monstrous ailing figures of Lent, foreshadowing the ominous giant Quaresmeprenant ('Lent-observer') in Rabelais's *Fourth Book* (1552). The other names, invented by Rabelais, are obscene: Fout-as-non ('your name is "fuck"') and Vit-de-grain ('cock of grain').

But there is more: it is also an allusion to current theories on giants and their origin. Rabelais fabricates his own giantology: Chalbroth, the first giant, became a giant from eating 'les grosses Mesles' ('medlars'), which have grown enormously because they were drenched in the blood of Abel. Another seminal question: How did the giants survive the Flood? To answer this, Rabelais

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editions are based on later versions, or they have a tendency to modernize the orthography and/or to put the genealogy into a vertical list. For reasons of space I chose not to include Screech's translation of the whole passage here.

comes up with the story of Hurtaly – a story he found in the writings of Rabbi Eliezar.[21] Rabelais writes:

> I was not there at the time to tell you about it as I would like to, so I will cite the authority of the Massoretes, those interpreters of the Holy Hebrew Scriptures, who say that Hurtaly was never actually inside Noah's Ark – he could never have got in: he was too big – but that he did sit astride it with a leg on either side like little children on their hobby-horses. […] In that way Hurtaly saved the aforesaid Ark from foundering, for he propelled it with his legs, turning it with his foot whichever way he would as one does with the rudder of a boat.[22]

And Noah expressed his gratitude by passing food to Hurtaly through the chimney of the Ark.

Rabelais's mockery seems to target the fictitious, pseudo-scholarly genealogies written by Annio of Viterbo (also Giovanni Nanni, 1498),[23] and especially by Jean Lemaire de Belges, who in his *Illustrations de Gaule et singularités de Troie* (1511–1513), reworked the forgery by Annio into a new bogus genealogy with a patriotic message: the French kings are descendants of Noah, who was, in the vision of Lemaire, a giant. Both Annio and Lemaire were much read: Annio's book was printed at least 21 times (last edition in 1612), whereas the three books of the *Illustrations de Gaule* were published frequently: 9 editions of Book I, 7 editions of Book II, 6 editions of Book III, and 11 complete editions between 1524 and 1549.[24] During the 16th century, Lemaire's book served the French royal house in helping them claim their ancestral superiority.

What Rabelais thinks of these genealogical frauds can be seen from the opening chapter of *Gargantua* (1553), Rabelais's sequel to *Pantagruel*; *Gargantua* deals with Pantagruel's father, and therefore can be considered a rewriting of the *Grandes Chroniques*. The narrator addresses himself to the reader in a mildly mocking tone:

> Would to God that every man could trace his own ancestry as certainly from Noah's Ark down to this our age! […] And to enable you to

21 See Screech M.A., *Rabelais* (Ithaca, NY: 1979) 45–47.

22 Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel* 20–21.

23 Giovanni Nanni, *Commentaria Fratris Joannis Annii Viterbiensis super Opera Diversorum Auctorum de Antiquitatibus Loquentium* (Rome, Eucharius Silber: 1498).

24 My count is based on the bibliographical information found in Stephens W.E., *Giants in Those Days: Folklore, Ancient History, and Nationalism* (Lincoln, NE: 1989) 344–346.

> understand me who am talking to you now, I think that I'm descended from some rich king or prince of former times, for never have I seen a man with a greater passion than I have for being rich and a king so as to live in great style, never working […], and enriching my friends and all good and scholarly folk.[25]

Back now to *Pantagruel*. In the following chapters the appropriation of the past moves from (inter)national to regional, local, and even, as we shall see, personal, i.e. autobiographical. Thus, in chapter 4 it is recounted how the four huge iron chains by which young Pantagruel was bound in his cradle – and which he broke in order to liberate himself – are now found in different places:

> You now have one of those chains at La Rochelle, where they draw it up at night between the two great towers in the haven. Another is at Lyons; another is at Angers, whilst the fourth was borne away by devils in order to hold down Lucifer […].[26]

3 The *Pierre levée*

In chapter 5 we find some other examples of local remotivation. At the start of his "tour de France" Pantagruel comes to the University of Poitiers:

> And he came to Poitiers to study, where he profited greatly. Noticing that the students there did have a little free time but never knew how to use it, he felt compassion for them. So one day, from the great ridge named *Passelourdin*, he took a big boulder, about two dozen yards square and fourteen span thick, and set it comfortably upon four pillars in the midst of a field in order that the said students, when at a loss over what to do, could pass their time scrambling on to the aforesaid stone, there to feast with plenty of flagons, hams and pasties whilst carving their names on it with penknives. It's called the *Pierre levée* nowadays.
>
> In memory of which nobody is now matriculated in the said University of Poitiers unless he has drunk from the Caballine Fountain of Croustelles, scaled the *Passelourdin* and clambered on to the *Pierre levée*.[27]

25 Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel* 209–210.
26 Ibidem 28.
27 Ibidem 30–31.



FIGURE 7.2 Joris Hoefnagel, The "Pierre levee", in Georg Braun – Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum* vol. 5 (Cologne: 1596), detail
IMAGE © AUTHOR

In this episode we see the same strategy of semantic remotivation as in the case of Mont Saint-Michel in the *Grandes Chroniques*: a semantically polyvalent monument receives a new mock interpretation. The greater the monument's polyvalence, the better guaranteed the comical effect. This is also the case of the *Pierre levée*. That is, in Rabelais's time there existed several explanations for this prehistoric construction. This can be seen in the fifth part of the town atlas *Civitates orbis terrarum*, made by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg (ca. 1597), which also gives an intriguing illustration made in 1561 by the Antwerp artist Joris Hoefnagel during his Grand Tour through Europe [Fig. 7.2]:

> Much has been written by many about this Stone, of which nothing can be said with certitude how, why and by whom, in times past, this stone has been transported from elsewhere. Many believe however that this stone emerged when the earth that covered it was removed by the elevations of the water, and that it was erected by the local people because of its rarity. On this stone there still exists a hyperbolic poem:
>
> 'In weight this stone is superior to the big colossus, and with its enormous mass it reaches to the stars'.[28]

According to Braun and Hogenberg, these ancient local people who erected the stone were the Pictones, a Celtic tribe from western France, mentioned for

28 Georg Braun – Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. v, (Cologne: n.d.).



FIGURE 7.3 Louis Boudan, The *Pierre levée*. Watercolour, in *Veüe de Pierre-Levée, prez Poictiers, sur la hauteur du fauxbourg St Saturnin, qui est toute d'une pierre et que l'on vien voir par curiositez estant tenu comme une sépultures des antiens Pictes* (1699). Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, EST VA-86 (3)
IMAGE © BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

the first time by Julius Caesar, in his *De bello Gallico*. *Pictones* is the name from which the name *Poitiers* has been derived.

We can read this same information in several documents, including a watercolour by Louis Boudan from 1699 [Fig. 7.3], which bears the informative inscription: 'Veüe de Pierre-Levée, prez Poictiers, sur la hauteur du fauxbourg St Saturnin, qui est toute d'une pierre et que l'on vien voir par curiositez estant tenu comme une sépulture des antiens Pictes' (Image of the Pierre levée, near Poitiers, at the height of Faubourg St. Saturnin, which is wholly of stone and which people visit by curiosity, because it is said to be a tomb of the ancient Picts).

There are two other semantic layers attached to the stone, of which Rabelais probably was aware. These we find in the scholarly 18th-century Rabelais edition by Jacob Le Duchat (1711). In one of his commentaries, we read:

> Cette pierre [...] fut posée en cet endroit sur cinq autres pierres l'an 1478 pour Monument de la Foire qui se tient en Octobre dans le Vieux-Marché de Poitiers. Mais, quoique les Historiens même du Poitou rapportent la chose de cette sorte, les bonnes gens du païs aiment mieux croire que l'entassement de ces Rochers, les uns sur les autres, est un des Miracles de Sainte Radegonde, laquelle, disent-ils, plaça de cette sorte dans ce lieu ces six grosses pierres, dont elle porta, à une seule fois, les cinq moindres dans son tablier, et la plus lourde sur sa tête.
>
> This stone [...] was laid in this place on five other stones in the year 1478 as a Monument of the Fair, which is held in October, at the Old Market of Poitiers. But although even the historians of Poitou report this thing in such a way, the good people of the country prefer to believe that the piling of these rocks, one on the other, is one of the Miracles of Saint Radegund, who, as they say, placed in this place these six large stones, which she carried, all at once, the lighter five in her apron, and the heaviest one on her head.[29]

Reading this passage, one is inclined to think that this Saint Radegund inspired the figure of Galemelle for the anonymous author of the *Grandes Chroniques*.

As usual, Le Duchat gives his sources. In this case the source is Jean Bouchet, the author of *Les Annales d'Aquitaine* (first edition 1524) – which brings us very close to Rabelais, because Jean Bouchet is one of Rabelais's friends, and Rabelais refers to him regularly. Therefore, Rabelais must have known about the three aetiological explanations of the *Pierre levée* (the sepulchre monument of the Pictones, the miracle by Saint Radegund, and the monument on the occasion of the market at Poitiers) – explanations swept away by Pantagruel.

The question is whether the narrator's remark 'In memory of which nobody is now matriculated in the said University of Poitiers unless he has [...] clambered on to the Pierre levee', is also an aetiological re-motivation. Probably not. There are no written or visual testimonies of this custom known before Rabelais, nor do they occur in the time period between Rabelais and the *Civitates orbis terrarum*.[30]

Here I will allow myself a little digression about Hoefnagel's illustration [see Fig. 7.3]. On this illustration several inscriptions are legible; they are carved

29 Rabelais François, *Œuvres*, ed. Jacob Le Duchat, 6 vols. (Amsterdam, Jean Frédéric Bernard: 1741? [first ed. 1711]), vol. I, 214, n. 7.

30 Personal communication by Alain Schnapp.

into the stone by his travel companions, among whom we find some people who will be well known later: Guilhelmus Mostaert, Joannes a Blommendael, and Robertus van Haften, as well as Joris Hoefnagel himself, all dated 1561. Another group of inscriptions are dated 1560, and these include some famous names: Gerardus Mercator, Philip Galle, and Frans Hogenberg, the editor of the atlas. Georg Braun, the other editor, also has his inscription (1580; long after Hoefnagel's), and there are some undated inscriptions by the cartographer Abraham Ortelius and the artist Jan Sadeler. No French or other inscriptions are given. Thus, the whole represented scene seems to be highly unrealistic. What Joris Hoefnagel seems to be doing here is putting together the names of his friends, his colleagues, in order to create a kind of community, and linking this to this ancient monument, thus suggesting an eternal friendship, 'an *album amicorum* in stone'.[31] Because no mention is known of inscriptions on the *Pierre levée* between the time of Rabelais and the *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Hoefnagel and Braun probably took the idea directly from Rabelais, and they were therefore the first to put Rabelais's fantasy into some sort of practice. Due to the international reputation of their atlas, their example was soon followed in the 17th century (see the persons represented in Fig. 7.3), until the 19th century.[32] This is therefore an unexpected but marvellous instance of the impact of Rabelais's mock aetiological explanation.

4 Geoffrey Long-Tooth and Melusine

It is now time to return to *Pantagruel* and to look at our final example, namely Pantagruel's visit to the tombstone of Geoffrey Long-Tooth, who is related to him by hilariously complex family ties, which are even more complicated in the 1542 edition of the book (the 1542 additions are indicated in bold in the quotation):[33]

31 Gerritsen W.P., "Hoefnagel en Ortelius, zwervend door Europa", *Omslag. Bulletin van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het Scaliger Instituut* 2 (2003) 5–8 (7).

32 For the most recent literature on the *Pierre levée*, see Van der Krogt P., "De Pierre levée bij Poitiers: Een dolmen met graffiti", *Caert Thresoor* 31, 2 (2012) 35–38.

33 One has attempted to reconstruct the genealogy of the eight family ties mentioned that link Pantagruel to Geoffrey Long-Tooth: grandfather – cousin-in-law – older sister – aunt – son-in-law – uncle – daughter-in-law – mother-in-law. See Gaignebet C., *A plus hault sens. L'ésotérisme spirituel et charnel de Rabelais*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1986), vol. II 302.

> Afterwards, from reading in the fine chronicles of his forebears,[34] [Pantagruel] learnt that Geoffrey de Lusignan, called Geoffrey Long-Tooth – the grandfather of the cousin-in-law of the older sister **of the aunt of the son-in-law of the uncle of the daughter-in-law** of his mother-in-law – was buried at Maillezais, therefore, as a gentleman should, he rusticated himself for a while to visit the place. [Pantagruel] came to Maillezais, where Pantagruel visited the tomb of Geoffrey Long-Tooth, whose portrait rather disturbed him when he saw it: he is depicted there as a man in a frenzy, tugging his great malchus half out of its scabbard. Pantagruel asked the reason for it. The canons of the place said they knew no other reason save that *Pictoribus atque poetis*, and so on, that is, *To painters and poets* freedom is allowed to portray what they like, how they like. Pantagruel was not satisfied by that answer, and said, 'He is not depicted like that without a reason. I suspect some wrong was done to him as he died, for which he is asking his kinsfolk for vengeance. I will inquire into it more fully and do what is right'.[35]

However, neither Pantagruel nor Rabelais will ever come back to this visit. This is rather typical of Rabelais's suspended way of writing: he promises an interpretation but does not fulfil this promise. Instead he leaves the reader puzzled, challenging him or her to venture an interpretation. What is important for our topic are the two geographical indications that are mentioned: Maillezais and Lusignan.

Maillezais was a Benedictine abbey, serving also as a cathedral, near Poitiers. Because Maillezais was an intellectual centre, young Rabelais, who was in high estimation because of his knowledge of Greek, left the Franciscan order (which was becoming increasingly suspicious of scholarship) and entered Maillezais in 1524 as a monk. Therefore, in a sense, by writing about the Abbey of Maillezais, Rabelais is returning to his own intellectual origins. The humour of this episode will only be grasped by those readers who are well informed about Rabelais's personal biographic data. This is also the case in *Gargantua*: the war between good King Grandgousier, Gargantua's father, and bad King Picrochole (literally 'bitter bile') is fought in the Chinonais in the Loire Valley, where Rabelais was born, and is probably a comic blow-up of a very local

34 This chronicle probably is the chivalric prose novel *Les faitz et gestes des nobles conquests de Geoffrey a la Grant Dent* (Paris, Jean Trepperel: s.d. [1530], Lyon, Olivier Arnoullet: s.d. [1530]).

35 Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel* 31.

quarrel about fishing rights that occurred in Rabelais's youth between his father, Antoine Rabelais, and his neighbour, a certain Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe. But at the same time the Picrocholian War mirrors the contemporary political conflict which opposed the French king (Grandgousier) against the emperor (Picrochole).

This comic ambivalence between the levels of personal biography and international politics can also be found in the passage on Geoffrey Long-Tooth. Indeed, with the mention of Lusignan, Rabelais refers to the royal house of Lusignan, which ruled in England and France, and which held the kingdoms of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Armenia. Its origins are in Lusignan, near Poitiers, near Maillezais. The centre of the House of Lusignan was the Castle of Lusignan, destroyed during the Wars of Religion. Therefore, Pantagruel is linked to this royal house, and also to the mythology around this house.

In order to give insight into this mythology, let us turn to André Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens* (1584); this is a textual Hall of Fame, which devotes a chapter and a portrait to Geoffrey Long-Tooth [Fig. 7.4].[36] Geoffrey's portrait shows us why he is called 'Long-Tooth': he had a big tooth coming from his lower jaw [Fig. 7.5]. Thevet gives the well-known explanation for this abnormality: his mother, Melusine, was a monster, half-woman, half-serpent. Geoffrey had nine brothers, eight of which also had a 'mother-mark': one brother had a lion's paw on his cheek, and another, called Horrible by his mother, Melusine, had only one eye on his forehead, like a cyclops – therefore he was killed by his mother at a young age.[37] Geoffrey had also a 'normal' brother, who entered the Abbey of Maillezais as a monk.

Geoffrey is characterized not only by his protuberant tooth, but also by his ferocity and irascibility. At one moment, in 1223, his 'normal' brother at the Abbey of Maillezais was badly treated by his fellow monks. On learning this, Geoffrey was taken with anger and burned down the whole abbey. He immediately regretted his action – he went to the pope in Rome to ask for pardon. He was condemned to rebuild the abbey, which he did, and he fought heroically in the crusades in the Holy Land. Thevet tells us how Geoffrey's enemies, frightened by his monstrous appearance, fled like flies. This makes him a real ancestor of Pantagruel, who destroys his enemies in a similar way.

36 Thevet André, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens* (Paris, la Vesve Kervert and Guillaume Chaudier: 1584), fols. 239r–240v.

37 For interesting examples and an analysis of contemporary book illustrations of Melusine and her monstrous offspring, see Zeldenrust L., "Serpent or Half-Serpent? Bernhard Richel's *Melusine* and the Making of a Western European Icon", *Neophilologus* 100, 1 (2016) 19–41.


De A. Theuet, Liure IIII. 239
GEOFFROY DE LVSIGNAN, DICT A LA
Grand dent. Chapitre 14.
LVSIENS, qui verrons le pourtraict qu'icy ie represente (tel que ie l'ay prins à la face du chasteau de Lusignan, où il estoit esleué entre les deux grosses Tours, auec celuy de Remond & Mellusine) de prime face, diront que ce que nous pretendons proposer presentement n'est que risee, ou portion des bourdes, qui ont assez impudemment esté couchées dans le Romans de Mellusine. Telle consideration m'a long temps tenu en suspens: en fin hardiment i'ay franchy le fossé de
Sſ

FIGURE 7.4
Anonymous, Geoffrey Long-Tooth. Engraving, taken from: André Thévet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens*, vol. 2 (Paris, widow of I. Kervert and Guillaume Chaudière: 1584), fol. 239r
IMAGE © BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE



FIGURE 7.5
Anonymous, Geoffrey Long-Tooth. Detail from Fig. 7.4

Just like his mother, Melusine, Geoffrey was to become a mythical figure. It is not impossible that Rabelais played a role in this. That is, nothing is known about a portrait of Geoffrey at Maillezais in Rabelais's time – so it is not certain that Geoffrey's portrait, contemplated by Pantagruel, really existed. Maybe it was pure invention by Rabelais, just as we saw with the students' graffiti on the *Pierre levée*. Be that as it may, in the 19th century a stone head



FIGURE 7.6
Stone head found in April 1834 in the cathedral of Maillezais. Print taken from: Thomas Adolphus Trollope, *A summer in western France* (London: 1841) 114
IMAGE © WIKIMEDIA

was discovered in the cathedral of Maillezais [Fig. 7.6].[38] According to tradition, this could be the sculpted portrait of Geoffrey Long-Tooth, as Rabelais described it. But, although the represented figure shows two rows of big teeth, he has no protuberant tooth, and, moreover, we are dealing here with a sculpture, not a painted portrait. Therefore, this anonymous figure, who probably was not Geoffrey Long-Tooth, became Geoffrey by a semantic remotivation of the past – a remotivation invented by Rabelais.

5 Epilogue

During his "tour de France" Pantagruel continues to remotivate the past. Passing through Provence, the giant is 'halting en route to build the Pont du Gard and the Amphitheatre at Nîmes in less than three hours, yet it looks more divine than human'.[39] But things change after his visit to the University of Orléans. Ending his tour in Paris, the young giant leaves behind his past, both national and local, and steps into the actuality of Paris.

In *Pantagruel*, Rabelais's appropriation of the past has the objective of distinguishing his first book from the *Grandes Chroniques Gargantuines* by actualizing the unilateral, anti-English political satire of his anonymous predecessor, and by refining the *Chroniques*' literary parody. Moreover, he endows the young giant with an ancestral past, which was lacking in the *Chroniques*, Gargantua and Galemelle being created by Merlin's witchcraft. Through this, Rabelais's appropriation of the past plays an essential role in the *genus* and *education* parts of his first book, thus laying the basis of the cycle of his five books on Gargantua and Pantagruel.

38 Trollope T.A, *A Summer in Western France* (London: 1841), vol. II, 114.
39 Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel* 32.

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CHAPTER 8

Antiquity and Modernity: Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century French Architecture

Frédérique Lemerle

With the exception of Italy, France is only rivalled by Spain for the number of Roman ruins it boasts. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, remnants of classical edifices were an integral part of the urban landscape. Many owed their survival to economic considerations, since it was often more profitable to preserve or transform than to destroy them. It was thus that city walls, even those which reductions in the urban population had rendered disproportionately large, were conserved; city gates and triumphal arches were often transformed into fortresses; sometimes triumphal arches were incorporated into new city walls or new buildings. Theatres and amphitheatres, generally invaded by houses, were integrated into fortifications or transformed into citadels or bastions. Temples were frequently converted into churches (Temple of Augustus and Livia in Vienne, Temple of Diana in Nîmes) and only demolished when they became too small to accommodate growing congregations. Aqueducts were often repaired and extended and sometimes served as toll gates (Pont du Gard). Thermal waters continued to be exploited and baths were rebuilt when they had been destroyed by cataclysms and restored when damaged by either Christians or barbarians; thermal complexes, like those in Paris (hôtel de Cluny), were often divided into lots and taken over by shopkeepers and craftsmen; in the Cimiez neighbourhood of Nice, the western baths became the site of the cathedral and its baptistery. Transformed as they were, these edifices nevertheless continued to provide a rich formal and decorative repertory that local artists naturally drew inspiration from. During the Romanesque period, the approach to this repertory was typically piecemeal: rather than seeking global models, the artists of the time tended to single out classical elements which furthered their own original aims.[1] The obviously intentional citations made by Provencal artists of the period offer a particularly eloquent example, but other regions, including those of Narbonne, Poitiers, Angoulême

1 Crozet R., "Survivances antiques dans le décor roman du Poitou, de l'Angoumois et de la Saintonge", *Bulletin monumental*, 114 (1956) 7–33; Lassalle V., *L'influence antique dans l'art roman provençal* (2nd edition, Paris: 1983).

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and Saintes, as well as Burgundy were also concerned. In the 16th century, *archaeologia*, in the etymological sense of the study of Antiquity, made a considerable leap forward in France quite as much as in Italy.[2]

1 Architecture and Gallo-Roman Antiquities in the 16th Century

Henry II's architects, whose ideas about both modern architecture and the monumental architecture of the classical period were largely informed by the first two tomes of Sebastiano Serlio's to be published – the *Quarto libro* (1537) and the *Terzo libro* (1540) –, accorded little interest to the antiquities of Gaul. No mention of even the most famous amongst them, the size and splendour of which were comparable to those of Rome and Verona, is made by either Jean Bullant (*Reigle generalle d'architecture des cinq manières de colonnes*, 1564) or Philibert De l'Orme (*Premier tome de l'architecture*, 1567). Both seem to have been aware of them however. It is almost certain that De l'Orme travelled to the south of France sometimes between 1536 and 1541, either accompanying Francis I to Nîmes at the end of 1536 or following the court to Aigues-Mortes for the meeting between the French king and Charles V in July 1539. In the contract for the Château of Lésigny, dated 1543, he specifies that

> all the stone blocks will be artfully cut, care taken to ensure that the size, masonry, lines and shapes of all the elements on the left side correspond perfectly with those on the right, and all these stone elements will be so perfectly cut, assembled and joined that none of the joints will be uneven, nor appear in any way different than those of the Arena of Nîmes or other similar ancient edifices.[3]

As a specialist of stereotomy (art of cutting stones), De l'Orme could hardly have failed to appreciate the quality of the stonework of the Arena of Nîmes. In 1549, the four months he spent participating in the siege of Boulogne probably allowed him to also admire the Tour d'Ordre, an ancient Roman lightpost, remarkable for its octagonal form. As for the seven or eight hundred

2 Lemerle F., *La Renaissance et les antiquités de la Gaule: l'architecture gallo-romaine vue par les architectes, antiquaires et voyageurs des guerres d'Italie à la Fronde* (Turnhout: 2005) 17–21, 58–60.

3 Grodecki C. (ed.), *Documents du Minutier central des notaires de Paris. Histoire de l'art au XVI^e^ siècle (1540–1600)*, vol. I (Paris: 1985), n° 116. De l'Orme was also exacting about the fineness of joints in other works (Pérouse de Montclos J.-M., *Philibert De l'Orme Architecte du roi,1514–1570* (Paris: 2000) 111).

drawings – now lost – that De l'Orme made during his lifetime and which Peiresc acquired from his heirs after his death,[4] it is probable that these represented the principal classical monuments of France as well as those of Rome, in particular, those of De l'Orme's home town, Lyon, and its surroundings, including the Pyramid of Vienne and the famous mausoleum and triumphal arch of the ruined Roman oppidum of Glanum.

Jean Bullant's treatise, published in 1564 (and, in extended form, in 1568), contains exclusively Roman examples: the Theatre of Marcellus, Arch of Titus, Pantheon, Temple of the Castor and Pollux, and the Temple of Portunus. That Bullant considered this city as the sole source of worthy classical models is also attested by his practice: the avant-corps of the Château of Écouen is directly inspired by the orders of the Temple of Castor and Pollux and the Basilica Aemilia; the entablature of the Château of Chantilly is taken from the Temple of Serapis.[5] It is possible that Bullant, unlike De l'Orme, was not familiar with the prestigious ruins of the Provence, but it is difficult to imagine him being entirely unaware of the antiquities of Nîmes, which Poldo d'Albenas' well-diffused *Discours historial de l'antique et illustre cité de Nismes* (1559–1560) had made generally known.

Both Bullant's and De l'Orme's persistence in writing of Gallo-Roman antiquities as inferior to those of Italy appears in fact to be a perfectly conscious and curiously paradoxical choice. Though these edifices were appreciated and praised by a number of their most brilliant Italian colleagues (Giuliano da Sangallo, Fra Giocondo, Sebastiano Serlio and Andrea Palladio), to say nothing of a great many other educated foreigners (diplomats, doctors, students, etc.), these two royal architects, intent on creating a specifically French mode of modern classical architecture, waived their own country's rich classical heritage in favour of Serlian – in other words Italian – models. References to French ruins are similarly absent from the work of Pierre Lescot. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau is a case apart: he was the only one to make a major contribution in the area of national antiquities and, besides, to have an overall view of Roman antiquity. But as a non-building architect, he could only have influenced his colleagues by way of his engraved or designed series, which can be dated 1545–1549, and where, next to Italian antiquities he reproduced for instance the pyramid at Vienne, the mausoleum at Glanum, the Piliers de

4 See the letter to Aleandro, June 5, 1618 (*Correspondance de Peiresc et Aleandro*, vol. I, (1616–1618), ed. and comm. J.-F. Lhote – D. Joyal (Clermont-Ferrand: 1995) 188–189 and note 110.

5 Pauwels Y., "Les antiques romains dans les traités de Philibert De L'Orme et Jean Bullant", *MEFRIM*, 106 (1994–2) 531–547.

Tutelle in Bordeaux, the Maison Carrée in Nîmes or the arches of Langres.[6] For Italian and French architects ancient edifices provided stereotypes to be developed and amplified, as Serlio demonstrates perfectly in the *Quarto libro* in which he proposes a model derived from the arch of Ancona.[7] It is the very same Serlian model that Pierre Lescot, the architect of the Louvre, went back to, for the Fontaine des Innocents in Paris, adapting it naturally to the monument's function and to its location in the make-up of the city. Other, less famous 16th-century architects also developed an interest in Gallo-Roman antiquities – sometimes through the demolition of ancient edifices. Such was the case with Nicolas Bachelier (1549–1555) who, in 1549, was charged by the king with the destruction of the Château Narbonnais of Toulouse; this essentially medieval edifice had been grafted onto a Gallo-Roman fortification, the structure and the materials of which Bachelier was able to study, as well as a magnificent triumphal arch, unearthed at the same time. At once architect, sculpture and scholar, Bachelier's high degree of cultural knowledge owed something to his chosen place of activity, since Toulouse was at the time one of France's first intellectual and artistic centres. It was notably the scene of one of France's first royal entries: that of François I in 1533, which Bachelier participated in. The educated elite of the city were familiar with the treatises of Alberti and Vitruvius – indeed, the jurist Jean de Boyssoné read Alberti so ardently that he literally wore his copy out and was obliged to purchase a new one in 1538 – and at least two others shared Bachelier's interest in Gallo-Roman ruins: the annotated version of Vitruvius' *Epitome*, published in 1556–1559 by Jean Gardet and Dominique Bertin, respectively humanist and royal architect in charge of marblework, contains the oldest known mention of the aqueduct at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (close to the Pyrénées, south of Toulouse). Unfortunately, the famous "Architectural Commentaries" evoked in the dedication were never published, nor the notes and drawings which constituted the principal material.[8]

In the mid-16th century, De l'Orme and Bullant's attitude towards Gallo-Roman edifices was representative of that of most French architects and

6 Fuhring P., "Catalogue sommaire des estampes" and "Catalogue sommaire des dessins", in Guillaume J. et al. (eds.), *Jacques Androuet du Cerceau. 'Un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvés en France'* (Paris: 2010) 301–332.

7 Serlio Sebastiano, *Regole generali di architetura sopra le cinque maniere degli edifici* (*Quarto libro*) (Venice, Francesco Marcolini: 1537) 59; *Il terzo libro* (Venice, Francesco Marcolini: 1540) 123.

8 *Epitome ou Extrait abrege des dix livres d'Architecture de Marc Vitruve Pollion.* [...] *Par Ian Gardet Boubonnois et Dominique Bertin Parisien. Aveq les annotations sur les plus difficiles passages de l'auteur* (Toulouse: 1556/1559) 67.

humanists: Roman vestiges on French territory, it was felt, did not possess the same aura as those of Italy; consequently they were not considered to make good aesthetic models and the little attention they received was uniquely due to their technical qualities. Neither Maurice Scève nor Jean Martin imagined integrating the Kingdom's ruins into the scenarios of the royal entries into Lyon and Paris of respectively 1548 and 1549. They might however easily have chosen to use Gallo-Roman triumphal arches, rather than Serlian ones, to accompany the image of *Gallia* in the Parisian iconographic programme or to associate Gallo-Roman ruins with the Gaulish myths exploited for the event. It seems however that they considered the relationship between political power and national antiquities to be too slight for it to be worthwhile. Other French humanists, even those with a keen interest in antiquities in general, hardly showed more enthusiasm for the nation's treasures: Philandrier does mention the baths of Chaudes-Aigues and the amphitheatres of Nîmes and Arles, but nothing else; Blaise de Vigenère refers to the vestiges of the thermal complex of Néris-les-Bains close to his home town; Jean-Jacques Boissard, on the other hand, doesn't make even the slightest allusion to the ruins of Metz, where he passed the end of his life, nor to those of Besancon, where he was born.[9]

Gallo-Roman antiquities nevertheless exerted a real influence on local architectural practices in the regions most rich in ruins, in particular in the vast region called *Gaule Narbonnaise*, which had been the first Roman *provincia* north of the Alps, whence the designation of 'Provence'. The *tempietto* of the mausoleum of Glanum inspired a number of creations, from the Romanesque dome of Mollégès to the Clock Tower at Arles [Figs. 8.1a–8.1b]. In the second half of the 16th century, many entrepreneurs and master masons adopted the new classical language by using the ornaments of antiquities they had right in front of them. The Italian architect Ercole Nigra, for example, drew inspiration from the twin arches of the Flavian Bridge at Saint-Chamas – one of the most remarkable Gallo-Roman ruins according to Serlio[10] – for the monumental entrance pavilion at the Château of La Tour-d'Aigues (1571), constructed in large stone blocks and endowed with two superposed single arches [Figs. 8.2a–8.2b]. Nigra also borrowed the glyph motif used for the abacuses of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes [Figs. 8.3a–8.3b]. The Maison Carrée also inspired Palladio, who re-employed its characteristic Attic base with specific mouldings (an extra

9 Lemerle, *La Renaissance et les antiquités de la Gaule* 76–77, 79–80.

10 Serlio, *Il terzo libro* 4. The Flavian Bridge arches mark the two entrances to the bridge; they combine a semi-circular arch with a square entablature crowned at the corners with statues of lions. See Lemerle F., "Serlio et les antiques: la dédicace du *Terzo Libro*", *Journal de la Renaissance* 1 (2000) 267–274.



FIGURE 8.1 Left: The Mausoleum of Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence)
Right: The clock tower of the Hôtel de ville at Arles
IMAGES © F. LEMERLE

strip above the upper torus and double strips between the lower *torus* and the *scotia*) in conjunction with the composite order for his Loggia del Capitaniato (1565) in Vicenza – a citation made all the more obvious by the contrast between this single Attic base and the theoretical model proposed in his *Quattro libri dell'architettura* (I, 21).[11]

The practitioners in Arles used the unconventional decor of the Doric entablature of the pseudo temple of Diana, which had originally been a theatre. In the 16th century, only two parts of the *cavea* were visible: one on the southern side, known as the Tower of Roland, where all three of the superposed Doric orders which had originally decorated the entire outer side of the *cavea* could still be seen (though the entablature of the lower level was very damaged) and one on the northern side, known as the Arcade de la Miséricorde (Arcade of Mercy), corresponding to the lower level of the original triple-level

11 Lemerle, *La Renaissance et les antiquités de la Gaule* 81, 49–50.



FIGURE 8.2 Left: The Roman bridge of Saint-Chamas
Right: The entrance pavilion of Château La Tour d'Aigues (Vaucluse), 1571
IMAGES © F. LEMERLE



FIGURE 8.3 Left: Maison Carrée at Nîmes
Right: The entrance pavilion of Château La Tour d'Aigues (Vaucluse)
IMAGES © F. LEMERLE



FIGURE 8.4 Left: "Arcade of Mercy", the north side of the theatre at Arles. Right: "Tower of Roland", the southern side of the same theatre
IMAGES © F. LEMERLE

structure and boasting an almost intact entablature: it had in its day been comparable in size and splendour with the Theatre of Marcellus in Rome [Figs. 8.4a–8.4b].[12] It was this unusual entablature that particularly struck, since it comprises an architrave decorated with alternated triglyphs and metopes (which according to Vitruvian rules belonged to the Doric frieze,[13] situated above the architrave) and, above this "architrave-frieze", a traditional frieze, decorated with ornate *acanthus rinceaux* and surmounted by a *cornice* supported by foliated consoles – all of which were more normally met with in the Ionic order. This heterodox combination of elements probably dates back to the spread of the Italic-Hellenistic style, characterised by an effacement of the specificities of the orders, during the late Republic. A similar "double frieze" entablature adorned another edifice built in Arles during the same

12 Ibidem 89–90.
13 Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, IV, 3, 4–6.

period as the theatre, the Arch of the Rhone, destroyed shortly before 1687 to facilitate traffic circulation, but known through drawings and engravings.[14]

In the theatre, the ornamentation of the "architrave-frieze" changes from one level to another. On the two upper levels of the three superposed arcades which subsist on the southern side, the metopes are alternatively decorated with paterae and (living) bulls' heads adorned with thin headbands, rather than the *bucrania* generally proposed as theoretical models.[15] The frieze of the ground level, visible on the northern vestige, is decorated with bull protomes, that is the busts of bulls represented with their forelegs jutting forwards. This rather rare motif was also found on the Arch of the Rhone. Whatever the symbolic meaning of the motif,[16] it should be observed that the metopes of the frieze are not alternated with triglyphs but with quadriglyphs, characterised by three central vertical grooves (glyphs) with triangular sections and two lateral half-grooves (counting as a single glyph); these grooves are capped by a thick horizontal band (their "capital" in Vitruvian terminology) and, under them, below the *taenia* (the thin band that runs continuously underneath both the quadriglyphs and the metopes), hang six pyramidal drops (*guttae*), which recall those of the theatre of Marcellus, even though the latter is endowed with traditional triglyphs [Figs. 8.5a–8.5b]. Besides the presence of the additional groove, the quadriglyphs of the Arlesian theatre are particularly unusual in that the glyphs are juxtaposed rather than being separated by flat bands.

That the vestiges of the theatre of Arles were a source of inspiration for local architects is proved by the number of sixteenth-century house façades that use the Doric order, combined, in certain cases, with entablatures more or less integrally modelled on that of the theatre and, in many cases, with individual elements taken from the theatre's frieze: the prismatic glyphs, for instance, or the bull protomes. The citation is almost perfect in the case of the façade of the

14 The lower level of the entablature comprised two sections of architrave decorated with triglyphs and metopes adorned with paterae and bulls. As in the theatre, this "architrave-frieze" was surmounted by a frieze decorated with rinceaux, itself surmounted by a cornice supported by consoles. Contrary to the theatre (and taking the heterodoxy a degree further), the order used for the capitals of the arch was Corinthian (Lemerle, *La Renaissance et les antiquités de la Gaule* 90).

15 Lemerle F., "Le bucrane dans la frise dorique à la Renaissance: un motif véronais", *Annali di architettura* 8 (1996) 85–92.

16 The architectural and artistic choices of the Augustinian building programme of the colony of Arles were decided by the political authorities: the bull protome represented the sacrificial animal reserved for the *genius Augusti*.



FIGURE 8.5 Left: Doric entablature of the "Arcade of Mercy" at the theatre of Arles. Right: Doric entablature (second level) of the "Tower of Roland" of the same theatre
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Hôtel de Donines, situated some ten metres from the vestiges of the Arcade de la Misericorde: we re-find here the theatre's "architrave-frieze" with its unusual quadriglyphs and the alternation of paterae and bull protomes in the metopes; we also re-find the cornice supported by foliated consoles and surmounted by egg-and-dart moulding – and this really is an example of citation and not of recuperation [Fig. 8.6]! The Doric order of number 20 Rue de la Calade is again clearly inspired by the theatre; it would seem however that the architect had some knowledge of Vitruvian rules, since he restored the canonic form of the entablature by replacing the Doric frieze in its correct place between the architrave and the cornice. He also refrained from using bull protomes for the metopes, but he did not replace the theatre's characteristic quadriglyphs with triglyphs and he maintained the "Ionic" cornice with its foliated consoles. This it would seem is an example of an architect who had some notion of the orders and their rules but either did not entirely master them or did not choose to always respect them: one notes the curious way that quadrigylphs, devoid this time of pyramidal drops, are engraved, rather than sculpted in relief.

The belfry of the Hôtel de Ville, reconstructed in the mid-16th century, is one of the most notable examples of buildings which paid homage to the



FIGURE 8.6 Doric entablature of Hôtel de Donines, Arles
IMAGE © F. LEMERLE

theatre by "borrowing" certain elements from the "architrave-frieze", in this case the quadriglyphs and bull protomes [Fig. 8.7].[17] Other Renaissance façades dating from the 1560s employed juxtaposed triangular glyphs, together with capitals and *regulae*, but in hexaglyphs rather than quadriglyphs (as far as I am aware, the only earlier monument for which hexaglyphs were used is the Porta Augusta in Perugia): examples include the building on the Place du Forum, corresponding to the corner of the baths and the house known as the Maison des Amazones, situated at the corner of Rue Baléchou and Rue des Arènes. For the latter, even the consoles which support the Doric pilasters were adorned with hexaglyphs similar to those of the frieze. In the Place du Forum, the varying number of *guttae* (five to six) reveals the ignorance of the master mason. The tendency to refer to the entablature of the Theatre of Arles spread through the whole region. The Renaissance façade of the Château of Uzès, for example,

17 A first attempt to replace the belfry was started in 1547, but the construction was destroyed due to insufficient foundations and the tower was entirely rebuilt between 1549 and 1553.



FIGURE 8.7 Doric entablature of the Belfry of the Hôtel de ville, Arles
IMAGE © F. LEMERLE



FIGURE 8.8 Doric entablature of Château of Uzès (Gard)
IMAGE © F. LEMERLE

is endowed with a frieze decorated with quadriglyphs without bands between the glyphs separated by metopes alternatively decorated with bull protomes and *paterae* and surmounted by a cornice supported by consoles [Fig. 8.8]. It would only have needed the quadriglyphs to have adorned the architrave and the presence of a frieze decorated with rinceaux for the entablature of Uzès to be a perfect imitation of that of the theatre.[18] It is rather astonishing that the impact of the Arlesian model can be traced as far as Bordeaux, but the description and drawing of the cathedral's rood screen left by Claude Perrault leave little doubt:[19] the only difference between its entablature and that of the Theatre of Arles is that the metopes were not decorated and it was supported by Ionic rather than Doric columns.

Bull protomes, very rare in classical architecture in general, met with a certain regional success in south-eastern France. In Beaucaire, the façade of the house situated at number 73 Rue Nationale boasts bull protomes similar to those of the Theatre at Arles alternated with *bucrania*. In Nîmes, the Renaissance façade of 17 Rue des Marchands re-produces rather faithfully the decoration of the Arlesian frieze, including quadriglyphs (though the three full prismatic grooves are divided here by two flat bands) separated by metopes decorated, like in Beaucaire, with paterae, bull protomes and *bucrania*, while the cornice, supported by denticulate and foliated consoles, is a simplified version of that of the neighbouring Maison Carrée, the architect having seen fit to combine two prestigious models in order to produce this "composition". The impact of the theatre's bull protomes even spread beyond Provence, in particular towards the regions situated to the north west. When the north wing of the Château of Bournazel in the Aveyron department was reconstructed in 1545, it was endowed with a Doric entablature comprising a richly sculpted frieze decorated with alternated bull protomes and *bucrania* [Fig. 8.9]. One curious example can even be found as far afield as Saumur: in the church of Saint Pierre here, the frieze adorning the arcade of the side chapel (1549) presents the typically Arlesian alternance of quadriglyphs and metopes decorated with *bucrania* and protomes and, just as in the theatre, the cornice is supported by foliated consoles. The specificity of the decoration of the Gallo-Roman theatre of Arles allows it to be incontestably identified as the model of all these sixteenth-century buildings. The progressive mastering of the classical

18 See Lemerle F., "L'entablement dorique du théâtre d'Arles, et sa diffusion dans l'architecture de la Renaissance", *Bulletin Monumental* 154,4 (1996) 297–306.

19 *Relation de Paris à Bordeaux du voyage fait en 1669 par Mrs. de Saint-Laurent, Gomart, Abraham et Perrault*, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 24713, fols. 127v–128v. The rood screen, planned in 1529 by the chapter of the cathedral, was still unfinished in 1544, date at which the work was interrupted. The rood screen was removed in 1805.



FIGURE 8.9 Doric entablature of Château of Bournazel (Averyon)
IMAGE © F. LEMERLE

language rapidly led local constructors to efface the most unique characteristic of the entablature, i.e. the double frieze. However, the quadriglyphs and especially the bull protomes, less at odds with the canonical forms advocated by the treatises, finished by acquiring a sort of decorative legitimacy which allowed them to enjoy a certain regional success.

2 Ancient Architecture in the 17th Century: An Affair of State

In the 17th century the situation was very different. Rather quickly architects, painters and sculptors as well as writers and musicians were at the service of an overall artistic policy based on the academic system. In 1666 Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Minister and Superintendant of Buildings, created the Académie de France in Rome in 1666 and the Royal Academy of Architecture in 1671. Like Richelieu, who created the Académie française under Louis XIII in 1635, Colbert understood that the arts were a brilliant expression of the king's power, and monuments are the most undeniable proofs and symbols of it. At the same time as the academic system was being created, a whole series of

projects came into being in order to establish the *translatio imperii et studii*, already desired and initiated during the preceding century with Francis I who had wanted to make Fontainebleau a new Rome. The antiquities in the kingdom were a part of the program. Louis XIII and then Louis XIV introduced missions in order to obtain measurements. In 1642 François Sublet de Noyers, Superintendant of Buildings, gave the painter Louis Bertrand the task of drawing antiquities in the Midi of France. Alphonse-Louis du Plessis, Cardinal and archbishop of Lyon and Richelieu's own brother, a lover of antiquities, asked the architect Jean Sautereau to make drawings during his stay in Provence in 1640. Although the cardinal's drawings were lost, the architectural plans that Sautereau made of the theatre, forum and of the arch of the Rhône at Arles, of the mausoleum and the arch of *Glanum* were retained in two collections put together in the 18th century by the lawyer Jean Raybaud and by Louis Natoire.[20] In 1669 Colbert entrusted the architect Pierre Mignard, the painter's nephew, with an identical mission.[21] And then in 1676, he sent Antoine Desgodets to Rome to make the most precise plans of the ancient edifices, for the study of the architecture of Antiquity was at the preliminary stage in creating a doctrine of French architecture which would claim universal validity. In this respect it became an affair of state. Then everyone had to respect the academic system and the artistic policy conducted since Louis XIII was continued *ad majorem regis gloriam.*[22]

Starting in the years 1664–1665, Colbert entrusted Claude Perrault, a member of the Academy of Science, with the task of translating, annotating and illustrating Vitruvius's *De Architectura*, considered the sum total of ancient knowledge. It was a question of rendering the treatise accessible to the widest public possible and in priority to the various trades so that they could obtain the 'authentic rules of beauty and perfection in edifices'.[23] We know that reading Vitruvius, one of the first tasks that members of the Academy of Architecture set for themselves, was postponed until Claude Perrault's work was published, for Jean Martin's translation (1547), the only one available then

20 Portefeuille Natoire, Arles, Museon Arlaten, Ms. 31, 11–12; Recueil Raybaud, Arles, Médiahèque, Ms. 796, 54–61.

21 Pierre Mignard's drawings are lost; however, the faithful copies that he made were sold by his heirs to the painter Sauvan and were subsequently acquired by the count of Caylus. Cf. Labande L.-H., "Notice sur les antiquités de la France méridionale exécutés par Pierre Mignard et sur leur publication projetée par le comte de Caylus", *Revue du Midi* 28 (1900) 272–298.

22 Lemerle F., "D'un *Parallèle* à l'autre. L'architecture antique: une affaire d'État", *Revue de l'art* 170 (2010–4) 31–39.

23 *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve* (Paris, Jean-Baptiste Coignard: 1673).

in French, had become unreadable. Thus the minister's project fitted into his overall policy.

The directive viewpoint of the request obliged Perrault to make the most precise translation possible, which he explained in voluminous notes, often more considerable than the translation itself, and to illustrate it. The in-folio publication, printed by Jean-Baptiste Coignard (1637–1689), printer to the Académie française, was illustrated by the best engravers for the sixty-five full-page or double page copper-plate illustrations, supplemented with more than eighty plates in the notes. Sébastien Leclerc, the author of the frontispiece, contributed to the prestige of the book. One sees France receiving Perrault's book with the Colonnade of the Louvre in the background and on the side the project for the arch of triumph at the place du Trône. These prestigious achievements, with which Perrault was directly associated, call to mind that the Sun King's architects could compete with the most famous individuals of antiquity mentioned by Vitruvius (Dinocrates, Chersiphron, Ictinus, Hermogenes …). Perrault's translation is astonishing, with a mixed status, in which he as translator and commentator accords an honoured place in his notes to contemporary architectural achievements and techniques and appears to criticize the ancient author whose mistakes, even inconsistencies, he reports. And it was exactly this contemporary viewpoint as well as the numerous illustrations which insured the book's success, and Perrault took advantage of a second edition published in 1684 to enrich his notes further and bring them up to date. In this second edition of chapter 5 of book VI devoted to great Corinthian rooms he depicts the famous Piliers de Tutelle in Bordeaux, a perfect example showing an entablature without a cornice, as Vitruvius prescribes for covered places [Fig. 8.10]. This monumental ensemble characterized by its Corinthian colonnade on a double stylobate and topped by a row of arcades decorated with caryatids, led to the second forum constructed under Septimius Severus. Perrault, who had himself admired the edifice and made a drawing of it during his stay in Bordeaux in 1669, also wanted, among others, to correct Androuet du Cerceau's faulty representation.[24]

24 *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve* […] Seconde edition reveuë, corrigée, et augmentée (Paris: 1684) 217–218, note 8. Perrault himself admired and drew the edifice in 1669 (*Relation de Paris à Bordeaux*, fol. 128v).

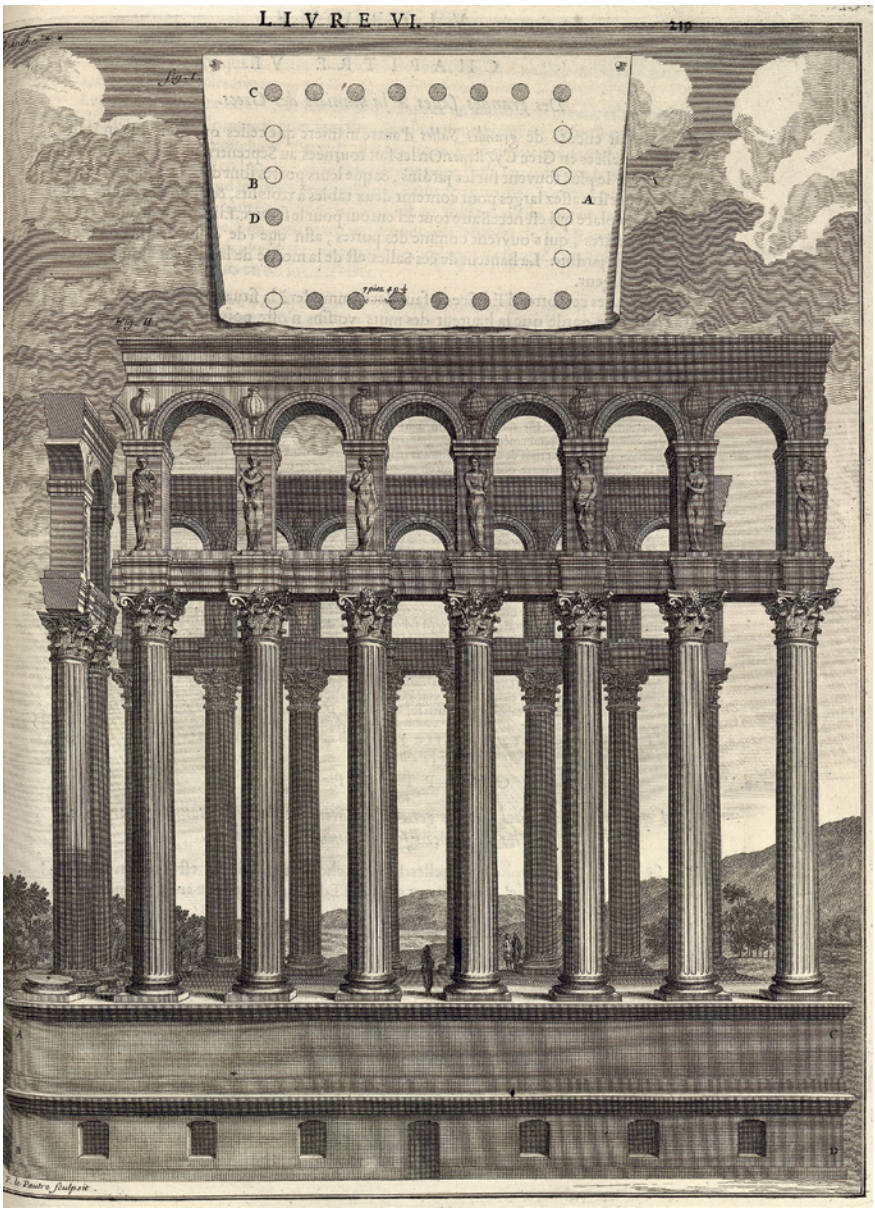


FIGURE 8.10 Pierre Le Pautre, "Piliers de Tutelle" at Bordeaux. From: Claude Perrault, *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve* [...] (Paris, Jean-Baptiste Coignard: 1684) 219
IMAGE © *ARCHITECTURA*, CESR

3 Representing Edifices from Antiquity

In the 17th century it was the depiction of ancient edifices which focused attention and obscured the specific features of the national ruins. Under the reign of Louis XIII, Roland Fréart de Chambray in his *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* published in Paris in 1650 saw the quintessence of ancient architecture in the finest Roman antiquities, 'those having the consent and universal approval of all those of the profession'.[25] For him only a few monuments could aspire to it, owing to the decline of the arts: the arch of Titus, the Pantheon, the theatre of Marcellus, the baths of Diocletian, the Porta Leoni in Verona. Thus their models of the orders were to put contemporary architecture back on the straight and narrow, after the Mannerist excesses at the end of the 16th century. It was to be understood, French antiquities could not compete. Chambray suggested precise plans made on one scale from a single unit (the half-diameter, divided into thirty minutes or parts) which allowed one to understand ancient reality objectively. He produced them after Serlio and Palladio and above all after Ligorio, since he owned a large number of his drawings. During the 1640s the French court showed great interest in this Italian antiquarian's manuscripts, at that time the property of the Dukes of Savoy. The *translatio imperii* desired by Richelieu tending to make Paris the new Rome, was accompanied in fact by an attempt to appropriate the most remarkable testimonies on antiquity, authentic works of art like their depictions. In any case the minister-cardinal did not manage to acquire the Turin manuscripts, or Cardinal Ludovisi's famous Roman collection.[26]

In spite of the strict approach, Chambray's process remained artificial. The plans at his disposal were not consistent (the measurements were not the same) and Ligorio's plans were not always reliable. Herein lies the whole problem: Chambray was not an architect and had made no plans himself. And beyond that, Richelieu's death in 1642, that of the king in 1643 and the subsequent disgrace of François Sublet de Noyers, prevented Chambray from imposing his opinions which were the pre-eminence of Greek orders, superiority of the Ancients over the Moderns and Palladio's supremacy as the only one among the Moderns to approach ancient perfection.[27]

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25 "qui ont le consentement et l'approbation universelle de ceux de la profession" (Fréart de Chambray R., *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec la moderne* [Paris, 1650], ed. F. Lemerle [Paris: 2005], Foreword).

26 Fréart de Chambray., *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec la moderne* 21–265.

27 Lemerle F., "Fréart de Chambray: les enjeux du *Parallèle*", *XVII^e siècle* 196 (July-September 1997) 419–453.

The new power, aware that it was necessary to have exact plans available, made *in situ*, according to a rational unquestionable method in order to elaborate an official doctrine which could claim the endorsement of Antiquity, sent Antoine Desgodets to Rome in 1674, accompanied by new members of the Académie de France, an institution created eight years earlier. But because he was captured by the Turks he had only sixteen months (1676–1677) to make plans, which resulted in large expenses, particularly for unearthing the buried parts of the buildings and constructing necessary scaffolding. In Rome he met up with Adrien Auzout, a founding member of the Academy of Science (1668) who helped him to define a method of measurement. Through the scientific study of ancient monuments he thought he would manage to extract the universal laws of nature which they were obeying. The *Edifices antiques de Rome* (1682)[28] contributed to the prestige of the French monarchy, its intrinsic quality immediately made of it a reference in France and abroad, up until the 19th century. For the first time in fact exact plans of the finest monuments of imperial Rome were available. In addition through his strict metrology Desgodets claimed ownership of Roman antiquity; better, he gave universal value to his measurements expressed in the king's foot. The book to the glory of the Monarch emphasized that the architecture under Louis XIV attained perfection and was the alternative to antiquity.

4 Political Architecture

It was with regard to Vitruvius and the most prestigious Roman antiquities that the seventeenth century theorists reflected on the theory of the orders, transformed into a theory of Order based on a scientific aesthetics and a domineering rationalism. The orders were a part of the effort to rationalise measurements which characterized the century, without which there could be no cultural imperialism. A sixth order was even imagined, which was to be the French order, the order of the kingly Order, the order of orders.[29] Beyond obvious differences, Fréart de Chambray, François Blondel and Claude Perrault were speaking with one voice, without questioning the academic system they represented in various ways. They all contributed to define the general rules of architecture in the French style. In the 1640s, in his *Parallèle*

28 *Les edifices antiques de Rome* (Paris, Jean-Baptiste Coignard: 1682).

29 Pérouse de Montclos J.-M., "Le sixième ordre d'architecture, ou la pratique des ordres suivant les nations", *Journal of the Society of the Architectural Historians* XXXVI, 4 (1977) 223–240.

Chambray was striving to define a new architectural language which would recover the original purity of the Greek orders, to return to a natural architecture, in which the order expresses the architectural structure of the building. Under Louis XIV Claude Perrault and his brother Charles, the right-hand man of the minister Colbert, declared themselves defenders of the Moderns. After the edition of the *De Architectura* (1673) and the *Abrégé* (1674), Claude Perrault's ambition was to establish definitive rules of architecture in his *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes* published in 1683, an original synthesis of Vitruvius, of Roman antiquities and of the theoreticians as well as of French traditions and sensitivity. Critical of his contemporaries, (Bosse, Blondel, Mansart), praising his own work (the Louvre Colonnade 1667–1668, the Observatory 1667–1672), Claude Perrault claims the accolade of the best of the Moderns, because his invention of the "médiocrité moyenne" resolved the theory of the orders definitively, in the same way that his commentary on the *De Architectura* put an end to Vitruvian problems by giving superiority to the Moderns over the Ancients.[30]

In fact under Louis XIV national antiquities were hardly restored: nonetheless François Blondel, who dealt with the arch at Saintes, devoted the last chapter of book XI of his famous *Cours d'architecture* to this edifice, judging it 'not less beautiful than any of the preceding ones' (that is to say Italian ones).[31] The Piliers of Tutelle, which Claude Perrault judged as 'one of the most magnificent and the most complete [monuments] which had remained in France, of all those that the Romans built in the past' were destroyed in the national interest in 1677, along with the whole district in order to build the citadel of the Château Trompette. The power did not manage to incorporate into its missions the study of the ancient heritage be it national or not, nor create protective archaeological institutions as the Scandinavians did.[32] Most likely Colbert did not have enough time to devise his vast project. His initiatives of the 1660s concerning the national antiquities had given cause for hope and would have strengthened France's leadership. Colbert, Blondel and Claude Perrault died within a few years of each other, and the new strong men, the architect Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646–1708) and his pupils and colleagues Robert de Cotte, Germain Boffrand and Jacques Gabriel did not care much for antiquities, Roman or Gallo-Roman. Studying the kingdom's ruins

30 Lemerle F., "Claude Perrault théoricien: l'Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes (1683)", in Massounie D. – Rabreau D. (eds.), *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux et le livre d'architecture en français / Étienne Louis Boullée, L'Utopie et la poésie de l'art* (Paris: 2006) 18–29.

31 Blondel François, *Cours d'architecture* (Paris, Nicolas Langlois: 1683), vol. III, XI, 13, 598–600.

32 Schnapp A., *La conquête du passé* (Paris: 1993) 166–215.

remained a matter for the antiquarian elite. The plan to create an inventory of the kingdom's antiquities, which the antiquarian-collector François Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715) submitted in 1702 to Count of Pontchartrain, the protector of the Academies, was hardly successful. It was not until much later that the Intendant of Finances Charles-Daniel Trudaine, appointed director of Ponts et Chaussées in 1743, encouraged his engineers to make a note of the monuments discovered during fortification construction. Félix-François de La Sauvagère, director of the Corps du génie, published his *Recueil d'Antiquitez dans les Gaules* in 1770. The support of the minister Necker and the Académie des Inscriptions was necessary for Pierre de Beaumesnil to constitute the project of publishing his *Recherches générales sur les antiquités et monumens de la France avec les diverses traditions*. But the most famous antiquities of the kingdom were well enough known that they haunted the imagination of artists like Hubert Robert, with his pre-romantic sensitivity. He devoted a series of paintings to the ruins of the South-East, the Pont du Gard, the temple of Diana, the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, or to archaeological fantasies including the Maison Carrée, the amphitheatre and the Tour Magne in Nîmes in the same painting, or the mausoleum and the arch of *Glanum* and the Theatre of Orange.[33] It was necessary to wait until the 19th century for national antiquities to be recognized as part of the national heritage. It was also at that same time that archaeology was established as a scientific discipline, but its connections to contemporary architecture were quite different.

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CHAPTER 9

The Roots of Philibert De l'Orme: Antiquity, Medieval Art, and Early Christian Architecture

Yves Pauwels

The French Renaissance is the daughter of antiquity and the Middle Ages. If the antique reference is the more spectacular one, its grounding in the medieval tradition was never excluded from sixteenth-century culture. In 1549, for a theorist of poetry as avant-garde as Joachim du Bellay, resorting to words of the 'vieil langaige françois' (old French language) could bring some originality to new poetry; even better, the use of certain medieval words gave 'great majesty' to the language:

> Pour ce faire te faudrait voir tous ces vieux romans, et poètes français, ou tu trouveras un 'ajourner', pour faire jour […], 'anuyter' pour faire nuit, 'assener', pour frapper où on visait, et proprement d'un coup de main, 'isnel' pour léger et mille autres bons mots, que nous avons perdus par notre négligence. Ne doute point que le modéré usage de tels vocables ne donne grande majesté tant au vers, comme à la prose: ainsi que font les reliques des Saints aux Croix, et autres sacrés joyaux dédiés aux temples.
>
> In order to do this you would have to see all those old novels and French poets, where you will find 'ajourner' for to grow light […], 'anuyter' for to grow dark, 'assener' for to hit one's target and literally with one's hand, 'isnel' for light and a thousand other good words that we have lost through negligence. Have no doubt that moderate usage of such words gives great majesty to verses as well as to prose, just as relics of saints do to crosses, and other sacred jewels intended for churches.[1]

Likewise, medieval art still retained value in architectural thought. Thus, if we can believe Étienne Pasquier (1529–1615), the author of the historic work *Recherches de la France*, which was first published in 1560, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau truly admired the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris:

1 Du Bellay Joachim, *Deffence et illustration de la langue francoyse* (Paris, Arnoul L'Angelier: 1549) chap. 6, fol. e [=33 r–33 v].

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> La saincte Chappelle de Paris fut bastie par le Roy sainct Louys, d'une architecture admirable telle que nous pouvons voir. J'ay autrefois ouy dire à Maistre Jacques Androüet, dit du Cerceau, l'un des plus grands architectes qui se soient jamais trouvez en la France, qu'entre tous les bastiments faits à la moderne, il n'y en avoit point de plus hardy que celuy-là. Appellant bastiments à la moderne, comme une Eglise nostre Dame de Paris et autres tels, que sur nouveaux desseins furent introduits depuis le declin de l'Empire de Rome, n'ayans rien emprunté de toutes ces parades qui estoient auparavant, telles que celles dont depuis le sieur de Claigny voulut embellir le Louvre, sejour ordinaire de nos Roys dedans la ville de Paris. Or outre cette architecture je souhaitte que l'on considère les vitres de ce lieu, qui furent faites de telle façon, que les vitriers tiennent pour certain que l'usage et manufacture d'icelles en a esté depuis perdu.
>
> The Sainte-Chapelle in Paris was constructed by King Saint Louis, of an admirable architecture, as we can see. I have heard it said by Master Jacques Androuet, called du Cerceau, one of the greatest architects ever found in France, that among all the buildings made in the modern style, not one was more bold than that one. We call buildings made in the modern style such as Notre Dame in Paris and and others like it, that on new designs were introduced since the decline of the Roman Empire, having borrowed nothing from all that ostentation which existed previously, such as those with which Lord de Clagny wanted to embellish the Louvre, the kings' usual residence inside the city of Paris. Now, in addition to this architecture I wish for the stained glass of this place to be considered; they were made in such a way that the glaziers are convinced that their use and manufacture have been lost since then.[2]

This appreciation was part of an Pasquier's overall approach to a promotion of French history dating back to the Gauls as described by Julius Caesar. 'Modern' architecture, in Pasquier's opinion, was well worth ancient ruins, when he wrote that sid ruins 'do not seem to me to be of fine construction'.[3] From this point of view, Androuet du Cerceau's opinion is in no way surprising. The most well known of the architect's books, *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*

2 Pasquier, Étienne, *Les recherches de la France d'Estienne Pasquier conseiller et avocat général du Roy* (Paris, Laurent Sonnius: 1621) III, 38, 302.

3 Letter to M. de Foix, in Rome, quoted by Huppert G., "Naissance de l'histoire en France: les 'Recherches' d'Estienne Pasquier", *Annales. Economie, Sociétés, Civilisations* 1 (1968) 69–105, 83.

(1576–1579), far from being limited to contemporary architecture, displays several examples of medieval structures: the châteaux of Vincennes, Creil, and Coucy being the most spectacular. In the volume he was planning to devote to Paris,[4] Du Cerceau would probably have included the great Gothic sanctuaries. For *Les plus excellents bastiments de France* is not an informative work but a graphic epic – ordered by Catherine de Medici – to the glory of the French monarchy, which, in the same way that Ronsard sings of the exploits of the Valois dynasty in the *Franciade*, presents, as it were, the 'architectural exploits' of the kings and their vassals.[5] From this historical point of view – insofar as the epic poem falls within the authority of history – it is normal that French architecture took root in the tradition of the great ancestors of the Middle Ages.

In France, religious architecture never abandoned ribbed vaults and triangular arched windows; in the château of Écouen (towards 1540–1550), the pavilion accommodating the chapel is easy to identify because of its Gothic windows. French architecture never gave up 'modern' origins. During the first period of the Renaissance, which blossomed at the end of the reign of Louis XII and during that of Francis I (1515–1547), French masons were mainly inspired by the art of Milan and by the Lombard style, but not yet by the classical ruins of ancient Rome. In this period, the coexistence of medieval and *all'antica* Italian forms was natural. The ornamental repertoire alone was transformed in order to change its shape, but not its nature or its function. In the copestones of the Saint-Gatien Cathedral in Tours (from 1508 to 1540), the north tower's gables were replaced in the south tower with pediments, and the pinnacles with ornate candelabra columns [Fig. 9.1]. Renaissance-style layouts were sometimes placed next to Gothic ornamentation, with no sort of transition from one to the other – see the façade of the collegiate church Saint-Jean-Baptiste des Roches-Tranchelion, in Touraine, built by the local lord Lancelot de la Touche starting in 1510 [Fig. 9.2]. These juxtapositions are also

4 Androuet du Cerceau, Jacques, *Second Livre d'architecture* (Paris, André Wechel: 1561) 2: 'attendant que Dieu me fasse la grâce de vous en présenter un autre, selon qu'il m'a été permis et ordonné par vos prédécesseurs Rois, tant des dessins et œuvres singulières de votre ville de Paris comme de vos palais et bâtiments Royaux, avec aucuns des plus somptueux qui se trouvent entre les autres particuliers de votre noble Royaume' ('Waiting for God to grant me the grace to present you with another, according to what your predecessor Kings have ordered me, with many drawings and remarkable works of your city of Paris, such as your palaces and Royal buildings, with some of the most sumptuous which are found among other mansions of your noble Kingdom'). This text (like the others quoted in this essay) is available on the website *ARCHITECTURA*, ed. F. Lemerle and Y. Pauwels (http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr, retrieved 6 November 2017).

5 Pauwels Y., "Petits arrangements avec le réel. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau à Écouen", *Revue de l'Art* 178 (2012) 33–41.



FIGURE 9.1 Detail of the copestones of the towers of the Saint-Gatien Cathedral at Tours (1507–1547)
IMAGE © Y. PAUWELS



FIGURE 9.2 Collegiate Church St. John the Baptist at Les Roches-Tranchelion (ca. 1527)
IMAGE © Y. PAUWELS



FIGURE 9.3 Château Azay-le-Rideau (1518–1527)
IMAGE © Y. PAUWELS

evident in more prestigious contexts, such as the château de Gaillon, where many flamboyant motifs are mixed in with the new repertoire borrowed from the Italian Renaissance.

The case of civil architecture is very significant. When, around 1515, rich financiers and recently ennobled persons, such as Thomas Bohier and Gilles Berthelot, built (in Chenonceau and Azay-le-Rideau, respectively) new castles strongly inspired in design by the Italian Renaissance and in decor by Lombard art, they wanted to keep traditional elements of the medieval 'châteaux-forts' architecture for symbolic reasons. In doing so, they preserved a concrete testimony to the antiquity of the place, such as through a tower (the Tour de Marques in Chenonceau) or a dovecote (in Azay), which, as visual signs of nobility, testified to and legitimized their establishment in the fief they had just acquired. At the same time, since the natural function of the nobility in the Ancien Régime society was service in arms, it was important to keep, in addition to up-to-date *all'antica* ornaments, traditional forms recalling that the castle was also the house of a warrior. Thus, one can see in Azay-le-Rideau a covered walkway, battlements, and machicolations encircling the outside of the building [Fig. 9.3]. These devices are fakes: dormer windows interrupt the pseudo-covered walkway, and the machicolations are not operative. But they show the visitor that the castle is the home of a nobleman, and hence a warrior.



FIGURE 9.4 Allegory of the bad architect. From: Philibert De l'Orme, *Le premier tome de l'architecture* (Paris, Federic Morel: 1567), fol. 281
IMAGE © ARCHITECTURA, CESR

The assertion of these qualities was particularly urgent because these financiers were very recent arrivals to the aristocracy.

Things were more complex for the second or 'classical' Renaissance, from the 1540s, when, principally through Sebastiano Serlio's intervention, the Vitruvian lessons on the orders of architecture were adopted. There was no place there for Gothic obsolescence. But looking at it very closely, medieval roots continued to inspire new architects, such as Pierre Lescot and Jean Bullant, and Philibert De l'Orme (1514–1570) was at the forefront. De l'Orme is the most important and imaginative architect from this time. He worked for King Henry II, for the *favorite* Diane de Poitiers, and was *surintendant des bâtiments du roi*. After the king's death, he built the Palace of the Tuileries for Queen Mother Catherine de Medici, and wrote the first French complete treatise on architecture, the *Premier tome de l'architecture*, published in 1567. In his own way he was part of the movement toward reclaiming medieval heritage, a movement that was gaining importance. Specifically French, it participated in creating a national architecture, which was autonomous compared to the Italian designs, both antique and modern. Very significantly, if the symbolic representation of the 'good architect', which he offers at the end of the *Premier tome de l'architecture*,[6] is accompanied by good buildings in the antique style, the preceding representation of the 'bad architect' is not placed under ribbed vaults in churches with monstrous proportions [Fig. 9.4]. For Philibert, 'modern' architecture, which we call 'medieval', was not rejected *a priori*; it even provided a good number of elements which were destined to create a French architecture, free from an exclusive dependence on classical antiquity and Italian art, but with solid national and Christian roots.

1 The Art of Vaulting

The first reference, probably the most important one, is the mastery of the art of stonecutting, a heritage of Romanesque know-how. The most prestigious example is the twelfth-century spiral staircase located at the Saint-Gilles-du-Gard Abbey. De l'Orme was well acquainted with it; he visited it during a trip through Provence:

> Telle voute ainsi rampante est appelée des ouvriers, la vis sainct Gilles: pour autant qu'il y en a une semblable au prieuré de sainct Gilles en Languedoc. J'ay veu en ma jeunesse que celui qui sçavoit la façon du traict

6 De l'Orme, Philibert, *Le premier tome de l'architecture* (Paris, Federic Morel: 1561), fol. 281r.

> de ladicte vis sainct Gilles, et l'entendoit bien, il estoit fort estimé entre les ouvriers, et se disoit communement entre eux que celuy avoit grande cognoissance des traicts Geometriques, qui entendoit bien la vis sainct Gilles.
>
> The workers call this sort of climbing vault the Saint-Gilles spiral staircase; for all that, there is a similar one at the Saint-Gilles Priory in Languedoc. When I was young I saw that he who knew how to cut stone in the style of the aforementioned Saint-Gilles spiral staircase and understood it well, was highly esteemed among the workers. They usually said among themselves that he understood geometry very well, he who know about the Saint-Gilles spiral staircase.[7]

The mastery of stereotomy was one of the elements maintaining the supremacy of French architecture over Italian architecture, ancient or contemporary. Books 3 and 4 of Philibert's *Premier tome*, the first printed method for stonecutting, highlight this integral practice of his art particularly, from the squinches at the Hôtel Bullioud in Lyon (1536) [Fig. 9.5] to the Tuileries staircase in the 1560s. Moreover, mastering this art had consequences for the decoration. Still referring to the Saint-Gilles spiral staircase, De l'Orme continued in his criticism of Bramante's Belvedere staircase, saying: 'if the architect who constructed it had understood geometrical stonecutting, which I am referring to, he would have slanted it all, I say even the bases and the capitals which he all made square, as if he had wanted to make them part of a portico, which is straight and level'.[8] The architect, who remains nameless here, 'understood nothing of what an architect must know. For instead of making the vault out of bricks, he should have made it out of stone, and from one column to another, placed slanting arches'.[9] Bramante understood nothing of the 'art of stonecutting', and that is a testimony of the inferiority of Italian architecture. Slanting bases and capitals are, in fact, a characteristic of French art, very widespread in the architecture of the fifteenth century (for example, in the spiral 'ramps' in the castle of Amboise) and the beginning of the sixteenth century, such as in

7 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fol. 123v.

8 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fol. 124v: 'Mais si l'architecte qui l'a conduite euct entendu les traicts de géométrie, desquels je parle, il eust faict tout ramper, je dis jusques aux bases et chapiteaux, qu'il a faict tous carrés, comme s'il les eust voulu faire servir à un portique qui est droit et à niveau'.

9 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fol. 124v: 'Laquelle chose montre que l'ouvrier qui l'a faicte n'entendait ce qu'il faut que l'architecte entende. Car au lieu qu'il a faict la voûte de brique, il l'eust faicte de pierre de taille, et d'une colonne à autre des arcs rampants'.



FIGURE 9.5 Philibert De l'Orme, Hôtel Bullioud, Lyon (1536)
IMAGE © Y. PAUWELS



FIGURE 9.6 Capital of the staircase of château Oiron (ca. 1540)
IMAGE © Y. PAUWELS

the castles of Oiron [Fig. 9.6], Chambord, and Châteaubriant, but also during the seventeenth century, in practice (great château and private residence staircases) as in theory, as in the works of Abraham Bosse[10] and Father Derand.[11]

In other respects, the techniques of Gothic art were still very much alive. In fact, De l'Orme knew how to assemble a rib vault. He recalled in his *Instruction*,[12] a text he wrote in his defence after Henry II died, that he had proved it in the Vincennes chapel. Moreover, the *Premier tome* is very clear on the subject:

> Les maistres maçons de ce royaume, et aussi d'autres pays, ont accoustume de faire les voutes des églises esquelles y a grand espace (comme sont grandes salles) avec une croisée qu'ils appellent croisée d'ogives [...] Ces façons de voûtes ont esté trouvées fort belles, et s'en voit de bien exécutées et mises en œuvre en divers lieux de ce royaume, et signamment en ceste ville de Paris, comme aussi en plusieurs autres. Aujourd'huy ceux qui ont quelque cognoissance de la vraye architecture, ne suivent plus ceste façon de voute, appelée entre les ouvriers La mode Françoise, laquelle véritablement je ne veux dépriser, ains plustost confesser qu'on y a faict et pratiqué de fort bons traitcs et difficiles.
>
> The master masons of this kingdom, and also of other countries, are accustomed to making the vaults of the churches [in which] there is a large space (since they are large halls) with a crossing they call a ribbed vault. [...] These sorts of vaults were considered very beautiful, and one can see them well carried out and implemented in many places of the kingdom, and especially in this city of Paris as also in several others. Today those who have some knowledge of true architecture no longer follow this fashion of vaulting that the workers call the French style, which I truly do not want to underestimate, but I would rather confess that very good and difficult work has been done and achieved there.[13]

Here Philibert is commenting on the pattern of a typical flamboyant Gothic vault, with girts and tiercerons, exactly the same as what was still being built at the turn of the sixteenth century – for example, the porch of Saint-Germain

10 Bosse Abraham, *Traité des manières de dessiner les ordres* (Paris, Abraham Bosse: 1664).

11 Derand François, *Architecture des voûtes, ou l'art des traits, et coupe des voûtes* (Paris, Sébastien Cramoisy: 1643).

12 *Instruction de Monsieur d'Ivry, dit De l'Orme, abbé de Saint-Serge, et cestui Me architecteur du Roi:* 'the chapel of Vincennes, where I had all the arches made and completed'. Quoted in Blunt A., *Philibert De l'Orme* (London: 1958) 151.

13 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fol. 107r.

l'Auxerrois. In the middle of book 4, this text is placed between the chapters devoted to squinches – particularly the one at Anet, the architect's great masterpiece – and those in which he explains the technique of 'spherical' vaults (domes and quarter-spheres), before he concludes with spiral staircases. Thus, 'modern' vaults are recognized in the *Premier tome*; De l'Orme proposes two other examples of them. The first one is more complex. As for the second, it was taken from the *Nouvelles inventions* (1561), where the ribs were created out of wood; here, they can be carved in stone.

In Philibert's mind, the durability of the Gothic technique could remain compatible with more modern structures, like the dome. Admittedly, this new form of vaulting (with which, De l'Orme seems to forget, Romanesque medieval builders were still acquainted) offered many advantages:

> Les voutes desquelles je veux icy parler sont trop plus fortes et meilleures que celles qu'on avoit accoustumé de faire par ci-devant, et de beaucoup plus grande industrie, et plus longue durée, (pourveu qu'on les sçache bien conduire et mettre en œuvre) comme aussi de beaucoup moindre dépense, pour n'y appliquer des arcs-boutants.
>
> The vaults I wish to talk about here are much stronger and better than the ones that used to be built, and more imaginative and longer-lasting (provided one knows how to build them correctly) and less expensive, for not building flying buttresses there.[14]

Nonetheless, De l'Orme planned to decorate these vaults by keeping the ribs of the modern repertoire; he gives a rather unexpected example of this:

> Vous pouvez encores faire par dessous le pendentif de mesmes sortes de branches, que lon a faict en la voute de la mode Françoise, soit en façon d'ogives, liernes, tiercerons, ou autres, voire avec des clefs surpendues, et de plus grande grace que lon n'a point encores veu. Ceux qui voudront prendre la peine, cognoistront ce que je dy par la voute spherique laquelle j'ay faict faire en la chappelle du chasteau d'Annet, avec plusieurs sortes de branches rempantes au contraire l'une de l'autre, et faisant par mesme moyen leurs compartiments qui sont à plomb et perpendicule dessus le plan et pavé de ladite chapelle, qui fait et monstre une mesme façon et semblable à celle que je propose par la figure subsequente.

14 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fol. 111 v.

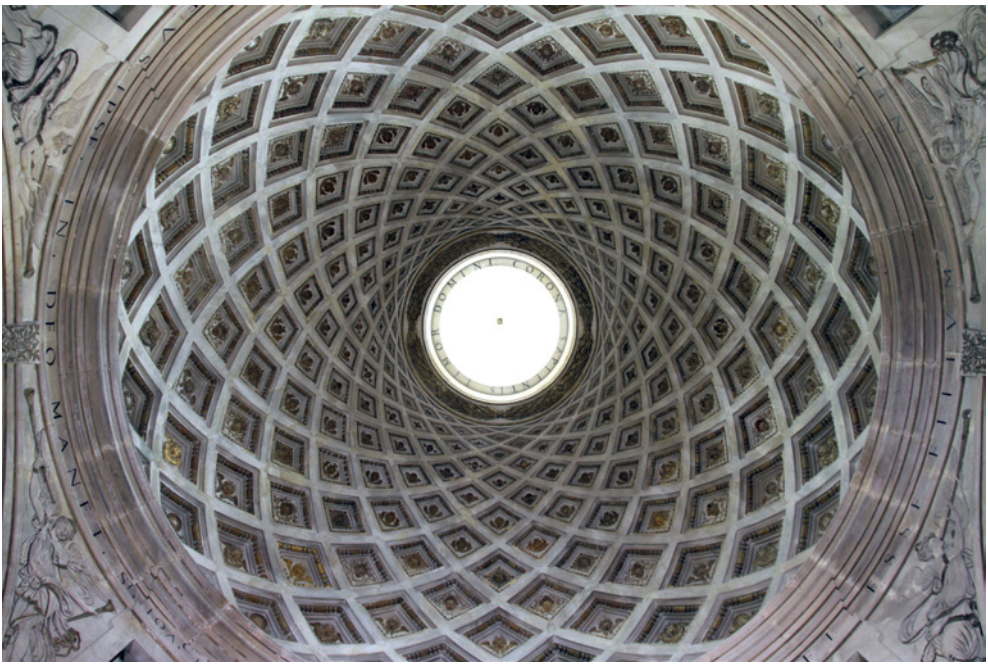


FIGURE 9.7 Philibert De l'Orme, Dome of the chapel of château d'Anet (1553)
IMAGE © Y. PAUWELS

> Underneath the pendentive you can still make the same sort of ribs, which were part of the vault in the French style, either in the form of ribs, ridge ribs, tiercerons, and so on, or even with hanging keystones, and more graceful than have yet been seen. Those who wish to make the effort will know what I am talking about in the hemispherical vault which I had constructed in the chapel of the château d'Anet, with several sorts of ribs climbing against each other, and making in this same way their compartments which are at right angles and perpendicular above the plan and the paving of the aforementioned chapel, which shows which shows a similarity to that which I propose in the following diagram.[15]

The sensational design of the dome of the chapel at Anet [Fig. 9.7] would therefore, in the spirit of its creator, be more of an avatar of the Gothic ornamental system than a throwback to the semi-domes in the Temple of Venus and Roma in Rome, which Anthony Blunt quoted as a precedent.[16]

15 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fol. 112r.
16 Blunt, *Philibert De l'Orme* 42.



FIGURE 9.8 Philibert De l'Orme, Entrance of château d'Anet (1553)
IMAGE © Y. PAUWELS

2 Elevations and Ornamentation: The Medieval Spirit

Medieval art influenced Philibert in other areas. When he returned from Rome in 1536, he initially devised the modernization of banker Antoine Bullioud's Lyon residence with sophisticated architectural orders and basket-handle arches, typically flamboyant, a form frequently used during the first Renaissance, for example at Gaillon and Oiron. But as his career advanced, more subtle treatments allowed De l'Orme to achieve a more accomplished synthesis. At the château d'Anet, the originality of the castle entrance (built in the 1550s) is striking [Fig. 9.8]. If the reference to a triumphal arch is evident in the rhythm of the four Doric columns, the relationship of the arch to the order is in no way ancient; placed above the entablature, the tympanum is framed in a very original way which recalls the great Italian parietal tombs – and this refers to the funerary symbolism of the château, which is also a mausoleum. But it is also very similar to that of many Romanesque façades, like that of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard [Fig. 9.9], with which De l'Orme was acquainted, and, not far from there, that of the cathedral of Saint-Trophime in Arles.



FIGURE 9.9 Abbey church Saint-Gilles at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (1120–1160)
IMAGE © Y. PAUWELS

Moreover, in his work one can find other examples of classical forms encased in obviously Gothic elements, or at least in the Gothic spirit. The balustrades on the castle entrance at Anet are definitely not Italian in style; they have subtle interlacing, closer to medieval forms than to Italian balustrades. The ribs in the vault are in the same spirit, and the criss-crossing of their contours truly corresponds to the taste for complicated lines, which greatly enthused the artists of the flamboyant Middle Ages. Anthony Blunt has already pointed out the process regarding the Ionic capitals of the tomb of François I in Saint-Denis:

> Moreover, De l'Orme not only accepts the intersection of two volutes, but emphasizes it by making the edge of each volute cut across the other and penetrate into the cushion of the capital, with an effect which recalls the intersecting mouldings of Flamboyant architecture, rather than anything to be found in classical architecture.[17]

17 Blunt, *Philibert De l'Orme* 72, cf. also 88.

Last example, the entrance of the main wing at Anet which is reassembled today at the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris. The lower third parts of its columns, in the Corinthian order, are carved very realistically, with laurel branches, their leaves, and fruits. The effect is emphasized because the branches pass under the band separating the lower part of the column from the rest, usually fluted, and come to an end naturally in the fluting of the upper part. This naturalism is in and of itself unknown to Italian practices, which leaned more towards more stylized and abstract shapes. The carved plant accentuates the naturalism even more, in a spirit more Gothic than classic.

3 Christian Antiquity

At the same time, Anet's Corinthian columns bring another precedent to mind, because the alternating fluted parts and parts carved with plant motifs and the slanting movement of the laurel branches are an obvious reference to the twisted columns or *colonne vitinee* of the choir in the old St Peter's. De l'Orme saw them in Rome when he was young.[18] Here, we are taking up a source which is also part of our architect's originality: early Christian architecture, which Philibert mentions among the antique examples. He was the only one in France at that time to evoke it so precisely, writing several times in the *Premier tome* of his interest in old Roman churches. He visited Santa Sabina, where he noticed a fine door:

> J'ay bien trouvé aussi une autre sorte de mesure en une porte antique, fort belle, et sans grand ornement, étant en l'eglise de saincte Sabine à Rome, laquelle a de largeur pour son ouverture par le bas, treize palmes […], l'architrave, ou moulure qui est au pied droict par le devant, sur la premiere marche, a de largeur deux palmes, onces trois, et au plus hault au droit de la couverture de la porte, palmes deux, minutes quatre, qui sont trois minutes et une once de largeur plus que par le dessous.
>
> I also found another sort of measurement in an ancient door, very beautiful, and without much ornamentation, in the Santa Sabina church in Rome, which has an opening whose lower width is thirteen palms high

18 Androuet du Cerceau also mentions these columns in the *XXV exempla arcuum* (Orléans, s.n.: 1549), and so does Serlio in the *Livre extraordinaire – Extraordinario Libro* (Lyon, Jean de Tournes: 1551). See Pauwels Y., *L'architecture et le livre en France à la Renaissance: 'une magnifique decadence'?* (Paris: 2013) 229–238.

> [...]. The architrave, or moulding which is on the jamb at the front, on the first step, is two palms, three inches wide, and at the highest point perpendicular to the door covering, two palms, four minutes, which is three minutes and one inch wider than the bottom.[19]

At Santa Prassede, a column, as commendable as those at the Pantheon or the ruins at the Forum, attracted his attention:

> Doncques j'en proposeray encore une qui m'a semblé fort belle, et est à Sainte-Praxède à Rome, n'ayant que seize palmes, minute une, et onces trois pour sa hauteur: et pour son diamètre d'en bas, palme une, minutes dix, et once une. [...] Je vous puis bien asseurer, que c'est une des belles colomnes et aussi plaisante qu'il s'en voit point à Rome.
>
> Thus I will propose another one which seemed very beautiful to me, at Santa Prassede in Rome, only sixteen palms, one minute, three inches high; and for its lower diameter, one palm, ten minutes and one inch [...]. I can assure you that it is one of the most beautiful and appealing columns ever seen in Rome.[20]

Santa Maria in Trastevere, another edifice he studied carefully, gave him a fine example of an Ionic capital:

> Vous avisant que je ne me veux ayder en cecy totalement dudit Vitruve, ains seulement en partie, l'accompagnant de ce que j'ai trouvé aux chapiteaux antiques, et mesme à ceux de l'eglise de nostre Dame de Transtebre qui est aux faulxbourgs de Rome du coste de sainct Pierre de Montorio dela le Tybre. C'est une église bastie de plusieurs sortes de colomnes accompagnées de chapiteaux Ioniques fort différents les uns des autres, et ramassez de plusieurs edifices et ruines des antiquitez pour edifier ladicte eglise.
>
> Informing you that I do not want to be helped totally in this by the aforementioned Vitruvius, only in part, accompanying it with what I have found in the ancient capitals, and even in those of Santa Maria in Trastevere on the outskirts of Rome, near San Pietro in Montorio beyond

19 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fol. 237r.
20 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fols. 190v–191r.

> the Tiber. The church is built of several sorts of columns with Ionic capitals that are very different from each other, collected from several ancient buildings and ruins to construct the aforementioned church.[21]

In his own constructions, De l'Orme's interest in early Christian architecture is less apparent than his interest in the Gothic. Nevertheless, it is possible to find a few traces of it in his most original creations. Thus, the capitals of the interior order of the chapel at Anet, avoiding the Vitruvian canon, have no 'classic' precedent in the ruins of ancient Rome [Fig. 9.10]. On the other hand, one can see a recollection of the capitals of Santa Pudenziana, two steps away from Santa Prassede, the latter being mentioned explicitly by De l'Orme [Fig. 9.11]. In both cases, a basket carries long, narrow leaves; a rather simple abacus crowns it all. The capital at Anet is more elaborate, with additional motifs, such as the poppy fruit, here reinforcing the funerary symbolism of the chapel. However, the Roman precedent could have provided him with the original idea.

Again, it was Anthony Blunt who made the connection between the 'French' columns created by De l'Orme for the Tuileries and the columns in the choir at Santa Prassede.[22] The superimposed drums and the crowns of foliage giving rhythm to the elevation of the shaft are in fact very similar; there is also a resemblance between the columns in the chapel in the garden of the castle of Villers-Cotterêts, where Philibert had implemented that system for the first time. But, at least for the plant crowns, the precedent of the twisted columns of St Peter's is essential, since they were also endowed with a similar decoration at their base. Apart from the French nature that De l'Orme linked to these columns – because the use of drums is appropriate for the natural qualities of French stones – the Santa Prassede motif was quite successful in the architecture of the kingdom. It can be found in a plate dated 1566, added by Jean Bullant to his *Reigle d'architecture*,[23] which probably inspired Hugues Sambin in making the wooden columns of the chapel enclosure in the Palais de Justice in Dijon.[24] But in Philibert's case, the most interesting aspect is precisely that the banded columns were of a 'French' nature while simultaneously being 'modern'. He speaks of them just as if they were Gothic vaults; both of them are 'modern' and 'French'. Gothic vaults, or 'voûtes modernes', are 'voûtes

21 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fol. 162r.

22 Blunt, *Philibert De l'Orme*, fols. 120–121.

23 Pauwels Y., "Jean Bullant et le langage des ordres: les audaces d'un timide", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 129 (1997) 85–100.

24 Pauwels Y., "La fortune de la *Reigle* de Jean Bullant aux XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècles", *Journal de la Renaissance* 3 (2005) 111–119.



FIGURE 9.10 Philibert De l'Orme, Capital of the chapel of château d'Anet (1553)
IMAGE © Y. PAUWELS



FIGURE 9.11 Capital of the nave of S. Pudenziana, Rome (end of the fourth century)
IMAGE © Y. PAUWELS

de la mode et façon française' (vaults in the French style and manner),[25] and French columns 'modernes que nous appelons françaises' (modern, which we call French).[26]

All of this puts us at the heart of the problem of national identity, one element of which consists in the search for historical roots. The France of Francis I and Henry II was considered the ultimate stage of the *translatio studiorum*. In the same way the Dorians invented the Doric order, Ionians the Ionic order, and people of Corinth the Corinthian order – and, later, Romans the Composite or Italic order, to show their domination over the Greek world – Frenchmen, as heirs of the Roman political and cultural leadership, had to imagine a specific order. The enumeration of the orders of the columns, from the Tuscan to the French order, emphasizes very well that the series of the orders is parallel to the succession of empires. The French order was a culmination, and as such, a synthesis of previous architectures. Its early Christian reference is clearly the noblest one, for in the setting of a Christian kingdom, it establishes the tradition in a 'moralized' antiquity, rid of its pagan residues. But nevertheless, it was not incompatible with the Gothic reference. The 'modern French' column was in fact linked to 'modern French' architecture by its very structure. Unlike the monolithic marble ancient (or Italian) column, it is made up of superimposed drums, for the very nature of the stone quarried from the soil of the kingdom calls for such an arrangement. In fact, it was the very structure of the Gothic piers that De l'Orme adapted to the ancient repertoire: the act of superposing elements underlies the construction of the supports and arches in the great Gothic buildings.

From this point of view, whereas Jean Bullant and Pierre Lescot remained more sensible and more strictly 'classical', De l'Orme agreed with Androuet du Cerceau in admiring and using methods of Gothic ornamentation. But he went further, for his direct knowledge of Rome allowed him to assimilate early Christian monuments into his cultural frame of reference in a way that Du Cerceau, in spite of his universal curiosity, could only know indirectly. It is in such a way that Philibert's modern order must be interpreted as a synthesis of classical antiquity (it kept a Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian capital), of Christian antiquity, and of the medieval *opus francigenum.* In order to create a specific French architecture, in the same way the poets of the *Pléiade* intended to write, in French, a national poetry for the glory of the Valois dynasty, De l'Orme looked for a synthetic language which included many sources: Roman antiquity, because the king of France was the new Augustus; Christian

25 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fol. 110v.
26 De l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'architecture*, fol. 222r.

antiquity, because as *Roi très chrétien*, the very Christian king, he was also the new Constantine;[27] and medieval roots, because they were familiar to the French conception of building, which stayed close to the Sainte-Chapelle of Saint Louis. In some ways, this approach contrasts with that of the Spanish king. The palace of Charles V in Granada, built by Pedro Machuca in the 1530s, is indeed a fundamentally Italian building, inspired by works of Bramante and the ideas of Giulio Romano; as such, it is a symbol of the king's loyalty to Roman Catholicism. It was not the case in the Gallican France, where the quest for cultural roots seems very specific in all of the fields of artistic and poetic creation.

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27 References to the Forum of Augustus, to the Temple of *Mars Ultor* and to the Lateran Baptistery, where Constantine would have been baptized, appear clearly in the Salle des Caryatides in the Louvre, where the king's throne was. See Pauwels Y, "Athènes, Rome, Paris: la tribune et l'ordre de la Salle des Caryatides au Louvre", *Revue de l'Art* 169 (2010) 61–69.

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PART 3

The Low Countries

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CHAPTER 10

From Chivalric Family Tree to "National" Gallery: The Portrait Series of the Counts of Holland, ca. 1490–1650

Karl Enenkel

Strikingly, it was in the very era of the Dutch Revolt that portrait series of the Counts of Holland were printed in large number in the Low Countries.[1] At first sight, this might seem odd, since the Habsburgs, including the Spanish monarch Philip II, were the owners of the title of Count of Holland, and they were the country's political and military opponents during the Revolt. In the year of his death (1598), Philip gave the Netherlands to his nephew Albert (1559–1621), later Archduke of Austria. This ensured that the title of Count of Holland, and the territorial claim connected with it would remain in Habsburg hands in future. From the Habsburgs's point of view, then, the publishing of a portrait series of the Counts of Holland might have been intended to underpin that claim. Nevertheless, publication of the series did not straightforwardly mean that those responsible for them (authors, artists, publishers and patrons) were opponents of the Revolt or adherents of Philip. It should be borne in mind that the Revolt was an exceedingly drawn-out process, involved several stages, and that its end result – recognition that the seven northern

1 This contribution is a revised, altered and augmented version of my "Van ridderlijke familiegalerij tot 'nationale' portrettengalerij: de reeksen van de graven van Holland, ca. 1490–1650", published as chapter 8 in Enenkel K.A.E. – Ottenheym K.A., *Oudheid als ambitie. De zoektocht naar een passend verleden 1400–1700* (Nijmegen: 2017) 205–242. For early modern printed series of the Counts of Holland, cf. Jong J. de, "Gravenportretten in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw", in Anrooij W. van (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten. Hollandse geschiedenis in woord en beeld* (Hilversum: 1997) 78–102. Jan de Jong examines the question of how authentic or realistic the printed portraits were regarded, but does not discuss their political and ideological significance. For the portraits of the counts cf. also Weissman A.W., "De portretten der graven van Holland te Haarlem", *Oud-Holland* 35 (1917) 61–70. The portrait series in the town hall of Haarlem was researched by Wim van Anrooij, Truus van Bueren, Reindert Falkenburg and Marijke Moijaart, in Anrooij W. van (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten*; for this series cf. also Kurtz G.H. (ed.), "De afbeeldingen der graven en gravinnen van Holland op het stadhuis te Haarlem", *Jaarboek Haerlem* (1958) 40–58. For historical questions regarding the Counts of Holland see, *inter alia*, Boer D.E.H. de – Cordfunke E.H.P., *Graven van Holland. Portretten in word en beeld (880–1580)* (Zutphen: 1995).

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provinces were an independent state – was not foreseen at the outset. Within the Seven Provinces themselves, there was a long period in which there was no clarity on the political course to be charted, not even after the official abjuration of Philip in 1581.[2] Although the north achieved key military successes between 1574 and 1576, a number of attempts were made to restore the monarchy, even after 1581, when the Northern Netherlands went actively looking for a suitable replacement prince. The Queen of England and the King of France were among the candidates considered, but ultimately the attempts to secure a new head of state faltered.[3] During this quest for an appropriate new Lord of the Netherlands, "independence", whether a conscious aim or a necessity that

2 For the development of the Dutch Revolt and the political thought connected with it cf., *inter alia*, Parker G., *The Dutch Revolt* (London: 1977); idem, "Success and failure during the first century of the Reformation", *Past and present* 136 (1992) 43–82; Elias B.G.J., *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (Haarlem: 1977); Lem A. van der, *De Opstand in de Nederlanden 1568–1648: De Tachtigjarige Oorlog in woord en beeld* (Nijmegen: 2014); Gelderen M. van, *The political thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge: 1992); idem (ed.), *The Dutch Revolt. Cambridge Texts in the history of political thought* (Cambridge: 1993); and furthermore Baalbergen, J., *Van Opstand tot onafhankelijkheid. De Unie van Utrecht en het ontstaan van een zelfstandige staat 1559–1609* (,s-Gravenhage: 1979); Bremmer R.H., *Reformatie en rebellie. Willem van Oranje, de calvinisten en het recht van opstand. Tien onstuimige jaren: 1572–1581* (Franeker: 1984); Demandt K.E., "Wilhelm I. von Nassau, Prinz von Oranien, und die Bedeutung und Stellung des Abfalles der Niederlande im Rahmen der europäischen Revolutionen", *Nassauische Annalen* 80 (1969) 121–136; Deursen A.Th. van, "De Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden (1588–1780)", in idem, *De hartslag van het leven. Studies over de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: 1996) 13–87; Duke A.C., "From king and country to king or country? Loyalty and treason in the revolt of the Netherlands", in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, vol. 32 (1982) 113–135; Groenveld S. – Mout M.E.H.N. et alii (eds.), *De kogel door de kerk?* en *De bruid in de schuit*, 2 vols. (Zutphen: 1991[3]); iidem – Leeuwenberg H.Ph. (eds.), *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog: opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden* (*ca. 1560–1650*) (Zutphen: 2008); Groenveld S., *Unie – Bestand – Vrede. Drie fundamentele wetten van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Hilversum: 2009); Israel J.I., *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford: 1995); idem, *Conflicts of Empires. Spain, the Low Countries and the Struggle for World Supremacy, 1585–1713* (London – Rio Grande: 1997); Mout, M.E.H.N., "Van arm vaderland tot eendrachtige republiek. De rol van politieke theorieën in de Nederlandse Opstand", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 101 (1986) 345–365; eadem, "Reformation, revolt and civil wars: the historiographic traditions of France and the Netherlands", in Benedict Ph. *et alii* (eds.), *Reformation, revolt and civil war in France and the Netherlands 1555–1585* (Amsterdam: 1999) 23–34; Arnade P., *Beggars, iconoclasts, and civic patriots: the political culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, N.Y.: 2008); Saage R., *Herrschaft, Toleranz, Widerstand. Studien zur politischen Theorie der niederländischen und der englischen Revolution* (Frankfurt am Main: 1981).

3 Cf., *inter alia*, Koenigsberger H.G., *Monarchies, States Generals and parliaments: the Netherlands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (Cambridge: 2001); Dunthorne H., *Britain and the Dutch revolt, 1560–1700* (Cambridge: 2013); Oosterhoff, F.G., *Leicester and the Netherlands 1586–1587* (Utrecht: 1988).

had arisen, remained a fait accompli. From the 1590s onwards, an increasing proportion of society in the Northern Netherlands was convinced that it was unachieavable, and ultimately not even desirable, to return to a monarchist system under a foreign prince. By the time of the Twelve Years' Truce,[4] such a model had almost completely been discounted. Ultimately, the aim was to found an independent state in some form or other. We see the enunciation of this aim most particularly in the Netherlands' key province, Holland. In this regard, the Counts of Holland took on new significance: they now came to be back-projected as the leaders of a previous 'independent' state, one which was now being restored. In this way, they could be invoked as a means of shaping and legitimising the identity of the new independent Holland.[5]

1 The Counts as Opponents to the Revolt: Vosmeer's and Galle's *Principes Hollandiae* (1578)

The first portrait series of the Counts of Holland appeared in 1578, brought out by the renowned publisher Christopher Plantin at Antwerp. The artist was engraver Philip Galle (1537–1612) of Haarlem [Fig. 10.1], and the appended verses were by lawyer Michiel Cornelis Vosmeer (ca. 1550–1616).[6] The political aim of this publication is evident already on its title page [Fig. 10.2], which depicts a personification of the Province of Holland as a young woman holding a coat of arms with a lion, the heraldic symbol of the Counts of Holland. In the year in

4 Cf., *inter alia*, Groenveld S., *Het Twaalfjarig Bestand 1609–1621. De jongelingsjaren van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Hilversum: 2009); Lem A. van der, "Een voordelige vrede: het Twaalfjarig Bestand, 1609–1621", *Geschiedenis magazine* 44.3 (2009) 14–19.

5 For the question of the new Dutch identity cf., *inter alia*, Duke A., "The elusive Netherlands. The question of national identity in the early modern Low Countries on the eve of the Revolt", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 119 (2004) 10–38; Groenveld S., "Natie en nationaal gevoel in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden", *Nederlands Archievenblad* 84 (1980) 371–387; idem, "Nation und 'patria': Begriff und Wirklichkeit des kollektiven Bewusstseins im Achtzigjährigen Krieg", in: idem – Lademacher H. (eds.), *Krieg und Kultur: die Rezeption von Krieg und Frieden in der Niederländischen Republik und im Deutschen Reich, 1568–1648* (1998) 77–109, and 524–534; Groenveld S., "'Natie' en 'patria' bij zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanders", in: Sas N.C.F. van (ed.), *Vaderland* (Amsterdam: 1999) 55–81; Kossmann E.H., *Een tuchteloos probleem. De natie in de Nederlanden* (Leuven: 1994); Pollmann J., "No man's land: reinventing Netherlandish identities, 1585–1621", in Stein R. – Pollmann J. (eds.), *Networks, regions and nations: shaping identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650* (Leiden: 2009) 241–262; Pollmann J, *Catholic identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1520–1635* (Oxford: 2011).

6 Vosmeer Michiel, *Principes Hollandiae en Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* […]. *Cum genuinis ipsorum iconibus* […] (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578).



FIGURE 10.1
Hendrick Goltzius, Portrait of the engraver Philip Galle (1582). Engraving 22.3 × 14.5 cm
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

which this publication appeared, the Revolt was in full flow in the Province of Holland. Following the battlefield successes of 1574 and 1576, the Province was no longer prepared to submit to Philip II by this stage. However, we see something quite different from militarism on the title page: Lady Holland holds a *palm branch* in her hand, denoting that the Province acknowledges the King of Spain as her rightful Count and wishes him victory.

The author of the texts in the series, Michiel Vosmeer, makes no secret of his political loyalties: he devotes the work to Master Sir Arnoud Sasbout (d. 1583), Lord of Spalant, who had been appointed in 1575 chairman of Philip's Privy Council in Brussels.[7] In the northern provinces, the Privy Council was feared

7 Ibidem, fol. A2r. However, circa 1576 he seemed to have moved to The Hague, which is not mentioned by Vosmeer. Nevertheless, Sasbout's salary as counsellor to Philip was still being paid in 1579. For, Sasbout cf. Baelde M., *De collaterale raden onder Karel V en Filips II* (*1531–1578*). *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de centrale instellingen in de zestiende eeuw* (Brussels: 1965) 304, and *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. II, cols. 1264–1265.



FIGURE 10.2 Michiel Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578), title page
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

and loathed as much as Philip himself, because it was held responsible for the injustices and violence afflicting the population. Sasbout was one of the most implacable opponents of both the Dutch Revolt and the Reformation. For instance, in 1565, he went, Saul-like, in person to Leiden to haul Calvinists off to jail. It is of major political significance that Vosmeer dedicated the work to none other than the Chairman of Philip II's Privy Council and that he even praises him as its 'most vigilant president'. In his dedicatory poem, Vosmeer deplores the present political unrest, which he characterises as a civil war. Complaining about how 'the loyalty of those who are not content with any leader at all has evaporated', he expresses the hope that better times may come again. Remarkably, the political intent of Vosmeer's work has recently been misunderstood.[8]

Given his politics, it will not be surprising that Vosmeer acknowledges Philip as Count of Holland and actual political authority in the province. Philip is presented as the thirty-sixth legitimate count [Fig. 10.3]. In his dedicatory poem, Vosmeer emphasises the legitimacy and continuity of Philip's reign. In the associated epigram, Philip is made to say of himself: 'Now I, Philip, in a line of direct descent, hold this sceptre, passed on by countless forefathers [...]'.[9] In addition, Philip is fêted as the great victor over the Turks.[10] This is an allusion to the glorious sea-battle of Lepanto (1571), whose commander had been Philip's half-brother, Don Juan of Austria. Philips is presented glorying in his role as saviour of European Christendom. The engraved image contains both Philip's impressive coat of arms and the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, in minute detail, so that none can doubt his legitimacy.

8 A curious interpretation of Vosmeer and Galle's series is that of Miriam Volmert (Volmert M., *Grenzzeichen und Erinnerungsräume. Holländische Identität in Landschaftsbildern des 15.–17. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin – New York: 2013] 75): she asserts that the publication was intended to express the rebels' new political stance; in place of the old counts, it was now the Seven United Provinces which were claiming the right to rule in defiance of the sovereign Philip II. It will be evident that this cannot be a correct understanding, even discounting what Vosmeer himself says. After all, the book was dedicated to none other than the chairman of Philip's privy council and was published at Antwerp 'with royal privilege' ('cum privilegio regis') – i.e. by permission of Philip II himself. A book supportive of the rebels would never have obtained such publishing privileges. Volmert erroneously supposes that the lion coat of arms was new and was intended to represent the new-born state of Holland. In fact, the lion is nothing more than the old heraldic symbol of the Counts of Holland.

9 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 78: 'Haec ego (continua veniens de stirpite) Philippus / Sceptra gero, innumeris tradita nuper avis'.

10 Ibidem: 'Auspice me [...] / Turcorum [...] phanlanx funditus acta ruit'.



FIGURE 10.3 Philip II of Spain as the 36th Count of Holland. Engraving by Philip Galle, taken from: Michiel Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578) 79
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The formal presentation and layout of the printed series was intended to portray the counts as imposingly as possible. This was one of the reasons why the format chosen for these portraits was the most solemn of all: the state portrait, presenting the full body, in Early Modern times usually the preserve of princes. Each of the 36 portraits takes up a whole page (the right-hand page) and depicts the whole body of the count in question, who is presented standing and posing in full armour. The left-hand page in each case contains Vosmeer's associated poem, a Latin epigram recounting the count's key genealogical details and feats.

2 Vosmeer's Counts of Holland as Trojans

Even the first portrait in the series is so conceived as to depict the Counts of Holland with maximum legitimacy. We find 'Dirk of Aquitania' ('Theodoricus Aquitaniae') presented as the first Count of Holland [Fig. 10.4], whom Vosmeer specifies as 'the younger son of the Duke of Aquitania, Sigisbertus'.[11] The accompanying poem for his portrait informs us that this Dirk is counted among 'the Trojan forebears'.[12] This Dirk is thus no indigenous nobleman (as the historical Dirk and his real father, Gerulf, actually were),[13] but an exotic foreigner from distant Aquitania (in south-western France), with Trojan blood coursing through his veins. In line with this approach, Galle's portrait depicts Dirk as a Trojan prince, in the way oriental rulers were imagined: wearing as headgear a fantastical turban adorned with a bunch of feathers, and shrouded in a long royal robe lined with ermine fur. His shield depicts the lion: the shared heraldic symbol of both the Counts of Holland and the Troyan royal family. Several counts in the series are similarly depicted, such as William I [Fig. 10.5].

Vosmeer embroiders the Trojan origin of the counts in his introductory poem to the reader:[14] we are told that Dirk's father was one Sigisbertus, a scion of the royal house 'with the lily' (an allusion to the French royal family).[15] According to the legend as related, the founder of the Merovingian dynasty,

11 Ibidem, fol. A2r: 'Didericus Aquitaniae, Sigiberti ducis Aquitaniae filius minor'.

12 Ibidem, p. 8: 'Trojae dinumerandus avis'.

13 For Dirk I and his father Gerulf cf. de Boer – Cordfunke, *Graven van Holland* 13–17. Dirk I was regarded as the first Count of Holland even as early as in the chronicle of Melis Stoke. De Boer – Cordfunke (14) emphasise that, according to the documents, the first Count of Holland was actually a certain 'Gerulf' who is mentioned in a document of 889 (kept at Egmond Abbey). In this view, Dirk was the second Count of Holland.

14 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 5–6.

15 Ibidem, p. 6: '[…] genus alto a sanguine regum, / Patre Sigisberto […]'.



FIGURE 10.4 Dirk I ("Theodoricus [ab] Aquitania"), the First Count of Holland. Engraving by Philip Galle, taken from: Michiel Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578) 3
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 10.5 William I, the 16th Count of Holland. Engraving by Philip Galle, taken from: Michiel Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578) 35
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Clovis I, received his lily crest from heaven at the hands of an angel, subsequent to his having obtained his greatest victory following his christening (496). Both Clovis and his Merovingians and the Carolingian dynasty traced their lineages back to Hector of Troy, Priam's son. In the poem, Dirk is accorded 'the lilies', thereby associating him with just about the most ancient forefathers that anyone could imagine, namely the Trojan princes. Nevertheless, Dirk's coat of arms is actually older and more original than that of Merovingians, the first French kingly line: rather than the lilies, he bears the lion in his coat of arms, reputedly the heraldic symbol of the Trojan royal family. 'Theodoricus of Aquitania', the founder of Holland, echoes Aeneas of Troy, the founder of Rome (through Alba Longa), and Antenor of Troy, supposedly the founder of Padua. Vosmeer's verses refer to the discourse of the heroic poem (*epos*), and particularly to Virgil's *Aeneid*. The transfer of power to Dirk I is presented as a 'decision of the gods' ('Sic placitum superis').[16] This is a quotation from the *Aeneid*, taken from Jupiter's speech in which the chief god predicts that Aeneas will ultimately found the Roman Empire, the realm of 'the toga-wearing people, the lords of the world'.[17] The Trojan origin of Dirk I of Holland is thus portrayed as a parallel to the genealogical ambitions of the Habsburgs, who claimed to trace their own descent from the Trojans and indeed from Aeneas himself.

On top of this, Vosmeer inflates Dirk's I impressive-enough noble ancestry by adding that his consort was also of Trojan origin: one 'Gena' or 'Gunna', daughter of Pepin Carloman or Pepin of Italy (also Pippin Carloman or Peppino, 773–810), the second son of Charlemagne, who was made King of Italy at the age of only eight years (r. 781–810) when his father conquered the Lombards (810).[18] Because the Carolingians likewise traced their family tree back to King Priam of Troy, a marriage with a granddaughter of Charlemagne meant yet another injection of Trojan blood into the counts' veins. Vosmeer was not the inventor of this fraudulent implant in the family tree, but he nevertheless took it over without a critical note. In reality, Pepin of Italy had five daughters born to him between 798 and 809, Adelheid (Adelaida), Atala (Adele), Gundrada, Bertha, and Theodrada (Tetrada). Atala (Adele), Gundrada, and Bertha all died in childhood, namely before Charlemagne's death in 814. Pepin's eldest daughter Adelheid (b. 798 [or 799], d. ca. 825), married Lambert I Count of

16 Ibidem: 'Sic placitum superis, sic magnus Rector Olympi / Annuit' – 'So it was decided by the gods, so it was ratified by the great ruler of the Olympus'.

17 Virgil, *Aeneid* I, 282–283.

18 Cf. the marginal note added by Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 8: 'Uxor Theodorici Gena, seu Gunna, filia Pippini minoris, regis Italiae' – 'The consort of Dirk [was] Gena or Gunna, a daughter of Pepin the Younger, the King of Italy'. In Vosmeer's poem, line 8: 'uxor regia Gena fuit' – 'his wife was Gena the decendant of a king'.

Nantes (d. 836), and died before her husband (ca. 825); Pepin's younger daughter Theotrada married Lambert II Count of Nantes (d. 851), and died in 939. She bore the him three children, among them Lambert, later the III Count of Nantes. Thus, there was no daughter of Pepin of Italy Dirk I could have married. It is clear in itself that this genealogical construction must be mere fake, no matter whether one departs from the wrong early date of Dirk's I reign (863), as Vosmeer does, or from the historical date confirmed by documents (922).[19]

Equally woundrous is Vosmeer's claim that Dirk's father was one 'Sigisbertus' (Sigibert or Siegbert), 'Duke of Aquitania'.[20] The origins of this supposed Sigisbert are a mystery. For the period in which Dirk I was supposed to have taken control over Holland (863) the list of Dukes of Aquitania features no-one of the name Sigisbert or Siegbert. But in Merovingian times there had been three kings of Austrasia with that name: Siegbert I (r. 561–575), the fifth son of king Chlothar I (d. 561); Siegbert II (b. 602, d. 613) an illegitimate son of Theuderic II who for a short period in 613 became king of Austrasia (as an infant); and finally Siegbert III (634–ca. 660), a son of Dagobert I. However, none of these Merovingian Siegberts can possibly have been Dirk's father. Siegbert II died aged eleven, without issue. Neither Siegbert I nor Siegbert III had a son called Dirk (or Theodoricus).[21] None of the three chronologically fits the year given by Vosmeer as the accession of Dirk I to the County of Holland, 863. There are fully three centuries between Siegbert I's reign and the year 863!

19 Cf. de Boer – Cordfunke, *Graven van Holland* 13.

20 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, fol. A2r: 'Didericus Aquitaniae, Sigiberti ducis Aquitaniae filius minor'. For the origins of the connection with Aquitania, see: Anrooij W. van, "Aquitanië en de herkomst van de Hollandse graven, een 14de-eeuwse traditie", in Boer D.E.H. de – Cordfunke E.H.P. – Hugenholtz F.W.N. (eds.), *Holland in wording. De ontstaansgeschiedenis van het graafschap Holland tot het begin van de vijftiende eeuw*, Muiderberg symposia 5 (Hilversum: 1991) 125–142: Peeters J., "Die internationalen Beziehungen des ersten Grafen von Holland. Sagenhafte Elemente in der niederländischen Geschichtsschreibung des Mittelalters", in Gemert G. van – Ester H. (eds.), *Grenzgänge. Literatur und Kultur im Kontext* […] (Amsterdam: 1990) 3–32, and recently, Keesman W., *De eindeloze stad. Troje en Trojaanse oorsprongsmythen in (laat)middeleeuwse en vroegmoderne Nederlanden* (Hilversum: 2017), esp. 543–550, and 555–557. According to Keesman, the genealogical construction of the Trojan origins of the Counts of Holland did not yet exist in the 14th and in the early 15th century (cf. ibidem 543); she traces them back to chronicles that were composed in the second half of the 15th century, for example to Jan Gerbrandzoon van Leiden's Brederode chronical or Dirk Frankenzoon Pauw's chronical (esp. 544–545). For the historical genealogy: Dek A.W.E., *Genealogie der graven van Holland* (Zaltbommel: 1969).

21 Siegbert I had a son called Childebert who also became king of Austrasia (570–595).

If one departs from the historically documented date of Dirk's accession, 922, the genealogical construction becomes even more wondrous.[22]

The Counts of Holland were simply implanted into the family tree of the Dukes of Aquitania for felicitous effect. Vosmeer did not invent the fake, but he was following a tradition, which was among the 15th century chroniclers such as Jan van Leiden very popular,[23] and he was not particularly accurate or critical with his historical sources either. He was largely concerned with magnifying the Counts of Holland by claiming a descent that was as much time-honoured, and hence as impressive, as possible.

Arnout I (or Arnulf I), the third Count of Holland, brought according to Vosmeer an additional injection of Trojan blood into the counts' veins. In the poem we are told that Arnout I was married to one 'Lutcharis', the daughter of a 'Trojan emperor' ('Dardanus induperator').[24] The Latin noun *induperator* is an archaic form of *imperator*, the title from the 1st century BC on used to denote the Roman emperors. This Trojan princess is said to have born Arnout children including a son 'Zyphridus', who went on, we are told, to found the lineage of the Brederodes.[25] *Dardanius* is a synonym for *Troianus* much used

22 Keesman, *De eindeloze stad* 544, gives the puzzling information that Dirk I, Count of Holland, was an offspring of the 'Merovingian Chilperik, hertog of Aquitanië en broer van koning Dagobert II [...]. Chilperiks nakomelingen, de laatsten uit het Trojaanse koningshuis en de eigenlijke rechthebbers op de troon, bleven na Pippins opvolging heersen in Aquitanië'. However, Dagobert's II brother was not a 'Chilperik' (or Chilperic), but Childebert (i.e. Childebert the Adopted) who was 656–657 (or 662) king of Austrasia (Aquitania being the most important part of Austrasia). Moreover, Chilperich was surely not a Merovingian, but a Karolingian (Pippinide), being the true son of the Frankian Hausmeier Grimoald (ca. 615–657 or 662). Childebert the Adopted was killed very soon by Clovis II. Childebert cannot possibly have been a forbear of Dirk I, because he died without offspring. The same goes for another Chilperic, who only very briefly (in the year 632) occupied the throne of Aquitania, as infant child of Charibert II, Duke of Aquitania who died at the young age of 18. This Chilperic was killed shortly after he came to power by orders of king Dagobert I. He was a Merovingian, but not the brother of a 'king Dagobert II'.

23 Cf. Anrooij, "Aquitanië en de herkomst van de Hollandse graven"; Keesman, *De eindeloze stad* esp. 543–545. Keesman says that Dirk Pauw's chronical is the oldest known source of the Trojan origin of the Counts of Holland (ibidem 545, note 220); according to van Anrooij the myth existed already in the 14th century. De Boer – Cordfunke, *Graven van Holland* 13, call the Trojan anchestry of the Counts in the 15th century a 'successtory'.

24 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 12: 'Sic Arnoldus eram, quem *Dardanus induperator* / Lutcharidis natae praetulit esse virum' – 'Such was I, Arnout, whom the Trojan emperor chose as husband for his daughter Lutcharis' (emphasis mine).

25 For the genealogical construction supposedly tracing the Brederodes back to Arnout I, cf. Lulofs M., "Die van Brero heeft men eens gezien. De 'Brederode-kroniek' van Jan van Leyden", in Ebels-Hoving B. – Santing C.G. – Tilmans C.P.H.M. (eds.), *Genoechelijcke ende*

by Virgil in his *Aeneid*, referring to Dardanus the founder of Troy.[26] Frequently, the Roman poet called the Trojans *Dardanidae*[27] or *Dardanii*, Troja *Dardania*, and the military leader of the Trojans (i.e., Aeneas), *Dardanus*.[28] *Dardanus* as an adjectivum is more rare, but it nevertheless occurs, e.g., in the phrase 'Dardana pubes'.[29] Vosmeer is, however, transferring this adjective to the later inhabitants of the Dardanelles, i.e., to the Byzantines. From a marginal commentary note it becomes clear that he identifies the 'Dardanus induperator' with the Byzantine Emperor: 'Lutcharis, daughter of Theophanes, the emperor of Byzantia, was given in marriage to Arnout. The Brederodes descend from Zyphridus'.[30]

These assertions are remarkable. There was never a Byzantine emperor named Theophanes, just as history knows of no Byzantine princess called Lutcharis. These are historical fantasies, consciously created – and perhaps also arising from a kind of "creative error": although there was no Byzantine emperor with the name 'Theophanes', there were Byzantine princesses and empresses named Theophanou (also 'Theophano') such as Theophanou of Athens (d. after 811), the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Nikephorus I and the wife of Emperor Stauriakos (after 778–812), Theophanou (d. 893), the consort of Byzantine Emperor Leo the Wise (866–912), Theophanou of Sparta (941–978), the wife of the Emperors Romanos II and Nikephoros II Phokas, and especially Theophanou (ca. 959/60–991), the niece (or granddaughter) of the Byzantine Emperor Johannes Tzimiskes (b. 925; r. 969–976), who was given in marriage to Otto II in 972, and who was crowned together with Otto Holy Roman Emperor and Empress in 980. This Theophanou was an important figure: after Otto II died unexpectedly in 983 (from malaria) she actually ruled the Holy Roman Empire from 983 to 994 as regent for her immature son Otto (later Otto III).[31] Because Vosmeer does not mention the name 'Theophanes' in the

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lustige historiën. Laatmiddeleeuwse geschiedschrijving in Nederland (Hilversum: 1987) 79–99.

26 Cf. e.g. *Aeneis* II, 618; IV, 662; V, 119; VI, 57; VII, 219; XI, 287. For *Dardanius* cf. e.g. *Aeneis* I, 494; 602; 617; II, 582; III, 596; IV, 163; 224; 626; 640; 647; 658; V, 30; 711; VI, 169; X, 92; X, 133; X, 603 etc. *Dardanus* the founder of Troy is mentioned e.g. in *Aeneis* III, 167; III, 503; IV, 365; VI, 650.

27 Cf. ibidem I, 560; II, 59; 72; 242; 445 etc.

28 Cf. ibidem, e.g. IV, 662; XI, 287.

29 Cf. ibidem, II, 618 'Dardana arma'; IV, 662 'Dardana pubes'; V, 119 'Dardana tela'; XI, 287 'Dardana pubes'.

30 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 12: 'Lutcharis, Theophanis Byzantiae Imperatoris filia, Arnoldo nupsit'.

31 For Theophanou cf. Davids A. (ed.), *The Empress Theophanu. Byzantium and the West at the turn of the first millennium* (Cambridge U.P.: 1995); Wolf G. (ed.), *Kaiserin Theophanu.*

poem, but only in an explanatory commentary note, he was probably not the inventor of this family tree construction, but used an already exisiting tradition to which he refers in his comment. And indeed, he could build on such a tradition, as we will see.[32] In this tradition, the father of Arnout's wife was called 'Theophanus', which is the Latin form of a (supposed and construed) Greek name 'Theophanos'. 'Theophanou' could have been regarded as a patronymic form (father's name), and it may well be that the familiy tree construction was ultimatively build on a grammatical derivation: if there is a daughter called 'Theophanou', there must have been a father with that name. If the daughter was an Empress, why could not her father have been an Emperor as well?

However, it is fair to notice that Vosmeer actually does not mention an/the Empress Theophanou. He confines himself to the construed emperor's name. Nevertheless, in the way in which Vosmeer rendered his name he proofs to be a philologist. In his source Vosmeer found the name as 'Theophanus', obviously the Latin form for the Greek 'Theophanos'. Unfortunately, 'Theophanos' was not a current Greek name, and Vosmeer was obviously aware of that fact. The correct masculin form is 'Theophanes'. In Byzantine history and literature, this name occurs quite frequently, and there are numerous examples of well-known bearers of it, e.g. the historiographer Theophanes of Byzantium (6th century), the monk and chronicler Theophanes the Confessor (ca. 758–ca. 817), the monk and hymnographer Theophanes the Branded (775–845), Theophanes the chief minister of Emperor Romanos Lekapenos (10th century), Theophanes Nonnus, a Byzantine physician who authored a medical compendium dedicated to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (10th century), etc. Thus, Vosmeer corrected the grammatical form of the name of the Byzantine Emperor that actually did not exist, into Theophanes.

The name 'Lutcharis' likewise seems to be based on a grammatical construction made up by Vosmeer, representing a combination of the Dutch word *lout* ('pure') and the Greek word χάρις ('womanly attractiveness, charm'), thus meaning 'pure charm'. This philological construction possibly reflects the real name of Arnout's wife, Liutgarde or Luijtgaert.[33] Lutgardis or Liutgarde, however, was not the daughter of a Byzantine Emperor, but of Siegfried of Luxembourg, Count of the Ardennes and Luxembourg (ca. 922–998), the founder of the castle of 'Lucilinburhuc' (Luxembourg), and his wife Hedwig of

Prinzessin aus der Fremde – des Westreichs große Kaiserin (Cologne: 1991); von Euw A. – Schreiner P. (eds.), *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin* (Cologne: 1991), 2 vols.

32 See below, the next section.

33 For Lutgardis see de Boer – Cordfunke, *Graven van Holland* 23–24.

Nordgau. Lutgardis was born in 955 and grew up in the castle 'Lucilinburhuc'. Her sisters were Cunigunda, Eva, and Ermentruda, her brothers Henry (later Henry I Luxembourg), Siegfried, Dietrich II (later bishop of Metz), Adalberon, and Gislebert. After Arnout's death, she ruled Holland during the minority of her son Dirk (993–1005).

Fanciful philology seems, too, to be responsible for the fantastic name of Lutgardis's second son, 'Zyphridus',[34] which is obviously intended to suggest Greek origin. 'Zyphridus', which is of course not an attested Greek word, is vaguely redolent of 'Zephyros', the Greek name for the west wind. However, this 'Zyphridus' actually covers the standard Germanic 'Siegfried' (or Sicco), the real name of Lutgardis' and Arnout's younger son (985–1030). It could be that Vosmeer was inspired for the construction of this fantasy name by the captions of the Haarlem panels, too. There, his name was given as 'Sijvert',[35] or, in the edition of 1516/ 1518, as 'Zyevert',[36] which is, however, an equivalent of 'Sievert' or 'Siegwart', but not of 'Siegfried'. But that remains speculative. Anyway, Vosmeer was inclined to come up with fanciful philological constructions. Probably he was the one who invented the Greek-sounding names 'Zyphridus' and 'Lutcharis', and who "corrected" the name of the supposed father of Lutcharis, 'Theophanus', into 'Theophanes'; and it was certainly Vosmeer who transformed the Byzantine emperor into an epic 'Trojan' ('Dardanus') of Virgilian dimensions, thus adding to his pedigree by substituting Trojan for Hellenic blood. This is not so in his source, the Haarlem series of counts' portraits; there, he is properly referred to as 'the emperor of the Greeks'.[37]

3 From Habsburg Propaganda to Identity Formation of Holland's Cities and Families: The Haarlem Panels

There was another way in which Vosmeer and Galle's pro-Habsburg portrait series was connected to the Habsburgs' political agenda: it harked back to the portrait series of the Counts of Holland that was rediscovered at Haarlem in 1573 in the Carmelite monastery. This series was painted on large wooden panels between 1486 and 1491. Each portrait is accompanied by a caption in Dutch

34 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 12: 'Didericum prius, hinc Zyphridum sustulit uxor'.

35 Cf. the edition in van Anrooij (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten*, "Bijlage" II, p. 125, line 73.

36 Cf. ibidem, "Bijlage III", p. 166, line 73.

37 Cf. ibidem, "Bijlage II", p. 125, lines 68–69.

verse by an anonymous poet.[38] The series was financed by the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I, who probably had a propagandistic aim in mind. Whatever its particular intent, this portrait series must certainly have been meant as a tribute to the Habsburgs and a sign of loyalty to Maximilian, to whom the final portrait of the series was dedicated.[39]

That Vosmeer and Galle's series recapitulates the Haarlem portraits of the Counts is immediately apparent even from the title page [cf. Fig. 10.2], where we read that the paintings were recently rediscovered 'on very old walls' by the glass painter Willem Thybaut (ca. 1524–1597 or 1599)[40] when serious damage was incurred to the Carmelite monastery during the 1573 Siege of Haarlem. The wording that the paintings were discovered 'on very old walls' suggests that they were mediaeval in origin, from earlier than 1300 at least. This assertion was intended to boost the prestige of the paintings – and thus also of the reproductions. We also read on the title page that the old paintings were copied faithfully and that Galle painstakingly transferred Thybaut's drawings into engravings.

It is, incidentally, not true that Galle carefully reproduced Thybaut's drawings; it would be fairer to say that he was highly creative and free-spirited with the material. For instance, the print of Dirk I is – aside from the long sword and the coat of arms – not a faithful likeness at all of the painting of Dirk [Figs. 10.4, 10.6 and 10.7]. In the painting, Count Dirk I is an aged man with a long white beard [Fig. 10.7]: in Galle's print, he is a young and beardless man [Fig. 10.4]. Dirk II in the painted version has a long dark beard and wears a fantastical headdress of bright colours [Fig. 10.6]; in Galle's print, we see no beard but we do see a knight's helmet with open vizier [Fig. 10.6]. Similar observations can be made with respect to almost all of Galle's engraved portraits: they differ from their painted precursors in bodily attitude, age, attire, facial expression and hairstyle. The series was primarily concerned with establishing the counts' legitimacy; a legitimacy which depended neither on accuracy of representation of individual facial characteristics (most of which were of course entirely unknown to posterity anyway) nor on faithful copying of the Haarlem portraits. What was considered vital, however, was that the portraits be 'true

38 For the series, see van Anrooij (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten*; for the dating, see 16–18.

39 Falkenburg R., "Politiek en propaganda omstreeks 1490", in van Anrooij (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten* 69–72, here 71.

40 Cf. Winter J.M. van, "Willem Thybaut en de Hollandse gravenportretten", *Spieghel historiael* 6 (1971) 614–623; Ruyven-Zeman Z. van, "Willem Thybaut", in Luijten G. – Suchtelen A. van – Baarsen R. *et alii* (eds.), *The Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish Art 1580–1620* (Zwolle: 1993) 493–500 [exhibition catalogue, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam].



FIGURE 10.6 Dirk II, the Second Count of Holland. Engraving by Philip Galle, taken from: Michiel Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae, domini Frisiae* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1578) 5
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 10.7 Dirk I (Diederick I) and Dirk II (Diederick II), the First and Second Counts of Holland. Haarlem, Town Hall, *Gravenzaal*, second painted panel in the series *Counts of Holland* (ca. 1486–1491). Oil on panel
IMAGE © NOORD-HOLLANDS ARCHIEF, HAARLEM

to life' (*ad vivum*), but this was a term interpreted freely and in varied ways in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With respect to Galle's engravings, *ad vivum* did not mean much more than that the portraits resembled real human beings.

In the Haarlem painting cycle, the anonymous writer reveals the origins of the Counts of Holland in Dutch poems, placing the historical narrative in the mouth of a herald (depicted on the first panel) [Fig. 10.8]. The account bears similarities with Vosmeer's version, although there are also a number of discrepancies. In the herald's account, 'Aquitania brought forth a youngest son, to whom he (his name was Charles the Bald) gave Holland in perpetuity'.[41] The unnamed Duke of Aquitania lived under the reign of Pepin the Short, King of the Franks (r. 751–768), founder of the Carolingian dynasty and father of Charlemagne.[42] This Duke of Aquitania, as the account wants to have it, was himself a scion of the Carolingian family and had the right to use the house's crest, the one bearing the lilies (or fleurs-de-lys). However, we are told, Pepin was determined to monopolise power, so he denied all other branches of the family the right to use the lily crest. According to the account, the (unnamed) Duke of Aquitania, complied and immediately substituted the old crest of Troy, the lion, for the lily emblem:

> Van Aquijtanijen die hertoch en dorst hem niet reuen,
> Al was hij ghecommen van sconijncx stam.
> Hij liet de lelijen ter selver euren
> Ende dit wapen van Troijen hij wedernam.[43]
>
> The Duke of Aquitania dared not defy this, / Although he descended from the royal lineage. / He immediately abandoned the lilies / And took up this crest of Troy again.

It was then, we are told, the youngest son of this Duke of Aquitania, Dirk, who migrated to Holland and brought the heraldic symbol of Troy with him:

> Een leeuw van keel te voeren plaghen [cf. Fig. 10.9A]
> Int velt van ghulden, Trojaens gheslacht.

41 Cf. the edition in van Anrooij (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten*, section "Aquitanië en de herkomst" 119 and 121.

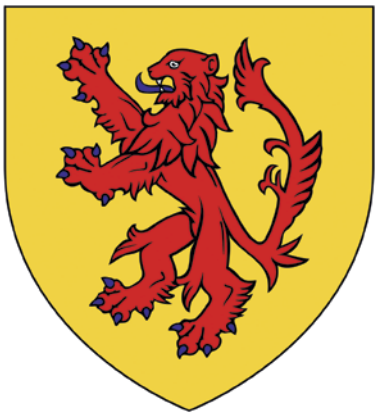
42 Ibidem 119.

43 Ibidem.



FIGURE 10.8 Herald narrating the origins of the Counts of Holland. Haarlem Town hall, *Gravenzaal*, first painted panel in the series *Counts of Holland* (ca. 1486–1491). Oil on panel

IMAGE © NOORD-HOLLANDS ARCHIEF, HAARLEM



FIGURES 10.9A Coat of arms of the Counts of Holland: red lion on yellow field

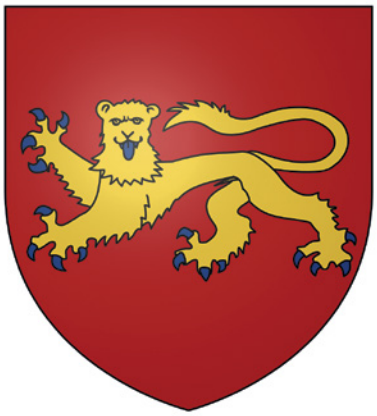


FIGURE 10.9B Coat of arms of Aquitania (from 1259 onwards): yellow lion on red field

> Dus heeft dese Dijderick, hoort mijn ghewaghen,
> Met hem dit wapen in Hollant ghebracht.
>
> A red lion on a field of gold [cf. Fig. 10.9A] / The Trojan race used to bear as its arms. / So this Dirk, attend to my account, / Took these arms with him to Holland.

The background to this story is that the Dukes of Aquitania bore a lion in their coat of arms, as did the renowned Trojans of old [Fig. 10.9B]. It was thus presumed that the house itself must hail from Troy. In a marked difference from Vosmeer, the writer of the captions to the Haarlem portraits does not give the name of the 'Duke of Aquitania'. The name Dirk he does give to the Duke's son, but nevertheless he deliberately refuses to call Dirk Duke of Aquatania. Might he have feared that historical imagination would come to be seen as historical fraud?

It is indeed the case that historical and chronological problems – far from trivial ones – lurk behind this family tree construction. For one thing, in Pepin the Younger's reign (751–768), the throne of the Duchy of Aquitania was occupied not by a 'relative', but by a certain Waifar. This Waifar, who as it happens had not a drop of Trojan blood (not even suspected) in his veins, was not the kind of man to accede to the king's authority as the imaginary relative of Pepin is said to have done. Quite the contrary: Waifar waged furious warfare against Pepin the Younger for seven years, costing him his duchy and his life. Another

problem with the claim is that Pepin the Younger's regnal dates do not remotely match the year (858) to which the Haarlem portrait series dates the gift of Holland.[44] There is around a hundred years' difference. Pepin the Younger can in no way have been a contemporary of Dirk's father or Dirk himself.

Yet another issue is that in the Carolingian era, there was no duke or any other ruler of Aquitania who bore a lion in his crest. This heraldic design reached Aquitania only as late as 1259, when the Treaty of Paris awarded Henry III of England (1207–1272, r. from 1216 onwards) a subdivision of the old Duchy of Aquitania (namely the coastal regions of Saintonge and Gascony), which from then on became known as Guyenne. Moreover, the animal on the crest of this new Guyenne is the English lion, not the Trojan and not the one of the counts of Holland [Figs. 10.9A and B].

While the author of the poems accompanying the Haarlem series clearly claims Aquitanian and Trojan origins for the Counts of Holland, he mostly did not think this up himself. The stories of the Trojan origins of the Counts had already cropped up in the fourteenth century.[45] The writer of the Haarlem captions was generally following genealogical constructions which he encountered in his sources. He was doing so, too, in his claim that Dirk I was married to the daughter of Pepin King of Italy (781–810), son of Charlemagne, a daughter whom he calls not 'Gena', but 'Geva':

> Hij [Dirk I] had een wijf seer rijk van have,
> Geva ghenaemd, en was, soo ick bevroeden can,
> Pippijns conijnck van Italijen dochter, daer hij aan wan
> Dander Diederijck, een jongen van seden reene.[46]
>
> He [Dirk I] dad a very wealthy wife,
> Named Geva, who was – as far as I can see [or: judge]
> Daughter of Pepin, King of Italy; from her he took
> Dirk II, a virtuous boy.

Here the phrase 'soo ick bevroeden can' – 'as far as I can see [or: judge]' indicates that the author of the Haarlem captions was a bit sceptical about this genealogical link with the Carolingians he found in the chronicles, and, via

44 Ibidem, 123: 'tjaer VIIIc LVIII beghan / Sijn regijment [...]' – 'His reign began in the year 858 [...]'.

45 van Anrooij, "Aquitanië en de herkomst". Cf. the discussion above.

46 Cf. the edition in van Anrooij, *De Haarlemse gravenportretten* 123, "Dierderick I", lines 44–47.

them, about the Counts' affiliation with the Trojans of old. However, he was not aware of the fact that Pepin of Italy had no daughter with the name 'Geva' (or with a similar name), and, actually, no daughter at all Dirk I could have married.[47] In the end, the author of the Haarlem captions transmitted the genealogical implant without any specific historical criticism.[48]

The same is true for the pedigree of Arnout's consort, who was supposed to be the daughter of a Byzantine emperor. In the account of the author of the Haarlem captions the genealogical construction and its origin, i.e., the connection with Theophanou, Holy Roman Empress, become even more evident. The author plainly says that 'Luijtgaert' was not only the daughter of the Greek Emperor 'Theophanus', but also the *sister of Theophanou*, 'the famous Holy Roman Empress':

> Aernout, Diedericx soone, regeerde daer na
> En had een vrouwe geheeten Luijtgaert.
> Theophanus, de keijser van de Griecken, soo ik versta,
> Was haer vader, en die Roomsche keijserinne vermaert
> Haer suster.[49]

> Arnout, son of Dirk, reigned thereafter,
> And had a consort called Luijtgaert.
> Her father was, as far as I see, Theophanus,
> And the famous Holy Roman Empress [i.e. Theophanou] was her sister.

Now it also becomes clear that the genealogical construction had two goals: first to link the Counts of Holland with the Byzantine emperors, second with the Ottonian dynasty, the family of the Holy Roman Emperors; of course both links added very much to the splendour of the Counts' nobility. Interestingly, there

47 Cf. the discussion in the previous section.

48 The author of the Haarlem captions was not aware of the tradition that Dirk II was married with Hildegarde, who is regarded a daughter of Count Arnulf I of Flanders. If Hildegarde was indeed the daughter of Arnulf of Flanders (and not his wife), she could boast of a descent from Charlemagne. Because the the Carolingians traced their family tree back to King Priam of Troy, this would mean that, via Hildegarde, another line of Trojan blood would be added to the genealogy of the Counts of Holland. De Boer – Cordfunke, *Graven van Holland* 23, plainly state that 'Graaf Arnulf […] via zijn moeder stamde hij […] af van de Karolingen'.

49 Cf. the edition in van Anrooij, *De Haarlemse gravenportretten* 125, "Aernout I", lines 66–70. The French version of 1516/ 1518 renders 'Lutgaert's' pedigree in this way: 'Lutgaert […], / La fille Teophanus [sic], empereur de Grece, tant renomme, / Et lemperesse de Romme tant louable fut sa soeur' (ibidem, "Bijlage III", p. 167, lines 71–72).

were indeed close connections between Emperor Otto II, and Theophanou, and the counts: Arnout was among the cortege of twelf noblemen chosen to accompany the couple to Rome in 980, for their coronation as Holy Roman Emperor and Empress [Fig. 10.10]; in the same year Otto II honoured Arnout through attending his wedding with Lutgardis, and especially through acting as his best man.[50] The close ties between the Counts of Holland and the Ottonian dynasty of the Holy Roman Empire remained alive even after Arnout's sudden death in 993: his widow Lutgardis (d. After 1005) received military and political support first by Emperor Otto III and Theophanou (983–1002), and thereafter by Otto III's son Henry II (973–1024,), who became Lutgardis' brother-in-law via her sister Cunigunde of Luxembourg (ca. 975–1040). Henry married Cunigunde in 1002 when he was coronated Roman King of the Germans (*Rex Germanorum*) and his consort 'Queen of the Germans'. As Theophanou, Cunigunde of Luxembourg became regent of the Holy Roman Empire, after her husband's death in 1024.



FIGURE 10.10
The coronation of Otto II and Theophanu as Holy Roman Emperor and Empress (982). Ivory panel, 18.5 × 10.6 cm. Musée de Cluny, Paris
IMAGE © MUSÉE DE CLUNY, PARIS

50 Cf. de Boer – Cordfunke, *Graven van Holland* 23.

Here again, the author of the Haarlem captions displays a kind of cautious attitude (it appears from the words 'soo ick versta' – 'as far as I see),[51] but nevertheless transmits the fantastical genealogical construction he had found in the chronicles. Evidently, he was himself not quite convinced, but on the other hand, he had apparently not the historical knowledge which would have been necessary to reject the claim. He was not aware of the fact that in reality there had never existed a Byzantine emperor with the name 'Theophanus', that the real father of Theophanou was not emperor 'Theophanus' or another Greek emperor, but general Konstantinos Skleros, brother-in-law of Emperor Johannes Tzimiskes I (Skleros' sister Maria had been the first wife of Johannes Tzimiskes), and that Arnulf's wife was not the sister of Theophanou, but the daughter of count Siegfried of Luxembourg, and sister of Cunigunde.

Although the Haarlem panels painted around 1490 were probably intended as a piece of pro-Habsburg propaganda, it must be borne in mind that their propagandistic effect remained limited to those who visited the Haarlem Carmelite monastery and saw them there. As the sixteenth century progressed, however, more potent media became available to carry these propagandistic aims out into society: primarily, printed images such as woodcuts, engravings and etchings. Printed imagery obviously had a much amplified propaganda effect compared with paintings. Prints could be disseminated in large print runs, reaching a much wider public. Printed portraits could end up anywhere in the Low Countries and even beyond. The 1578 engravings made by Philip Galle were published by the renowned printer and bookseller Christopher Plantin, who had a network spanning Europe. Plantin ensured that the Counts of Holland were disseminated as best they could be. Galle's series was a huge success: his Counts of Holland were reprinted several times during the Dutch Revolt (with various authors' texts), in 1583, 1584 (the year of William the Silent's assassination) and 1586,[52] both in the Northern and the Southern Netherlands.[53]

The usefulness of publicly displaying portraits was something also grasped in sixteenth-century Haarlem: it was no coincidence that in the same year in which the Haarlem artist Galle engraved the portraits, the painted ones were transferred to a key public space: they were moved from the Carmelite

51 Ibidem 125.

52 The prints were used as illustrations for the book Galle Philip, *Les vies et alliances des comtes de Hollande et Zélande, signeurs de Frise*, published at Antwerp by Christopher Plantin (1583 and 1586); and in 1584, to illustrate Hadrianus Barlandus's Latin prose series on the Counts of Holland, *Hollandiae Comitum historia et icones* [...] (Christopher Plantin, Leiden: 1584).

53 The work was originally published under the title Barlandus Hadrianus, *De Hollandiae principibus* (Antwerp, Johannes Theobaldus: 1519). Cf. Haitsma Mulier E.O.G. – Lem G.A.C. van der (eds.), *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland* (The Hague: 1990) 21.



FIGURE 10.11 Haarlem Town Hall
IMAGE © NOORD-HOLLANDS ARCHIEF, HAARLEM



FIGURE 10.12 The Gravenzaal in the town hall of Haarlem
IMAGE © NOORD-HOLLANDS ARCHIEF, HAARLEM

monastery to the great reception hall of Haarlem Town hall [Fig. 10.11], which thereupon acquired the name *Gravenzaal* (Hall of Counts) [Fig. 10.12].[54] There, they served a different purpose than they had in the cloister: one more focused

54 Cf. Bueren T. van, "Van karmelietenklooster naar stadhuis", in Anrooij W. van (ed.), *De Haarlemse gravenportretten. Hollandse geschiedenis in woord en beeld* (Hilversum: 1997) 73–77.

upon Haarlem city council's political agenda. The city fathers were probably wanting to use the portraits of the counts to remind visitors of the city's privileges, which had been honoured by the Counts of Holland up to and including Emperor Charles V.[55] It is fairly certain, though, that there were more intentions besides: by putting the portraits on display, the city was seeking to boost its prestige as one of Holland's leading cities. Actually, Dordrecht had the honour of being Holland's oldest and most prestigious city, because it was said to have been founded by Count Dirk I, who had his residence there on the dike. Haarlem had been founded later (by Count William II) and held only second place chronologically. By publicly exhibiting a portrait gallery of the Counts of Holland in its 'city fortress', Haarlem was now giving itself out to be the hub of power in Holland and was profiling itself – at least in an ideal sense – as the counts' true home city.[56]

Other cities envied Haarlem's portraits of the counts. It is, then, no surprise that the painter who had discovered the portraits of the Counts of Holland and first copied them, Willem Thybaut,[57] was commissioned by other cities in the Province of Holland. In 1587–1588, he was working on stained-glass windows in grisaille with of the Counts of Holland for the militia hall (Schuttersdoelen) at Leiden [Fig. 10.13], of which twelve windows with the portraits of Counts survive (in Museum De Lakenhal at Leiden)[58] [Figs. 10.14 and 10.15], and furthermore 35 templates (cartoons) which are preserved now in the Municipal Archive at Leiden.[59] Interestingly, Thybaut depicted several of the Counts as fancifully oriental, i.e. Trojan, princes with a turban adorned with a bunch of feathers, e.g. Count William I [Fig. 10.15]. Of course, this was an important ideological statement that the Counts of Holland had been chosen as historical figures to adorn the Schuttersdoelen: they were supposed to serve as examples of virtue for the members of the militia of Leiden and, thus, for the defenders of the Dutch Revolt. For the same reasons, between 1580 and approximately 1650, public spaces in the cities of Holland were festooned with series of portraits of the Counts of Holland. Unfortunately, quite a number of them have been lost.

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55 Ibidem 73.

56 Volmert, *Grenzzeichen und Erinnerungsräume* 75. Incidentally, the conclusions that Volmert draws from the publication of the series by Vosmeer and Galle are wrong; see footnote 8.

57 Cf. van Winter, "Willem Thybaut en de Hollandse gravenportretten".

58 Museum De Lakenhal, inv. nos. 349–360.

59 Cf. Vogelaar C., "De gravenramen door Willem Thybaut", *Lakenhal nieuws* 1,9 (1996); Pelinck E., "De gravenramen van Willem Thybout en andere merkwaardigheden van de Leidse Doelens", *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken* 43 (1951) 85–91; Ruyven-Zeman Z. van, "Willem Thybaut" 493–500; de Jong, "Gravenportretten" 209, no. 13.



FIGURE 10.13 The militia hall (Schuttersdoelen) at Leiden. Engraving by Abraham Delfos, taken from: Frans van Mieris, *Beschrijving der stad Leijden*, 2 vols. (Leiden: 1770), vol. II, 408. The building was demolished in 1821
IMAGE © PRENTVERZAMELING GEMEENTELIJKE ARCHIEFDIENST LEIDEN

From 1578 onwards, series of portraits of the Counts also started finding their way into the castles of the Dutch nobility. For example, in 1585 Johan II van Duivenvoorde (1547–1610), Lord of Warmont, who in 1576 was appointed Admiral of the Lakes of Leiden and Haarlem and who was regarded as one of the most important military leaders of the Dutch Revolt,[60] commissioned Willem Thybaut to produce a series of paintings of the Counts of Holland for his castle of Warmont (nowadays *Huis te Warmond*) [Figs. 10.16 and 10.17]. There is no doubt that Johan II van Duivenvoorde did so to raise his prestige as a nobleman. He saw the Counts of Holland as his forefathers and as the guarantee of his family's high standing. If this was true of the van Duivenvoordes, it was no less true of other noble houses. In some cases, such as that of the Brederodes, there was additionally a claim to a direct genealogical link,[61] but in others, the issue was historical identity formation and prestige in a broader sense.

60 Cf. Steur A.G. van der, "Johan van Duvenvoirde en Woude (1547–1610), heer van Warmond, admiral van Holland", *Hollandse studiën* 8 (1975) 179–273.

61 Cf. also Beelaerts van Blokland W.A., "Stamreeksen in beeld. De graven van Holland en de heeren van Brederode door Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostzanen en Cornelis Anthonisz.", *De Nederlandse leeuw* 51 (1933) 202–207.



FIGURE 10.14 Willem Thybaut, *Dirk VI, Count of Holland* (1587). Stained-glass window made for the Schuttersdoelen of Leiden, 141 × 66 cm
IMAGE © MUSEUM DE LAKENHAL, LEIDEN



FIGURE 10.15 Willem Thybaut, *William I, Count of Holland* (1587). Stained-glass window made for the Schuttersdoelen of Leiden, 141 × 66 cm
IMAGE © MUSEUM DE LAKENHAL, LEIDEN



FIGURE 10.16 Roeland Roghman, The Castle of Warmond (ca. 1650). Drawing 31.2 × 47.6 cm. See also Fig. 12.5
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM



FIGURE 10.17
Johan II van Duivenvoorde (1547–1610), Lord of Warmond, at the age of thirty-two (1579). Engraving by Hendrik Goltzius
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM

4 The First Printed Series of Portraits

The value and impact of printed series of portraits gradually became apparent across Europe during the sixteenth century.[62] As the century wore on, and particularly in its latter half, the number of printed portrait series burgeoned. Some of the most highly influential of all were Heinrich Pantaleon's (1522–1595) series *Prosopographia heroum atque illustrium virorum totius Germaniae* (1565–1566)[63] and, in German, *Teutscher Nation Heldenbuch* (1567–1570; 1578),[64] comprising in total 1700 portraits; the series of portraits of the

62 Cf. Pelc M, *Illustrium imagines. Das Porträtbuch in der Renaissance* (Leiden – Boston: 2002).

63 Pantaleon Heinrich, *Prosopographia heroum atque illustrium virorum totius Germaniae, opus plane novum* […], *ex omnium fere gentium chronicis, annalibus et historiis magna diligentia excerptum et vivis heroum imaginibus* […] *illustratum, ac nunc primum ob patriae decorem in lucem editum, ita quod instar continuae historiae Germanorum esse queat* […] (Basel, Nicolaus Brylinger: 1565).

64 Pantaleon Heinrich, *Teutscher Nation Heldenbuch: Inn diesem werden aller Hochuerrümpten Teutschen Personen, Geistlicher vnd Weltlicher, hohen vnnd nideren staths, Leben vnnd nammhafftige thaten gantz warhaftig beschriben, welliche durch jhre tugendt, grosse authoritet, starcke waffen, frommkeit, weißheit, vnd gute künst* […] *jr vatterland Teutsche nation höchlich bezieret, vnd groß gemachet; mit sampt aller alten vnd neuwen Fürsten Teutscher nation Genealogey, Geburtstafflen vnd harkommen* (Basel, Nicolaus Brylinger: 1567; ibidem: 1570); idem, *Der ander Theil Teutscher Nation Heldenbuch: Inn diesem werden aller hochberümpten Teutschen Personen, Geistlicher und Weltlicher, hohen unnd nideren staths, Leben unnd namhaffte Thaten gantz warhafftig beschrieben* […] *von dem Grossen Carolo* […] *har, in die siebenhundert jar, biss auff Keyser Maximilian den ersten* […] */ Erstlich durch den Hochgelerten Herren Heinrich Pantaleon fast auss aller voelckeren Historien* […] *fleissig in Latein zusammen gezogen, unnd mit sampt aller beschribener personen büldtnussen* […] *künstlich fürgestellet. Jetzmalen aber von dem* […] *Authore selbs verteutschet, reichlich gemehret, und gebesseret* […] (Basel, Nicolaus Brylingers Erben: 1568); idem, *Der dritte und letste Theil Teutscher Nation Heldenbuch: In diesem werden aller hochberümpten Teutschen Personen, Geistlicher und Weltlicher, hohen und nideren staths, Leben und nammhaffte Thaten gantz waarhafftig beschrieben* […] *under den vier letsten Keyseren Maximilian I. Carolo V. Ferdinando, und Maximilian II. von dem 1500 biss auff das lauffende 1570 jar* […] */ Erstlich durch den Hochgelehrten Herren Heinrich Pantaleon, zum theil auss vieler voelckeren Historien* […] *in Latein zusamen gebracht, und mit sampt vieler personen bildnussen fürgestellet. Jetzmalen aber von dem Authore selbs verteutschet, reichlich gemehret, geenderet, und gebesseret* […] (Basel, Nicolaus Brylingers Erben: 1568); idem, *Teutscher Nation warhafften Helden, Erstlich durch den Hochgelehrten Herren Heinrich Pantaleon, fastauß vieler völckern Historien, Chronecken, und geschichtrodlen, mit grosser arbeit fleissig zu Latein zusammen gezogen, und mit sampt aller beschriebener personen bildnussen (so viel möglich) künstlich fürgestellet. Jetzmalen aber von dem ersten Authore selbs verteutschet, reichlich gemehret, und gebesseret, auch zu lob Teutscher Nation inn Truck verfertiget. Also das der gemeine mann alle Teutschen Historien, von anfang der welt biß zu gemeldeter zeit, inn fürgestelleten Personen leichtlich vermercken. Allen Fürstlichen, Hohen*

master painters of the Low Countries by Domenicus Lampsonius (Dominique Lampsone, 1532–1599) and Hieronymus Cock (1518–1570), *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* (Antwerp: 1572),[65] enlarged by Philip Galle (1600), and reissued by Theodor Galle (1615, with the title *Illustrium quos Belgium habuit pictorum effigies*), and Hendrik Hondius's (1573–1650) work on the same topic, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium, praecipue Germaniae Inferioris effigies* (1610);[66] Philip Galle's series of important humanist scholars, the *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis benemerentium effigies* (1572),[67] and the illustrated editions of Paolo Giovio's biographical series of great kings and military leaders (1575), and of great humanists (1577), accompanied by the woodcuts of Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584), which were published by the Italian printer Petrus Perna (1522–1582),[68] a Domincan converted to protestantism who had his printing press in Basel, and Jean-Jacques Boissard's series of humanist scholars from the 14th to the 16th century, *Icones virorum illustrium doctrina et eruditione praestantium* (1597–1599).[69] With his *Prosopographia heroum atque illustrium virorum totius Germaniae* and *Teutscher Nation Heldenbuch*, Heinrich Pantaleon delivered the public an awe-inspiring national honour gallery of German heroes. Domenicus Lampsonius, Hieronymus Cock and Philip Galle showed the public that the Low Countries had produced a great succession of brilliant painters; Giovio and his publisher Petrus Perna took for their gallery of

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Rittermeßigen, und Adelspersonen Teutscher nation gantz lustig, kurtzweilig, und nutzlich von iren altvorderen und vorfaren zulesen (Basel, Oststein: 1578). For this work cf. especially Buscher H., *Heinrich Pantaleon und sein Heldenbuch* (Diss. Basel 1946) Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, vol. 26, and Rave P.O., "Paolo Giovio und die Bildnisvitenbücher des Humanismus", *Jahrbücher der Berliner Museen* 1 (1959) (119–154) 147–148.

65 Published and printed by the same Hieronymus Cock. For Lampsonius and his gallery of portraits cf. Denhaene G., *Lambert Lombard: Renaissance et humanisme à Liège* (Antwerp: 1990); Puraye J., *Dominique Lampson humaniste, 1532–1599* (Liège: 1950); Galley N., *De l'original à l'excentrique: l'émergence de l'individualité artistique au nord des Alpes, chapter 2,* "*La genèse d'une histoire de l'artiste nordique*" (Fribourg: 2005) 99–155. For Hieronymus Cock cf. van Grieken J. – Luijten G. – van der Stock J., *Hieronymus Cock – De renaissance in prent*, exh. cat. Leuven – Paris – Brussels: 2013).

66 Printed at The Hague.

67 Antwerp, Philip Galle: 1572. Cf. also Philip Galle's *Imagines L doctorum virorum qui bene de studiis literarum meruere* (Antwerp, Philip Galle and Franciscus Raphelengius: 1587).

68 For Perna, cf. Rotondò A., *Pietro Perna e la vita culturale e religiosa di Basilea fra il 1570 e il 1580*, Studi e ricerche di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento. (Turin: 1974); Welti M.E., *Kleine Geschichte der italienischen Reformation* (Gütersloh: 1985) 25–135 (= Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 193); Perini L., *La vita e i tempi di Pietro Perna* (Rome: 2002), with a numbered catalogue of the 430 editions printed by Perna, 1549–1582.

69 Giovio Paolo, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel, Petrus Perna: 1575); idem, *Elogia virorum literis illustrium* (Basel, Petrus Perna: 1575). Cf. Rave, "Paolo Giovio und die Bildnisvitenbücher" (119–154) 150–153.



FIGURE 10.18 Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen, The counts of Holland, from left to right: Count Aernout I, Dirk III, Dirk IV, and Floris I
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

honour on the one hand the humanists who had left all previously-published works far behind them, on the other hand the famous kings and military leaders. It is notable that the series of the Counts of Holland was one of the earliest-printed illustrated biographical series. As far back as 1518, Amsterdam printer Doen Pieterz. had come out with a series of the Counts of Holland coupled with a French translation of the Dutch poems found on the Haarlem panels.[70] The woodcuts were by Jakob Cornelisz. van Oostzanen [Figs. 10.18 and 10.19].[71] Doen Pieterz.'s publication of the portraits of the counts appears to have been a

70 Cf. van Anrooij, *De Haarlemse gravenportretten* 159. The text of the French translations was published by van Anrooij, ibidem, 161–197.

71 For the wood carvings, see Beelaerts van Blokland W.A., "Stamreeksen in beeld. De graven van Holland en de heeren van Brederode door Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostzanen en Cornelis Anthonisz.", *De Nederlandse leeuw* 51 (1933) 202–207; Nijhoff W., "De graven van Holland, houtsneden van Jacob Cornelisz, met Franse tekst. Amsterdam, Doen Pieterszoon, 1518", *Het boek* 25 (1938–1939) 51–52; Ward J.P., "Hadrianus Barlandus and a



FIGURE 10.19 Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen, The counts of Holland, from left to right: Maria of Burgundy, Maximilian I, Philip the Handsome, and Charles V
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

success: shortly thereafter, he reissued the series, this time with the Latin texts of the humanist historian Hadrianus Barlandus, whose *Principes Hollandiae* had just appeared in print in Antwerp.[72]

Catalogue of the Counts and Countesses of Holland Published at Amsterdam by Doen Pietersz", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 55 (2006) 71–110.

72 Barlandus Hadrianus, *De Hollandiae principibus* (Antwerp, Johannes Theobaldus: July 1519), followed very quickly by a second edition in idem, *Libelli tres* [...] *uno principum Hollandiae, altero episcoporum insignis ecclesiae Traiectensis, tercio res gestae continentur invictissimi principis Caroli Burgundiae ducis* [...] (Antwerp, Michael Hillenius: January 1520). For Doen Pieterz's publication with the title *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae* (Amsterdam: 1519/ 1520), see Ward, "Hadrianus Barlandus". Doen Pieterz's publication is apparently not mentioned in Haitsma Mulier – van der Lem (eds.), *Repertorium.* Ward, "Hadrianus Barlandus", especially 75, has identified the author of the texts accompanying Doen Pieterz's publication as Hadrianus Barlandus.

5 The Counts of Holland in the Attire of the Roman Emperors, or National Historiography in Humanist Style: Hadrianus Barlandus (1519)

Another series of the Counts of Holland which likewise was made from a Habsburg perspective was that of the humanist Hadrianus Barlandus (1486–1538), born in Baarland on the Zeeland island of Zuid-Beveland, who was a disciple and friend of Erasmus.[73] Barlandus had studied at the University of Louvain and took holy orders in 1515. In 1518, he was appointed a professor at the Collegium Trilingue, which had just been founded at Erasmus's initiative. This new humanist institute of education aimed to teach Latin, Ancient Greek and Biblical Hebrew in the most accomplished manner. Barlandus already had a good number of philological publications to his name by this time, including commentaries on classical authors such as Pliny the Younger, paraphrases of the *exempla* of Valerius Maximus, and a work on the scholarly achievements of some Roman Caesars.[74] In early 1519, however, he resolved to devote himself solely to the writing of history. His first historiographical work was *Principes Hollandiae* (*Counts of Holland*). The first edition appeared at Antwerp in 1519, rapidly followed by a second (early 1520);[75] neither was illustrated. Later editions were, however, accompanied by portraits of the Counts: the first illustrated edition came out in 1520 (1519?), with woodcuts of Jakob Cornelisz. van Oostzanen, by Amsterdam printer Doen Pieterz.[76] Later, Barlandus's *Principes Hollandiae* was published with Philip Galle's engravings by Christopher Plantin (1584),[77] with Jost Amman's woodcuts by Johannes Wechel (for Sigmund

73 For Barlandus, see Daxhelet E., *Adrien Barlandus, humaniste belge, 1486–1538. Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa personnalité, Humanistica Lovaniensia* 6 (Leuven: 1938); Bietenholz P.G. *et alii* (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A biographical register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols. (Toronto: 1985–1987) 95–96.

74 Barlandus Hadrianus, *De literatis urbis Romae principibus opusculum* (Louvain, [n.p.]: 1515); also in idem, *Historica* (Cologne, Bernardus Gualtherus: 1603) 1–13. Cf. Haitsma Mulier – van der Lem (eds.), *Repertorium* 21, no. 27 a.

75 Barlandus Hadrianus, *De Hollandiae principibus* (Antwerp, Johannes Theobaldus: July 1519); idem, *Libelli tres* [...] *uno principum Hollandiae, altero episcoporum insignis ecclesiae Traiectensis, tercio res gestae continentur invictissimi principis Caroli Burgundiae ducis* [...] (Antwerp, Michael Hillenius: January 1520). For both publications cf. Haitsma Mulier – van der Lem (eds.), *Repertorium* 21, no. 27 b. Cf. also: http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/geschiedschrijvers/Pages/Barlandus.aspx.

76 For this series, see Ward, "Hadrianus Barlandus".

77 Barlandus Hadrianus, *Hollandiae Comitum historia et icones. Cum selectis scholis ad lectoris usum* [...] (Christopher Plantin, Leiden: 1584).

Feyerabend) in 1585,[78] with new woodcuts made by an unknown artist by Petrus Scriverius in 1609 (repeated in 1611), and, by the same Scriverius, with the engravings made by Cornelis Visscher in 1650.[79]

Barlandus's new *Principes Hollandiae* was introduced by an epigram on the title page. In it, the poet, his fellow humanist Hadrianus Cordatus, identifies Barlandus with the Roman historian Suetonius, the celebrated author of twelve biographies of Roman Caesars (*De vita Caesarum*, covering the emperors from Augustus to Domitian):

> Romanos proceres scriptor Tranquillus adumbrans
> Magna immortales reddidit arte viros.
> Non secus Hollandos Comites Barlandus ab umbris
> Evocat ad lucem candidore via.
> Tranquillo Italia et Barlando Hollandia debet:
> Hic Batavos, Latios colligit ille duces.
>
> Suetonius Tranquillus immortalised the outstanding men of Rome / through his artfully drawn portraits. / Similarly, Barland now brings to life the Counts of Holland, summoning them / from the underworld to the bright light in a remarkably splendid way. / Italy is obliged to Suetonius Tranquillus, Holland to Barland: / because the latter has collected a series of Batavian rulers, as the former did of the rulers of Latium.

Just as Suetonius immortalised the Roman emperors in his biographies, so Barlandus intended to give the Counts of Holland an immortal memory through his work. It is important to note that Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars* was a highly influential work in the Early Modern era, particularly in the visual arts. Plenty of series of portraits of the Caesars were made in the period, in paintings and sculptures, woodcuts and engravings, both in Italy and in transalpine lands. Their portraits were erected or hung in the residences and palazzi of noblemen and cardinals. It was no coincidence that most of these series consisted of exactly twelve Caesars: the same twelve whose biographies Suetonius had written. The fact that the Counts of Holland are equated with the Roman Caesars on the title page of Barlandus's work signified, of course, a huge boost to the cachet of the local rulers of this province.

78 Barlandus Hadrianus, *Hollandiae Comitum historia et icones* [...] (Frankfurt am Main, Johannes Wechel for Sigmund Feyerabend: 1585).

79 For Scriverius' editions, see below.

Barlandus profiles himself in the letter of dedication of his book as a very serious historian. As he puts it, he has taken great pains to bring this work to fruition: in particular, he claims to have carried out an exhaustive survey of the sources, and that, for his research, he visited 'many different libraries'. This is a remarkable statement because this was not customary practice among Early Modern historiographers. What Barlandus reports about his acute study of the sources might also indicate an attempt to lend credibility to his identification with Suetonius, because Suetonius was well-known for having been an inveterate archivist with an enormous wealth of documentation at his disposal. However, as a matter of fact, Barlandus lagged far behind his Roman precursor: Suetonius had eagerly researched the imperial archive and the entire private correspondence of the Julio-Claudian emperors, whereas Barlandus had at most looked into a few chronicles. This is reflected in the respective quantities of information: while Suetonius's biographies of the Caesars average 25 pages in length, Barlandus's biography of each count runs to just a single page, and in some cases merely a few lines.

This could be seen as a serious shortcoming, but that is only one way of looking at the matter. The main reason for the author's brevity is his particular purpose. Barlandus sought to make his *Counts of Holland* primarily an easily accessible compendium, setting out the historically-reliable facts in modern, humanist Latin. This is why each count has only a short chapter about him. In a sense, the function of the individual chapters in fact resembles those of the captions for the Haarlem paintings of the Counts of Holland: the information on each count was required to be succinct, pithy and taken in at a glance. This historiographical aim determined Barlandus's methodology: what he dug up in the rambling sentences of prolix chronicles, he produced as short, carefully-worded and highly-polished humanist Latin, in a style meeting the demanding requirements of classical Roman historiography. Besides producing good style, a serious historian was also required to maintain a critical aloofness as regards his content. These were, after all, details handed down to the present day from the past; a serious historian must not give a new lease of life to any old fancies. In the sources which Barlandus consulted, the Dutch chronicles, there was no shortage of such nonsense, in his view: scarcely creditable tales, fables and long-winded descriptions containing details that could not square or that were irrelevant to history. In Barlandus's view, the writing of serious, worthy history was a matter of reducing, summarising and sifting sources so as to retain a trustworthy essence of historical truth. Only by means of this method could the aim be attained of integrating the Counts of Holland into the canon of classical Latin literature.

With his *Principes Hollandiae*, Barlandus presented a kind of national historiography in a fresh, humanist style. The Counts now emerged in new, classical garb: that of Roman rulers and Caesars. This is apparent even in the title of the work: dispensing with the Latin noun customarily used for the rank of count in his day, *comes*, Barlandus uses the classical noun *princeps*, which in Roman antiquity was used for none less than the emperor himself. The wording Barlandus applies in his *Principes Hollandiae* often smacks of the Roman historians of the Silver Latin period, such as Valerius Maximus and Suetonius. For his description of Godfrey the Hunchback, for example, he refers to a detail of the description of the body of Galba Suetonius had inserted in his *Lives of the Caesars* ('a bulge of flesh had grown out of his body').[80] This kind of presentation gives Godfrey something of the air of a Roman Caesar, or even identifies him with Emperor Galba, who, like Godfrey, enjoyed only an extremely brief reign of less than a year.[81]

Barlandus's new-fangled writing of national history was also motivated by the main target audience he had in mind: the élite of the Province of Holland, particularly young patricians and noblemen. With this in mind, he dedicated his book to three young noblemen of Holland who had studied at Louvain: Joris and Philip of Egmond and Maximilian of IJsselstijn. One of Barlandus's aims with the work was pedagogical: by restricting his scope to facts and feats, and by editing out any morally-questionable conduct by his subjects, he expected that his historical work would contribute to the moral education of élite youth such as Joris and Philip of Egmond. The fact that the solid value of classical Roman historiography radiated from every page was meant to have a positive effect on the young men's identity formation. They could draw upon it to develop a sense of national (or regional) pride, since they were enabled now to partake in a national history of eternal value, just as classical Roman history had.

Besides addressing three young noblemen, Barlandus also dedicated his *Principes Hollandiae* to the reigning Count of Holland, Prince Charles of Habsburg, later Emperor Charles V [Fig. 10.20]. Rather than having a chapter about him in the book like his predecessor counts, Charles is given a dedicatory letter, in which Barlandus expresses the high hopes which society had for young Charles. Doubtless, he writes, Charles will exceed his exemplary forefathers

80 Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, "Galba" 21: 'excreverat etiam in dexteriore latere eius caro […]'; Barlandus, *Principes Hollandiae*, ch. on "Godefridus": "[…] gibbosus dictus, quod grandis ei pectore gibbus excreverat".

81 Galba was Emperor only from June 8, AD 68 to January 15, AD 69; Godfrey the Hunchback had expelled Count Dirk V in 1075 and was murdered as shortly thereafter as February 27, 1076.



FIGURE 10.20
Bernard of Orley, *Portrait of Prince Charles*.
Oil on panel, 37 × 27 cm
IMAGE © BOURG-EN-PRESSE, MUSÉE DE BROU

in virtue: Philip the Good (1428/33–1467) in piety (*pietate*), Charles the Bold (1467–1477), after whom he was named, in martial valour (*bellica virtute*); great Maximilian of Habsburg in mercy and clemency (*clementia*); and, finally, his own father, Philip the Handsome (1482–1506) in courtesy and suaveness (*comitate facilitateque*). This letter – in combination with the preceding chapters on the Burgundian and Habsburg Counts of Holland – was intended to function as a mirror of princes: Barlandus is holding up to Charles the ideal qualities of a prince and the high expectations there are for his coming reign, and at the same time is assuring him that he will be able to live up to those expectations, since he has it within him, as it were, due to having inherited the fine qualities of his illustrious forebears.

Charles's great importance is also seen in the genesis of the *Principes Hollandiae*. Barlandus started to compose the work shortly after the death of Emperor Maximilian (January 1519).[82] The position of Holy Roman Emperor was now vacant, and the Louvain circles to which Barlandus belonged had fixed their hopes upon the election of Prince Charles. In this regard, the propagandistic function of the *Principes Hollandiae* hoves into view: the work contained the portrait gallery of the Habsburg Counts of Holland, and by being disseminated, it would boost Prince Charles's esteem. Charles's candidature for the imperial crown proved to be successful. Barlandus had completed his

82 As seen from Chapter 32 of the *Principes Hollandiae*, Barlandus expresses the hope that it might prove possible to secure a peaceful succession to Maximilian.

Principes Hollandiae just before Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor, on 28 June 1519: when the work appeared in print a few days later, Charles had already been proclaimed Emperor.

Barlandus's historiographical method had several repercussions for the early historical record of the Counts of Holland. For one thing, Barlandus entirely dispensed with the genealogical link to the Dukes of Aquitania. He no longer calls Dirk I 'Theodoricus of Aquitania' or 'the youngest son of the Duke of Aquitania'; nor, for him, does Aquitania's coat of arms have any connection with that of the Counts of Holland. Since Barlandus certainly will have encountered the genealogical connection with the House of Aquitania in his sources, we can be sure that this omission was due to his historical criticism. Barlandus regarded Dirk I's romantic origin story as a fairy tale, as also the assertion that he was of Trojan blood. Only for the sake of form does Barlandus mention Trojan blood at all, and he does so in such a manner as to distance himself from the claim: it is simply something 'as annals relate'.[83] Moreover, Barlandus remains silent about the other infusions of Trojan blood into the counts' lineage, those supposedly derived from Dirk's wife 'Geva' (or 'Gena' or 'Gunna'), and from Arnout's wife, Lutgardis, who was regarded as daughter of a Byzantine emperor. Barlandus removed the fantastical Geva, the supposed daughter of Pepin I, and the supposed Byzantine (or even Trojan by origin, as Vosmeer would have it) Lutgardis from history. Evidently, he regarded them as belonging to the realm of fable. Besides, he would never have been minded to put down the Byzantine emperor as a 'Trojan'; his attitude was to put paid to all the fake Trojans. Barlandus was keen to present his counts as worthy figures, who while externally resembling knights, displayed a moral attitude very much like the one of the heroes of ancient Roman history.

6 The Counts as Figureheads of the Revolt: Plantin's Edition of Barlandus's Biographical Series (1584)

In 1583, the renowned Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin, who had brought out many books in the service of Philip II of Spain (including, as recently as 1578, Vosmeer's *Principes Hollandiae*), moved his business to Leiden. The States of Holland had recently awarded him the tender as printer for the newly-founded (1575) University of Leiden. Remarkably, the first work Plantin published in Latin was none other than the series of Counts of Holland, *Hollandiae comitum historia et icones*. Plantin dedicated this work to the new political authority,

83 Ibidem, fol. Aiii r: '[…] Theoderico cuidam, Troiani sanguinis viro, ut annales tradunt'.

the States of Holland.[84] This was a conscious choice, a political statement on his part. Even on the title page [Fig. 10.21], Plantin makes great play of his ties with the rebel province: within the secure garden of Holland sits Hollandia personified. She is not, as she is in Vosmeer's 1578 series, holding a palm frond of victory in her hand [cf. Fig. 10.2]. Instead, she bears four arms in her hands, in a highly revealing combination: the shields are of William the Silent, leader of the rebel faction; of the Province of Holland (the lion); of the City of Leiden (the keys); and finally of the University of Leiden (Pallas Athene). His personal emblem as printer, the golden compasses, Plantin symbolically places at the garden's access gate. This represents his pledge to set his printing press to work in the interests of the Province of Holland and to give his all in her defence.

We shall not be considering here what Plantin's actual political and religious convictions were; in that regard, this celebrated publisher and printer was rather a chameleon. His considerable nous consistently allowed him to have it both ways: he published for the Spanish king and the Catholics as well as for the rebels and Calvinists. What he grasped very well was that in the rebel provinces, a series on the Counts of Holland might be a highly useful asset, even if the texts had been written by a Habsburg loyalist, and even a Catholic, as Barlandus. Plantin saw that a *Counts of Holland* series could do service in his own day as a source for "national" or regional identity. This would give rise to a new national pride, one which could enmesh with the disdain or hatred generally felt towards the Spanish "tyrant". With his *Counts of Holland* series, Plantin was evidently meeting the requirements of his new employers' political agenda. As he sets out in his dedication, he wished this to be a work suited to enhancing the respectability of the States of Holland.[85] The counts are presented in it as role models and as *exempla historica* for that political assembly. It was, then, by design that the series of portraits of the counts were reproduced in large numbers between 1584 and 1650, and that they were used as an early national portrait gallery.

It is understandable that Plantin opted not to print Vosmeer's poems to accompany Galle's portraits; the authorities in Holland would have taken this as effrontery. It was thus an obvious choice to use Hadrianus Barlandus's text, which was in various aspects neutral and which was compact and compendium-like in form. A further benefit of Barlandus's text was that it did not mention Philip II (as he had not yet been born at the time of its composition).

84 See the letter of dedication: "Amplissimis prudentissimisque Hollandiae provinciae Ordinibus Christophorus Plantinus S.D.", in Barlandus Hadrianus, *Hollandiae comitum historia et icones* [...] (Leiden, Christopher Plantin: 1584), fol. *2r – v.

85 Ibidem, fol. *2r.

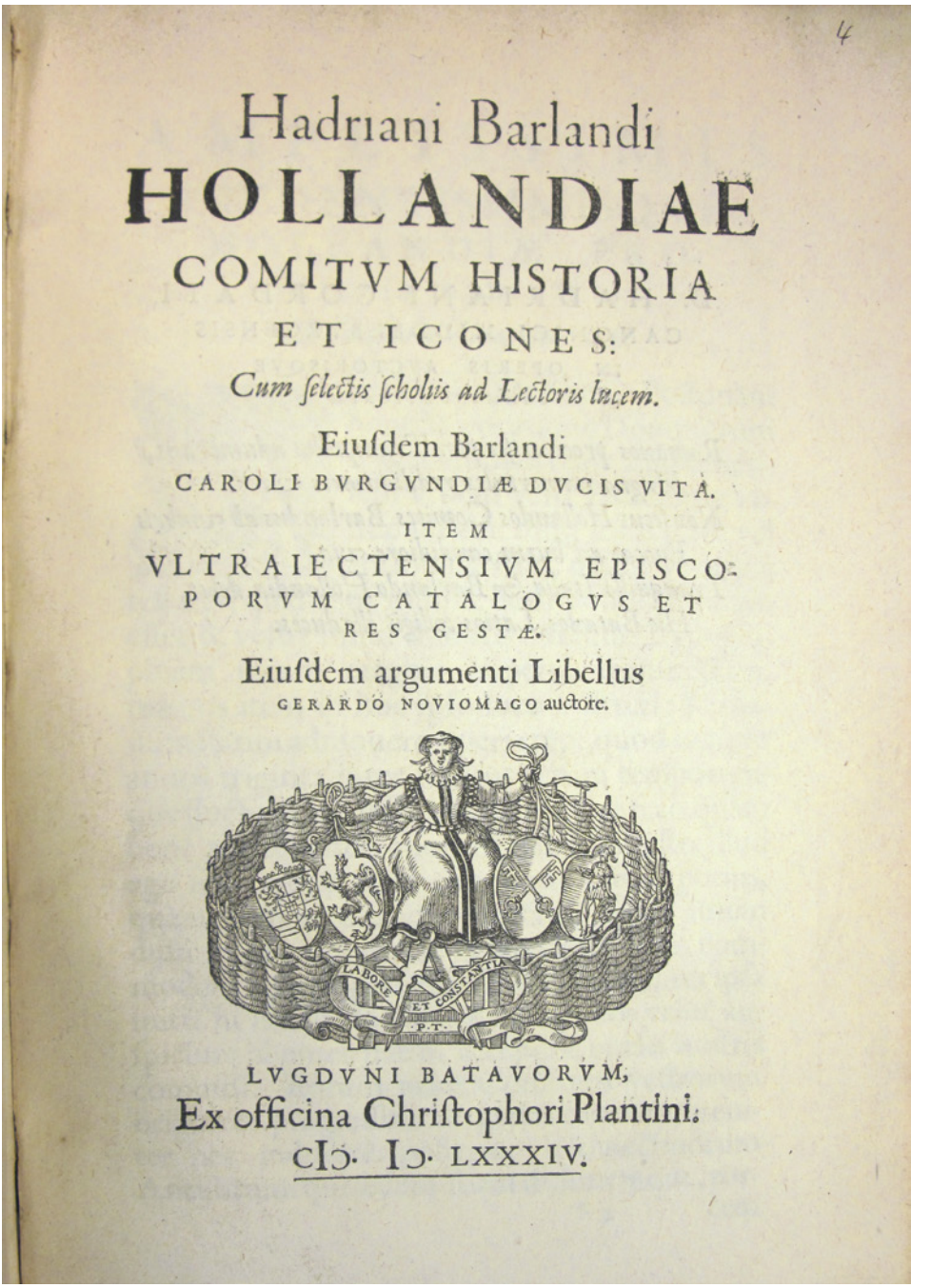


FIGURE 10.21 Hadrianus Barlandus, *Hollandiae comitum historia et icones* (Leiden, Christopher Plantin: 1984), title page
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To the Hollanders, praise of Philip would have been like a red rag to a bull. For this reason, he was not given a chapter in Plantin's 1584 edition, although Plantin did have – precisely because of the Vosmeer edition – an image to hand of this Spanish king in copperplate.[86]

It is worth noting that Plantin amended Barlandus's text at various points. He evidently found Barlandus's reticence to report the Aquitanian and Trojan roots of the Counts of Holland regrettable, so he (or one of his assistants) added to Barlandus's text that Dirk I was the son of an 'Aquitanian'! Even more remarkably, the highly elusive, unhistorical dark horse Sigisbertus crops up anew. In Plantin's text of Barlandus, Dirk I is presented as 'the son of Sigisbertus of Aquitania, a man of Trojan blood'. This text appears alongside Galle's imposing portrait of Dirk I [Fig. 10.4]. It is clear that in the political context of the Dutch Revolt, the Trojans had by no means shuffled off the stage as forefathers of the Counts of Holland. Seemingly, a link to the extreme antiquity of Troy was considered to be particularly valuable in this time of such felt need of legitimacy in the rebel province.

Plantin's fresh grafting-in of 'Sigisbertus of Aquitania' into the family tree, thereby reviving the Trojans and Aquitanians as progenitors of the Counts of Holland, would prove to have major consequences later on: through this addition, 'Sigisbertus of Aquitania' and the Trojans even outlived the Eighty Years' War and the Peace of Münster (1648). Largely responsible for this survival was the Leiden antiquarian Petrus Scriverius, who from 1609 onwards published several series of portraits of the Counts of Holland based on Plantin's edition of 1584, using Plantin's 'take' on the text of Barlandus's *Principes Hollandiae*. Due to this, the supposed Trojan and Aquitanian father of Dirk I still featured in the portrait gallery Scriverius published at Haarlem in 1650, which displayed the beautiful new engravings of Cornelisz. Visscher [Fig. 10.22].[87] The poem under the portrait asserts that Dirk I boasted Trojan blood.[88]

86 Moreover, this Leiden version of the counts omits John III, Duke of Bavaria (the 28th Count of Holland), who was bishop-elect of Liège and the rival of Jacqueline of Hainaut (alias Jacoba, Countess of Bavaria). It would seem that this episcopal usurper of the county was no longer counted worthy of ornamenting the history of Holland.

87 *Principes Hollandiae et Westphrisiae* (Haarlem, Pieter Soutman: 1650).

88 It is a curious detail that another important historian of the Dutch Republic, Hugo Grotius, acknowledged even in 1610 the fantastical marriage of Count Arnout I with a daughter of the Byzantine emperor, and moreover the fake that Arnout's wife was the sister of the Byzantine princess who married the German Emperor (i.e. Theophanou). Cf. Grotius Hugo, *De antiquitate Reipublicae Batavicae*, chapter V, 22: 'Arnulfo comitum tertio coniunx Constantinopolitani Imperatoris filia, cuius soror Germaniae Imperatori nupserat' – 'The third Count of Holland, Arnout, obtained as his consort the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, whose sister married the German Emperor' (translation



FIGURE 10.22
Dirk I, Count of Holland. Engraving by Cornelis Visscher II (1650), taken from: Petrus Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae* […] (Haarlem: 1650)
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

7 The Counts in the National Gallery of Honour: Georgius Benedicti Wertelos's Epitaphs and Petrus Scriverius's Series

The Calvinist theologian and Neo-Latin poet Georgius Benedicti Wertelos (1563–1588) was inspired by Plantin's illustrated edition of the Counts of Holland, with its wonderful portraits by Philip Galle. Benedicti was one of a group of promising young Dutch Neo-Latin poets who died far too young (another being Janus Dousa junior, the brilliant son of the curator of the University of Leiden). The Haarlem-born Benedicti was already composing Latin verse at a very tender age. At 22, he had his first poetry volumes published at Delft and Leiden: epigrams, epitaphs, laments, national songs and a heroic epos. However, he did not live to witness some of his poems see the light of day: they were published posthumously by the aforementioned Petrus Scriverius.[89] A highly gifted boy, Benedicti went up to Leiden in 1577 to

mine). Cf. Grotius Hugo, *Liber de antiquitate reipublicae Batavicae* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1610); idem, *The Antiquity of the Batavian Republic*, ed. and transl. by Jan Waszink et al. (Assen: 2000) 96 (V, 22; in their commentary, the editors did not identify the sister mentioned by Grotius as Theophanou). The proliferation of this error is all the more remarkable, because Grotius's work was reprinted a couple of times.

89 Benedicti Georgius, *Poemata posthuma, in quis Epigrammata, Epitaphia*, Elegiae, ed. Petrus Scriverius (Leiden, Christoph Guyot: 1601).

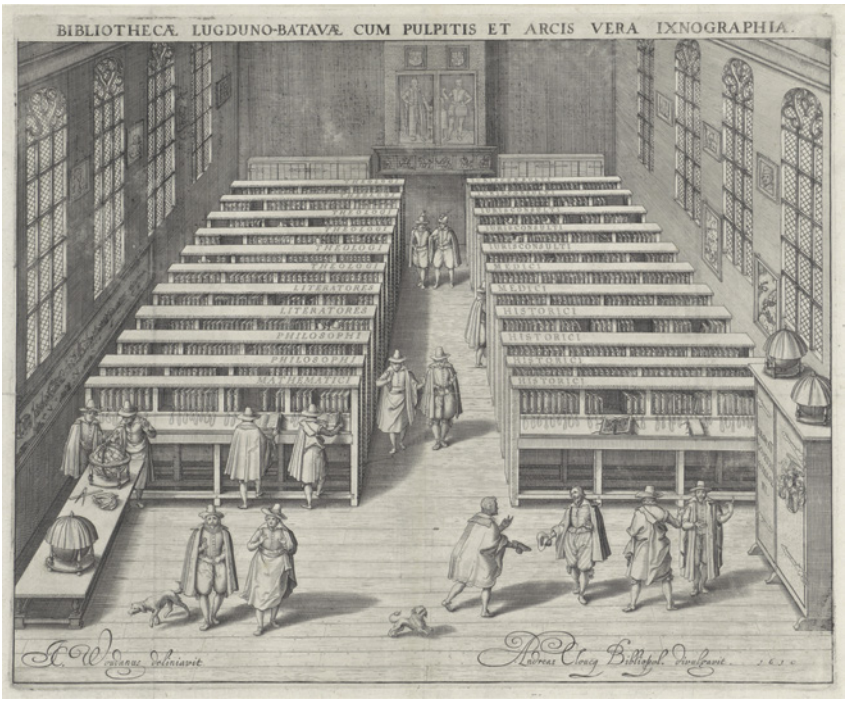


FIGURE 10.23 The university library of Leiden in 1610. Engraving by Willem Isaacsz. van Swanenburg, after Jan Cornelisz. van 't Woudt, 33 × 40.3 cm
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

matriculate at the brand new university there [Fig. 10.23].[90] There, he roomed with Janus Gruterus (Jan de Gruytere, 1560–1627) and Petrus Bertius (Pieter de Bert, 1565–1629) – later to gain renown as excellent scholars – at the house of his mentor, the Hebrew professor Herman Reneker (Rennecherus, 1550–after 1605), who had been appointed in 1575 at the personal recommandation of Prince William of Orange. In 1583, Benedicti continued his studies at Cambridge at the household seminary of the celebrated Protestant theologian William Whitaker (1548–1595). He found acceptance in the scholarly literary circle around the noble poet Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586), Earl of Leicester; the Neo-Latin poet Janus Dousa junior was also in this coterie. These were the years in which Holland and the other northern provinces were eagerly seeking the support of the English crown and trying to persuade Queen Elizabeth I to

90 For Benedicti's biographical details, see de Schepper M., "Quem patrem patriae voluit/(Deus): Georgius Benedicti Wertelos over Willem van Oranje", *Hermeneus* 56 (1984) 244–245.

take them on as her subjects. It was from this historical context that Sir Philip Sidney's mission to the Low Countries arose in 1586. In June of that year, Benedicti returned to the University of Leiden, but before long he had gone on to Heidelberg to round off his theological studies with the leading Calvinist theologian Franciscus Junius the Elder (later to become a professor at Leiden). Sidney's mission culminated in a hero's death, and Benedicti commemorated him in a series of Latin elegies and epitaphs. In 1588, Benedicti died unexpectedly at Heidelberg of a feverish infection.

Benedicti made no secret of his political sympathies. He was an adherent of the Dutch Revolt, of William of Orange, of Sir Philip Sidney and of the States of Holland. After William's assassination, he published a whole series of national poems: solemn Latin epitaphs and laments for 'the Father of the Fatherland' (1585),[91] together with epigrams and, in the same year, a long-form national poem, an epos for William. It was at the very height of this rash of national poetry that Benedicti composed his series of poems on the Counts of Holland in 1586. He had them published in combination with his heroic epos on William of Orange.[92] The poems on the counts were given the form of *epitaphia*, which in their celebration of national heroes resonated well with his epitaphs for William of Orange. Benedicti's series is an outstanding example of the way in which the Counts of Holland were invoked by a committed supporter of the Dutch Revolt, namely in a very direct manner indeed to help shape a new national or regional identity. The publication of the series is intimately connected with the assassination of William of Orange (1584). Its intended purpose was the honouring of national heroes and the fostering of national sentiment.

Benedicti's *epitaphia* on the Counts of Holland remained influential in the seventeenth century. They gained widespread recognition through their inclusion in internationally-renowned scholar Janus Gruterus's political history of the world, *Chronicon Chronicorum politicum* (Frankfurt, officiana Aubriana: 1614),[93] and in his corpus of Dutch Neo-Latin poets, *Deliciae poetarum Belgarum*

91 Benedicti Georgius, *Carmina quaedam in funere Guilielmi, Principis Arausionensis, Delphis parricidali manu occisi anno LXXXV* [sic]. *Additus est Epigrammatum libellus* (Delft, Albertus Henricus: 1585).

92 Benedicti Georgius, *De rebus gestis Principis Guilielmi comitis Nassovii, Principis Nassovii, libri duo. Item Epinicia, Epigrammata varia et Epitaphia comitum Hollandiae* (Leiden, Joannes Paetsius: 1585). The epos has in modern times been republished, along with a Dutch translation, by the Leiden collegium classicum E.D.E.P.O.L.: *De krijgsdaden van Willem van Oranje, Leiden*, stichting dimensie, 1990 (A. de Best et al.). For the epos, see also Wijdeveld J., "Princeps Auriacus. De Prins van Oranje in het Neolatijnse epos en drama", *Hermeneus* 56 (1984) 234–243.

93 Gruterus Janus, *Chronicum chronicorum politicum, in quo Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Principes, Marchiones etc. recensentur* […] (Frankfurt am Main, officiana Aubriana: 1614) 1007–1018.

(Frankfurt am Main, officiana Aubriana: 1614);[94] through their being printed in the influential *The Republic of Holland and its Cities, Respublica Hollandiae et urbes*, published by Johannes Maire (Leiden: 1630), which presented the new Republic to an international audience of readers; and also, and by no means least, through their inclusion in Leiden scholar Petrus Scriverius's Latin publications of the series of Counts of Holland in 1609, 1611 and 1650, enriched with gorgeous illustrations, first in woodcuts and later in engravings.[95] By placing the poems as captions under these illustrations, Scriverius enhanced their status and impact. Benedicti had already conceived of these poems as national heroic poetry, but now, as poetic accompaniment to the counts' portraits, they formed part of a national gallery of honour, a sort of Dutch Valhalla.

Comparing Benedicti's poems with the texts on the Haarlem paintings and with Vosmeer's poems, one is struck by the far lesser interest which this young Leiden alumnus had in familial data, genealogical questions and precise dates. In the Haarlem series, each poem identifies the spouse(s) and children of the count in question; Vosmeer's epigrams name at least the consort. Yet even major events and breaches in the genealogical line meet with hardly any attention by Benedicti. For instance, he tacitly passes over the fact that Godfrey the Hunchback was not in the counts' bloodline, that he actually was the son of Godfrey the Bearded (997–1069) and had succeeded his father as Duke of Lower Lorraine (r. 1069–1076), that he conquered Holland as a foreign usurper, and that his reign did not last longer than a few months. Benedicti, only with the greatest of vagueness mentions that Godfrey had obtained 'his reign' (*regna*) in 'a bad manner', by force of arms.[96] Far from rejecting Godfrey the Hunchback as a usurper, Benedicti lauds him for his 'justice' (*iustitia*) and for his having founded the splendid city of Delft, which 'would go on to obtain immortal fame'.[97] Benedicti is here referring to the Prinsenhof, from which the Prince of Orange governed the Northern Netherlands for a few years, and more particularly to the national tragedy, the assassination of that prince on 10 July 1584 [Fig. 10.24]. Benedicti even made his own contribution to 'Delft's

94 Gruterus Janus, *Delitiae C poetarum Belgicorum, huius superiorisque aevi illustrium* (Frankfurt a.M., Aubriana: 1614).

95 Scriverius Petrus, *Illustrissimorum Hollandiae Zelandiaeque Comitum ac dominorum Frisiae Icones et historia*, in: idem, *Batavia illustrata* […] (Leiden, Ludovicus Elzevir: 1609; 1611) 1–184; idem, *Principes Hollandiae et Westphrisiae* (Haarlem, Pieter Soutman: 1650).

96 Cf. Benedicti, "Godifredus Gibbus", in Scriverius, *Illustrissimorum Hollandiae Zelandiaeque Comitum ac dominorum Frisiae Icones et historia* (1611), p. 20: 'Quid male parta meis, hospes, regna obiicis armis? / Quid poenam exposcis? […]'.

97 Ibidem: 'Respice fundatas celebres me Principe Delphos. / Mox tangent ipsis sidera verticibus'.

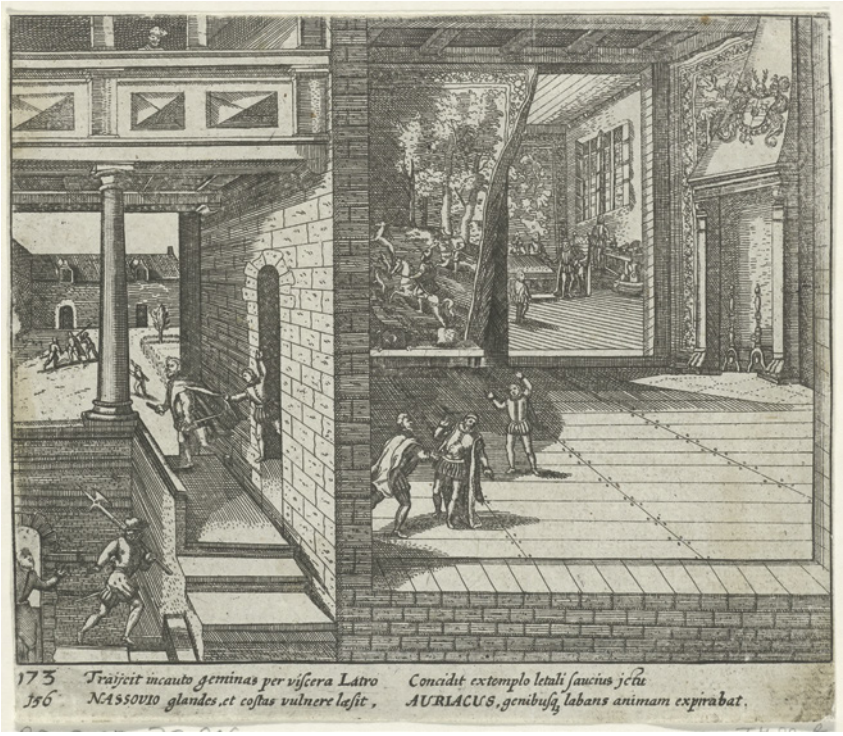


FIGURE 10.24 The assassination of William of Orange in 1584, in the Prinsenhof (Delft). Anonymous engraving after Frans Hogenberg, 1613–1615
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

immortal fame' with his heroic epos on William of Orange, the 'Father of the Fatherland'.

While stressing the counts' virtues, Benedicti paid hardly any attention to courtly decorum. In the Haarlem paintings, the counts are introduced with great panache by a herald, delivering a suitable dose of such class. This creates a setting of courtly festivity: each count, as it were, makes his stately entrance in the festival hall and his arrival is solemnly declaimed by the herold to the court retainers. In Benedicti's poems, on the other hand, the counts introduce themselves in the first person: 'I am so and so […]'; 'I accomplished such and such […]'. In literary terms, Benedicti was revivifying the antique genre of the grave epitaph (*epitaphium*), a form which presumes that a passer-by has his attention arrested at the ruler's tomb by the deceased speaking to him. Perhaps the most famous is the inscription on the *stele* of the Spartan king Leonidas, who perished at the Battle of Thermopylae in 480 BC while holding back the Persians. In his epigram, Leonidas tells the passer-by:

ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Stranger, tell them in Sparta that we rest in this place
Because we were obedient to their order.[98]

Benedicti's epigrams are construed in the same way. He conceives of his texts as grave-inscriptions being reviewed by a visitor to the sepulchres. Indeed, he literally calls his poems *epitaphia*. Thus, the counts are addressing the visitor, or 'stranger'. Benedicti's Count William II, for example, tells of how he lost his life on the field of battle and asks the visitor: 'Why do you sigh, stranger? / You would be a fool not to wish for the same kind of death!'.[99] Floris IV is sure that the visitor will be wanting to hurry on past his tomb, and tells him that there is no need to admire his portrait; he can calmly walk on by. Should he be interested in Floris's heroic deeds, then he merely need ask anyone he comes across on the street to enumerate them.[100] Countess Ada, on the other hand, makes a kind of gendered remark to the visitor: 'Stranger, just look what a woman can accomplish!'.[101]

Benedicti presumes that the visitor will be reading his epitaphs through a moral lens. His Dirk IV shares that understanding, and asks exasperatedly: 'Traveller, why do you judge my career, my victories? / Be content with the fact that I was felled by the foe's hand'.[102] Due to the atmosphere evoked by the epitaphs, it seems at times as though the 'visitor' were taking a tour around Egmond Abbey, scene of the graves of some of the *comites Hollandiae*. Poem 13 is a playful exception: the epigram for Floris III (1140–1190). To his surprise, the passer-by suddenly finds himself transported to Asia Minor, which was inacccessible to the Christian in Benedicti's day because it was in Turkish hands. Nevertheless, the visitor, now located in an oriental city, is peering at Floris III's grave, who pipes up: 'Visitor, why are you surprised to find a stranger's grave in Seleucus's city, / Chiselled marble on an unknown patch of earth? / Cease your wonderment […]'. 'Seleucus's city' is Antioch, the capital of the Seleucid

98 Meier M., *Die Thermopylen – „Wanderer, kommst du nach Spa(rta)"*, in Hölkeskamp H.J. – Stein-Hölkeskamp E. (eds.): *Erinnerungsorte der Antike. Die griechische Welt* (Munich: 2010) 98–113.

99 Ibidem, ch. XVIII, "Gulielmus II": 'Quid gemis, hospes? / Insanis, ni optes sic quoque posse mori'.

100 Ibidem, ch. XVII.

101 Ibidem, ch. XV: 'Foemina quid possit, cerne hospes!'.

102 Ibidem, ch. V: 'Quid vitam carpis, quid prelia gesta, Viator? / Sit satis hostili me periisse manu'.



FIGURE 10.25 St Peter's Cathedral in Antakya (Antioch), Turkey
IMAGE © VOLKAN HATTAN

Empire, the successor to Alexander the Great's oriental possessions. In the seventeenth century, Antioch had come to be known as Antakya by the Turks. Floris III died of plague there in 1190 while joining in the Third Crusade under Frederick I Barbarossa (1189–1192). In Benedicti's poetic presentation, we are standing in Antakya in front of the hero's grave of a brave Hollander. He was really buried there, in the cathedral of St Peter [Fig. 10.25], next to the altar, beside Emperor Frederick's own grave, who drowned during the crusade while crossing the Saleph river.[103] In Scriverius' series of the Counts of Holland (1650), Benedicti's poem is accompanied by an impressive representation of Floris III as a fantastic oriental prince that wears a turban with a bunch of feathers [Fig. 10.26].

Through these poetic devices, Benedicti is equating the Counts of Holland with celebrated figures of classical antiquity: Leonidas, Pericles, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Augustus, and the like. By his outline and judgement of their lives in his epigrams, he lends the counts a classical appearance. They become hardly distinguishable from the heroes of Ancient Greece and Rome. The concern here is to display their virtue and to reflect it in the moral

103 Cf. de Boer – Cordfunke, *Graven van Holland* 51.



FIGURE 10.26 Floris II, Count of Holland. Engraving by Cornelis Visscher II (1650), taken from: Petrus Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae* [...] (Haarlem: 1650)
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

judgement of their descendants (*posteritas*). In fact, the literary visitor to the monuments of the counts embodies this progeny: *he* is the *posteritas* and it is he who judges. The epigram already cited demonstrates that King Leonidas fought the Persians like his namesake lion, to the last drop of his blood, out of pure duty. So the Counts of Holland had also often fought: Dirk III, for instance, 'defended his fathers' lion [the counts' arms, depicting a lion] as a lion would defend his lionly father and a father his own father'.[104] Like Emperor Charles V, Dirk I was in principle striving for a peaceful settlement, but he was no slacker in warfare either: 'pacis amans bellique potens'.[105]

In his epigrammatic evaluations, Benedicti adopts the premise of classical and humanist historians: in their view, the chief aim of historiography is to hand on the deeds of famous men to following generations, to evaluate them, and, through the apportioning of praise and blame, to provide moral *exempla* for the generations to come. It is important that history be a school for life (*historia vitae magistra*) and that the reader be furnished with moral examples that teach him what to commit, or omit, in his life. References to *posteritas* (progeny), *fama* (fame), *virtus* (virtue) and *exemplum* (historical example) are found in almost every epigram.

In his moral evaluations, Benedicti likes using comparisons, such as ones between a given count and his predecessor or his successor (who was more virtuous, who more successful?) or his military opponents (who was morally in the right?); and comparisons between given virtues and vices, achievements and propensities. As well as judging the counts' own deeds, Benedicti also considers those of their foes, particularly the Frisians and the Bishop of Utrecht. The counts' episcopal opponents tend to come off badly. As regards the counts themselves, Benedicti is glad of opportunities to present moral dilemmas or considerations, such as: is it better to die in harness on the battlefield or to expire peacefully on one's own bed?[106] Is a ruler demonstrating more virtue when he rapidly overruns a territory with few reverses, or when he retakes land that had been lost to the enemy? May a woman rule? Can a woman show virtue by exercising tasks of government? What is preferable: that an illegitimate prince hold sway for good ends, or that a legitimate prince fritters away or even abuses his power?

104 Benedicti, "Theodericus tertius", in Scriverius, *Illustrissimorum Hollandiae Zelandiaeque Comitum ac dominorum Frisiae Icones et historia* (1611), ch. IV, p. 10: 'Defendi patrium, patre non minor ipse, Leonem, / Proque parente parens, proque Leone Leo'.

105 Benedicti, "Theodericus primus", in ibidem, ch. I, p. 4: 'peace-loving, but mighty in war'.

106 E.g. ibidem, ch. I and III.



FIGURE 10.27
Coat of Arms of the City of Haarlem (Town hall, Grote Vierschaar)

Moral excellence (*virtus*) is indeed the central theme of Benedicti's poems, in both a general and a specific sense. The way in which he expresses his moral meditations is often emphatic and solemn, as would have befitted the Romans of old, such as Cato the Younger, who defended the Roman Republic to his dying breath. 'Vicit vim virtus' ('Virtue overcomes violence'), as Benedicti proclaims in his tenth epigram, could just as well have been a phrase uttered by Cato. Wittily, Benedicti is here citing the motto of his native city of Haarlem, VICIT VIM VIRTUS [Fig. 10.27]. Here, Benedicti is engaging in literary play with his the expectations of his readers, who certainly knew the city motto. Haarlem's motto is a boast about the deeds of the city's sons, particularly in regard to a Haarlem continent under the command of the Count of Holland, William I, who had conquered the Egyptian city of Damietta in 1218, during the Fifth Crusade.[107]

In his poems, Benedicti uses the motto 'vicit vim virtus' in the epigram for Count Dirk V, who had laboured hard to reconquer his possessions after he had been expelled from the county of Holland by Godfrey the Hunchback (in 1075).[108] Dirk V's virtue was characterised by his persistence. In other regards, too, Benedicti ascribes particular virtues to given counts. Dirk I excelled in valour and peaceableness; Arnout I in martial valour alone – being the first Count of Holland to die on the battlefield; Dirk III distinguished himself by his sense of filial duty, perseverance and courage; Godfrey the Hunchback and Floris II by their sense of justice (*iustitia*), and the latter was also dutiful,

107 Cf. van Anrooij W., "Middeleeuwse sporen van de Haarlemse Damiate-legende", in Grootes E.K. (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon. Literatuur en toneel te Haarlem*, before 1800 (Hilversum: 1993) 11–25.

108 Benedicti, "Theodericus quintus", in Scriverius, *Illustrissimorum Hollandiae Zelandiaeque Comitum ac dominorum Frisiae Icones et historia* (1611), ch. X, p. 22.

peaceable and pious. Thus, the counts become exemplary embodiments of individual virtues.

It is evident that the old counts with their virtues, and particularly their military virtues, were intended to serve as examples to the elite of the rebel province. With his *epitaphia*, Benedicti created a national heroes' gallery. The *epitaphia* on the counts were of no less importance for the formation of Holland's new identity than Benedicti's *epitaphia* on William of Orange or his epos on the same hero. The counts are presented as heroes of the Fatherland and are connected with both the ancient and the modern race of the 'Batavians'.

In fact, the great importance of the Counts of Holland as sources of national identity does not imply that the creator of the series necessarily had to acknowledge the actual legitimacy of their rule. This is seen plainly from Benedicti's poem alongside the portrait of Philip II (as Count Philip III of Holland), the prince whom the States-General had abjured in 1581. In this epigram, Philip considers himself a loser: his power and military might did not prevail against the Batavians. The Batavians, the poem recounts, were not impressed by his swagger and not persuaded to desist from their warfare against the king. Philip is made to reflect that although he still bears the title of thirty-sixth Count of Holland, he is no longer recognised. He himself admits as much by being made to say that the the Hollanders have become a 'free people', one 'that will never again recognise monarchic rulers' ('libera gens, nullos umquam admissura monarchas').[109] Naturally, this does not please him, but the very fact that he acknowledges it is appropriated to legitimise the rebels. The Hollanders' love of freedom is in "the nature of their people" – in their genes, one would say today – and none will be able to affect that, the epigram proclaims. A true Batavian will not brook of any king or emperor lording it over him. This largely concurs with the image of the ancient Batavians as sketched by antiquarians and writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

What, though, of the Trojans? Given that Benedicti had little interest in genealogy, family questions and courtly customs, instead paring almost everything down to moral issues, one might expect that he would leave the Trojans aside. It is, in a way, surprising that he in fact does not: he reports that Dirk I 'sprang from the Trojans' noble blood' ('ortus ab alto / Sanguine Teucrorum') [cf. Fig. 10.22].[110] The wording Benedicti chooses is particular: it comes from from Virgil's *Aeneid*, the epos about the Trojan founder of Rome, Aeneas. The quotation is taken from the mouth of the Roman chief god, Jupiter, who predicts that 'from the noble blood of Teucer a people will some day arise which

109 Benedicti, "Philippus Rex Hispaniae", in: ibidem, ch. XXXVI, p. 154.
110 Ibidem, ch. I.

will rule Italy' ('Italiam regeret genus alto a sanguine Teucri', *Aeneid* IV, 228–229). Teucer is the ancestor and national hero of the Trojans, whom Virgil also calls the *Teucri* ('people of Teucer'). That Benedicti should say the same about Dirk I as Virgil does about Aeneas indicates that he is likening the founder of the County of Holland to the founder of Rome.

8 Petrus Scriverius

The Leiden scholar Petrus Scriverius (1576–1660), already mentioned several times in the present work, played a key role in the production of series of portraits of the Counts of Holland. He published no fewer than six series during his lifetime, in both Latin and Dutch; the first was dated 1609, the last 1650. Scriverius (a Latinisation of the surname Schrijver) came from a well-to-do Haarlem family and studied in Leiden, where he remained after graduation.[111] He felt at home in the humanist environment of Leiden professors and scholars. Although he never obtained a chair or other academic appointment, he devoted his whole life to scholarship. He had a pronounced interest in antiquariansm, neo-Latin poetry and above all national history.[112] Scriverius had accumulated a celebrated library, which he called his 'musaeum' ('temple of the Muses'). Through his publications, he was keen to give a wider public access to the works he had collected. Scriverius was not remarkable as an original writer; he preferred to function as a collector and publisher of various kinds of texts, especially neo-Latin poetry and works of history. Most of the books he published, therefore, were the works of other authors. The problem is that he does not always indicate what is his own text and what is not. Scriverius tends to deliver only small gobbets of commentary on his collated material. He prefers to make his 'sources' accessible than to voice his own opinions about them in print.

These propensities also play a major role in his publications on the Counts of Holland.[113] In the first editions, those of 1609 and 1611, almost all his texts are derived from other authors. He combined the Latin epigrams (*epitaphia*) of Georgius Benedicti with the prose chapters of Hadrianus Barlandus, and fragments from Jacob Meier's chronicle with brief explanatory notes which he had

111 For Scriverius's biographical details, see Langereis S., *Geschiedenis als Ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw: Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius*, Hollandse Studiën 37 (Hilversum: 2001) 104–112.

112 For Scriverius as an antiquary and keen national historian, cf. ibidem, 112 ff.

113 For his series of counts, cf. ibidem, 255–264.

copied from Plantin's edition of the 1584 *Hollandiae comitum historia et icones*.[114] However, he leaves the reader in the dark about this, so that it remains opaque which authors wrote which sections of the text. There is only one exception: the quotations from Meier's chronicle (which, in fact, Scriverius had also retrieved from Plantin's edition, not taken direct from source) are given a succinct sub-heading stating the author's name. Many readers will have assumed that Scriverius himself had penned the rest of the book. Modern historians long continued to think the same, until around the year 2000.[115] The aim here is not to imply that Scriverius was a plagiarist, but it is necessary to give this background to his method of working and to show how his series of the counts was composed. The key consideration is that the texts he used were ones which he believed important to be noted by the intellectuals of his age.

Not by chance was his collection of sources on the ancient history of Holland, the *Batavia illustrata*, his first major publication.[116] The series on the counts, *Illustrissimorum Hollandiae Zelandiaeque comitum ac dominorum Frisiae icones et historia*, is a component of that work. Scriverius thought that it was an apt moment in 1609 to present the counts to the general public. The main reason behind his decision was the political situation during the Twelve Years' Truce, which was officially promulgated on 9 April that year. This indicated de-facto acknowledgement that the rebel provinces now formed an independent state. England and France immediately entered into diplomatic relations with the United Provinces; other states followed later. Scriverius thought that his history would go down very well in this climate: the time had come to foster in Holland an independent historical consciousness and a sense of national pride and independence. Scriverius expresses this thinking in the dedicatory letter to his *Batavia illustrata*, which he appropriately dedicates to the States of Holland and West-Friesland. It is in this light that we must interpret the publication of his series: as a national portrait gallery intended to serve as a source of national identity. The Truce took effect on 9 April and by

114 See following footnote.

115 E.g. Tuynman P., "Petrus Scriverius. 12 January 1576–30 April 1660", *Quaerendo* 7 (1977) 4–45, and Haitsma Mulier – van der Lem (eds.), *Repertorium* 376, under no. 436b, where we read that the texts accompanying the woodcuts of the *Illustrissimorum Hollandiae Zelandiaeque comitum ac dominorum Frisiae icones et historia* were a Latin 'adaptation' by Scriverius of a text whose title is given as 'Duym's History of the Counts of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland'. Langereis, *Geschiedenis als Ambacht* 125, rightly points out that these were texts which Scriverius had taken from Plantin's edition of 1584, particularly of Barlandus's *Principes Hollandiae*. However, Langereis does not mention the poems by Georgius Benedicti, which incidentally were not included in Plantin's edition. Scriverius took these from the 1586 Leiden edition, published by Benedicti himself.

116 Leiden, Lodewijk Elzevier: 1609.

early June, Scriverius already had his large collection of sources of national history ready to hand. His letter of dedication to the States of Holland and West-Friesland is dated 13 June.

As an historian, Scriverius was not very keen on the Trojans. He was sceptical of the family tree claims which he encountered in the chronicles. In the 1609 *Batavia illustrata* and its 1611 second edition, the *Inferiores Germaniae provinciarum unitarum antiquitates*, however, he refrains from giving an opinion on their veracity. Since Scriverius reproduces in these works Benedicti's epigrams on the counts, however, the Trojan forefathers are still present in these series. The same applies, in fact, to the last series which appeared during Scriverius's lifetime, that of 1650.[117] Contemporary politics again played a role in the compiling of this edition. The 1648 Peace of Münster had ensured the recognition of the rebel Netherlands as a fully-fledged state. It was now time, then, to celebrate the glorious achievement and further burnish national pride. In collaboration with the Haarlem painter and printmaker Pieter Soutman (c. 1580–1657) and the young but extremely talented engraver Cornelis Visscher (1629–1658) [Fig. 10.28], Scriverius brought out the most sumptuous edition of



FIGURE 10.28
Cornelis Visscher, *Self-portrait* (1649). Engraving
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

117 Scriverius Petrus, *Principes Hollandiae et Westphrisiae* (Haarlem, Pieter Soutman: 1650).

the Counts of Holland that one could imagine. The portrait series, printed in prestigious folio format, was now being presented as a national monument to the eternal memory of the counts, as well as serving to celebrate national independence. The monumental character of this series is underlined by the colossal inscription of honour in antique Roman style [Fig. 10.32]. Here, the counts are addressed as one would address a deity in Roman times. Just as one 'offered' and 'dedicated' gifts to the gods in antiquity, so this inscription ends with the religious formula 'offert, dedicat et consecrat'. In this sense, the counts had become the subject of a divine cult. Scriverius and Soutman erected this monument to the counts to have them praised as superhuman national cult figures.

Accordingly, the title page depicts an apotheosis (deification): the counts, and with them the Province of Holland for which they stand (represented by the arms of its key cities), are made divine [Fig. 10.29]. The representation oozes the new national self-confidence. Victorious Hollandia's garden is full of arms. It would appear that Holland has brought the whole world under her sway: behind the personification of her as a young woman, we see the globe, upon which her heraldic animal, a realistically-depicted, giant lion, has rested his front left paw to demonstrate his might and lordship. With typological significance, the central figure, young Lady Holland, makes the same gesture: she, too, lays her left hand on the globe as a token of her supremacy. This imperialist impression is reinforced by the presence of an angel, holding a crown atop Lady Hollandia. In this way, Lady Hollandia is unmistakably characterised as an imperial ruler. In her right hand, she holds an ocean-going ship to symbolise Dutch supremacy at sea. She is seated on a powerful canon bearing an inscription which makes plain why it is being triumphantly fired. It reads 'Haec libertatis ergo' – 'This on account of freedom'. The cities of Holland (represented by their arms) and her counts (represented by the titular inscription and by the crowns) are conveyed to heaven by the angels. This portrayal is of great political import: the counts are deified here like Roman Caesars, thereby acquiring imperial status, one to which the province too (since it is embodied by the counts) lays claim.

Cornelis Visscher's engravings are highly refined. Although Visscher cannot of course have had the faintest idea what the pre-1400 counts looked like, his engravings were meant to suggest that the portrayals were 'real' and authentic, 'true to life', as the title page asserts. As regards their form, however, the counts are still Trojans, as we see from Dirk I's fantastical oriental turban. Notwithstanding this, his face sems to radiate some personal characteristics. As noted earlier, there was (and still is) no indication of Dirk's true appearance. A curious detail is that the son of the Aquitanian Trojan Sigisbertus,



FIGURE 10.29 Frontispice of Petrus Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae* [...] (Haarlem: 1650)
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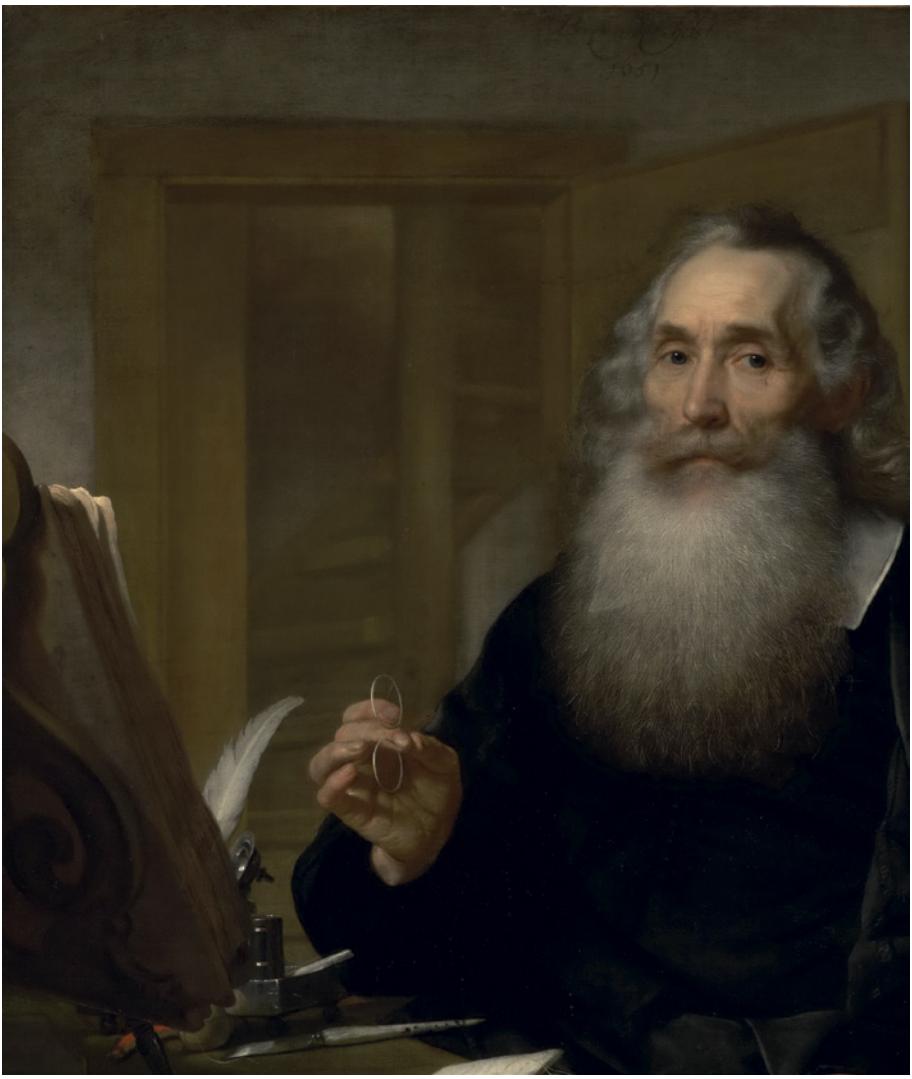


FIGURE 10.30 Bartolomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of Petrus Scriverius* (1651). Oil on canvas, 115.2 × 98.5 cm
IMAGE © MUSEUM DE LAKENHAL, LEIDEN



FIGURE 10.31 Dirk I, Count of Holland. Engraving by Cornelis Visscher II (1650), in Petrus Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae* [...] (Haarlem: 1650)
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

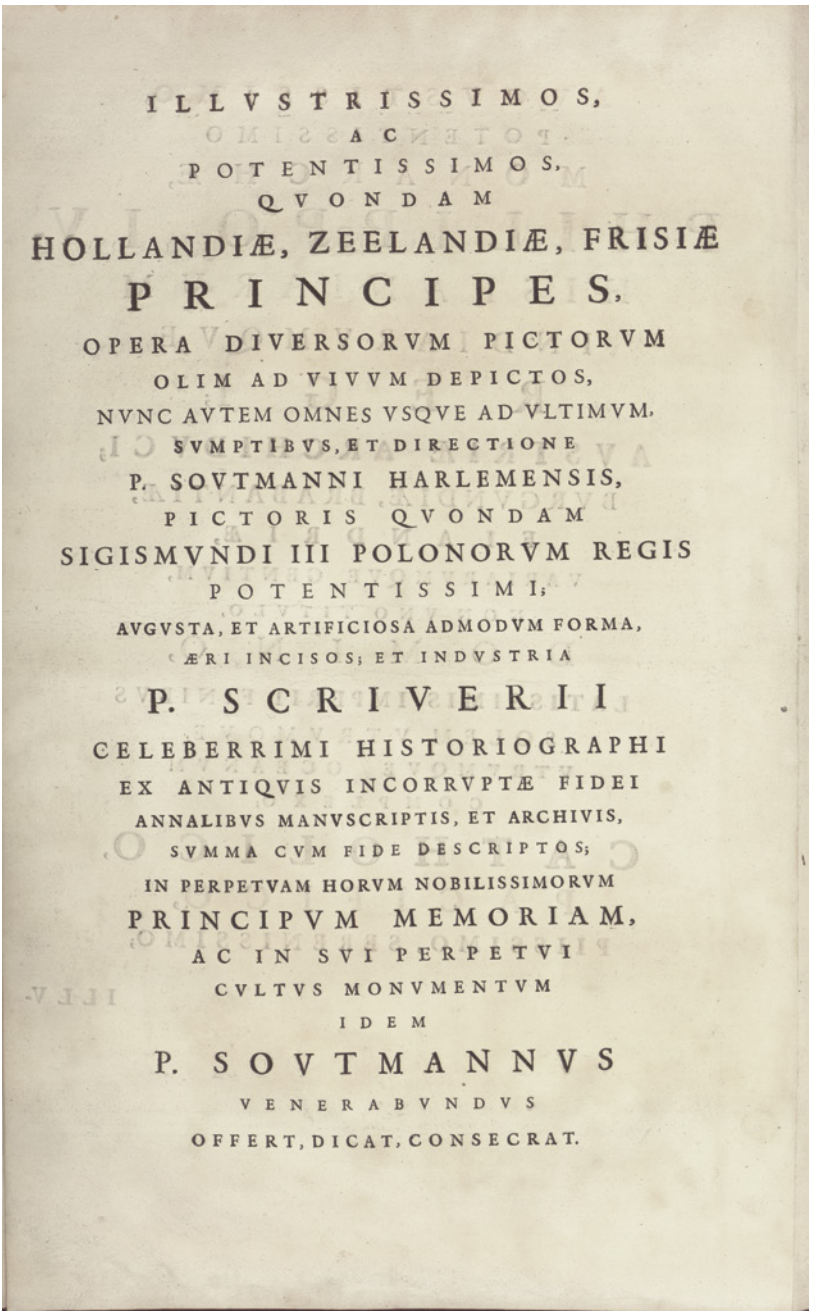

ILLVSTRISSIMOS,
AC
POTENTISSIMOS,
QVONDAM
HOLLANDIÆ, ZEELANDIÆ, FRISIÆ
PRINCIPES,
OPERA DIVERSORVM PICTORVM
OLIM AD VIVVM DEPICTOS,
NVNC AVTEM OMNES VSQVE AD VLTIMVM,
SVMPTIBVS, ET DIRECTIONE
P. SOVTMANNI HARLEMENSIS,
PICTORIS QVONDAM
SIGISMVNDI III POLONORVM REGIS
POTENTISSIMI;
AVGVSTA, ET ARTIFICIOSA ADMODVM FORMA,
ÆRI INCISOS; ET INDVSTRIA
P. SCRIVERII
CELEBERRIMI HISTORIOGRAPHI
EX ANTIQVIS INCORRVPTÆ FIDEI
ANNALIBVS MANVSCRIPTIS, ET ARCHIVIS,
SVMMA CVM FIDE DESCRIPTOS;
IN PERPETVAM HORVM NOBILISSIMORVM
PRINCIPVM MEMORIAM,
AC IN SVI PERPETVI
CVLTVS MONVMENTVM
IDEM
P. SOVTMANNVS
VENERABVNDVS
OFFERT, DICAT, CONSECRAT.

FIGURE 10.32 Dedication (inscription) of Petrus Scriverius, *Principes Hollandiae* [...] (Haarlem: 1650)
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

the renowned Dirk I, bears a striking resemblance to the series author, Petrus Scriverius, in his latter years [Figs. 10.31 and 10.32]. It may be that Cornelis Visser portrayed Dirk so in honour of Scriverius, or at the least as a nod to him. If so, then Scriverius, the patriotic historian, lent his facial features to the supposed Trojan founder of the lineage of Counts of Holland.

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Chronecken, und geschichtrodlen, mit grosser arbeit fleissig zu Latein zusammen gezogen, und mit sampt aller beschriebener personen bildnussen (*so viel möglich*) *künstlich fürgestellet. Jetzmalen aber von dem ersten Authore selbs verteutschet, reichlich gemehret, und gebesseret, auch zu lob Teutscher Nation inn Truck verfertiget. Also das der gemeine mann alle Teutschen Historien, von anfang der welt biß zu gemeldeter zeit, inn fürgestelleten Personen leichtlich vermercken. Allen Fürstlichen, Hohen Rittermeßigen, und Adelspersonen Teutscher nation gantz lustig, kurtzweilig, und nutzlich von iren altvorderen und vorfaren zulesen* (Basel, Oststein: 1578).

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CHAPTER 11

Dousa's Medieval Tournaments: Chivalry Enters the Age of Humanism?

Coen Maas

Ever since the emergence of medievalism in the early modern period, the tournament – rife as it is with chivalric associations – has been a dominant feature of the Middle Ages in the historical imagination. In modern times, famous tournament episodes, such as the one in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, may well have been an important factor that led to this result.[1] Obviously, the key role of the tournament as a typical scene in medieval romance and its strong connections with the concept of courtly love made a major contribution to the fame of the tournament as well.[2] Given the well-known disinclination of humanist scholars towards various facets of medieval culture and especially medieval literature, it might be expected that they would express an aversion to tournaments. From this point of view, it is perhaps not surprising that (mock) tournaments feature prominently in early modern parodies of chivalry, such as Pietro Aretino's *Orlandino* or Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the organization of tournaments continued well into the early modern period. Jacob Burckhardt described humanist attitudes towards these events as dismissive:

> Da half es nichts, daß schon Petrarca sich mit dem lebhaftesten Abscheu über das Turnier als über einen gefährlichen Unsinn ausgelassen hatte; er bekehrte die Leute nicht mit seinem pathetischen Ausruf: 'man liest nirgends daß Scipio oder Cäsar turniert hätten!' Die Sache wurde gerade in

1 On the role of Scott in the formation of modern ideas about the Middle Ages, see, for instance, Chandler A., "Sir Walter Scott and the Medieval Revival", *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 19, 4 (1965) 315–332; more recently, Alexander M., *Medievalism: The Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven – London: 2007), especially 24–64; Lynch A., "Nostalgia and Critique: Walter Scott's 'Secret Power'", *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 2, 2 (2011) 201–215.

2 See Blunk C.R., *La vois des hiraus: The Poetics of the Tournament in Late Medieval Chronicle and Romance*, PhD dissertation (University of Wisconsin-Madison: 2008); Bruckner M.T., "The Shape of Romance in Medieval France", in Krueger R.L. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: 2000) 13–28, especially 19.

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> Florenz förmlich populär; der Bürger fing an, sein Turnier – ohne Zweifel in einer weniger gefährlichen Form – als eine Art von regelrechtem Vergnügen zu betrachten, und Franco Sacchetti hat uns das unendlich komische Bild eines solchen Sonntagsturnierers aufbehalten. Derselbe reitet hinaus nach Peretola, wo man um ein Billiges turnieren konnte, auf einen gemietheten Färbergaul, welchem dann durch Bösewichter eine Distel unter den Schwanz gebunden wird; das Thier nimmt den Reißaus und jagt mit dem behelmten Ritter in die Stadt zurück. Der unvermeidliche Schluß der Geschichte ist die Gardinenpredigt der über solche halsbrechende Streiche empörten Gattinn [sic].
>
> It was in vain that from the time of Petrarch onwards the tournament was denounced as a dangerous folly. No one was converted by the pathetic appeal of the poet: 'In what book do we read that Scipio and Caesar were skilled at jousting?' The practice became more and more popular in Florence. Every honest citizen came to consider his tournament – now, no doubt, less dangerous than formerly – as a fashionable sport. Franco Sacchetti has left us a ludicrous picture of one of these holiday cavaliers – a notary seventy years old. He rides out on horseback to Peretola, where the tournament was cheap, on a jade hired from a dyer. A thistle is stuck by some wag under the tail of the steed, which takes fright, runs away, and carries the helmeted rider, bruised and shaken, into the city. The inevitable conclusion of the story is a severe curtain-lecture from the wife, who is more than a little enraged at these neck-breaking follies of her husband.[3]

Janus Dousa the Elder (1545–1604), one of the foremost Neo-Latin poets in the Low Countries, also paid ample attention to tournament scenes when construing an appropriate medieval past for his country in his poetic work of history, the *Annales rerum a priscis Hollandiae comitibus gestarum*, published by Aelbrecht Hendrickszoon in 1599. The inclusion of these serious and extensive episodes is fascinating both in view of the sometimes satirical stance of humanist scholars towards the tournament, and in comparison with the historical tradition in Holland, in which tournaments occupy a fairly marginal

3 Burckhardt J.C., *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch* (Basel: 1860) 362–363; trans. S.G.C. Middlemore as *The Civilisation of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy* (Cambridge: 2014) vol. II, 118–119 (slightly adapted). The quote is from Petrarch, *Epistulae seniles* XI, 13: 'Nunquam sic lusisse Scipio legitur, nunquam Cesar'; when mentioning Sacchetti, Burckhardt refers to *Novella* LXIV.

position. Why did Dousa decide to reserve so much space for these episodes? That is the question I would like to address in this article. In doing so, I will discuss Dousa's descriptions of three specific tournaments[4] and demonstrate that in the *Annales*, various aspects of the tournament phenomenon were incorporated into Dousa's intricate literary programme and made to serve the political rhetoric of the work, demonstrating how the meaning attributed to tournaments in Dousa's medieval source texts was transformed to fit the early modern context.

1 The Background: Tournaments in Holland

In order to discern how Dousa integrated the medieval tournament into the structure of the *Annales* and to appreciate the transformation of its meaning and function in this process, attention should be paid to some literary and political background. Most importantly, it should be acknowledged that even though Holland was in some respects a peripheral region during the Middle Ages, this did not mean that the knightly tournament culture that flourished in many parts of Europe was absent there. Antheun Janse has shown that noblemen from Holland had participated in tournaments at least since the thirteenth century, and that the first tournaments organized in Holland took place no later than in the fourteenth century. These tournaments allowed participants to train their military skills, to display their martial prowess – especially to a viewership of noble ladies – and to distinguish themselves as members of the nobility. Tournaments organized by princes, often as part of court festivals, also served to consolidate the political and military support for their authority. From the fifteenth century onwards, the knightly character of the nobility in Holland seems to have been in decline, and Janse did not find evidence of tournaments held there during this period.[5]

In the historiographical tradition in Holland, tournaments play a subordinate role. The most important exception is the tournament held in Corbie

4 A fourth one, held in Trier in 1019, can be found in Dousa Janus, *Annales rerum a priscis Hollandiae comitibus per CCCXLVI annos gestarum continuata serie memoriam complectentes* (The Hague, Aelbrecht Hendrickszoon: 1599) 89. This short episode will not be taken into account here, as this part of the *Annales* was written by Dousa's son, so its contribution to the literary programme and political rhetoric of the work as a whole is more difficult to assess.

5 Janse A., "Toernooicultuur en adelscultuur in middeleeuws Holland", *Holland. Regionaalhistorisch tijdschrift* 34, 3 (2002) 150–166. See also Janse A., *Ridderschap in Holland. Portret van een adellijke elite in de late middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: 2001) 333–344.

in 1234. Count Floris IV of Holland participated in this tournament and was killed. In the late thirteenth-century vernacular verse chronicle by Melis Stoke, and also in many later medieval and early modern works of history, the event is turned into a romantic tale. The Countess of Clermont had fallen in love with Floris and persuaded her husband to organize a tournament so that she would be able to admire him. Soon enough, she proved unable to hide her infatuation from her jealous husband. A violent combat between Floris, the husband, and their respective followers ensued, resulting in the death of both men. The Countess subsequently contracted the disease known as *amor hereos* (lovesickness) and died soon after.[6] It has been remarked that the representation of this story is highly reminiscent of a medieval romance.[7] This is not entirely surprising in view of the fact that tournaments were a staple ingredient of Middle Dutch Arthurian romances from the thirteenth century, such as *Ferguut, Die Riddere metter Mouwen*, and *Walewein*, which evolved around the concept of courtly love. In such stories, the tournament is part – and often the climax – of a series of adventures that the knight has to endure on his quest for a lady's favour.[8]

The literary configuration of the tournament in the romances was also put to effective use by the Habsburg dynasty that ruled the County of Holland following the death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482. In his autobiographical writings, Maximilian I heavily relied on literary motifs from the Arthurian tradition.[9] Both *Weisskunig* and *Theuerdank* include tournament scenes, and *Freydal* is

6 Stoke Melis, *Rijmkroniek van Holland,* ed. J.W.J. Burgers (Hilversum: 1999) 122–124. Another important medieval version can be found in De Beke Johannes, *Chronographia*, ed. H. Bruch, Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën. Grote serie 143 (The Hague: 1973) 181–183. The early sixteenth-century *Divisiekroniek* still follows this tradition: Aurelius Cornelius, *Die cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant* (Leiden, Jan Severszoon: 1517) fols. 162 v–163 r. For the treatment of the story by the early humanist historian Reynier Snoy, see Maas C., *The Medievalism and Political Rhetoric in Humanist Historiography from the Low Countries (1515–1609)*, Proteus 7 (Turnhout: 2018) 135–136.

7 Bruch H., "Floris IV sneuvelt in een tournooi", *Spiegel Historiael* 19 (1984) 93–96. See also Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland* 338. It may be added that the notion of *amor hereos* is closely linked to the concept of courtly love: Boase R., *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: A Critical Study of European Scholarship* (Manchester – Totowa: 1977) 132–133. It is also interesting to note that in *Der minnen loep*, a didactic poem on love by Dirc Potter (ca. 1411–1412), the episode is interpreted as exemplifying a tragic but proper form of love: Potter Dirc, *Der minnen loep*, ed. P. Leendertz (Leiden: 1845–1847) vol. I, 153–158.

8 See, for instance, Smith S., "Een martiale monnik. Over *moniage*, tenue en toernooi in *Die Riddere metter Mouwen*", *Voortgang. Jaarboek voor de Neerlandistiek* 23 (2005) 33–90 (especially 33 and the literature mentioned in footnote 2).

9 Williams G.S., "The Arthurian Model in Emperor Maximilian's Autobiographic Writings *Weisskunig* and *Theuerdank*", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11, 4 (1980) 3–22.

completely dedicated to tournaments. *Theuerdank*, Maximilian's partly fictional narrative poem about his journey to marry Mary of Burgundy, was probably the most influential of these writings, as it was the only one to appear in print, in a beautiful 1517 first edition with woodcuts designed by, amongst others, Leonhard Beck, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, and Hans Schäufelein [Fig. 11.1]. Chapters 101–107 of the poem describe a tournament in which the noble knight Theuerdank, Maximilian's alter ego, defeats six adversaries in various types of combat, after which he is crowned with a laurel wreath by Queen Ehrenreich, Mary of Burgundy's fictional counterpart in the poem.[10] Similarly, when Maximilian's great-grandson, the future Philip II of Spain, visited the Netherlands in 1549, an important part of the famous festivities held in Binche (Hainaut) consisted of tournaments. The festivities were carefully scripted symbolic performances in which Philip would emerge as victor, divinely ordained deliverer, and epitome of chivalric virtue, freeing prisoners from a dark castle with the help of an enchanted sword drawn from a pillar. The symbolism of the festivities clearly drew on chivalric literature, *Amadís de Gaula* in particular. In a German publication commemorating the celebrations, woodcuts from *Theuerdank* were reused, creating a certain continuity in the visual language used to represent the chivalric virtues of the Habsburg rulers.[11]

2 Dousa's Political and Literary Commitments

Janus Dousa the Elder's *Annales rerum a priscis Hollandiae comitibus gestarum*, the work that will be discussed in this paper, appeared in a different literary and political context than the chivalric tournaments of the Habsburg court. Dousa [Fig. 11.2] was deeply involved in the political scene of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, which had successfully broken away from its Habsburg king, Philip II of Spain, in 1568. Six years later, Dousa was charged with the defence of the city of Leiden against the troops of the duke of Alba. When the siege was lifted, it was decided that a university should be founded in the city. As a reward for his efforts, Dousa became a member of the new

10 *Die Geverlicheiten und eins Teils der Geschichten des loblichen streitbaren und hochberümbten Helds und Ritters Tewrdanncks* (Augsburg, Hans Schönsperger: 1519) fols. KV r–MIII r.

11 Frieder B.K., *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art, and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court*, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies 81 (Kirksville, MO: 2008) 135–158. See also Strong R.C., *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* (Boston: 1973) 107–109; Peters E., "1549 Knight's Game at Binche: Constructing Philip II's Ideal Identity in a Ritual of Honour", in Falkenburg R. (ed.), *Hof-, staats – en stadsceremonies*, Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek 49 (Zwolle: 1998) 11–35.

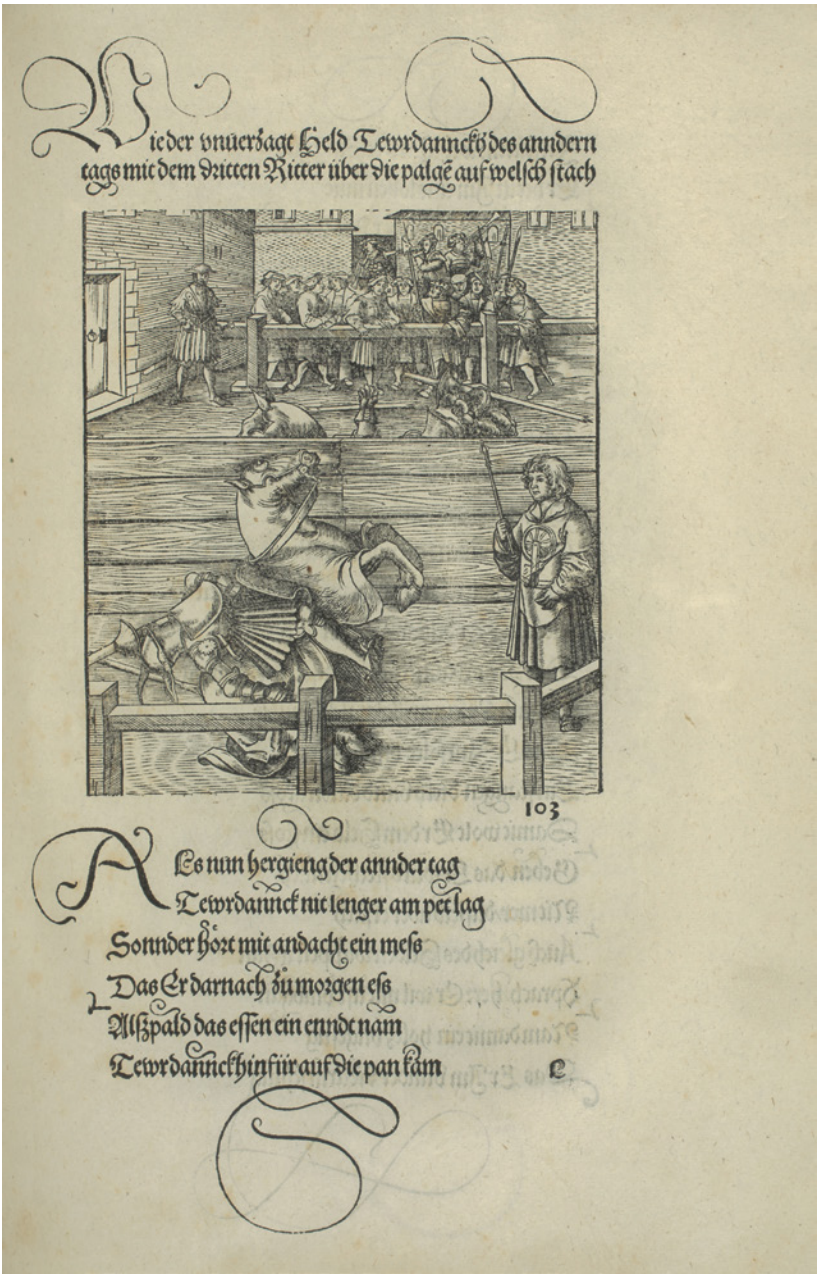


FIGURE 11.1 Leonhard Beck, woodcut depicting a jousting scene. From: *Die Geverlicheiten und eins Teils der Geschichten des loblichen streitbaren und hochberümbten Helds und Ritters Tewrdanncks* (Augsburg, Schönsperger: 1519). fol. L r (woodcut no. 103)
IMAGE © KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, THE HAGUE



FIGURE 11.2 Willem van Swanenburgh, portrait of Janus Dousa the Elder. Engraving, taken from: Johannes Meursius, *Athenae Batavae* (Leiden, Andries Clouck – Officina Elzeviriana: 1625) 87
IMAGE © KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, THE HAGUE

university's board. In the years 1584 and 1585, he participated in embassies to Queen Elizabeth I of England. In 1591, he was appointed as a member of the Supreme Court of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland.[12]

The genesis of the *Annales rerum a priscis Hollandiae comitibus gestarum* [Fig. 11.3] is also closely connected with the Dutch Revolt. In this work, Dousa describes the history of Holland from 841 until 1207. Until the publication of Dousa's works, knowledge about these centuries, when Holland was still a more or less independent county within the Frankish kings' sphere of influence, was only readily accessible in late medieval and early humanist works printed in the Low Countries under the Burgundian-Habsburgian regime; the newly founded Dutch Republic did not yet have a historiography of its own.[13] Under these circumstances, the University of Leiden in 1585 commissioned Dousa to write a new prose history of Holland. This prose work was published in 1601; the metrical work of history, which will be examined in this article, was a product of the same historical inquiries and had been released two years before.[14] After the publication of the prose history, Dousa was rewarded by the States of Holland with a golden chain and a medal worth six hundred pounds. In addition, he was granted an exemption from the obligation to appear in the Supreme Court.[15]

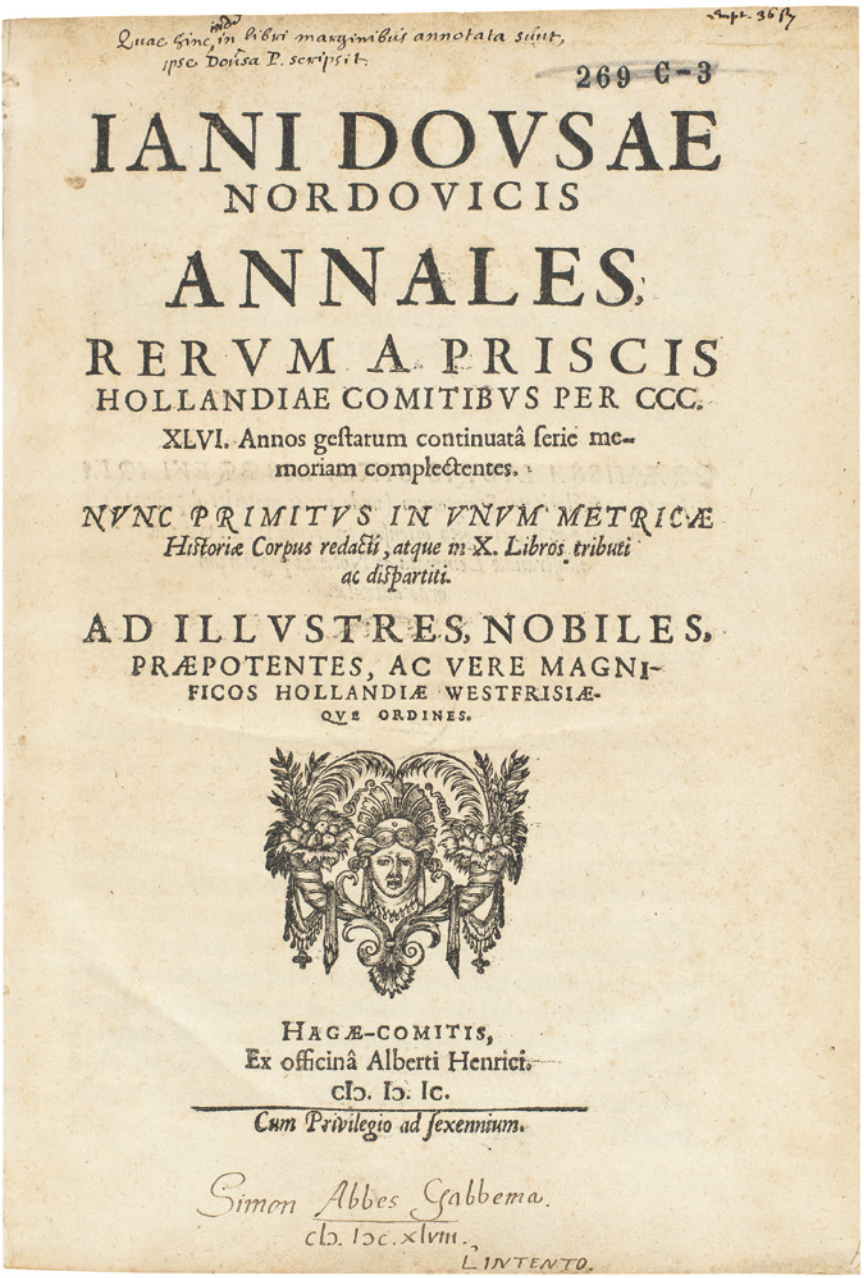
From a literary point of view, Dousa and his oeuvre are far removed from the conventions of the medieval romantic novel. Dousa was one of the foremost Neo-Latin poets and philologists of the late sixteenth century. He wrote various collections of Latin epigrams, odes, elegies, and satires after classical models; he compiled editions, commentaries, and collections of text-critical remarks for Sallust, Horace, Catullus, Tibullus, Petronius, and Sulpicia, and he contributed to the philological work of his sons on Plautus and Lucilius. Both

12 For the biographical facts, see Heesakkers C.L., *Praecidanea Dousana. Materials for a Biography of Janus Dousa Pater (1545–1604): His Youth* (Amsterdam: 1976); Heesakkers C.L. – Reinders W.M.S., *Genoeglijk bovenal zijn mij de Muzen. De Leidse Neolatijnse dichter Janus Dousa (1545–1604)*, Leidse opstellen 19 (Leiden: 1993); Vermaseren B.A., "De werkzaamheid van Janus Dousa Sr († 1604) als geschiedschrijver van Holland", *Bijdragen en mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 69 (1955) 49–107; Blok P.J. – Molhuysen P.C. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden: 1911–1937) vol. VI, 425–429. Dousa himself describes the main outlines of his political career up to 1593 in Dousa Janus, *Epistolae apologeticae duae* (Leiden, Christophorus Raphelengius: 1593) 3–10.

13 For the development of historiography in Holland, see Kampinga H., *De opvattingen over onze oudere Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis bij de Hollandsche historici der XVIe en XVIIe eeuw* (The Hague: 1917).

14 For Dousa's commission to write a history of Holland, see Vermaseren, "De werkzaamheid" 58.

15 Vermaseren, "De werkzaamheid" 65–66.


Quae hinc in libri marginibus annotata sunt, ipse Dousa P. scripsit.

269 C-3

IANI DOVSAE
NORDOVICIS
ANNALES,
RERVM A PRISCIS
HOLLANDIAE COMITIBVS PER CCC.
XLVI. Annos gestarum continuatâ serie memoriam complectentes.

NVNC PRIMITVS IN VNVM METRICÆ
Historiæ Corpus redacti, atque in X. Libros tributi
ac dispartiti.

AD ILLVSTRES, NOBILES,
PRÆPOTENTES, AC VERE MAGNIFICOS HOLLANDIÆ WESTFRISIÆQVE ORDINES.

HAGÆ-COMITIS,
Ex officinâ Alberti Henrici.
cIↃ. IↃ. Ic.
Cum Privilegio ad sexennium.

Simon Abbes Gabbema.
clↃ. IↃc. xlvm.
L'INTENTO.

FIGURE 11.3 Title page of Dousa's *Annales* (1599)
IMAGE © KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, THE HAGUE

of Dousa's works of history are part of this classicist programme as well. The *Annales rerum a priscis Hollandiae comitibus gestarum* were written in Latin elegiac distichs and, as will be discussed in more detail below, follow the classical model of Ovid's *Fasti* rather than such examples as Stoke's verse chronicle or medieval epic poetry.

Since existing representations of tournaments in Holland were strongly connected with the literary genre of chivalric romance and the political propaganda of the Habsburg dynasty, Dousa's background as a humanist, as well as his active involvement in the war of independence against the Habsburg rulers of Holland, makes it very likely that the literary and political significance of medieval tournaments in the *Annales rerum a priscis Hollandiae comitibus* would be sharply different from that in the works of his medieval predecessors. The likelihood of discontinuity is increased even further when one takes into account the fact that Dousa was one of the few historians in the early modern Low Countries to refer to the Middle Ages as a chronological category by technical terms, such as *media aetas* and *medium tempus*, and employed this periodization to distinguish himself from previous historians.[16] In the remainder of this article, it will be discussed how these discontinuities affected the representation of tournaments in the *Annales*.

3 Games, Glorification, and the Epic: The Tournament in Liège (1048)

The first tournament scene I would like to examine is the one set in Liège in the year 1048. The nucleus of the story about the tournament is as follows. Dirk IV, count of Holland, happened to be in Liège when a tournament was organized. Dirk participated in the tournament, but by accident he fatally wounded a nobleman who was a brother of both the archbishop of Cologne and the bishop of Liège. Although he was chased by a mob of angry knights, Dirk succeeded in leaving Liège and returning to Holland safely, but two of his own knights were killed.[17]

Dousa found this story in medieval chronicles from the fifteenth century, such as Johannes Gerbrandszoon a Leydis' *Chronicon comitum Hollandie et episcoporum Ultraiectensium* (the first version of which was written around

16 For an analysis of Dousa's concept of the Middle Ages, I refer the reader to Maas C., "'Covered in the Thickest Darkness of Forgetfulness': Humanist Commonplaces and the Defence of Medievalism in Janus Dousa's Metrical History (1599)", in Montoya A.C. – Romburgh S. van – Anrooij W. van (eds.), *Early Modern Medievalisms: The Interplay between Scholarly Reflection and Artistic Production*, Intersections 15 (Leiden: 2010) 329–345.

17 Dousa, *Annales* 96–97.

1468), the *Florarium temporum* (finished in 1472), and the *Oude Goutsche chronycxken* (first published in 1478).[18] It is striking that Dousa was willing to use these sources here, since he usually rejected late medieval historiography as being unreliable.[19] This critical attitude towards the tradition has in fact been praised as a vital catalyst for progress in Dutch historiography. Herman Kampinga, for instance, called Dousa a 'pathfinder in the field of scholarly historical investigation'.[20] Although this reputation is generally by no means undeserved, the standards of reliability Dousa applied to the tournament in Liège are rather lax – a circumstance that may well suggest that the episode has special thematic significance for his work.

The chroniclers used by Dousa refer to the tournament as *torneamentum, hastiludium*, and *tirocinium*, but do not provide a detailed description of the event, nor do they give a clear interpretation.[21] Dousa, on the other hand, manages to write two pages of verse in a rather detailed manner that he refers to in a marginal note as a *Graphica Ludorum Equestrium* [...] *descriptio*.[22] This inflation of the historical sources was no doubt facilitated by the rhetorical techniques of exuberant text composition (*copia*) that played a key role in humanist education. Pupils were trained in expanding brief stories and arguments into full-fledged narratives and declamations.[23] In *De duplici copia verborum*

18 Dousa, *Annales* 96, indicates that he used a manuscript of the *Florarium temporum* as well as some authors referred to as *Annales nostrates*.

19 For Dousa's critique of late medieval historiography in the verse *Annales*, see Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric.* 320–334.

20 Kampinga, *De opvattingen* 25–37. Cf. Waterbolk E.H., *Twee eeuwen Friese geschiedschrijving. Opkomst, bloei en verval van de Friese historiografie in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw* (Groningen: 1952) 193–194, 201; Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric* 320–334, 348–353, 383–385. The quote is from Kampinga, *De opvattingen* 25: 'padvinder voor de wetenschappelijke geschiedvorsching'.

21 For the version of the story in the *Florarium temporum*, see Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS. Clm 10436, fol. 176 r. For two examples of the late medieval chronicles Dousa might have used, see Leydis Johannes Gerbrandszoon, *Chronicon Hollandiae comitum et episcoporum Ultrajectensium*, ed. Franciscus Sweertius (Frankfurt, Daniel and David Aubry and Clemens Schleich: 1620) 124–125; *Het oude Goutsche chronycxken van Hollandt, Zeelandt, Vrieslandt en Utrecht*, ed. Petrus Scriverius (Amsterdam, Jan Hendrickszoon Boom, Joost Pluymer, and Casper Commelijn: 1663) 29.

22 Dousa, *Annales* 96.

23 See, for instance, Erasmus Desiderius, *De ratione studii, ac legendi interpretandique authores libellus aureus* (Strasbourg, Matthias Schürer: 1518) fols. VI v–VIII r. Erasmus briefly refers to the treatment of *amplificatio* in Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* VIII, 4, 1–3. For the concepts of *amplificatio* and *copia* in the classical and humanist rhetorical tradition, see Bauer B., "Amplificatio", in Ueding G. (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* (Tübingen: 1992–2015) vol. I, 445–471, especially 449–452 (Middle Ages) and 452–457 (humanism); Cave T., *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance*

ac rerum, published in 1512 for St Paul's School in London, for instance, Erasmus had provided a comprehensive catalogue of strategies that could be used both to elaborate on the wording of any given discourse and to flesh out its subject matter.[24] *Hypotyposis* (or *descriptio*, the term used in Dousa's marginal note) is one of the techniques in the second category: filling in concrete and vivid details about an event, the persons involved, their character and words, and the event's circumstances and consequences. Dousa thought that the *uberior dicendi copia* resulting from these was particularly fitting for poetic discourse, and indeed the descriptions of the tournaments in the verse *Annales* are much more extensive than their counterparts in his prose history.[25]

From an interpretive point of view, it is especially relevant to recognize what choices are made in expanding the source material. In this respect, it should be noted that in Dousa's description of the tournament in Liège, the chivalric aspects of the tournament are not very prominent. Although prowess and courage are, of course, present, other knightly virtues, such as piety, modesty, and loyalty, do not play a noticeable role in Dousa's account of this tournament, and the same is true of the concept of courtly love. The magical elements from the tradition of Arthurian romance are absent as well. Moreover, Dousa does not display a very keen interest in the precise execution of the tournament, although it seems that he is describing individual jousting rather than the traditional group fight known as mêlée. Rather, the more striking aspects of the passage are its visually suggestive character and the numerous references to epic subtexts. The following verses about the death of the nobleman and the reactions of the other participants provide a good example of these elements:

(Oxford: 1979) 3–34. For their role in humanist education, also see Mack P., "Humanism, Rhetoric, Education", in Hamilton D.B. (ed.), *A Concise Companion to English Renaissance Literature* (Malden, MA: 2006) 94–113, especially 103–104. *Amplificatio* was also a key ingredient of medieval poetics: Faral E., *Les arts poétiques du XII^e^ et du XIII^e^ siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge* (Paris: 1924) 61–85.

24 Erasmus Desiderius, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo* (Paris, Badius Ascensius: 1512).

25 For Dousa's comparison of poetic and historiographical discourse ("De poeticae artis cum historia Communione et Societatis"), see *Annales* fols. **IIII r–****IIII v. The quote is from fol. ***III v. Cf. fol. *** r: 'vel rerum copia, vel sententiarum varietate abundantes'. On fol. ***IIII v Dousa lists a number of devices that can be used in poetry to prevent the reader from becoming tired or bored: *figurarum varietas, temporum ac locorum descriptiones, similitudines, amplificationes, exempla, elogia, apostrophae*, and *orationes*. For the descriptions of the tournaments in the prose history, see Dousa Sr. Janus – Dousa Jr. Janus, *Bataviae Hollandiaeque annales* (Leiden, Christophorus Raphelengius: 1601) 393–394, 394–395, 451, 457–458. On p. 451 the reader is in fact referred to *Annales* 33–37 for more detailed information about tournaments.

Ille suo<s> flavos foedans in pulvere crines
Labitur, et pressam calcibus urget humum.
Intumuere Eburonum alae Germanaque signa:
Nil medium, caedem caede piare volunt.
'Devotum mactate caput'; vox omnibus una est.
Una nec unius iam petit hasta latus.
Tela volant, reboat Cataphractorum ictibus aether.
Me miserum, ludos hoc celebrare fuit?
Ille viam contra dextra laevaque timendus
Ferro aperit: Tungro sanguine terra rubet.

He falls, defiling his blond hair in the dust, and he burdens the soil pressed by his heels. The divisions from Liège and the German army rise: there is no middle course, they want to avenge slaughter with slaughter. 'Sacrifice that head vowed to God,' they all shout with one voice. More than one lance seeks the side of one man. Missiles fly and the air resounds with the blows delivered by the armoured knights. Poor me, was that a way to celebrate games? With his sword, the fierce count clears his way on the right and on the left: the soil turns red with the blood from Liège.[26]

The phrase *foedans in pulvere crines* in this passage is an allusion to the scene in the last book of the *Aeneid* where Turnus declares that he will fight Aeneas in single combat.[27] This reference seems to add little more than generic epic flavour: it draws attention to bravery and physical prowess as key values in epic poetry.

The words *vox omnibus una est*, however, point towards a more specific epic background for Dousa's tournament scene. These words are borrowed from the fifth book of the *Aeneid*, in which the funeral games for Anchises are described.[28] And it is not an isolated reference: Dousa uses at least three phrases from the fifth book of the *Aeneid* in his description of the tournament in Liège,[29] which

26 Dousa, *Annales* 97.

27 Virgil, *Aeneid* XII, 97: 'semiviri Phrygis et foedare in pulvere crinis'. The phrase is also alluded to in *Ilias Latina* 323 ('Iliacoque tuos foedaret pulvere crines'), but I suppose the verse from the *Aeneid* – the more canonical work – would come to mind more readily for an early modern reader.

28 Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 616: 'et tantum superesse maris, vox omnibus una'.

29 Apart from the allusion mentioned above, the verse 'Nam vidisse parum est: belli simulacra ciere' (Dousa, *Annales* 96) refers to *Aeneid* V, 674 ('qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat'), and the verse 'Mox tuba commissos solito canit ordine ludos' (Dousa, *Annales* 96) refers to *Aeneid* V, 113 ('et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos').

he also refers to as *Ludicra Troiae*, a term that is no doubt intended to conjure up the famous *lusus Troiae* that were introduced (or 'revived') by Julius Caesar in 46 or 45 BC and for which Virgil provided the etiological underpinnings in the fifth book of the *Aeneid*.[30] Thus, on the level of genre, the medieval tournament is turned into the equivalent of the games that had formed a standard ingredient of the classical epic genre since the description of the funeral games for Patroclus in the twenty-third book of Homer's *Iliad*.[31] Dousa's tournament scenes contribute to the epic side of the *Annales* both as symbols of martial values and as counterparts to these epic games. The parallel between Dousa's *Annales* and Virgil's *Aeneid* also operates at the level of the events, however. At this level, a link is created between the glorious past of Holland and the illustrious history of the Roman Empire. This analogy seems particularly apt because Virgil's description of the funeral games for Anchises ends with the burning of several Trojan ships at Juno's instigation, while the next episode after the tournament in Liège is Dirk IV taking revenge by burning the merchant ships from Cologne and Liège in the port of Dordrecht.

The epic games from the *Aeneid* are not Dousa's only model at the event level, however. A second model should be mentioned here: Ovid's description of the battle of the Cremera, in which 306 members of the *gens Fabia* unsuccessfully fought against the Etruscans (477 BC). In the passage I just quoted, the relevance of this event is revealed by the words *Tungro sanguine terra rubet*, which are a variation on the words *Tusco sanguine terra rubet* from the second book of Ovid's *Fasti*.[32] A second reference to Ovid's account of the battle of the Cremera is found a few pages later, when Dousa describes the battle at Dordrecht against an army raised by the archbishop of Cologne and the bishop of Liège, who were enraged at Dirk's burning of the ships.[33] Again, the medieval tournament in Holland is presented as a re-enactment of ancient Roman history.

This presence of allusions to Ovid's *Fasti* is not entirely surprising. The *Fasti* served as the main mould for Dousa's work and provided the metre (elegiac

30 Virgil's description of the *lusus Troiae* can be found in *Aeneid* V, 545–602. See also Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 39, and Cassius Dio XLIII, 23, 6, for Caesar's introduction of the game.

31 See, for instance, Lovatt H., *Statius and Epic Games: Sport, Politics, and Poetics in the Thebaid* (Cambridge: 2005), especially 1–22.

32 Ovid, *Fasti* II, 212.

33 The verses are found in Dousa, *Annales* 99 ('Sic ventum in Batavos: quos postquam vincere aperte / Non datur, insidias gens Alemanna parat') and refer to Ovid, *Fasti* II, 213–214 ('sic iterum, sic saepe cadunt; ubi vincere aperte / non datur, insidias armaque tecta parant').

distichs), the narrative patterns, and the main source of intertextual references. One might wonder, however, why Dousa decided to combine the models of the *Fasti* and the *Aeneid*, in the tournament scenes as much as in the rest of the *Annales*. The two models are easily reconciled, however, when one takes into account that for Dousa, Ovid's *Fasti* are a historical epic about the Roman people rather than a versified calendar. In his introduction, for instance, Dousa says that he opted for the gentler sound of the humble elegiac distich instead of the epic grandeur of the hexameter, 'after the example of Ovid, who was not working on a very dissimilar subject, when he wove most of the deeds of the people of Rome (*Populi Romani Gesta*) into the most exquisite scroll of his *Fasti*'.[34] Both the *Aeneid* and the *Fasti* therefore seem to have played a role in the modelling of Dousa's *Annales* as a 'national' historical epic that glorifies the heroic past of his country and puts it on a par with the illustrious history of Rome.[35]

Of course, this laudatory perspective on the past, which is more or less inherent in the genre of (historical) epic, could be very convenient for people using it for contemporary reasons. Thus, Dousa chose to present the *Annales* as a kind of foundation myth for the newly founded Dutch Republic. In his introduction, he wrote:

> Sed enim conclamatae paene Antiquitati ante omnia subveniendum, simul ad aborigines nostros, tanti Principatus conditores, oculatae mentis acies paulisper reflectenda, unde ad hoc pulcherrimum denique ac validissimum reipublicae corpus, quod hodie obtinemus, […] perventum.
>
> But yet above all, we should come to the assistance of antiquity, which has almost been bewailed [that is, it had been so grossly neglected that knowledge about it had nearly vanished], and at the same time we should for a while direct the keenness of our mental vision towards the original

34 Dousa, *Annales* fols. **II v–**III r: 'Ad Nasonis exemplum scilicet, qui non nimis absimili argumento plaeraque Populi Romani Gesta exquisitissimo Fastorum suorum Volumini intexuit'. For the idea that the *Annales* do not fit neatly within one literary genre, also see Heesakkers C.L., "'Historia proxima poetis': la storia neolatina in versi di Janus Dousa sui conti di Olanda (1599)", in Nichilo M. de – Distaso G. – Iurilli A. (eds.), *Confini dell'Umanesimo letterario. Studi in onore di Francesco Tateo* (Rome: 2003) vol. II, 747–763, especially 760–761.

35 This idea of a 'national epic' is reinforced by a third subtext, Ennius' *Annales*, which provided the title for Dousa's work and to which Dousa refers many times. For the role of Ennius in Dousa's verse history, see Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric* 312, 342; Heesakkers, "Historia proxima poetis" 761. However, in the tournament scenes Dousa does not seem to make any specific references to Ennius.

> inhabitants of our country, the founders of such a great dominion, from which we have arrived at this exceptionally beautiful and strong body of the state that we have today.[36]

As I have argued before, one of the important objectives of the *Annales* in providing a glorious foundation myth for the Dutch Republic seems to be the creation of legitimacy for the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish authorities.[37] Within that context, it may also be suggested that when Dousa describes *in extenso* the glorious feats of the counts of Holland during tournaments, he implicitly competes with the propaganda of the Habsburg court, which – as has been described above – also relied on the tournament as a means to demonstrate its grandeur and legitimacy: the native leaders of Holland prove themselves to be virtuous champions of the people every bit as much as their foreign rivals.

4 Elegiac Love and Genre Experimentation: The Tournament in Magdeburg (937) [Fig. 11.4]

Dousa's interpretation of the *Fasti* as a historical epic does not mean that the genre play between epic and elegy that is so characteristic of the *Fasti* is absent from the *Annales*. On the contrary: the rivalry between both genres is carried on in the *Annales*, resulting in a degree of literary complexity that allows Dousa to incorporate different aspects of the tournament into his work. This can be seen especially well in the description of two other tournaments in the *Annales*, the ones set in Magdeburg in the year 937 and the one set in Rothenburg ob der Tauber in the year 942. The only information available to Dousa about these events was that Dirk II, count of Holland, participated in these tournaments – a fact that had been mentioned in Georg Rüxner's *Turnierbuch* (1530) and its Latin adaptation by Franciscus Modius, the *Pandectae Triumphales* (1586). In fact, it seems that both tournaments were completely made up by Rüxner, as there is no evidence for the existence of tournaments at all before

36 Dousa, *Annales* fol. ** v. Cf. 26 ('Hollandi conditor Imperii') and 68 ('tantae / Hollandam gentem condere molis erat', with an allusion to Virgil, *Aeneid* I, 33: 'tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem'). Because of the patriotic tendencies in Dousa's poetic programme, Heesakkers calls the poem a 'national epic': for instance, Heesakkers, "Historia proxima poetis" 761–762.

37 Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric* 307–308, 341–344.



FIGURE 11.4 Jost Amman, The tournament in Magdeburg. Woodcut, taken from: Georg Rüxner, *Anfang, ursprung unnd herkommen des Thurniers inn teutscher nation* (Siemern, Hieronymus Rodler: 1532), fold-out sheet with signature f iiij, inserted between fols. xxxiij en xxxiv
IMAGE © KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, THE HAGUE

the twelfth century.[38] Again, Dousa here seems to assume a milder attitude towards his sources than he generally does, as he criticizes the chronological messiness of Rüxner's account without drawing the conclusion that Rüxner's account – which is not particularly rich in source references – is flawed on a more fundamental level.[39]

Despite his reputation for historical accuracy, Dousa succeeds in writing almost five pages of distichs about the event. In this passage, he situates the invention of the tournament in the time of Henry the Fowler, who was king of the Romans from 919 until 936. According to Dousa, the original aim of the tournament was to keep soldiers in shape in times of peace. Subsequently, the poet goes on to describe the three days' tournament in Magdeburg, allegedly held in the year 937. He refers to the preparations, the shining armour, the inspection of the helmets, the strict rules of the tournament, the punishments for non-compliance, the announcements by the herald, the sound of the trumpets, the participating noblemen who came from all over the Holy Roman Empire (with special attention given to the count of Holland, of course), the jousting with wooden lances (here Dousa probably means the *Kolben*, a kind of wooden club used in late medieval tournaments), and the crowds of female spectators. This description seems to be based almost entirely on information found in Rüxner's *Turnierbuch*. Especially for the origins of the tournament and its rules, it seems likely that Dousa consulted these sources, especially in view of the fact that the institution of the tournament by Henry the Fowler was an invention by Rüxner, who also projected the fifteenth-century rules of the game back onto this early period.[40] This could also account for Dousa's anachronistic focus on the joust rather than the mêlée.

Dousa's verses about the interaction between men and women during the tournament are presented as part of a poetic digression from the martial subject matter of the work in general. Dousa asks Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, to follow him on the day before the lance fights begin, 'for Venus' day requires other games, other spectacles than these; she has given security to her

38 Jackson W.H., "The Tournament and Chivalry in German Tournament Books of the Sixteenth Century and in the Literary Works of Emperor Maximilian I", in Harper-Bill C. – Harvey R.E. (eds.), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood* (Woodbridge: 1986) 49–73, especially 51. For the origins of the tournament, see also Keen M.H., *Chivalry* (New Haven: 1984) 83–84.

39 In fact, Dousa even vouches for Rüxner's truthfulness. See Dousa, *Annales* 37: 'Nam quod ad Hollandum Comitem, et Gotha pertinet arma, / Ruxnero certum est credere: vera refert'. Dousa limits his critique to Rüxner's chronology, which he refers to here as 'hallucinatio in temporum ratione perperam subducta'. This point is explained in more detail in Dousa Sr. – Dousa Jr., *Bataviae Hollandiaeque annales* 394–395.

40 Jackson, "The Tournament and Chivalry" 51.

husband Mars'.[41] At the end of the digression, Dousa explicitly indicates that he regards the excursus as elegiac:

> But it will be time to cut short the games, after the pressed hair has borne the helmet long enough. There has been more than enough indulgence in arms and broken lances. Therefore, return to the *Fasti* now, Elegy; from this by-road we have to go back to the *Fasti* in orderly fashion, giving everyone the praise he deserves.[42]

In Dousa's description of the tournament in Magdeburg, the ample attention paid to the presence of women and the heavy emphasis placed on the romantic aspects of the tournament are striking, especially in contrast to the way he described the tournament in Liège, which was characterized by a focus on the martial aspects of the spectacle.[43] I will quote a few verses from the former passage to illustrate my point. According to Dousa's marginal notes, the words between quotation marks (added here by myself) should be understood as being spoken by the young participants in the tournament.

> Rarus honos, nympharum encomia posse mereri;
> Rarior, a cara pignora ferre manu.
> Nec mihi quis regum dona, aut praeconia iactet.
> An tribui hac merces dignior ulla potest?
> O decora, o nostrae merces male cognita pubi;
> Illa quoque Hesperium trans mare digna peti.
> 'Solus honesta equiti scisti dare praemia, Caesar:
> Haec mihi si dederis, iam cataphractus ero.

41 Dousa, *Annales* 35: 'Cras, (ut rumor ait,) puris certabitur hastis. / Spectatum, o, mecum (Calliopeia) veni. / Quippe alios ludos, alia his spectacula poscit / Lux Veneris; Marti sat dedit illa suo'. It is somewhat unclear to me to which days exactly Dousa is referring. The tournament was held on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, according to his account (see also Rüxner Georg, *Anfang, ursprung unnd herkommen des Thurniers inn teutscher nation*, Siemern, Hieronymus Rodler: 1532, fols. XXXII v–XXXIII v). The day before the lance fights cannot be Friday, then, as the phrase *lux Veneris* may suggest.

42 Dousa, *Annales* 37: 'Sed iam tempus erit ludos incidere, postquam / Sat galeam pressae sustinuere comae: Indultumque armis, et rupta hastilia abunde; / Proinde iterum ad Fastos nunc (Elegia) redi; / A diverticulo repetendos ordine Fastos: / Elogium tribuens unicuique suum'. Note that Dousa uses the term *ludi* again, which may be taken as another reference to the phenomenon of epic games (see, for instance, Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 113 and 605).

43 Perhaps the idea was suggested to Dousa by the name of city ('the city of virgins'), to which he refers by both its German name (Magdeburg) and its Greek version (Parthenope)?

Formosae, o, tantum spes sit placuisse puellae.
Cedet Amiclaeo iam mihi Castor equo.
Nam mihi quo plausus, quo niceteria vulgi,
Eludit palmas si domina una meas?
Da veniam, Caesar: nec iam tua Munera tanti:
Et satis est, faveat si Pasicompsa mihi'.

It is a rare honour to be able to deserve the praise of the maidens; even rarer to take up the tokens from a precious hand; let no one take pride with me in royal proclamations and gifts. Or can any worthier reward be assigned than that one? Oh, the glory and rewards that are so badly known to our youth! They are also worthy of being pursued beyond the Western sea. 'Only you, Caesar, were able to give honourable rewards to the knight: if you give them to me, I will be your armoured knight. Oh, let there only be hope to have pleased the beautiful girl – even Castor will give way to me on his Laconian horse. For how can the applause and the prizes of the people be of any use to me, if my only mistress mocks my palms of victory? Forgive me, Caesar, your gifts are not worth that much: and it is enough if Pasicompsa is well disposed towards me'.[44]

In this passage, Dousa leans heavily on classical love poetry, although subtle differences are noticeable. The words *trans mare digna peti*, for instance, are borrowed from the *Heroides*, specifically the letter from Leander to Hero.[45] In this letter, Leander says that he would cross the sea for Hero's kisses; in Dousa's work, the speaker's attention has a more symbolic and sublimated focus: the tokens of favour (*pignora*) given by the noble ladies to the most successful knights, described by Rüxner as a wreath (*Kränzlin*, translated by Dousa as *serta*) with a piece of jewellery.[46] In addition, Dousa quotes another verse from the *Heroides*, this time from Helen's letter to Paris.[47] While Helen admits that Paris' gifts are not enough for her to stay with him, Dousa reverses the situation

44 Dousa, *Annales* 36. The marginal notes read: 'Huc iuvenes aequum est contendere'. And: 'Ex quorum persona potius, quam ex mea, cum haec tum quae sequuntur dicta accepi velim; Ornatus tantum gratia a nobis intertexta hoc loco, more poetis non inconsueto'.

45 Ovid, *Heroides* XVIII, 102: 'oscula, di magni, trans mare digna peti!'.

46 Rüxner, *Anfang, ursprung unnd herkommen* fol. XVIII r: 'welche Vier in solchem Thurnier vnd Ritterspil das best thetten, das die für die andern globt vnd gepreißt wurden, denen gaben Frawen vnd Junckfrawen den danck; das was eyn Kräntzlin bei weilen mit eynem angehenckten Cleynodt oder hefftlin'. Dousa, *Annales* 36: 'Serta, inserta suo quae bacca ornaverit auro, / Serta, favor dantis quae pretiosa facit'.

47 Ovid, *Heroides* XVII, 225: 'da veniam fassae! non sunt tua munera tanti'.

and has the speaker reject the emperor's rewards in favour of the love of his elegiac mistress (*domina*), referring to her as Pasicompsa, which is the name of a character in Plautus' *Mercator* who is sought as a mistress by several other characters. And thirdly, together with a few other words, the phrase *haec mihi si dederis* refers to the description of the rape of the Sabine women in Ovid's *Ars amatoria*.[48] While Ovid suggests that he would like to be one of the Romans involved in that story if could get the accompanying *commoda*, the speaker in Dousa's poem would like to become a knight if he could obtain the *honesta praemia* promised by the emperor.

In this way, Dousa enters into a competition with Ovid, and it seems that he tries to outdo Ovid by proposing the tournament as a more sublimated, elevated, and chaste type of love.[49] It may well be that this representation of the tournament is ultimately inspired by chivalric descriptions of tournaments in medieval romances, although classical poetry always remains the main frame of reference for Dousa.[50] At the level of genre, the passage shows that Dousa is not a typical epic poet. After the model provided by Ovid's *Fasti*, he blends elegiac elements into his heroic poetry, thus continuing Ovid's playful exploration of the border zone between epic and elegy in the *Fasti*.[51]

5 Loyalty and Respect: The Tournament in Rothenburg ob der Tauber (942)

After describing the role of the women during the tournament in Magdeburg, Dousa's poetic narrator interrupts his digression with Ovidian self-consciousness,[52] recapitulates his narrative about Dirk II, and mentions in

48 Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I, 131–132: 'Romule, militibus scisti dare commoda solus: / Haec mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero'.

49 Another sign of competition is that Ovid's simple foot soldier (*miles*) becomes a more respectable cavalryman (*eques*) in Dousa's verses.

50 For the reuse of medieval love poetry in humanist elegy, see also Pieper C.H., "Medievalisms in Latin Love Poetry of the Early Italian Quattrocento", in Montoya A.C. – Romburgh S. van – Anrooij W. van (eds.), *Early Modern Medievalisms: The Interplay between Scholarly Reflection and Artistic Production*, Intersections 15 (Leiden: 2010) 45–66.

51 The literature on the genre experiment carried out in the *Fasti* is quite voluminous; see Hinds S., "*Arma* in Ovid's *Fasti*. Part 1: Genre and Mannerism", *Arethusa* 25, 1 (1992) 81–112, and, more recently and extensively, Merli E., *Arma canant alii. Materia epica e narrazione elegiaca nei Fasti di Ovidio*, Studi e testi 16 (Florence: 2000).

52 In any case, the expression seems Ovidian, but one may even surmise Dousa is referring to Ovid, *Tristia* V, 7, 55–56, specifically: 'ille ego Romanus vates (ignoscite, Musae!) /

passing Dirk's participation in another tournament, the one allegedly held by Conrad the Red, duke of Lorraine, in Rothenburg ob der Tauber in the year 942:

> Nec minus (o) vati, cives, ignoscite vestro,
> Rumpere qui coepti propositi ausus opus.
> Illustris fidei unde liquet documenta dedisse
> Instructum Hollandis Didericum ordinibus.
> Inter praecipuos tunc Caesaris auxiliares;
> Praemiaque ad patrios Hunna tulisse Lares.
> Didericum dico, comitum qui in classe secundus,
> Tunc cui maturo robore flos aderat.
> Quique Gothis prope tres annos exercitus armis,
> Durarat primae tempore militiae.
> Hunc etiam, spumantis equi dum assurgit in armos,
> Munus honestantem, (dux Lotharene,) tuum:
> Hastifragumque, Rotenburgicae sub moenibus urbis,
> Victorem Tubarus vidit, et obstupuit.
> Francica Thuringos qua cis patet area saltus.
> Quintus ab Henrici munere is annus erat.
>
> And, my fellow countrymen, forgive your poet just as much, who ventured to interrupt the work on the subject I had embarked on, which demonstrates that Dirk, placed among the ranks from Holland, proved his exceptional loyalty and that among Caesar's distinguished auxiliary troops, he brought Hunnic spoils back to his fatherland. I mean Dirk, who was the second Count, and who was then in the prime of his mature strength. In the period of his first military service, he spent almost three years fighting in Germany. When this man mounted the shoulders of his foaming horse – honouring your spectacle, Duke of Lorraine – the Tauber saw this lance-breaking victor under the walls of Rothenburg, where the Frankish land stretches on this side of the Thuringian forests, and it was stupefied. It was the fifth year after Henry's spectacle.[53]

In this passage, Dousa returns to the martial aspects of the tournament and presents them as a source of awe. In doing so, he refers to Propertius' rejection

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Sarmatico cogor plurima more loqui'. For the Ovidian characteristics of the *Annales* in general, see Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric* 334–343.

53 Dousa, *Annales* 36–37.

of military life, so characteristic of elegiac poetry.[54] Again, some contrast imitation might be at work here, because unlike the spoils of war mentioned by Propertius, Dirk's *praemia* are no longer *dira* but merely 'Hunnic'; Dousa presents the war against the Magyars (*Hunni*) as a praiseworthy enterprise. In the rivalry between epic and elegy, Dousa thus seems to take the emancipation of elegiac poetry to a higher level, and self-consciously describes epic subject matter in elegiac distichs. The point is underscored by the epic language of the passage.[55]

What is more important for my argument, however, is that Dousa presents Dirk's willingness to follow the emperor to the German lands in the east for three full years, to fight in his battle against the Magyars at Merseburg,[56] and to participate in the tournaments held during this period, as an exceptional display of loyalty (*illustris fides*) to the feudal system of which he was a part. The words *munus honestare* convey a similar sense of social obligation. This representation fits in well with the actual social functions of tournaments – one of which was to strengthen the political and military ties of the participating noblemen to the prince who organized the tournament – and it might contain a remnant of the chivalric ideal of loyalty. However, Dousa's focus on loyalty is also salient in view of the political discourse of the Dutch Revolt. At least until 1580, the propaganda of William of Orange heavily relied on the concept of fealty – the fidelity owed by a vassal to his feudal lord – and to justify his actions he consistently used the argument that his duty of loyalty to Philip II required that he defend the common weal.[57]

Similar arguments were made on behalf of the people as a whole. Some fine examples can be found in a speech by Philips of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde [Fig. 11.5], held at the Diet of Worms in 1578. The speech has been characterized by Martin van Gelderen as 'yet another historical account which presented the Dutch as most faithful subjects'.[58] In this speech, Marnix referred to the 'States and their continuous and steadfast loyalty (*fides*) and respect

54 Propertius, *Elegiae* II, 30, 22: 'et ferre ad patrios praemia dira Lares!'.

55 For the 'foaming horse', for instance, compare Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, 881 ('seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos'); for fighting 'under the walls of the city', compare Virgil, *Aeneid* XII, 116 ('campum ad certamen magnae sub moenibus urbis').

56 The battle took place in the year 933, but Dousa seems to date the event to the year 935.

57 Oudendijk J.K., "Den Coninck van Hispaengien heb ick altijt gheert", ed. W. Jappe Alberts, *Dancwerc. Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. D.Th. Enklaar ter gelegenheid van zijn vijfenzestigste verjaardag* (Groningen: 1959) 264–278.

58 Gelderen M. van, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555–1590*, Ideas in Context 23 (Cambridge: 1992) 139. Marnix' plea was directed towards the princes of the Holy Roman Empire, and he aimed to obtain their support for the cause of the Dutch Revolt. Although this may seem to constitute a parallel to Dirk II's service to the emperor, Dousa seemed



FIGURE 11.5 Johan Wierix, portrait of Philips of Marnix (1581). Engraving
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

(*observantia*) towards the King of Spain, their legitimate lord and natural ruler'. In addition, he mentioned 'those ancient examples of the loyalty (*fides*), affection (*amor*), and unbroken and unvanquished respect (*observantia*) of the Dutch towards their rulers and lords, a respect that has been perpetuated by our forefathers from the very beginning for all time'.[59]

That this idea had not lost its relevance at the time of the publication of Dousa's *Annales* can be observed in pamphlets like *De iure belli Belgici*, printed by Aelbrecht Hendrickszoon one year before he issued the *Annales*. The writer of this pamphlet claimed it was widely known

> that the inhabitants of Holland and Zeeland have always supported and followed the King's reign with full sense of duty and obedience – as if it was some revelation of divine will – and that nothing, indeed, was ever lacking in the loyalty (*fides*) and obedience (*obsequium*) they owed to their rulers in accordance with the laws of nature.[60]

From this perspective, Dousa's representation of the loyal behaviour of Count Dirk II can be regarded as part of a broader narrative about the enduring faithfulness of Holland to its rulers. Dirk's tournament participation thus prefigures the strong sense of loyalty in which the early modern Hollanders and their

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to have looked for support from France rather than from the Holy Roman Empire: Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric* 325–326.

59 Marnix Philips of, *Oratio* [...] *pro serenissimo archiduce Austriae Matthia, et Ordinibus Belgicis, ad delegatos septemvirum, ceterorumque principum, et ordinum Sacri Imperii, Wormatiano conventu habita* (unknown printer: 1578) 9: 'ordines et suam in regem Hispaniarum, legitimum suum dominum, ac principem naturalem, perpetuam et constantem fidem atque observantiam, et in gravissima, atque indigna liberis hominibus, perdiuturnaque Hispanorum oppressione patientiam, ac moderationem incredibilem, et denique ad constituendam pacem, avertendasque huius belli faces propensionem, ac studium flagrantissimum'. The second quotation is on p. 10: 'vetera illa Belgarum erga suos principes ac dominos fidei, amoris, et infractae invictaeque observantiae, iam inde usque a maioribus omni aevo perpetuatae exempla'. See also p. 13: 'admirabili eorum fide ac liberalitate' and p. 20: 'perpetuam suam et constantem erga regem fidem'.

60 *De iure belli Belgici adversus Philippum regem Hispaniarum oratio* (The Hague, Aelbrecht Hendrickszoon: 1598) 57: 'quandoquidem inter omnes, non Belgas modo, sed quoscunque exteros homines constat, qui tum ipsi rem omnem, uti gesta est viderunt, vel postea auditione acceperunt, Hollandos, Zelandosque omni officio et obsequio semper Regis imperia, tanquam oracula quaedam suscepisse et peregisse: Nunquam vero defuisse fidei suae atque obedientiae, quam naturae legibus debebant suis principibus'. See also p. 9, where reference is made to Governor Mary of Hungary's testimony to Philip II about the 'fidem ac virtutem Belgarum'.

leaders took so much pride.[61] In this way, Dousa incorporates yet another aspect of the chivalric code of honour that is at the core of many medieval tournament representations into the political message of his own tournament scenes – a political message that was itself deeply rooted in feudal concepts of fidelity.

6 Conclusion

In this article, I have discussed three tournament scenes from Janus Dousa's verse history of Holland, proposing a few possible explanations for the relatively large amount of attention he pays to these episodes. I pointed out that in the *Annales* Dousa follows the model of Ovid's *Fasti* and continuously balances between the classical literary genres of epic and elegy. The medieval phenomenon of the tournament fit this elaborate literary programme exceptionally well. On the one hand, Dousa paid considerable attention to the amorous side of the tournament. Love between knights and female spectators becomes part of a web of allusions to classical elegiac poetry, which Dousa seems to be emulating by presenting the interaction between knights and noble ladies at the tournament as a purer and more elevated kind of love, possibly evoking some chivalric overtones of courtly love here. On the other hand, the tournament is also – and more importantly – a symbol for the martial virtues of the counts of Holland. From this perspective, the tournament scenes – sometimes even represented as epic games, following a Virgilian model – help to build the epic side of the *Annales*, and they contribute to the construction of a grand narrative of medieval origins for the newly founded Dutch Republic. While the phenomenon of the tournament is a good fit with Dousa's complex literary programme, it could also be used for his far less complex political purpose: resistance to the Spanish domination of the Low Countries. By representing the counts of Holland as glorious tourneyers, Dousa may be regarded as competing with the self-presentation of Habsburg rulers, such as Maximilian and Philip II, who used (real and imaginary) tournaments to legitimize their rule over the Low Countries. Moreover, Dousa presents the counts' participation in tournaments as a way to fulfil their feudal duty of faithfulness, thus contributing to the

61 For Dousa's ways of presenting the medieval counts of Holland as precursors of early modern political leaders, see also Maas C., "Was Janus Dousa a Tacitist? Rhetorical and Conceptual Approaches to the Reception of Classical Historiography and its Political Reception", in Pieper C.H. – Laureys M. – Enenkel K.A.E. (eds.), *Discourses of Power: Ideology and Politics in Neo-Latin Literature*, Noctes Neolatinae 17 (Hildesheim: 2012) 233–248, especially 243–244.

political rhetoric of the Dutch Revolt, in which the continuous loyalty of the Dutch to their legitimate rulers was frequently emphasized. In this way, the medieval phenomenon of the tournament helped Dousa to construct an appropriate past that was an excellent fit for the literary programme of his *Annales* as well as highly usable material for the political purposes of the Dutch Revolt.

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CHAPTER 12

Living as Befits a Knight: New Castles in Seventeenth-Century Holland

Konrad Ottenheym

1 Introduction: Seventeenth-Century 'Gothic' Architecture

From the 1630s onwards, the ideal of building according to principles of 'true' architecture as formulated in Antiquity by Vitruvius and more recently by Italian architects like Palladio and Scamozzi, had become decisive in the further development of Dutch architecture.[1] The Mauritshuis in The Hague (1633–1644) was one of the first convincing specimens of this new building style. Thanks to Huygens' mediation, Jacob van Campen became involved not long afterwards in one of the Prince of Orange's key construction projects: in 1639, he designed the new front façade of, and oversaw an extensive renovation of, the Oude Hof at Noordeinde in The Hague, now known as Noordeinde Palace. From that moment on, Italianate Classicism came to be regarded as the Republic's courtly style and went on to be imitated widely in the country, both among the nobility and by the civic authorities and leading bourgeoisie. Town halls, grand houses along the cities' canals, churches and orphanages – almost all new public and private construction projects were designed in the new style from about 1640 onwards. Even in the instances where the result was not a runaway success, the Classical idiom was at least applied as façade ornamentation. It seemed that there was no interest in Gothic architectural forms in this climate. Where they were discussed in texts, they tended to be dismissed as the epitome of an antiquated building style, and some writers, aping a handful of influential Italian theorists of art, even called these forms 'barbaric' on

1 This contribution is also published in Dutch, as chapter 9 in Enenkel K.A.E. - Ottenheym K.A., *Oudheid als ambitie. De zoektocht naar een passend verleden* (Nijmegen: 2017). See for the influence of Scamozzi on Dutch classicist architecture (with further bibliography) among others: Ottenheym K.A., *Schoonheid op Maat. Vincenzo Scamozzi en de architectuur van de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: 2010). Ottenheym K.A., "'The best and most competent at observing proportion'. Scamozzi's posthumous success in 17th-century Holland", in Barbieri F. – Avagnina M.E.- Sanvito P. (eds.), *Vincenzo Scamozzi. Teorico Europeo* (Vicenza: 2016) 194–231.

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occasion.[2] Nevertheless, there were some rare situations where the clean-lined classical idiom of the day was deliberately passed over in favour of the "old-fashioned" idiom of Gothicism. In fact, this was the case across Europe.

Most cases where Gothic applications were chosen were in the completion or extension of mediaeval churches, where preserving the unity of architectural style trumped the consideration of making a single component of the building a showcase of contemporary building.[3] Examples of this from the Province of Holland include the "Gothic" designs of Jacob van Campen, *circa* 1645, for the (never-completed) tower of the Nieuwe Kerk on the Dam in Amsterdam, and the new vestry (1658) of St. Bavo's church in Haarlem by Salomon de Bray [Fig. 12.1].[4] Even new churches built in a more up-to-date idiom often sported emphatically recognisable long, narrow windows with tracery redolent of the traditional church windows of the Middle Ages. In recognition of their origins, German sources of the age literally call them *Kirchenfenster* (church windows) or describe them as 'windows in ecclesiastical style' (*kirchischer Stil*).[5] In many seventeenth-century Protestant churches in the Netherlands, too, elongated windows with modern tracery were installed, such as in Hendrick de Keyser's churches in Amsterdam [Fig. 12.2], the Marekerk in Leiden, and the Nieuwe Kerk in The Hague.[6] Evidently, this was a way of denoting a building, be it

2 Jongh E. de, "'t Gotsche krulligh mall'. De houding tegenover de gotiek in het zeventiende-eeuwse Holland", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (1973) 85–145.

3 Celebrated examples are the sixteenth-century designs for the façade of San Petronio in Bologna; the mid-seventeenth-century new Marian chapel beside the choir of the Gothic cathedral of St. Goedele in Brussels; and Nicholas Hawsmoor's towers for Westminster Abbey, dating from the early eighteenth century. Wittkower R., *Gothic vs Classic: Architectural Projects in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (New York: 1974). Hall M. (ed.), *Gothic Architecture and its Meanings 1550–1830* (Reading: 2002). Rousteau-Chambon H., *Le gothique des Temps modernes. Architecture religieuse en milieu urbain* (Paris: 2003).

4 Dunk Th. von der, "Hoe klassiek is de gothiek? Jacob van Campen en de toren van de Nieuwe kerk te Amsterdam. Een nieuwe benadering van een oude kwestie", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 58 (1993) 49–90; idem, *Toren versus traditie. De worsteling van classicistische architecten met een middeleeuws fenomeen* (Leiden: 2015); Tussenbroek G. van, *De toren van de Gouden Eeuw. Een Hollandse strijd tussen Gulden en God* (Amsterdam: 2017).

5 Sutthoff L.J., *Gotik im Barock. Zur Frage der Kontinuität des Stiles ausserhalb seiner Epoche. Möglichkeiten bei der Stilwahl* (Münster: 1990), and Hipp H., "Die 'Nachgotik' in Deutschland, kein Stil und ohne Stil", in Hoppe S. – Müller M. – Nussbaum N. (eds.), *Stil als Bedeutung in der nordalpinen Renaissance. Wiederentdeckung einer methodischen Nachbarschaft* (Regensburg: 2008) 15–46.

6 Ottenheym K.A., "The attractive flavour of the past. Combining new concepts for ecclesiastical buildings with references to tradition in seventeenth-century Holland", in Harasimowicz J. (ed.), *Protestantischer Kirchenbau der Frühen Neuzeit in Europa. Grundlagen und neue Forschungskonzepte / Protestant Church Architecture in Early Modern Europe. Fundamentals and new research approaches* (Regensburg: 2015) 99–114.



FIGURE 12.1
Salomon de Bray (architect), The new vestry behind the choir of St. Bavo's church in Haarlem (1658)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

never so new and daring, as an instantly-recognisable Christian place of worship. This type of recapitulation of Gothic architectural forms is not a reference to any given period of the past, for that Catholic past had now very much been left behind. Rather, the use of these 'church windows' was meant to stamp a building as a Christian church. As such, this group of buildings falls outside the scope of the present volume and will not be considered any further.

Another significant group of buildings which consciously continued to use architectural elements from the Middle Ages were the castles and the nobility's rural stately homes. Here, allusions to the past very much did have a crucial role.

2 Castles and Stately Homes

All over Europe, castles had for centuries been the nobility's bases. In the Middle Ages, the structure's defensive nature was inextricably linked to its other functions as the residence for the local nobleman and as a military supply point for his authority. Continuing into the Early Modern period, military



FIGURE 12.2 Hendrick de Keyser, Noorderkerk in Amsterdam (1620–1622)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

service remained the nobility's chief vocation: the field commanders of the modern armies as they took shape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were almost without exception sons of old chivalric families. In the meantime, however, castles had become hopelessly ill-suited to any serious defensive function, due to the development of potent artillery and modern military tactics; defence had long since become a function of dedicated modern fortresses instead. For noble families their ancestral castles did, however, remain a cherished prize possession, because their very age had become a measure of the importance of the family residing within. The old noble residences were of course often adapted to new tastes and requirements for luxury and presentability during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it was largely the interiors that were adapted. The exteriors remained deliberately as reminiscent as ever of the knights' castles of old, with moat, drawbridge and towers. Even if such a home was entirely renovated, one or more of its towers would at a minimum remain preserved as an express relic of the old castle. This was a pan-European phenomenon, seen particularly in districts where new stately



FIGURE 12.3 Ferniehirst Castle, Scotland, seat of the Kerr clan. Founded in 1470 but reconstructed in the late 16th century
IMAGE © PUBLIC DOMAIN

homes for non-noble (or newly-ennobled) families came to be built alongside the old noble homes.[7] These new families, typically merchants, bankers or lawyers, were often many times wealthier than the old gentry, a fact which they were only too pleased to show off. The only asset remaining to this established nobility to set clear water between themselves and the nouveau riche was the venerable antiquity of their lineage; and the chivalric origin of these families was first and foremost evident from the old-fashioned, military design of their homes. In 1632, a Scots knight, Sir Robert Kerr, warned his son, who was engaged in renovating the family castle, Ferniehirst, that he must retain the crenellation and towers, for the home must remain recognisable as a castle and it was these details in which the home's grace and nobility reposed [Fig. 12.3]:

7 Wemyss Ch., *Noble Houses of Scotland* (Munich – London – New York: 2014) 18–37, chapter "Ancestry and Architecture"; Olde Meierink B., "Conflict tussen oud en nieuw. De zeventiende eeuw", in Janssen H.L. – Kylstra-Wielinga J.M.M. – Olde Meierink B. (eds.), *1000 Jaar kastelen in Nederland. Functie en vorm door de eeuwen heen* (Utrecht: 1996) 142–170.

'By any meanes do not take away the battelment [...] for that is the grace of the house, and makes it looke lyk a castle, and henc so nobleste.'[8] By the same token, however, he advised his son to aim for the latest London or French tastes in the interior redesign. We see, then, that he was not concerned with evoking mediaeval associations in the interior but wished the exterior of his castle to exude a clear message to the world.

Something comparable was afoot throughout Europe: on every hand in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, old castles were being modernised, with deliberate preservation of a few external fortifications such as the moat, drawbridge, towers and/or battlements. The central residential tower in particular, known in French châteaux as a *donjon* and in German castles as a *Bergfried*, came to play a key role in this repurposing.[9] In some cases, the family home was even a completely new build, yet with castle-like architectural elements applied. In all such instances, the antiquated military building forms were meant to express the connection with a (real or imaginary) chivalric past for the lord of the house and the nobility of his family.

This was commonly seen in the Dutch Republic of the Seven Provinces as it was elsewhere, and particularly in those provinces where the old gentry retained its social strength: the east-central provinces of Utrecht, Gelderland (Guelders) and Overijssel.[10] The situation in the central province, Utrecht, lends itself especially well to further analysis, particularly in view of the detailed archival records which are preserved there.[11]

8 Letter of 20 December 1632 of Sir Robert Kerr to his son, Lord Lothian, on the rebuilding of Ferniehirst Castle. Laing D. (ed.), *Correspondence of the Earls of Ancram and Lothian* (Edinburgh: 1875) 64; Wemyss, *Noble Houses* 21.

9 For international comparisons, see, inter alia, Girouard M., *Life in the French Country House* (London: 2000) 54–65.

10 For Gelderland and Overijssel, see Olde Meierink B. – Storms-Smeets E., "Transformatie en nieuwbouw. Adellijke en burgerlijke buitenplaatsen in Gelderland (1609–1672)", in Kuiper Y. – Olde Meierink B. (eds.), *Buitenplaatsen in de Gouden Eeuw. De rijkdom van het buitenleven in de Republiek* (Hilversum: 2015) 180–207. Gevers A. –Mensema A. – Olde Meierink B., "Buitenplaatscultuur in Overijssel. Havezaten en spiekers in de zeventiende eeuw", in Kuiper – Olde Meierink, *Buitenplaatsen in de Gouden Eeuw* 210–235.

11 Ottenheym K.A., "Turm oder Portico? Die neuen Schlösser des Utrechter Adels im 17. Jahrhundert", in Hoppe – Müller – Nussbaum (eds.), *Stil als Bedeutung in der nordalpinen Renaissance* 377–399.

3 The Knightly Castles of Utrecht in the Seventeenth Century

The Utrecht nobility of the seventeenth century was organised in the *ridderschap* (Knightly Order), which also had representation in the province's political assembly, the States of Utrecht. Consequently, membership of the order was a *sine qua non* for an Utrecht nobleman if he wished a political career. Entitlement to admission to the order had been determined a century earlier, in 1536, by Emperor Charles V. The relevant legislation remained in force even after the abolition of Habsburg central authority. One of the requirements for admission to the Utrecht *ridderschap* was descent from an uncontested noble lineage and also the possession of an officially-acknowledged 'knightly castle' (*ridderhofstede*). A list of 59 such castles had already been drawn up in 1536 for these purposes. Only a few additional noble houses were subsequently formally acknowledged as a knightly castle, such as Amerongen in 1597, Broekhuizen in 1629 and Drakestein in 1642.[12] The right to membership of the *ridderschap* – and thus the key to political influence – was embedded in the possession of these houses. Nevertheless, only true noblemen could avail themselves of that right, which is why the *ridderschap*'s meeting chamber had a chart on the wall giving the names of members of the order alongside, in each case, the name of their castle.[13] As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, such a knightly home was described as a fortified house replete with moat and drawbridge: 'which have fortifications and houses and drawn-up bridges'. Additionally, it was stipulated that any farming outbuildings (sties and barns) must be within the moat: 'That those constructions be within the compass of the knightly castles'.[14] These outbuildings within the moat originally served, according to feudal usage, to offer the surrounding population, together with their livestock and harvested crops, a safe refuge in times of crisis. Later, they came to be used almost exclusively for the lord's own horses and to store the yield of his own estates, and later still, his coaches.

Evidently, a need was felt as the seventeenth century dawned to reassert the status quo. In 1608–1611, a register 'of the knightly residences and noble courts' in the Province of Utrecht was drawn up, distinguishing between three

12 Drie R. van, "Het begrip ridderhofstad in de 16de en 17de eeuw", in Olde Meierink B., e.a. (eds.), *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* (Utrecht: 1995) 41–50.

13 See the heraldic chart of the *ridderschap* of Utrecht in Olde Meierink, *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht*, 48 and plate i.

14 'die Vesten ende Huysen ende opgetogen Bruggen hebben', 'Dat die Bouwhuysen binnen het begryp vande Ridderhofsteden sullen zijn'. Citations of the legend on the heraldic chart of the *ridderschap* of Utrecht of 1674. The same descriptions can be found on documents as early as 1512. Drie, "Het begrip ridderhofstad".

categories: first, the true ancient castles, those founded prior to 1400 ('the oldest and true knightly fortresses'); second, castles of around two centuries old ('those which were known two hundred years ago and those which became known shortly thereafter'); and lastly, anything later in date than that. Houses in this latter category were meant to be labelled lodges or stone-built houses and could not lay claim to being a knightly castle ('those which are regarded as pleasure-houses or stone chambers').[15] The first category was made up of 36 homes, including Amerongen, Zuylenstein, Natewisch, Huis Doorn, Rijnhuizen, De Haar, Nijenrode, Oud Zuylen, Nederhorst and Loenersloot. There were 29 homes in the second category, including a number of castles along the Langbroeker Wetering, Kasteel Heemstede in Houten (already a ruin at that time), Oudaen in Breukelen, and Drakestein. The third category listed 28 houses, largely minor castles and country estates. Finally, a list was given of 14 dubious cases whose age presumably had proved impossible to determine, including Maarsbergen outside Doorn, Montfoort castle, and Huis Oudegein. The register also included castles which lay in ruins (these were labelled 'verdestrueert', i.e. 'destroyed'), since a knightly fortress retained its privileges even as a ruin. Thus, acquiring one of these and building a new house on the old foundations could enable the acquisition and reviving of the coveted privileges of a knightly castle.

The external hallmarks of a knightly home identified in the act of 1536 – defensive build, moat, drawbridge and outbuildings on the keep – were basic features of most noble houses of the age [Fig. 12.4]. That being so, the description provided served as an early sixteenth-century reaffirmation of how things had always been prior to that. Although this law officially remained in force, later sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century practice was not so demanding when it came to the requisite external features. Only much later, around the midpoint of the seventeenth century, would this stipulation gain a new lease of life. Noblemen tackling a renovation of their residences in the early seventeenth century observed only the most essential parts of the 1536 regulations, such as the moat and the wooden drawbridge. In other respects, they sought to reflect the latest architectural insights as closely as possible, which from the 1630s onwards was the Classicism introduced to the Northern Low Countries shortly before that decade by the Haarlem artists Jacob van Campen

15 Het Utrechts Archief [Archive of the City and Province of Utrecht], 233 (Staten van Utrecht 1581–1819), inv. no. 364–9-157. 'Van de ridder-woningen ende edele hoffsteden': 1) 'de audste ende rechte ridderhoffsteden'; 2) 'die over de 200 jaeren bekent sijn geweest ende cort daernaer bekent geworden sijn'; 3) 'die voor lusthuysen offte steene cameren geacht'.



FIGURE 12.4 Zuylen Castle (Maarssen), seen from the North. Founded in the 13th century and several times enlarged and reconstructed. The northern walls date mainly from the 15th and 16th centuries
IMAGE © MERLIJN HURX

and Salomon de Bray. Classicism also found its way into castle architecture at an early date. The first known example of its application in a nobleman's castle is the new wing (1629) of Kasteel Warmond, designed by Salomon de Bray for Jacob van Wassenaer. [Fig. 12.5]. This was a fairly self-contained component with no direct repercussions on the rest of the architecture in the older castle.

Once Classicism had found general acceptance at the court with the building of the Mauritshuis, Noordeinde Palace and other buildings in and around The Hague, the nobility throughout the Dutch Republic was not far behind. In the modernisation and extension programmes of the Utrecht knightly homes in the 1630s, the effect aimed at was to transform the old, castle-like exteriors into sharp, closed, regular architectural volumes. In this process, external hallmarks such as the moat and its drawbridge were retained, as was part of the old substance of the building. This would enable future generations to demonstrate that the new house was the legitimate successor to the

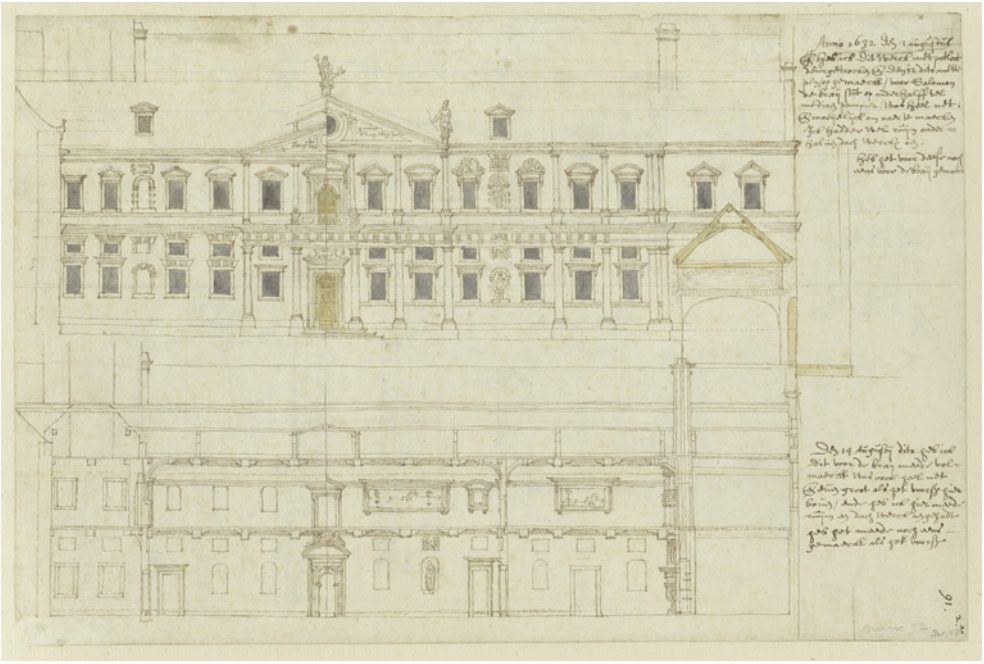


FIGURE 12.5 Warmond Castle. Design from 1629 by Salomon de Bray for a new entrance wing, showing two options for the central projection. Drawing by Pieter Saenredam (1632), 31 × 20.4 cm. See also Fig. 10.16
IMAGE © HAARLEM, NOORD-HOLLANDS ARCHIEF

old knightly castle. Evidently, it was felt sufficient for that purpose to leave part of the walling of the former towers visible at basement level, because in many cases nothing remains visible of the old masonry in the new exterior. Examples of such renovations are the knightly houses of Oudegein and Rijnhuizen. Oudegein was rebuilt around 1633 for Adriaan Ploos, Lord of Tienhoven. The base of the old stone residential tower was included in the cellar level of the new construction.[16] The new house was given taut rectangular dimensions [Fig. 12.6]. The block is three storeys high and topped off with a shield roof. Apart from the lintels to the main entrance, which incidentally are not right in the middle of the side, there is no Classical ornamentation. That said, the general ideal of regularity and clarity of composition make this house a model of the sober, pilaster-free variant of Classicism. Rijnhuizen, a stately home outside Jutphaas near the city of Utrecht, is a comparable example, although the new

16 Bullinga N. – Kamphuis J., "Oudegein", in Olde Meierink (ed.), *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* 356–359.



FIGURE 12.6
Huis Oudegein at Nieuwegein, built in 1633 on the remains of the former castle of the 13th and 14th centuries
IMAGE © RCE

architectural techniques were laid on far more heavily here [Fig. 12.7]. Reynoud van Tuyll van Serooskerke, who married Agnes van Reede of Drakestein in 1636, had the old Huis Rijnhuizen extensively remodelled around 1637.[17] Only in the basement were elements of the mediaeval house spared. What arose in 1637 was a much enlarged, almost square block with a high shield roof all around. The whole construction is in sober brickwork, and the front elevation is enriched with a central section crowned with a triangular pediment. All in all, the new exterior at Rijnhuizen is a sober, pilaster-free variant of the design of the Mauritshuis in The Hague.

4 The Rise of Bourgeois Country Houses in the Province of Utrecht

The Classical architectural style was also quick to start making an appearance in leading bourgeois circles from the 1630s onwards. For instance, beginning

17 Olde Meierink B., "Rijnhuizen", in Olde Meierink, *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* 391–395.



FIGURE 12.7 Castle Rijnhuizen at Jutphaas, built in 1637 as a classicist house on the foundations of a castle from the 14th and 15th centuries
IMAGE © RCE

in 1637, Philips Vingboons designed homes in the style for wealthy merchants and highly-placed politicians in Amsterdam. For the same group of clients, he also developed numerous country estates, both in the polders of Noord-Holland and along the River Vecht, which was an increasingly tempting place for Amsterdammers to buy property in at this time.[18] Occasionally from the 1620s, and systematically and at scale from the 1630s onwards, Amsterdammers invested, speculated and built along the River Vecht in the neighbouring Province of Utrecht. One of the oldest preserved examples of one of these vacation houses is Huis ten Bosch outside Maarssen, built in 1628 for the Amsterdam merchant Pieter Belten by Jacob van Campen [Fig. 12.8].

18 Wyck H.W.M. van der, *De Nederlandse buitenplaats. Aspecten van ontwikkeling en herstel* (Alphen a.d. Rijn: 1983) 29–40. Meischke R., "De ontwikkeling van de buitenhuizen aan de Vecht", in Munnig Schmidt E.- Lisman A.J.A.M. (eds.), *Plaatsen aan de Vecht en de Angstel* (Alphen a. d. Rijn: 1985) 7–24. Verschuure-Stulp G. – Renes H., "Hollandse buitenplaatsenlandschappen. Buitenplaatsen en hun relatie met het landschap (1609–1672)", in Kuiper – Olde Meierink (ed.), *Buitenplaatsen in de Gouden Eeuw* 42–65.



FIGURE 12.8 Huis ten Bosch at Maarssen, the country house of the Amsterdam merchant Pieter Belten (1628), designed by Jacob van Campen
IMAGE © AUTHOR

It is the first example in the United Provinces of an attempt to evoke the idiom of the Venetian villa at local scale.

The colonisation of the Vecht District by the great and good of Amsterdam can be closely traced by following the business operations of the senior Amsterdam politician Joan Huydecoper and his architect Philips Vingboons around Maarsseveen.[19] Huydecoper was a brother-in-law of Pieter Belten, whose second home Huis ten Bosch (1628) in Maarssen was. Huydecoper owned Goudenstein, a country estate north of Maarssen. Between 1626 and 1628, he converted this farmhouse into a stylish retreat. In 1645, Philips Vingboons added a completely new wing to the rear. Until his death in 1661, Huydecoper continued to purchase land in and around Maarsseveen to develop and sell on new country estates at a fat profit. He bought up fields, sometimes with an old farmhouse still on them, improved the ground by having drainage channels dug, and planted orchards. He would then sell the plots to Amsterdammers in search of a suitable location to get out of the city. The oldest example of this business model is Elsenburch, directly abutting Goudenstein,

19 Ottenheym K.A., *Philips Vingboons (1607–1678). Architect* (Zutphen: 1989) 34–45.

which was planted up from 1633 onwards and sold on in 1637. In the same year, Philips Vingboons built Elsenburch on the plot for the new owner. Over fifteen such projects of Huydecoper's from the ensuing years are known. It is even known in one case that he delivered the blueprint for the country house to be built when selling the plot. The designs were sometimes by Vingboons or Huydecoper himself, an avid architectural draughtsman. So it was that one long chain of gardens, orchards and country houses arose in the meadowland along the Vecht and the land behind its banks in the 1640s and 1650s, most of these houses adorned with a pediment or other Classical hallmarks.

The old nobility will have been none too pleased to see the vistas to and from their redoubtable ancient castles, which had dominated the countryside since time immemorial, more and more choked up with all these Classicist nouveau-riche playgrounds. Worse still for them, the newly wealthy bourgeoisie's rise was expressed in other ways besides the building of country estates: they sought to appropriate ever more of the political and legal privileges which had always been regarded as the preserve of the nobility. Joan Huydecoper's business activities, to stick with that example, illustrate the upcoming bourgeoisie's aspirations of achieving near-noble status. Huydecoper had been knighted by the Swedish Crown in 1637, a title which was only allowed to be used as a *nobilitas diplomataria* in the Dutch Republic, with no particular privileges appended to it.[20] That same year, Huydecoper bought the squiredom (*heerlijkheid*) of Tamen and Blokland in Utrecht to bolster his legal standing in that province. The Utrecht aristocracy set determinedly about keeping this parvenu out of their orbit, and managed to have the States of Utrecht overturn the purchase in 1639.[21] In 1641, however, Huydecoper did manage to become Lord of Maarsseveen, and only after this was his estate development business really able to prosper.

5 Revival of Interest in Old Traditions

In the provincial government of Holland, there was no contesting the might of the top layer of bourgeoisie, who approached regent-like status. Here even in the countryside, the sway of the bourgeoisie was penetrating further and

20 Aalbers J., "Geboorte en geld. Adel in Gelderland, Utrecht en Holland tijdens de eerste helft van de achttiende eeuw", in Aalbers J. - Prak M. (eds.), *De bloem der natie. Adel en patriciaat in de Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Meppel – Amsterdam: 1987) 56–78 (esp. 62–64).

21 Eeghen I.H. van, "'Wee het Landt daer Godtlose Rechters sijn!' Of: Joan Huydecoper, Heer van Tamen en Blokland", *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 63 (1976) 11–12.

further. On the other hand, in the Republic's eastern provinces, Gelderland and Overijssel, there was no pressure worth mentioning upon the nobility's control of the countryside, because there the bourgeoisie was far less powerful and obstreperous than in the urbanising west. At both extremes of the Republic – Holland and the eastern provinces – rural architecture was in Classicism's debt, whether in the bourgeois country houses or in the renovated noble residences. Philips Vingboons, for instance, was much in demand as an architect for eastern noblemen as well as for well-heeled Amsterdammers seeking a retreat in the new polderland of Noord-Holland and along the Vecht. Among his designs are Vanenburg in the Gelderland district of Veluwe; the noble houses of Harsvelt, Peckedam and Nijenhuis in Overijssel; and Nittersum Castle in the north-eastern province of Groningen. For these clients, all renowned old members of their respective provincial knightly orders, Dutch Classicism as pioneered by van Campen and his imitators was evidently the most straightforward way of demonstrating status and ambition.

In Utrecht Province, which formed the intermediate zone between Holland and the eastern provinces, a particular status had arisen which may be explicable from the confrontation between the west's urban bourgeois culture and the traditional, more feudal social fabric in the east of the Republic. The privileged position of the Utrecht nobility, which for long ages had been comparably grand with that of their counterparts further east, was increasingly squeezed out by the nouveau riche from about 1640 onwards. While the pre-eminent bourgeois families wished to give themselves airs and graces in this era with foreign titles and invented family trees, the real members of the nobility felt an increasing need to set clear blue water between themselves and bourgeois upstarts.[22] Money and possessions were no longer a domain in which they could set themselves apart from the arrivistes, but their families' antiquity and chivalric descent did remain as their last weapon. This requirement, particularly in the Province of Utrecht, made these families' need for authentic antiquity a very current topic in the period. Prince Frederick Henry had already ordered in 1640 that the ranks of the Utrecht knightly order (*ridderschap*) must be swollen with new members. This had given rise to a nigh free-for-all, with some applicants seeking to obtain noble status with forged papers. The increasing desire for distinction led to more flaunting of age in all types of expression,

22 Kooijmans L., "Patriciaat en aristocratisering in Holland tijdens de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw", in Aalbers – Prak, *De bloem der natie* 93–103. Bok M.J., "Laying claims to nobility in the Dutch Republic: epitaphs, true and false", in Eck X. van – Hecht P. (eds.), *Ten essays for a friend: E. de Jongh 65, Simiolus* 24, 2/3 (1996) 107–124.

such as memorial plaques in churches and family portraits depicting coats of arms and illustrious ancestors.

In architecture, this situation revived the significance of the old edicts from the reign of Emperor Charles V. After all, for admission to the order, it was not sufficient to prove one's family's nobility; the chivalric origin of the residence also had to be demonstrated. The edict of 1536 required that the knightly castles have a defensive character and expressly stipulated the presence of a moat, drawbridge and buildings within the defensive structures. These components never completely fell into desuetude, and they are found even in those buildings conceived as a *ridderhofstad* which were designed or remodelled in a more Classical style. To emphasise the chivalric character of the buildings even more, a new major mark of identification was added to the standard set without ever having been ordained as such by law: the tower, symbol par excellence of nobility.[23] The defensive tower, or donjon, was a fortress' last redoubt and thus the place where family treasures and archives had by tradition always been kept. Even long after the donjon's military significance had been rendered outdated by modern techniques of warfare, the great tower remained a beloved motif all over Europe in the construction of new noble and royal residences in the countryside. The association of an old tower with chivalric family roots is also clear from the degree of circumspection with which old castle towers surviving from the ancestral fortress were applied in their new contexts. Well-known examples of this in the Low Countries would be the castles of Rosendael, outside Velp, and Rechteren, outside Dalfsen. Not infrequently, these towers were further heightened in the seventeenth century, as at Rechteren and Hoensbroek Castle in southern Limburg [Fig. 12.9]. Reuse of an old tower, extension of an old tower and the construction of a new tower were all strategies employed. Towers were invoked repeatedly to emphasise the chivalric origin, and thus the nobility, of the owning family.

In the Province of Utrecht, we see a keenness for prominent towers as far back as the 1630s, such as in the cases of Kasteel Zuylenstein near Leersum, which was extensively modelled for the stadholder, Frederick Henry, in 1632–1633 with a substantial raising of the tower, and of Nederhorst den Berg, to which four hexagonal corner turrets were added in 1635.[24] The mediaeval knightly castle of Drakestein was completely modernised, presumably in the

23 Olde Meierink B., "De grote toren: een adelssymbool?", *Virtus. Bulletin van de werkgroep Adelsgeschiedenis* 4 (1997) 1–10.

24 Meischke R., "Het kasteel Zuilenstein te Leersum", in Hoekstra T.J. – Janssen H.L. – Moerman I.W.I. (eds.), *Liber castellorum. 40 variaties op het thema kasteel* (Zutphen: 1981) 270–278. Bosch van Drakestein R., "Zuilenstein", in Olde Meierink *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* 522–526.



FIGURE 12.9 Hoensbroek Castle. The medieval castle has been rebuilt in 1643–1656 by the architect Matthieu Dousin. The main tower from 1360 was consciously maintained and even enlarged by a new, high spire.
IMAGE © RCE

early 1640s, for Gerard van Reede.[25] The new Drakestein is a regular octagonal building rising tower-like from the water [Figs. 12.10a, b]. The new octagonal building plan is redolent of an old donjon. However, the main entrance was enriched in Classical style with a monumental temple façade of four tall Ionic pilasters. This put Drakestein in the group of new, Classicist castles. The tower-like quality of the building is in fact restricted to the exterior only, for on the plans the interior is not subdivided on the basis of octagonality. The interior consisted of a sequence of handsome halls and chambers just as could be found in the era's Classical villas. The only difference is that here, all four corners are bevelled so as to lend the building its characteristic octagonal profile.

Kasteel Heemstede outside Houten, built in 1645, marks a new stage of this development.[26] The old house 'Heemstede', presumably built *circa* 1400, was officially acknowledged as an Utrecht knightly fortress by Emperor Charles V in 1536; by the mid-seventeenth century, it was looking fairly down at heel.

25 Olde Meierink B., "Drakestein", in idem, *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* 175–179.

26 Lisman A.J.A.M., *Heemstede, gelegen in de provincie van Utrecht* (Alphen a.d. Rijn: 1973). Wyck, *Nederlandse buitenplaats* 157–175. Wevers L., *Heemstede. Architectonisch onderzoek van een zeventiende eeuwse buitenplaats in de provincie Utrecht* (Delft: 1991).

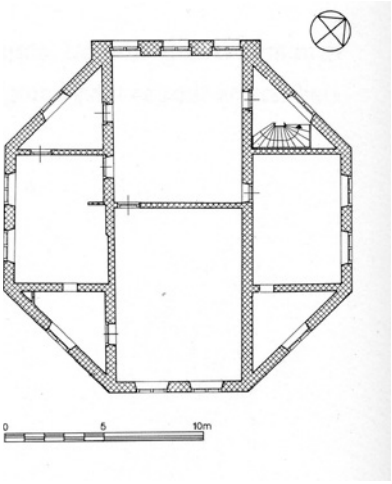


FIGURE 12.10A
Drakestein at Lage Vuursche, built in 1640–1643 as a classicist house in the shape of an octagonal tower. Its medieval predecessor was situated elsewhere on the grounds. Drawing R.G. Bosch van Drakestein.
IMAGE © B. OLDE MEIERINK ET AL., *KASTELEN EN RIDDERHOFSTEDEN IN UTRECHT* (UTRECHT: 1995) 178



FIGURE 12.10B
Drakestein. Engraving by Hendrik Spilman (circa 1747) after Jan de Beyer
IMAGE © RCE

The heirs, one Pieck and his wife (of the van Winssen family), decided not to incorporate the old ruin into the new house but rather to build a completely new castle a short distance away. Over the previous few decades, a number of existing knightly fortresses in the district had also been largely renovated, but in those cases the foundation of the old house, or a few surviving walls, were without fail and very deliberately incorporated into the new design. This was to ensure the continuity of chivalric status and the special privileges appended to it, such as membership of the *ridderschap* of Utrecht. Although the new Heemstede of 1645 did not rise upon the foundations of the old house, one gains the impression that the exterior of the new house was very much

intended to express that it was the legitimate successor of the old knightly fortress [Figs. 12.11a, b].

Heemstede is a near-square house surrounded by a wide moat. In addition, its forecourt with outbuildings had its own narrow moat. The new castle is dominated by the central square tower with pyramidal roof, crowned with a monumental star-shaped chimney. This tower surges up out of a square construction with corner turrets, each with a spindly pinnacle. The entire house is executed in understated brickwork; only the entrance is ornamented with a sandstone gate with half-columns. The four corner turrets and the central tower determine the whole profile, which echoes that of a mediaeval stronghold. Allusions to mediaeval defensive architecture are also seen in smaller external details, such as the defensive-looking bay window above the front door. That front door is itself very self-consciously massive and solid in execution and is peppered with rough iron rivets. The moat setting completes the picture of a castle, with an older square donjon at its heart. In this manner, Heemstede seems to be a seventeenth-century interpretation of the older kind of castle seen in the environs of Utrecht.[27]

Yet all of this was nothing more than carefully-concocted décor for public consumption and had little to do with the building plan itself; the interior was apportioned to satisfy the contemporary desire for refinement and comfort.

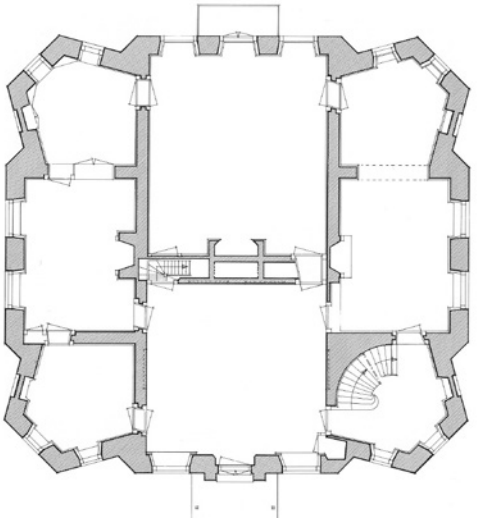


FIGURE 12.11A
Heemstede castle at Houten, built 1645 some hundred meters from the ruin of its medieval predecessor. Drawing R. G. Bosch van Drakestein
IMAGE © B. OLDE MEIERINK ET AL., *KASTELEN EN RIDDERHOFSTEDEN IN UTRECHT* (UTRECHT: 1995) 248

27 Den Ham, Sterkenburg and Hinderstein, for instance, were castles arranged around a tall square donjon, whereas Oud Zuylen has four striking, slim, octagonal corner turrets rising clear of the roof and largely determining the profile.



FIGURE 12.11B Heemstede castle
IMAGE © AUTHOR

Despite what the external profile might suggest, the house was not designed around a central tower but rather has two large spaces at its middle and a series of smaller rooms along the sides. The central square tower which seems to dominate the whole building on the external side is not in fact the kernel of the house but only a modest, light brick-and-wood construction resting on the tall roof structure. The tower space cannot be detected in the storeys below; we have in fact to do with a kind of rooftop belvedere. All in all, this new castle both satisfies the old requirements of 1536 with its moat, drawbridge and outbuildings and also meets the contemporary need for striking towers, achieving all this in a compact overall form designed in accordance with the rules of Classicism, with a dominant central axis and a strictly-regular distribution of windows across the faces.

After Heemstede, there followed Kasteel Renswoude, built for Johan van Reede *circa* 1654.[28] The architect is unknown. This is a completely new building, with at most parts of the foundations of the mediaeval precursor structure having been reused.[29] The houses' mediaeval past is nevertheless emphatically expressed by this tall central tower and the pair of towers at the sides. At Renswoude, the house's chivalric character is restricted to the front view alone [Figs. 12.12a, b]. The rear elevation is accentuated by a central section with triangular pediment, entirely in keeping with Classical idiom [Fig. 12.12c]. The building plan is strictly symmetrical, with a vestibule and main staircase along the central axis and, on each storey, a pair of mirror-image apartments to the left and right of that core. In the case of Renswoude, the "archaic" character of the building profile is absolutely not the result of any provincialism or lack of awareness of the latest developments. After all, only a few years earlier the same client had retained no less a figure than Jacob van Campen as architect of the new church at Renswoude, designed in accordance with the most modern understanding of Classicism. The client's decision in 1654 to build what almost amounted to a donjon must therefore have been a considered choice.

6 Bourgeois Castles

The status which possessing an old castle or new "chivalric" house lent to its owner also appealed to the bourgeois élite and political leaders (*regenten*). They, too, considered that while a country house was a fine possession, a real

28 Schaik J. van, "Renswoude", in Olde Meierink *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* 363–369.

29 Judging by the minor irregularities in the plan of the new central tower.

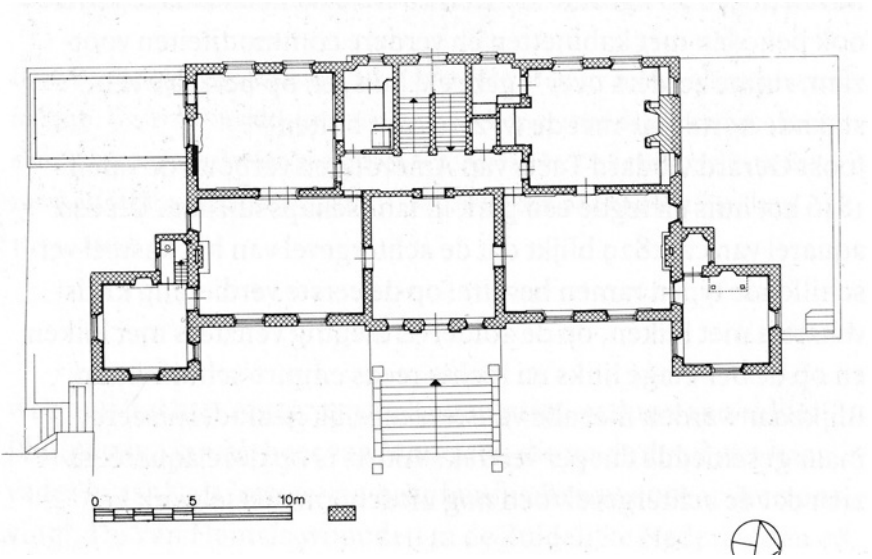


FIGURE 12.12A Renswoude castle, built in 1654 probably on the foundations of its medieval predecessor. Drawing R.G. Bosch van Drakestein
IMAGE © B. OLDE MEIERINK ET AL., *KASTELEN EN RIDDERHOFSTEDEN IN UTRECHT* (UTRECHT: 1995) 178



FIGURE 12.12B Renswoude Castle, front
IMAGE © STEPHAN HOPPE



FIGURE 12.12C Renswoude Castle, rear facade, plastered in the early 19th century
IMAGE © STEPHAN HOPPE

castle was a much better bet. While the nobility sought to outdo the bourgeoisie by flaunting antiquity, some leading burghers sought to wrap themselves in a fake cloak of age. The key bourgeois politicians of the United Provinces were able to buy a real castle with its concomitant lordship rights in order to wrap their new public standing with fitting old titles, heretofore the preserve of noblemen. When the Catholic nobility of the Southern Netherlands regained free access to their northern possessions during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621), most of them decided not to return to rebel territory but rather to sell off their castles in the Republic to the highest bidder. This was how Johan van Oldebarnevelt, the State Pensionary, acquired Gunterstein in 1611, a castle still mediaeval in form at that time. Adriaan Pauw, a successor of his in that office, obtained the castle of Heemstede outside Bennebroek (in Noord-Holland) by purchase in 1620 and had it redone in more "chivalric" style, with two tall corner turrets.[30] Constantijn Huygens, determined not to be outshone, bought his own old castle, Zuylichem, in the Bommelerwaard district, in 1630, and from then on was able to style himself 'Lord of Zuylichem'. Van Oldebarnevelt, Pauw

30 Boer H.W.J. de – Bruch H., *Adriaan Pauw* (*1585–1663*). *Staatsman en ambachtsheer* (Heemstede: 1985) 21–28, 63–70.

and Huygens, like other senior diplomats of their age, had acquired a range of foreign noble titles too, partly by purchase and partly from the grace and favour of the rulers whose courts they visited. Although a foreign knighthood did not admit one to the knightly orders of the Republic, the purchase of a real castle sat well with the bourgeois élite's determination to approach an aristocratic lifestyle as closely as possible.

In a few instances where there was no old barony with concomitant castle, people even built a castle from scratch. Volcker Overlander, the most powerful Amsterdam politician of the first decades of the seventeenth century, obtained the village of Ilpendam and its environs from the heirs of the Count of Egmond in 1612. In 1618, he also acquired the rights of the lordship of Ilpendam, but there had never been a castle. Therefore, in 1622 Overlander had one constructed, which he called Ilpenstein, with ostentatious use of mediaeval elements such as battlements, corner turrets, moat and drawbridge [Fig. 12.13].[31]



FIGURE 12.13 Huis Ilpenstein, a country house near Purmerend, built in 1622 as a mock castle. Photo taken shortly before its destruction in 1872
IMAGE © NOORD-HOLLANDS ARCHIEF, HAARLEM

31 Ernst Koning G. van, *Het Huis te Ilpendam en deszelfs voornaamste bezitters* (Amsterdam: 1836). In the mid-seventeenth century, Ilpenstein was owned by the powerful de Graeff, a family of Amsterdam burgomasters.

Such bourgeois new castles were also rising from the ground in the Province of Utrecht in the mid-seventeenth century. Since 1640, interest in the old stipulations for a knightly fortress had been consistently growing there. A few instances are known of burghers who were so full of noble pretension that they had a new "chivalric" residence built; examples in Utrecht include Oud-Wulven and Linschoten. Johan van Toll, a wealthy burgher of Utrecht, purchased the lordship of the *ambacht* (amt) of Oud-Wulven in 1634 and had a new country estate built there in 1635. Despite its modest dimensions, this house was not without its aspirations. The square house, with stair tower to the side, was made to look as though it was built on an old motte (castle hill). In reality, the house stood at the same level as any other local building, but a heavy dollop of earth had been slung at the ground floor to achieve the effect of a raised house. Johan van Toll may well have been seeking to give out that he was a descendant of the mediaeval noble van Toll family, which had died out in the sixteenth century. If so, Huis Oud-Wulven was an attempt to bolster that claim.[32]

In 1633, Johan Strick bought the farmhouse and lordship rights of Linschoten, and in 1637 he had a country home built there even though there was no formal knightly fortress.[33] Strick had been entered on France's list of nobility as an *esquier* by Louis XIII in 1634. Yet neither the lordship of Linschoten nor this French rank entitled him to membership of the Utrecht *ridderschap*. In fact, Strick had little need of that anyway, for he was already a member of the States of Utrecht. His son Johan Strick jr. married the noblewoman Christina Taets van Amerongen in 1647 and it was he, more than his father, who will have needed the title in order to be accepted as an equal by his in-laws. With this in mind, Strick had Huis Linschoten extended around 1648 with all the hallmarks of a real knightly castle [Fig. 12.14]. This project doubled the size of the house by adding a new wing to the rear, including the great hall. The front was ornamented with two high, narrow corner turrets, and the entire house had a moat dug around it, so that it now truly stood surrounded by water as a real knightly fortress would. This was all mere outward show; the house was never acknowledged as an official *ridderhofstede*, and Strick van Linschoten was not admitted to the order of Utrecht nobility.

32 Olde Meierink, *Kastelen en ridderhofsteden in Utrecht* 542.

33 Reinink W.A. (ed.), *Landgoed Linschoten* (Bussum: 1994). Schaik J. van, "De bouwhistorie van het Huis te Linschoten", *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 98 (1999) 141–151.



FIGURE 12.14 Herman Saftleven, *Huis te Linschoten* (1654). Oil on canvas, 88 × 128 cm
IMAGE © STICHTING LANDGOED LINSCHOTEN

7 Polderburg, a Paper Castle

Ilpenstein and Linschoten are fine examples of the prestige which an ancestral castle provided in the seventeenth century, even if it was of such recent construction that the mortar was figuratively still wet. Earlier on, we saw that certain rights could be derived from the possession of a ruined former nobleman's castle. In this regard, as in others, inventive suggestions could prove quite effective. A great dose of creativity, though, was needed to make it seem believable that some remains of foundations were traces of a 'forgotten' castle of which nobody had ever heard. The following example, from Rotterdam, demonstrates this. The industrialist, political regent, historian and amateur architect Jacob Lois (1620–1676) is best known as architect of the Schielandshuis in Rotterdam and as the author of a historical treatise on the local district, the Schieland: *Oude ware beschryvinge van Schielant* (1672).[34] Among Lois' possessions around the mid-point of the seventeenth century was a small

34 Preserved as a manuscript in Stadsarchief [City Archive] Rotterdam, published in Unger J.H.W. - Bezemer W., *De oudste kronieken en beschrijvingen van Rotterdam en Schieland* (Rotterdam: 1895) vol. II 546–621.

triangular polder between Schiedam and Delft, appropriately known as the 'Kleine Polder' ('small polder'). It was sandwiched between two larger polders, and was partly submerged in winter as a strategy to manage excess water. Lois presumably had higher things in mind for this patch of ground, located so usefully between Delft, Schiedam and Rotterdam, and the annual inundation was frustrating this commercial development. However, when he raised his dike along the stream, he became ensnared in an inevitable conflict with the dikewarden (*dijkgraaf*) and high commissioners (*hoogheemraden*) of Delfland, who bore responsibility for water management in the area. They commanded him to lower his dike again on pain of a stiff fine. In 1653, Lois wrote a long refutation, seeking to prove that the property in question was a venerable old aristocratic estate which had long been kept drained. He asserted in olden days there had been a castle on the spot named 'Polderburg' (Polder Castle), founded in 1313 by the van Wassenaers, Holland's oldest noble family. Proof of this was provided by the remains of the old foundations which his workmen had found there, and by two remarkable stones, one bearing the old crest of the van Wassenaers, the other with an inscription in an antique script, reading 'POLDER BURCH / ANNO MCCCXIII'. In addition, Lois had a document to bolster his case: nothing less than a copy of a chronicle by one Willem van der Sluijs, dated 1509. This source declared that Kasteel Polderburg had been founded by Filips van Wassenaer in 1313 and destroyed in 1489. In the text, the author states that he obtained this information from a text supposedly written by the author's uncle, Simon Doedes van der Sluijs, in 1472.[35]

This story, with its associated inscribed stones and the chronicles of uncle and nephew van der Sluijs, was entirely a product of Jacob Lois' fecund imagination.[36] He was eager to keep the Kleine Polder dry all year round in order to use it for any of several possible industrial uses. To make his wish a reality, he came up with an invented history which he then hoped to use to derive land rights. Lois had been very sly, in fact, in stitching together the noble history of his polderland: as an amateur historian, he was well familiar with the outline of Holland's past, and as a city father of Rotterdam, he even had access to the city archives. This way, he had been able to dig out a wealth of real events to attach to his own narrative. For instance, Simon Doede van der Sluijs was an historical figure of some significance: one of his roles was court physician to the Duke of Burgundy, and later on he was Canon of Utrecht Cathedral. His

35 Lois' copy was published in: Unger – Bezemer, *De oudste kronieken en beschrijvingen* vol. II 11–25.

36 Scholte M.C.P., "Polderenburg", *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* (1978) 243–304, and idem, "Polderenburg II", *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* (1980) 236–255.

nephew Willem, however, probably never existed; he was a creature of Lois' seventeenth-century mind. In his 'copy' of the so-called Chronicle of Simon van der Sluijs, Lois' own make-believe about Polderburg is carefully intermingled with historical facts known from other, reliable, sources, affording a degree of trustworthiness to the text at first glance. The van Wassenaer lords, for instance, although they had never owned the Kleine Polder, had indeed been lords of the *ambacht* of the local legal jurisdiction, the Ketelambacht, under which the land fell. This made the myth of an old van Wassenaer fortress plausible to contemporary historians. It could also quite possibly be true that mediaeval foundations had been found on the grounds, as Lois stated in his defence, but these could just as well have been remains of a lease barn or similar feudal construction. The inscribed stone, if indeed such ever existed, will have been a fake.

Whatever care and wistfulness Lois had lavished on his rebuttal, he was the loser of his case against the Delfland water commissioners. The Delfland secretary harboured doubts as to the veracity of the historical document – 'Nor is it without major suspicion (if this chronicle is authentic at all) …' – but did not further enunciate them.[37] Lois lost the case because Delfland was able to furnish proofs that the Kleine Polder had very much been used as a regular winter water storage facility in the past. However, the myth of Kasteel Polderburg had been born, and the genie could not be put back in the bottle. The connection with the old noble family of the van Wassenaers lent prestige to the possession of this parcel of ground. Lois sold the land for a handsome price in 1658 and the new owner disregarded its old name, Kleine Polder, in favour of a consistent use of the name Polderenburg, to keep the memory of the 'lost castle' alive. From that time on, that was the name given on maps. To insist further on his vindication, Lois also included the story of Polderburg Castle in his 1672 history of the Schieland, and a century later, this served as the basis of another historical description, this time of Rotterdam by the poet and draughtsman Jacob Kortebrant (1697–1777).[38] The "vanished" castle evidently still so appealed to the imagination that in 1752, Kortebrant drew Polderburg as it supposedly looked before being ravished in 1489 [Fig. 12.15]: a product of his fantasy, of course, but it was at least based on the standard model of a modest fifteenth-century noble house, L-shaped with a stair tower in the inside corner,

37 Oud Archief [Old Archives] Delfland, inv. no. 3510/28, first document, page 2. (Scholte, "Polderburch II" 250).

38 Posthumously published as *Beschryving der Stad Rotterdam, van haar eerste opkomst en aanleg af, en van de publyke gebouwen; gedeeltelyk getrokken uit nagelaate geschriften, van wylen den heer Jacob Kortebrand* (Rotterdam: 1786–1787).



FIGURE 12.15 Jacob Kortebrant, *Het Huis Polderburg zoals het was voor het jaar* 1489. Drawing, 1752
IMAGE © GEMEENTEARCHIEF ROTTERDAM

in line with the summary description given it by pseudo-van der Sluijs (i.e. Lois): '… with octagonal tower, a right proper building'.[39] Art is glad to oblige what people wish to see.

The Polderburg issue also demonstrates how persistent some of these stories proved to be. Made up as an argument of convenience in a dispute over water management, the land's noble backstory was increasingly cherished and embellished by subsequent generations. In the eighteenth century, the castle in the air acquired physical form, and from the nineteenth century onwards, the 'vanished castle' was even included in the first reasonably systematic gazetteers of Dutch antiquities. In this capacity, it was even mentioned on occasion in the twentieth century. The supposed chronicle of (pseudo-)Simon van der Sluijs of 1472 (in reality, Lois' work of 1653) was even taken at face value in 1895, by being included in an academic overview of materials on Rotterdam. Only

39 'met een achtcantige toren, sijnde een proper gebouw'. Unger – Bezemer, *De oudste kronieken en beschrijvingen* 609.

three centuries later, in 1978, would this myth be deconstructed and found to be riddled with holes.[40]

8 Strategy or Romance?

In all the examples of real knightly fortresses, castles and imitation knightly fortresses discussed, we emphatically do not have to do with any kind of "chivalrous Romantic" style. In the seventeenth century, the deployment of archaic architectural forms harking back to mediaeval castles was not an expression of literary or romantic enamouredness of an idealised past. Rather, this architectural choice was motivated by political and social ambitions, the confirmation (or pretension) of deep-rootedness, and concern with the house's and family's rank and status. In an age in which historical precedence implied specific claims to power, building towers and moats was no fantasy game by the patron, nor an artistic whimsy by the architect; it was part of a strategy in which seeking connection to one's class of peers was just as vital as getting one up on undesirable arrivistes. Here, we have exclusively to do with the *external* display of chivalry. There was no trace of chivalrous elements in the internal architecture of the period; there, a family's ancient lineage was displayed through family portraiture, family trees and coats of arms, not with architectural features. In this regard, the castle architecture of the seventeenth century differs fundamentally from the Gothic revival of the nineteenth. Castles were no longer politically privileged by the time of the construction of houses such as De Schaffelaar outside Barneveld (1840) or Kasteel de Haar at Haarzuylen (1890). By that time, castle features had made way for Romantic allusions to mediaeval knightly honour, piety and/or virtue. To evoke that historical atmosphere as intensely as possible, Gothic forms were in the nineteenth century carried into the interior too, in the form of vaulting, wall timbers and even such minor details as lamps, furniture and door handles.

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40 Namely by M.C.P. Scholte (see note 36).

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CHAPTER 13

'Non erubescat Hollandia': Classical Embarrassment of Riches and the Construction of Local History in Hadrianus Junius' *Batavia*

Coen Maas

1 Embarrassment of Riches and Humanism

At least since 1987, when Simon Schama published his famous study *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, it has been well known that there was a strong connection between notions of wealth and collective identity in the early modern Low Countries, or at least in Holland.[1] In this book, the incomparable wealth and the boundless consumerism in the young Dutch Republic are contrasted with the dominant moralist discourse of the seventeenth century – a discourse that was often hostile to avarice, luxury, and wasting money. According to Schama, this paradoxical phenomenon is at odds with Max Weber's famous thesis that Calvinism denounced consumerism, praised a strong work ethic, and regarded wealth as a confirmation of God's benevolence, that in doing so it created favourable conditions for investment as an alternative to consumption, and that it thus contributed to the rise of capitalism.[2] Schama argued that this theory does not explain the situation in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic very well, because despite the dominance of Calvinism, the Dutch Republic witnessed a strong consumerist culture. Moreover, Calvinism was far from unique in its critique of wealth. Most importantly, however, Calvinists often criticized

1 Schama S., *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: 1987). Schama's study has often been criticized for its rather exclusive focus on Holland. See, for example, Price J.L., "The Dangers of Unscientific History: Schama and the Dutch Seventeenth-Century", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 104, 1 (1989) 39–42; Haitsma Mulier E.O.G., "Tekens en symbolen in het zeventiende-eeuwse Nederland: geschiedschrijving als emblematiek", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 104, 1 (1989) 43–50, especially 45. Lem G.A.C. van der, "Van zure druiven?... en een zoute haring. De eerste reacties in Nederland op Schama's *Overvloed en onbehagen*", *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 4, 2 (1988) 69–75, especially 73–74, thought that Schama's attention to Holland was justified in view of the economic and cultural situation in the seventeenth century.

2 Weber M., *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: 1930).

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the phenomenon they were supposed to have boosted: (lucrative returns on) investment.

As I just indicated, Schama did not present Calvinism as the only intellectual background to the Dutch embarrassment of riches. He also pointed to the important role played by humanism, which succeeded in reconciling ethics and wealth in a pragmatic manner: wealth did not have to be rejected, as long as its owner used it for good purposes, such as charity contributions or loans without usury:

> In this working compromise, the regents acknowledged the need for some sort of antipecuniary ethic to restrain capitalism from anarchy and abuse, and the church recognized that, however perilous for a godly Republic, Dutch wealth was a fact of life and could be made to work for righteous ends. By default, then, Calvinist social teaching collapsed back onto its humanist origins.[3]

The Dutch attitude towards wealth was in Schama's view a synthesis of Calvinism and humanism:

> The official creeds of both Calvinism and humanism, then, were agreed that lucre was indeed filthy, and that devotion to its cult constituted a kind of polluting idolatry. In its extreme forms of avarice and cupidity it could unhinge the conscience and reason and turn free souls into fawning slaves.[4]

It remains somewhat unclear, however, what exactly Schama meant by 'humanism'.[5] In this context, he referred in particular to classical Stoicism and the work of Erasmus. In addition, Schama mentioned later humanists writing in the vernacular, such as Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert (1522–1590), Roemer Visscher (1547–1620), and Hendrik Laurenszoon Spieghel (1549–1612), whom he regarded as Erasmians.[6] In itself, the link with Erasmus is not a very surprising suggestion, as Erasmus was, of course, the most famous humanist from the Low Countries, and works like his successful *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (first edition 1503) indeed contained pragmatic ideas similar to the ones to which Schama referred. In the *Enchiridion*, Erasmus argued that one has to

3 Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* 338.

4 Idem 334.

5 For this critique, see also Haitsma Mulier, "Tekens en symbolen" 46.

6 Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* 295, 326–328, 330, 362, 370, 408.

focus on Christ above all, but that wealth can help one to do so by making deeds of charity possible. Riches are therefore not inherently evil, although there is always a risk that greed will be a distraction from one's true purposes in life. Moreover, the Bible demonstrates that it is by no means impossible to lead a morally sound life without great possessions.[7] It seems natural to connect these ideas with Stoic thought, because in this passage Erasmus explicitly refers to the distinction made by Epictetus between things that are within our control and things that are not.[8] Wealth belongs to the second category, on which one ought to be as little dependent as possible. In addition, Erasmus characterizes riches as one of the *falsa bona* that should be distinguished from the *vera bona* – a distinction that would later return in Justus Lipsius' Neo-Stoic classic *De constantia* (1584).[9]

However, by conflating humanism and Stoicism, Schama oversimplified humanist discourse on wealth.[10] Humanism was a loose movement that aimed to revive all facets of classical culture without propagating a single morality or ideology, let alone a systematic philosophy.[11] This also applies to ideas about wealth. Different humanists thought about ownership and consumption in very different ways, and if they relied on classical philosophy to support their ideas – as they often did – their philosopher of choice could be Aristotle as well as Epictetus or Seneca. The humanist and reformer Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), for instance, defended a Peripatetic approach in which the acquisition of property was an essential means to maintain a household. To this extent, it could be conducive to a virtuous life, but wealth must never be an end in itself (as happened in the case of merchants and usurers).[12] Moreover, antiquity provided Epicurean ideas about riches, emphasizing that a state

7 Erasmus Desiderius, *Enchiridion de milite Christiano in quo taxatis vulgi superstitionibus ad priscae religionis puritatem* (Leipzig, Valentin Schumann: 1515) fols. L v–LII r ('Aduersum irritamenta auaritiae').

8 Epictetus, *Enchiridion* 1, referred to by Erasmus, *Enchiridion* fol. LI v. As the title already suggests, Epictetus' work was an important model for Erasmus' moral handbook.

9 Erasmus, *Enchiridion* fol. LII r. See also Lipsius Justus, *De constantia* (Leiden, Christoffel Plantijn: 1584) 18–19. For the Stoic idea of wealth as *bonum falsum*, see, for instance, Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 17, 87, and 119.

10 It has been observed before that Schama's generalizations are often at odds with the available historical sources. See, amongst others, Price, "The Dangers of Unscientific History" 42; Deursen A.Th. van, "Simon Schama: de band met de zeventiende eeuw", *Ons erfdeel* 32, 4 (1989) 565–571, especially 569–570.

11 See, for instance, Kristeller P.O., *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources* (New York: 1979).

12 A good example can be found in Melanchthon's *Philosophiae moralis epitome* (1538): see Melanchthon Philipp, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, eds. K.G. Bretschneider – H.E. Bindseil, vol. XVI, 37–38. See also his scriptural exegeses in vol. XXV, 28–42 and 244–270. In the Middle Ages, similar ideas were not unusual either. See, for instance, Thomas Aquinas,

of *voluptas* could be reached more easily if one needed little in order to be satisfied.[13] Finally, there were the exemplary lives of Cynic philosophers, such as Diogenes of Sinope and Crates of Thebes, which presented poverty and asceticism as a way to live in accordance with nature. Erasmus, for instance, also referred to the example of Crates, who gave away all his money to live a penniless life on the streets of Athens.[14]

This wide variety of philosophical, religious, and political positions taken by humanist men of learning with regard to the phenomenon of wealth, as well as the heterogeneity of the classical heritage they employed to authorize their claims, makes any single overarching thesis about the relationship between 'humanist thought' and the embarrassment of riches in the early modern Low Countries hard to sustain. Therefore, in order to better understand the development of ideas about wealth in the early modern Low Countries, as well as the role of classical philosophical commonplaces in this process, it seems that rather than collect isolated manifestations of ideas about wealth, a more fruitful type of approach would be to begin by studying individual authors and examining how such ideas fit into the larger arguments they develop.[15] This focus on the use to which ideas are put within the rhetorical design of a text has the additional advantage that it not only shows that particular authors employed particular notions and authorities, but also why they did so. It also fits in better with humanist practices of reading and writing, which often involved a careful integration of excerpts from a wide array of texts into coherent new writings.[16]

Summa theologiae I–II, 2, i. The key source for such peripatetic notions is Aristotle, *Politics* 1256b27–1257a4.

13 See, for instance, Lucretius, *De rerum natura* V, 1117–1119: 'Quod siquis vera vitam ratione gubernet, / Divitiae grandes homini sunt vivere parce / Aequo animo; neque enim est umquam penuria parvi'. Another example would be Horace, *Carmina* III, 1, 25–26: 'Desiderantem quod satis est neque / tumultuosum sollicitat mare'. For the ideas of Epicurus himself, see Usener H. (ed.), *Epicurea* (Leipzig: 1887), fragments 135, 202, 476, and 548.

14 Erasmus, *Enchiridion* fol. XXI v.

15 Cf. Quentin Skinner's approach to the history of ideas as 'treat[ing] the understanding of concepts as always, in part, a matter of understanding what can be done with them in argument': Skinner Q.R.D., "Rhetoric and Conceptual Change", *Finnish Yearbook of Political Thought* 3 (1999) 60–73, especially 62.

16 See, for instance, Erasmus Desiderius, *Opera omnia, recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata* (Amsterdam: 1969ff.), vol. I, 2, 652: 'Concoquendum est, quod varia diutinaque lectione devoraris, meditatione traiiciendum in vaenas animi, potius quam in memoriam aut indicem, ut omni pabulorum genere saginatum ingenium ex sese gignat orationem, quae non hunc aut illum florem, frondem, gramenve redoleat: sed indolem affectusque pectoris tui'.

2 A Case Study: Junius' *Batavia*

In this article, I would like to exemplify the above-mentioned approach, demonstrating how classical sources about wealth were incorporated into the argument of a humanist text about the identity of Holland and what the purpose of this incorporation was. The object of my analysis will be the work of history called *Batavia* [Fig. 13.1], written by Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575) [Fig. 13.2], a humanist from the city of Haarlem in Holland who belonged to the same circles as Coornhert. Junius was the official historian of the States of Holland and wrote the book, which is a chorographic description of Holland, in the period between 1565 and 1570.[17] It was published posthumously in 1588, and proved to be one of the most important historiographical works in sixteenth-century Holland.[18] Apart from the wide reception of the *Batavia* in the Low Countries and its humanist character, the *Batavia* is also an interesting work for the purposes of this article because it was written around the start of the Dutch Revolt (1568–1648) that would soon lead to the establishment of the Dutch Republic (1581) and contains outspokenly critical passages about the consequences of luxury, even though Junius – like Erasmus, Coornhert, Visscher, and Spieghel – was not a Calvinist: his religious position is perhaps best described as tolerant Catholicism.[19]

17 Junius Hadrianus, *Batavia* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1588). A Dutch translation with an introduction and annotations is available in Junius Hadrianus, *Holland is een eiland. De Batavia van Hadrianus Junius* (*1511–1575*), trans. N. de Glas (Hilversum: 2011). For more historical background with regard to the *Batavia*, see Vermaseren B.A., "Het ontstaan van Hadrianus Junius' *Batavia*", in *Huldeboek Pater Dr. Bonaventura Kruitwagen O.F.M.* ('s-Gravenhage: 1949) 407–426. For Junius' biography, see Miert D. van, *Hadrianus Junius* (*1511–1575*). *Een humanist uit Hoorn* (Hoorn: 2011). For the relationship between Junius and Coornhert, see Miert D. van, "Introduction: Hadrianus Junius and Northern Dutch Humanism", in Miert D. van (ed.), *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius* (*1511–1575*)*: Northern Humanism at the Dawn of the Dutch Golden Age*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 199 (Leiden: 2011) 1–15, especially 10.

18 For the importance of the *Batavia* in the historiographical tradition, see Glas N. de, "Context, Conception and Content of Hadrianus Junius' *Batavia*", in Van Miert (ed.), *Kaleidoscopic Scholarship* 69–95; Maas C., "Hadrianus Junius' *Batavia* and the Formation of a Historiographical Canon in Holland", in Van Miert (ed.), *Kaleidoscopic Scholarship* 38–68.

19 Miert D. van, "The Religious Beliefs of Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575)", in Schnur R. et al. (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neolatini Cantabrigiensis: Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Cambridge. 2000* (Tempe, AZ: 2003) 583–594.

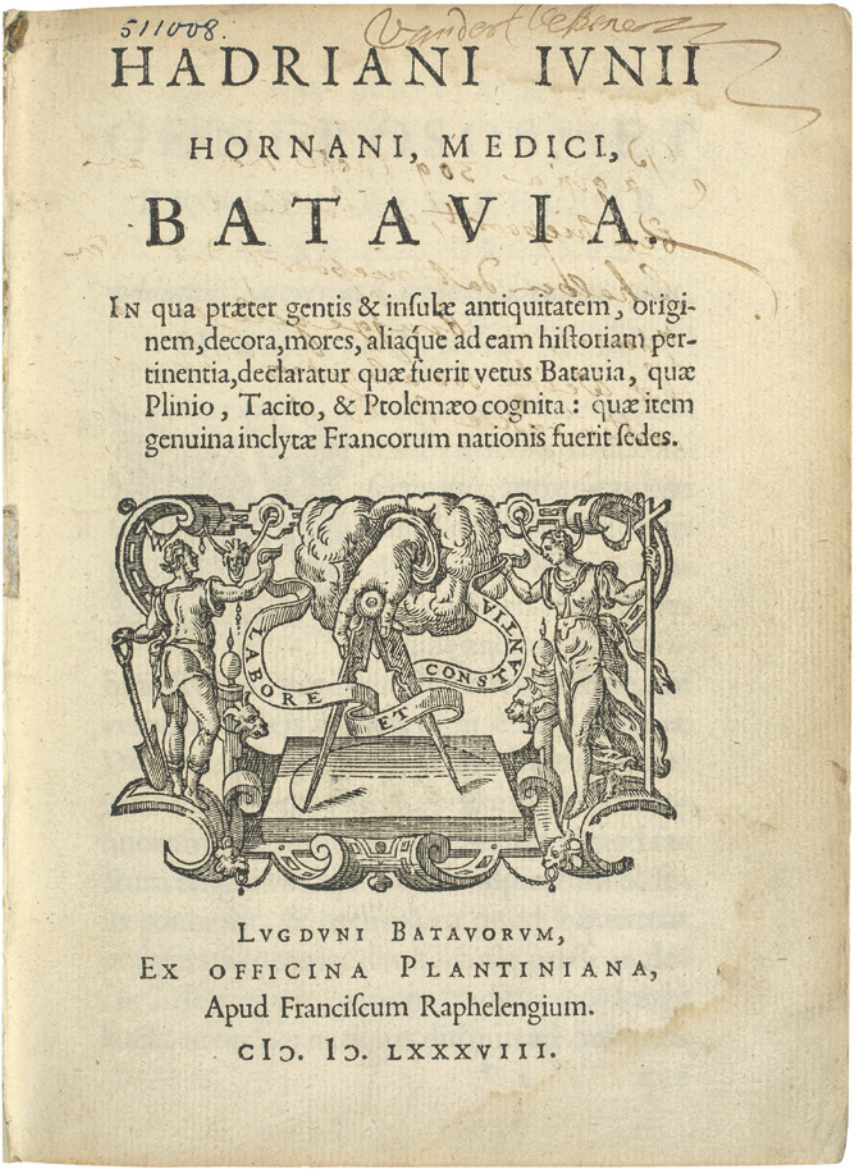


FIGURE 13.1 Hadrianus Junius, *Batavia* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1588, title page.)

IMAGE © KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, THE HAGUE

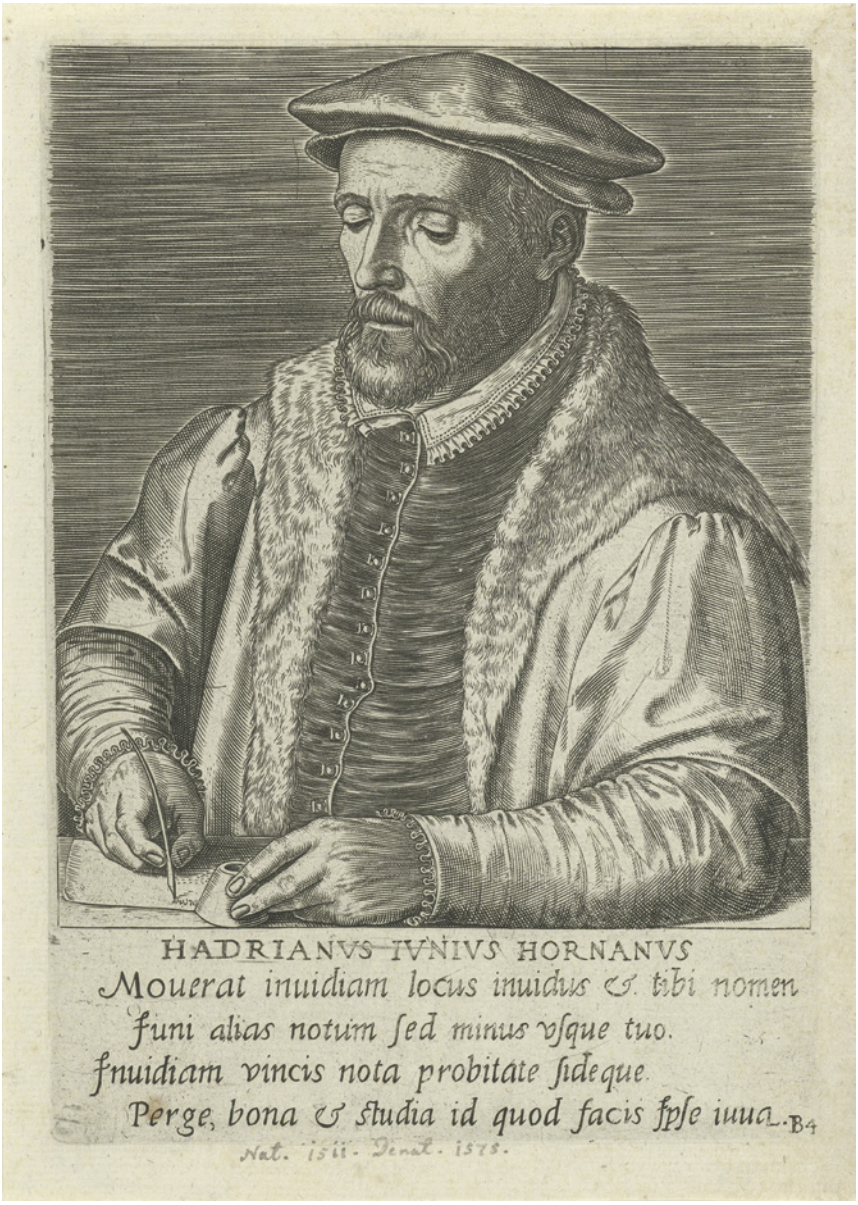


FIGURE 13.2 Philip Galle, *Portrait of Hadrianus Junius* (1572). Engraving
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

3 Ancient Roman Frugality and Junius' Embarrassment of Riches

The starting point of my analysis will be the following passage from the *Batavia* about excesses of wealth, especially with regard to foreign delicacies. This passage illustrates that humanist writings from the sixteenth century indeed provided a rich soil for the embarrassment of riches in the seventeenth century that was described by Schama.[20]

> Paulo ante haec tempora luxus mensarum citra exemplum maximus et nepotinis tantum non prodigisque sumptibus exercitus, et in immensum auctus, profligatis iam moribus civilibus, finem modumque omnem transierat, quando pretiosa fames et macelli conturbatrix (ut Epigrammatarii verba ad eam rem aptius exprimendam adducam) terra marique exquisitas ciborum delitias et cupediarum indagines vestigabat, donec dites et generis etiam claritate celebres familiae, studio magnificentiae in epularum apparatu ad summa progressae, aut comesis devoratisque patrimoniis decoxere, aut in vetere aere alieno obstrictae ac vacillantes fortunas suas conturbarunt, posteris nihil praeter luctum et querelas relinquentes.
>
> Not long before my time, the luxury at the tables had reached an incredible climax, and one could almost speak of an insane extravagance. It exceeded all bounds, and the ordinary way of life was utterly destroyed. It was beyond every limit and measure. Hunger costs plenty and the market makes you go broke! (I quote Martial in order to better represent the situation.) By land and sea, people searched for the most exquisite delicacies; it was a true hunt for pleasure, until the rich and also the famous noble families had gone so far in their passion for sumptuous dinners that they had become bankrupt by eating and swallowing their family heritage or had become struck and staggering by long-contracted debt and had upset their fortune, leaving nothing but mourning and lamentations for posterity.[21]

Like many other humanists, Junius was a man of encyclopaedic learning; he wrote *Animadversa*, textual comments on various classical writings, and a

20 Perhaps even so rich that Calvinism is no longer needed to explain the appearance of the phenomenon: see McCants A.E.C., *Civic Charity in a Golden Age: Orphan Care in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Urbana, IL: 1997) 14–15.

21 Junius, *Batavia* 224 (all translations are mine, although in many cases they are indebted to De Glas' Dutch translation). Junius quotes Martial, *Epigrammata* X, 96, 9.

collection of *Adagia* in the style of Erasmus. Moreover, he published a number of lexicographical works. The passage quoted above also testifies to his learning. In addition to the explicit quote from Martial, it implicitly incorporates a lot of other classical materials. I will discuss the most important subtexts, which provide some clues as to the intellectual orientation of Junius' invective against wealth.

The most important source for Junius' text is Roman historiography. First of all, Junius borrows a phrase from Suetonius' biography of Caligula, in which the Emperor's extravagant luxury is criticized.[22] In addition, and more interestingly, Junius uses a sentence from Tacitus' *Annales* that stems from a longer passage in which Emperor Tiberius argues that he is not in a position to curb the excessive wealth (*luxus*) that was the result of foreign wars.[23] In this passage, both the character of Tiberius and the narrator point to the frugality (*parsimonia*) of the ancient Romans that had been lost, although the narrator observes a revival of this virtue in the time of Emperor Vespasian.[24] A similar narrative about the decline of ancient Roman parsimony can be found in the so-called *archaeologia* in Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*: the Romans used to be parsimonious, but they lost this virtue after the conquest of the East and the victory over Carthage. Junius also adopted a phrase from this passage.[25]

Apparently, the main intellectual source of Junius' invective against wealth is not so much any one philosophical school, such as the Stoa, but rather a traditional Roman cocktail of chauvinism, moralism, and conservatism that found expression in a historical narrative about the decline of ancient frugality. However, Junius did not limit his quest for proponents of the primeval Roman virtue of thriftiness to the genre of historiography. Satire, for instance, also provided a rich source of materials. In this passage, Junius includes a fragment from the Roman satirist Lucilius that was preserved in the work of Lactantius.[26] Moreover, he is using an essay by Aulus Gellius, another proponent of ancient Romanness, in which the value of home-grown food is defended, with references to poems by the Roman satirist Varro and the Greek

22 Suetonius, *Vita Gai* 37: 'nepotinis sumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia superavit'. Modern texts usually read *nepotatus* instead of *nepotinis*.

23 Tacitus, *Annales* III, 55: 'luxusque mensae […] profusis sumptibus exerciti paulatim exolevere. […] dites olim familiae nobilium aut claritudine insignes studio magnificentiae prolabebantur'.

24 Tiberius' speech can be found in Tacitus, *Annales* III, 53–54. Tacitus expresses his own views in *Annales* III, 55.

25 Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 13: 'vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere'. The excursus on Roman history (*archaeologia*) is found in *Bellum Catilinae* 6–13.

26 Lucilius, *Satiren*, ed. W. Krenkel (Leiden: 1970), fr. 1347: 'virtus quaerendae finem re scire modumque'. The fragment was preserved in Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* VI, 5.

tragedian Euripides.[27] Finally, Junius uses two passages from Cicero's second Catilinarian oration, which incorporates traditional Roman values to serve a function similar to that in Sallust's work: portraying Catiline as the product of moral decline.[28]

Schama acknowledges the importance of these ancient ideas in the Dutch Golden Age as well, referring to them as 'the Roman stoic lament for the sybaritic corruption of republican virtue'.[29] Such a characterization is not entirely accurate for Junius' ideas about wealth in the *Batavia*, however, and it might not be for many seventeenth-century writings either. Most importantly, Stoicism was by no means the only school of thought to express reservations about riches, and it was certainly not the most critical in this respect, as it placed wealth into the category of *indifferentia* and did not regard it as a moral evil per se. Moreover, it is difficult to label the Roman authors Junius did rely on in this context as clear-cut Stoics, even though some of their works may contain ideas compatible with Stoicism.[30]

4 Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder and the Frugality of the Roman Farmer

In brief, Junius does not rely on a single philosophical school or even a single literary genre to find inspiration and authority for the content and wording of his attack on luxury in Holland. Neither Stoic ideas[31] nor religious motives, let alone specifically Erasmian or Calvinist views, are visible in this passage. Instead, Junius leaned on a diverse body of classical texts – historiography and satire in particular – that express the traditional Roman commonplace that the influx of riches from the East corrupted the pristine Roman morality of

27 Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* VI, 16: 'cenarum ciborum exquisitas delicias […] terra et mari conquirunt […] indagines cuppediarum'.

28 Cicero, *In Catilinam oratio secunda* 10: 'patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt'; Cicero, *In Catilinam oratio secunda* 21: 'in vetere aere alieno vacillant'.

29 Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* 295.

30 With the possible exception of Persius, who in his fifth satire – which is quoted by Junius, as mentioned below – discusses the Stoic paradox that only the Stoic sage is truly free and explains how luxury and avarice may endanger this freedom.

31 The reason for this cannot be that Junius was unaware of Stoic views on wealth, since Junius clearly relied on such ideas in one of his emblems: see emblem XIIII (*Principum opes, plebis adminicula*) in Junius Hadrianus, *Emblemata* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1565) 20, as well as the commentary on this emblem on pp. 90–91, in which Junius explains that the 'magnanimus et fortis vir' with his 'constans animus' will not be disturbed by the extravagant riches of the powerful.

parsimony.[32] This eclecticism does not, of course, preclude the existence of prototypical characters who function as symbols for the ethics of frugality on which Junius' rhetoric relies. One such figure, Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder, is encountered in the following passage from the *Batavia*:

> Iam si velim, postquam piscario in foro res vertitur, nostri maris delicias omnes recensere, tempus me deficiat. Neque vero obsonivororum (quo nomine dicebantur olim qui piscibus delectabantur) convitium in nos distringi velim, aut Romanae luxuriae nota inuri, quam non veritus fuit attingere Cato, quum nimium vero elogio testatus est, pluris Romae piscem vaenire, quam bovem, propterea quod piscibus luxum metirentur, (ut Asinius Celer, qui mullum piscem octo millibus nummum emit:) [...].
>
> Since we are talking about the fish market anyway: if I would like, I could discuss all the delicacies from our sea, but that would require too much time. And I would not wish that we Hollanders would be labelled as 'obsonivores' (people who like fish used to go by that name), and that we would receive the brand of Roman decadence (*Romanae luxuriae nota*). Cato did not hesitate to mention this with his very true observation that fish is sold in Rome against a higher price than beef. For luxury was measured by the fish (for instance in the case of Asinius Celer, who bought one mullet for eight thousand sesterces).[33]

Again, the intellectual movement that Junius seems to adhere to here is not Stoicism or any other philosophy, but the conservative Roman tradition which recounts how the old virtuous Rome became corrupted as a result of the exotic riches that flooded the city after its conquests in the decadent East. Polybius, one of the first authors who expressed this idea, made an explicit connection with the thought of Cato, who is also mentioned by Junius here and who had said that the decline of the Roman Republic could be observed in the fact that

32 At some points, Schama does seem to be aware of this approach: see, for instance, Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* 42, where he refers to Andries Vierlingh's use of aphorisms drawn from the 'standard canon of northern humanism', which was supposed to include such authors as Ovid and Cato.

33 Junius, *Batavia* 204. In what follows, Junius also discusses the verses from Varro's satires that appear in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* VI, 16, mentioned above. The story about Asinius can be found in Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* IX, 31, 67. For fish as a symbol of extreme luxury (especially the *mullus*), see also Déry C.A., "Fish and Food as Symbol in Ancient Rome", in Walker H. (ed.), *Fish: Food from the Waters. Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1997* (Totnes: 1998) 94–115. Juvenal's fourth satire provides a fine parallel to Pliny's anecdote.

male prostitutes were more profitable than farming land, and pots of caviar more than ploughmen.[34] The idea of Roman decadence caused by (Oriental) riches subsequently became a stock ingredient of the Roman historiographical tradition,[35] taken up by authors such as Sallust, Tacitus, and Gellius, who all shared an admiration for Cato.[36]

The moral views of Cato and many later writers in which austerity was presented as an original Roman virtue, however, did not imply that all forms of property were rejected. Specific forms of property acquisition were regarded as superior to others. Cato expressed this succinctly in the *praefatio* to his work *De agricultura*, where he emphasized that trade and money-lending were dangerous and dishonourable, while farming brought respectable profit and turned men into good soldiers.[37] These values were associated specifically with the senatorial class.[38] This aristocratic attitude towards wealth would remain a recurring theme in Roman literature. Key elements of this tradition were the ancient Roman austerity of agrarian life, set against exotic luxuriance, and the decay of this austerity due to successful foreign wars.

Junius applies this combination of ideas to his own context. A good example is his discussion of cheese. In his view, the consumption of expensive foreign cheese was an undesirable form of decadence.

> De Caseorum bonitate cum quibusuis etiam nationibus in certamen venire non erubescat Hollandia, non dubitanda palma gloriae, nisi exoticas delitias fracta luxurie et profunda ingluvie palata praeferrent, nisi rerum venalium pretiis maioribus accenderetur gulae ingenium, et (ut dictitabat Heliogabalus) orexis.

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34 Polybius, *Historiae* XXXI, 25, 4–7. The quote from Cato included by Junius is drawn from Plutarch, *Cato Maior* 8: 'Κατηγορῶν δὲ τῆς πολυτελείας ἔφη χαλεπὸν εἶναι σωθῆναι πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ πωλεῖται πλείονος ἰχθὺς ἢ βοῦς'.

35 See, for instance, Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, praefatio 11–12; Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 10–13. Another excellent illustration of the tradition can be found in Juvenal, *Saturae* VI, 292–300, who refers to the *paupertas Romana*.

36 For Sallust, see Levene D.S., "Sallust's *Catiline* and Cato the Censor", *Classical Quarterly* 50, 1 (2000) 170–191. For Tacitus, see Martin R.H., *Tacitus* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: 1981) 15–16; Gowing A.M., "From the Annalists to the *Annales*: Latin Historiography before Tacitus", in Woodman A.J. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* (Cambridge: 2009) 17–30, especially 19. For Gellius, see Ceaicovschi K., "Cato the Elder in Aulus Gellius", *Illinois Classical Studies* 33–34 (2008–2009) 25–39.

37 Marcus Porcius Cato, *De agricultura*, praefatio.

38 See, for instance, Cicero, *De officiis* I, 151 and Livy, *Ab urbe condita* XXI, 63. Aristocratic overtones are also present in Cato's *praefatio*, which speaks about the *vir bonus* and what is *honestum*. Junius was familiar with such ideas: see Junius, *Batavia* 323, where he refers to the Roman preference for agriculture among the nobility.

> As regards the quality of our cheese, Holland does not have to be embarrassed to compete with any other people. And we would even be sure about the palm of victory if our gastronomes would not be so spoiled by their gluttonous extravagance and if they would not only fancy foreign delicacies; a gluttony and (as Elagabalus called it) an *orexis*, which is further stimulated by the fact that those articles are much more expensive.[39]

Subsequently, Junius discusses two epigrams by Martial about the nutritional value of particular Italian cheeses. Then he returns to the subject of cheese from Holland and explains how his fellow countrymen crave cheese from Parma and Piacenza rather than from Texel, Griend, 's-Gravenzande, and Edam.[40] Junius explicitly presents this local production of cheese as a source of riches (*aurea ubertas, opum affluentia*) or even a rich Horn of Amalthea, but he leaves no room for doubt: this is in itself not a reason for embarrassment (*non erubescat Hollandia*). Junius becomes concerned about undesirable gluttony (*ingluvies, orexis*), intemperance (*luxuries, luxuria*) and licentiousness (*lascivia*) only at the point at which the inhabitants of Holland despise their own agricultural wealth and develop a penchant for foreign products obtained by trade.[41]

5 Roman Frugality and the Simplicity of Holland

The passages discussed above demonstrate that in expressing his attitude towards wealth, Junius called on a tradition of Roman chauvinist moralism. This raises the question whether Junius' embarrassment of riches can also in any way be called chauvinistic or patriotic. In this respect, it should be pointed out that his ideas on wealth seem to have some connection with sixteenth-century

39 Junius, *Batavia* 198. The text erroneously reads *palmae gloria*. The anecdote about Emperor Elagabalus derives from the *Historia Augusta*: Aelius Lampridius, *Vita Antonini Heliogabali* 29. The quote from Cicero is *In Verrem* IV, 47.

40 Junius, *Batavia* 198–199. The poems referred to are Martial, *Epigrammata* XIII, 30 and 31. In this section, too, the intellectual background recurs that we have already noticed in an earlier passage, in particular the section from Aulus Gellius. See Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* VI, 16: 'genera autem nominaque edulium et domicilia ciborum omnibus aliis praestantia, quae profunda ingluvies vestigavit […] per luxum animi parata atque facilia fastidientis per inprobam satietatis lasciviam'.

41 Similar remarks can be found in two passages devoted to rabbit fur and wine: Junius, *Batavia* 209–210 and 213. See also Junius, *Batavia* 222, about the farmers in the northern parts of Holland, who live a harsh life of parsimony and survive on a diet of rye bread, cheese, milk, and whey.

stereotypes about Hollanders, and especially their 'simplicity'. In Erasmus' famous essay about the expression *Auris Batava* (1508), for instance, the *ingenium simplex* of the Hollanders had already been discussed and praised. In the footsteps of the humanist from Rotterdam, Reynier Snoy (1474/1475–1537), from Gouda, had called his fellow countrymen 'remarkable for their faithfulness, simple and dove-like' (*fidelitate conspicua, simplex ac columbina*). Gerardus Listrius (ca. 1490–after 1522), from Utrecht, referred to the 'simplicity of their character, and their unadorned manners' (*ingenii simplicitatem, et mores minime fucatos*), while Hadrianus Barlandus (1486–1538), from Zeeland, said that the Hollanders were 'diligent, busy, simple and very much inclined to every form of gentleness and friendliness' (*industrii, negotiosi, simplices, et ad omnem humanitatem benignitatemque propensissimi*).[42]

In all these texts, the *simplicitas* of the Hollanders seems to refer in particular to their moral sincerity and verbal directness or even bluntness.[43] This concept recurs in the *Batavia* in the context of an ethnographic description which also features their frugality:

> Genus hominum procerum habet Hollandia, alta magis quam humili statura, corporibus validum, forma liberali, ingenio aperto et facili, quod olim dolis atque exterorum artibus obnoxium propterea fuisse notatum est: sed nunc ea simplicitas, tanquam cos attritu, peregrinationibus longoque commerciorum usu exercita, vafriciei nonnihil attraxit, quod mercaturae et negotiationis studio bona pars hominum quantumvis longinquas totoque terrarum orbe semotas ac dissitas regiones peragrat, unde multiplex linguarum et ingeniorum cognitio mores imbuit, et in Ulysseos mutavit, homines a barbarie prima quam Romani scriptores illis dant, multum diuersi, sermo et congressus comis illis est, laboris patientia summa. Id in genere dicendum est et vere, et cum laude, imo et finitimorum confessione, Hollandos esse frugi et attentos oeconomos patresque familias: qui formicae exemplum secuti condunt sub hyemem, quae illa anni partis iniuria negatura videtur, coemptis piscibus carnibusque, quae vel muria domant, vel fumo durant.

42 Erasmus, *Opera omnia* II, 8, 40; Snoy Reynier, *De rebus Batavicis libri XIII*, ed. Jacobus Brassica (Frankfurt, Daniel and David Aubry and Clemens Schleich: 1620) 13; Erasmus, *Opera omnia* IV, 3, 85 (for the remark by Listrius); Barlandus Hadrianus, *Rerum gestarum a Brabantiae ducibus historia usque in annum vigesimum sextum supra MD restitutae salutis* (Antwerp, Johannes Hillen van Hoochstraten: 1526) fol. s4 v.

43 Junius knew this stereotype and refers to it in Junius, *Batavia* 219–220, but there he uses terms like *crassus* and *stupidus*, rather than *simplex*.

> Holland has a tall sort of people, who have a long rather than a short stature; they have strong bodies and the appearance of freeborn men. They are open-minded and easy-going, so that they used to be known for their susceptibility to the fraud and deceit of foreigners. But nowadays that simplicity (*simplicitas*) – as happens to a whetstone by rubbing – has been eroded by journeys and long-lasting trading experience and has adopted some cunning. For as a result of their eagerness for trade and business, a large part of the population traverses the entire world to its most remote angles. Their acquaintance with many languages and cultures has influenced them and changed them into people like Ulysses. They are very different now from what they used to be, when the Roman writers attributed to them that primitive character: they are friendly in their contacts and conversations, and they do not avoid making an effort. One thing can be said about them with certainty and praise, and even the neighbouring people acknowledge this: the Hollanders are frugal, they carefully manage their financial position, and they are responsible heads of the family. In accordance with the example of the ant, they build up a stock towards the winter of what that unjust season will likely withhold: they buy meat and fish, and they conserve them by means of salt or smoke.[44]

This passage combines a number of themes I have discussed above. It presents the Hollanders as frugal housekeepers stocking agricultural products. And just like parsimony is often threatened by riches – a risk that is actually not mentioned in this specific passage – the old *simplicitas* of Holland lost out to distant trade voyages.[45] This allows me to make two points. First of all, the passage shows that an embarrassment of riches is for Junius partly a matter of collective identity: it characterizes the Hollanders as much as their *simplicitas* does. Just like the Roman narrative he incorporates, it contributes to a sense of chauvinistic pride. Secondly, both this passage and several other passages discussed above – including those from the *Batavia* – bear witness to the idea that deviations from ancient virtue are due to luxury resulting from foreign trade rather than from local production, in a fashion similar to that of the primordial

44 Junius, *Batavia* 220.

45 At the time that Junius wrote the *Batavia*, the Hollanders were not yet involved in trade in East Indies. The distant trade voyages Junius refers to should therefore rather be thought of as voyages to Norway, the Baltic Sea, Denmark, Brittany, Spain, and the African coast (see Junius, *Batavia* 198, 205–206, 222 and 278–279).

Roman *paupertas ac parsimonia* (as Livy called it[46]), which perished due to the rich spoils of the Eastern campaigns.

6 The Point of Frugality: Scholars and Noblemen

In the previous sections, I argued that Junius was enhancing the traditional self-presentation of Holland as a simple and frugal community by drawing on a conservative Roman tradition preserved in genres such as historiography and satire. But what was the socio-economical context in which his emphasis on these literary motives made sense?

As has been noted in scholarly literature about the subject, Junius had been dependent on aristocratic patronage for much of his life, and his appointment as a historian of the States of Holland was largely due to the nobility, while some cities had opposed it.[47] In the years just around the beginning of the Dutch Revolt, when Junius wrote the *Batavia*, the position of the nobility in Holland was still strong. Noble families like those of Egmont, Wassenaer, and Brederode performed many important military and administrative functions in the county. Junius remarks that 'God gave them the command over the rudder of power, and he assigned to them the helm of the community with lawful authority'.[48] It should come as no surprise, therefore, that Junius adopts a very positive attitude towards the nobility in *Batavia*.[49] My suggestion would be that his emphasis on frugality and his rejection of trade can also be understood from this perspective. According to Junius, the nobility of his time had become diluted by despicable persons, such as 'handicraftsmen, rope-makers, and sons of merchants'.[50] Just like the crafts, apparently, trade was not a noble pursuit

46 Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, praefatio, 11.

47 Vermaseren, "Het ontstaan" 409–416; Waterbolk E.H., "Zeventiende-eeuwers in de Republiek over de grondslagen van het geschiedverhaal. Mondelinge of schriftelijke overlevering", in *Verspreide opstellen* (Amsterdam: 1981) 189–204, especially 196–198.

48 Junius, *Batavia* 230: 'quod his rerum clavum regendum Deus dederit, et Reipublicae gubernacula cum iusta potestate commiserit'. For the position of the nobility in sixteenth-century Holland, see Nierop H.F.K. van, *Van ridders tot regenten. De Hollandse adel in de zestiende en de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (Dieren: 1984).

49 See in particular Junius, *Batavia* 317–347. On p. 321 Junius makes it quite explicit himself: 'nobilitatisque studiose faveo'. See also Junius, *Holland is een eiland* 10 n. 14 ('Junius' obsessie met de adel'), 210 n. 19, and 321 n. 53 ('Junius als fanatiek bewonderaar van de adel').

50 Junius, *Batavia* 317: 'cerdones, schoenoplocos, restiones, mercatorum liberos'. See also p. 324, where Junius contemptuously refers to a tendency to treat noble titles as *emptitia merx* for *homines opulenti*. Obviously, this choice of words again betrays disdain for trade.

from Junius' perspective. It is important to note that this is exactly the point of view taken by many contemporary noblemen, who thought that trade, crafts, and industry were incompatible with their social status[51] – an aristocratic idea that we also already encountered in the works of the ancient and early modern writers like Cato the Elder and Melanchthon on which Junius may have drawn. True nobility, in this view, comprised something else, and it had nothing to do with wealth:

> Neminem enim aliter opinaturum existimo, quam quod genuina nobilitas ea sit, quam vel virtus vitae socia exornet, vel mortis comes gloria cohonestarit. Neque vero torques, non armillae, non abaci argentea supellectile graves, non pretiosa synthesis, non segmentatae et intercursantibus maeandris laciniosae vestium orae, non in astragalis lunulae, non latifundiorum possessio, non ampla haereditas, non fumosae imagines, quibus atria fulgeant, non obsoleti clypeorum umbones, non denique opum apparatus et splendor nobilitatem secum adferunt [...].
>
> For everyone will agree on this point: true nobility is always accompanied and graced by a virtuous life, or glorified by a heroic death. It is not a matter of necklaces, bracelets, cupboards full of silver, precious crockery, clothes with glittering hems and intricate, meandering patterns, moon-shaped ornaments on columns, the possession of estates, a large inheritance, the faded glory of ancient portraits in the atrium, ancient coats of arms; in brief, it is not a matter of a dazzling display of wealth. That does not confer nobility on anyone.[52]

Instead, Junius presented the nobility in Holland as originally characterized by frugality and simplicity:

> [...] quae cuncta non plebeiis sordibus, sed olim comparata fuere Nobilitati. Primum et antiquissimum aedificari coeptum ad annum 876 a primo Hollandiae Principe ligneum virginitati, mox a filio lapideum factum, viris destinatum fuit et quidem nobili loco genitis, quos generis clades et opprobrium excludere non poterat, Egmondae vicini pagi

51 Van Nierop, *Van ridders tot regenten* 44, 51, 224. Junius, *Batavia* 320–323 discusses similar ideas (especially ideas that were widespread among the nobility of foreign countries), although he does offer some critique of these ideas.

52 Junius, *Batavia* 318.

> nomine clarum et Praesulis infulati titulo. Ex quo maiorum nostrorum simplicitas discere licet; cuius, ut et pietatis ex professo amatores, in aedificando luxum profusis sumptibus non quaesiverunt, nec insanas illas substructiones e quadratis saxis[53] expetiverunt. Testantur id tot principum ibi sepultorum singulae tessellae singulorum sepulchris inhumatorum impositae, indices atque testes memoriae […].
>
> [all these rich monasteries with large revenues] were founded, then, not for common people but for the nobility. The first and oldest, built in wood, was a nunnery for which the first count of Holland laid the foundation in the year 876. His son rebuilt it in stone and destined it for men from the nobility, who could not be rejected even if the status and reputation of their family had perished. This is the abbey that is famous under the name of the neighbouring village of Egmond and because the abbot holds the title of bishop. In the monastery, you can really see the simplicity of our forefathers (*maiorum nostrorum simplicitas*). They overtly loved piety and in their buildings they did not seek luxury by large expenditures and they did not like those absurd constructions of stone blocks. In Egmond, the simple tiles on the many individual resting places of the counts of Holland testify to this [Fig. 13.3]. That is the only indication and reminder of them.[54]

It might be inferred that the simplicity of the nobility – which here refers to frugality rather than honesty – reinforces the legitimacy of their rule: the Hollanders are admirably parsimonious, and they will thrive under leaders who share this virtue. At first sight, this idea might seem to be contradicted by Junius' observation in my first quotation from the *Batavia* above that not long before his own time, the nobility had fallen prey to a 'passion for sumptuous dinners'. However, Junius also thought that the new generation of noblemen had rectified this mistake:

> Sed ea vesania et profusio paulatim, Diis gratia, iam exolescit, postquam magnitudo famae exitio esse coepit, et exemplo docti ditiores, ad

53 A quote from Cicero, *Pro Milone* 53. Perhaps Junius' stance also reflects the old Roman rejection of architectural exuberance. See, for instance, Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* XXXVI, 7 (Marcus Licinius Crassus is mocked by Marcus Innius Brutus for having pillars of Hymettian marble in his house), or Livy, *Ab urbe condita* XXXIV, 4 (a speech by Cato referring to the simple terra cotta decorations of ancient Roman temples).

54 Junius, *Batavia* 343–344.



FIGURE 13.3
The abbey of Egmond. Woodcut, taken from: Cornelius Aurelius, *Die cronyke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant* (Leiden, Jan Seversz.: 1517)
IMAGE © KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, THE HAGUE

> sapientiora animos convertere, et novi exorti homines ac Reipublicae clavo adhibiti, parsimoniam invexere, aut ad pecuniosam senectam (ubi egestas quovis flagitio deterior habetur) priorem animum adiungunt. Caeterum fieri potest, ut cum temporum vicibus, etiam morum vertantur: sicut res mundanae omnes velut orbe iactatae volvuntur.
>
> But (the gods be thanked!) this mad extravagance has now gradually decreased, after the magnitude of the fame it conferred brought people to the brink of destruction. The rich learned from the example and became wiser. A new generation came to the helm of the state. They reintroduced parsimony, and think about saving for retirement as they used to do, as poverty is considered a disgrace at that age. Incidentally, it is possible that in the cycle of time, the *mores* also change; indeed, all the things of this world come by again and again, as if they were running on a wheel.[55]

The most obvious reason why Junius portrays the contemporary nobility as thrifty persons fit to rule the parsimonious county of Holland, thus echoing their own self-presentation, is that he had enjoyed the patronage of this group in the recent past. Just like Tacitus credits Vespasian with the restoration of *parsimonia* – a passage Junius seems to be alluding to again here[56] – Junius

55 Junius, *Batavia* 224.
56 Cf. Tacitus, *Annales* III, 55: 'ut quem ad modum temporum vices ita morum vertantur'.

tries to please the ruling elite of Holland by ascribing a similar moral revival to them. Another reason could be that Junius hoped that the lustre of the nobility would also illuminate his own profession, humanist scholarship. This works as follows. In the *Batavia*, he explains that there exist three kinds of nobility. The first is based on descent, the second on memorable deeds. The third has to do with learning:

> Tertii ordinis sunt, quos ex doctrina nobiles et claros appellat Cicero, qui praestanti eruditione et scientia imbutis animis in commune prosunt, aut liberalis artis ope atque adiumento inclarescunt.
>
> In the third array stand those whom Cicero refers to as 'noble and famous on the basis of their scholarly activity'. Because their minds are imbued with great erudition and knowledge, they are of benefit to the community or they become famous through one of the liberal arts.[57]

With this thought in mind, one cannot help but notice that Junius' scholarly elite are supposed to adhere to an aristocratic lifestyle of frugality and aversion to trade:

> Venio ad ingenia, quae producit Hollandia non infelicia neque sterilia: quorum nonnulla, nisi luxu protererentur obruerenturque, ac velut in herba interirent, aut nisi e medio studiorum cursu retracta ad negotiationem et lucrosas artes, a Mercuriali saliva alienas, spem luderent atque abrumperent, poterant cum veteribus illis in dubiam certaminis aleam ire.
>
> I come to the ingenious people. Holland certainly brings forth good and productive ones. Some of them could rival the famous ancient authors, if they were not controlled and overwhelmed by luxury and nipped in the bud, as it were, and if they were not lured from the study by commercial professions, which make them salivate with greed and which make them risk and ruin their future.[58]

57 Junius, *Batavia* 320. Junius refers to Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Postumo* IX, 23.

58 Junius, *Batavia* 234. The expression *Mercurialis saliva* is drawn from Persius V, 112 (which seems to be the only text with a clearly Stoic character on which Junius is drawing in the passages I have discussed).

7 Conclusion

With this remark, I have come full circle. Junius appropriates conservative Roman ideas about the importance of frugality as a 'national' virtue and about rich spoils from the East as the cause of the Republic's decline, and transfers them to his own context, where the economic imperialism of Holland takes the place of Roman military expansionism as a driver of decadence. Ultimately, the embarrassment of riches described by Schama – and perhaps also the spirit of capitalism identified by Weber – comes from a clearly non-Calvinist perspective and seems to have found its inspiration in the Roman world view of men like Cato just as much as in the ideas of Erasmus. An approach to intellectual history that would stop with this observation, however, would be incomplete. After all, the most relevant question here is why Junius made his selection from these different intellectual sources the way he did. In this article, I have argued that the main unifying principle behind Junius' eclecticism is the aristocratic ideal of agrarian simplicity and disdain for commerce that was common among the contemporary nobility in Holland. Junius' work thus reproduces the values of his aristocratic patrons and legitimizes their dominant position on the eve of the Dutch Revolt, while it also attempts to let some of their dignity reflect on the world of scholars like himself by attributing to them an equally sober attitude, averse to mercantile gain.

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CHAPTER 14

Epigraphy and Blurring Senses of the Past in Early Modern Travelling Men of Letters: The Case of Arnoldus Buchelius

Harald Hendrix

Whereas early modern intellectuals all over Europe were deeply informed by the orientation on classical culture their breeding had presented as preferred cultural and civic model, their understanding and appreciation of heritage was far more flexible. Though maintaining and indeed cultivating attitudes and methodologies acquired in a scholarly formation focused on the antiquity, from the early sixteenth century onwards men of letters started to develop an interest in various kinds of heritage, old and recent, nearby and far away, sometimes aware of the distinctiveness of the various categories taken into consideration, but often not. This chapter intends to assess how particularly in the community of antiquarians programmatically oriented towards the heritage of the antiquity, medieval and even more recent heritage gradually came to attract an attention that in some instances even surpassed the focus on the classics. While doing so, it will illustrate that in this period a clear-cut distinction between an orientation towards ancient and more recent heritage was not as sharp as conventionally assumed, which clearly holds some consequences as to the main issue addressed in this book. If the boundaries between the various categories of "past" that may be seen as appropriate were in fact rather blurred, one may ask if it is still possible to conjecture that some elements in the past were considered to be appropriate and others not, or – conversely – should we conclude that early modern culture appreciated all heritage as being appropriate, without distinction?

To tackle this question, in this essay I focus not only on which past was being targeted by the antiquarians here presented, but also on the motivations that guided them to do so and the tools they used in their endeavours. One of the central hypotheses that inform this survey is indeed the idea that early modern intellectuals might have been flexible as to content, but were not with regard to method. On the contrary: the stability and continuity of their scholarly attitudes and instruments permitted and even invited the exploration of all kinds of evidence beyond the ancient ones learned about during education, and therefore made an interest in various and alternative pasts feasible and

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acceptable. Additionally, I hope to show that the manner of looking at and appreciating heritage introduced by these antiquarians did not remain a purely scholarly matter, but found its way far beyond the erudite circles of the scholars themselves and developed into a general template for all those interested in dealing with a past to be considered appropriate.

In order to illustrate this line of thought I focus on a specific genre of texts that function as repositories, even proto-archives, of some of the material traces that document such heritage: the collections of epigraphical materials we may find all over Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in books and in manuscripts. This unusually rich yet still largely unexplored genre develops at the intersection of quite different domains in early modern culture: it is both oriented towards ancient and contemporary culture, it is rooted on the one hand in a profoundly humanistic, scholarly and antiquarian culture, but on the other hand also in the processes of local identity construction that produce large quantities of chorographical city descriptions.[1] And it is closely linked to the rise of early modern travel culture, not only in its educational orientation but also in its commercial developments. Precisely because of its highly dynamic nature, it is in this rapidly developing travel culture that we may find the most captivating samples of the blurring visions on heritage produced within rather strict methodological frameworks that interest us here.

1 Arnoldus Buchelius

A fine specimen to illustrate this meeting of scholarly habits, travel dispositions and flexible interests in various categories of heritage – all appreciated, but for different reasons – is the case of the Utrecht humanist Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641).[2] Born in 1565 as an illegitimate son to a wealthy

1 Guthke K.S., *Epitaph Culture in the West. Variations on a Theme in Cultural History* (Lewiston: 2003), part. 37–55, as well as the pioneering investigations in Sparrow J., *Visible Words. A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art* (Cambridge: 1969) 25–32, and Weiss R., "The Rise of Classical Epigraphy" in his *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: 1969) 145–166. See also Petrucci A., *Writing the Dead. Death and Writing Strategies in the Western Tradition* (Stanford: 1998) 84–85, and Federici F., "L'interesse per le lastre tombali medievali a Roma tra ricerche epigrafiche e documentazione figurativa (secoli XVI–XIX)", *Opera – Nomina – Historiae. Giornale di cultura artistica* 4 (2011) 161–210.

2 On Buchelius cf. Pollmann J., *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic. The Reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641)* (Manchester: 1999), and Langereis S., *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw: Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Hilversum: 2001); see also Langeraad L.A. van, "Het leven van Arend van Buchell", in *Diarium van Arend van Buchel*, ed. G. Brom and L.A. van Langeraad (Amsterdam: 1907); Buchell Arnold van,

patrician, Buchelius' personal interest in his family's history produced a true passion for genealogical research on patrician families in general.[3] As a youngster he received some training and experience in land surveying, since that was the profession of his stepfather, and when in his early twenties he went as a student to Paris, he came into contact with a number of humanist scholars, notably Lodovico Carrio and Philips van Winge,[4] who at that very moment were engaged in a major project of chorography: the updating and elaboration of Giles Corrozet's seminal city guide of Paris, the *Antiquitez, Chroniques et Singularitez de Paris*. In its 1586 edition, this elaborate city guide incorporated all kinds of information on recent monuments, like the royal tombs in Saint Denis. This additional information was in part gathered by Buchelius, who acted as an assistant on this project, as is apparent from the drawings of some of these tombs included in the account of his Parisian years recorded after returning to his hometown in 1588, the well-known *Diarium* or *Commentarius rerum quotidianarum*.[5]

Yet what in Paris had started as a mere passion for collecting "nugae / trifles" – as Buchelius in a 1586 letter to a friend ironically defined his start as an antiquarian eager to record in writing and drawing epitaphs and remains of antique buildings –[6] quickly grew into a much more serious endeavour. This is apparent from the parts in his *Diarium* intended to serve as a chorography of his hometown Utrecht and written as of 1588, since these pages reflect the radical changes to the cityscape produced by the introduction of a Calvinist city government headed by the Earl of Leicester, and lament in particular the lack of respect for those monuments that document the medieval glory of Utrecht, based on its churches and other ecclesiastical buildings.

Notae quotidianae, ed. J.W.C. van Campen (Utrecht: 1940); idem, *Res Pictoriae. Aantekeningen over kunstenaars en kunstwerken, 1583–1639*, ed. G.J. Hoogewerff and J.Q. van Regteren Altena (The Hague: 1928).

3 On Buchelius's religious orientation and his shift from catholicism to calvinism, see Pollmann, *Religious Choice*.

4 See Hoogewerff G.J., "Philips van Winghe", *Mededelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 7 (1927) 59–82; Schuddeboom C., *Philips van Winghe (1560–1592) en het ontstaan van de christelijke archeologie*, Ph.D. dissertation (Leiden University: 1996).

5 Buchelius Arnoldus, *Commentarius rerum quotidianarum*, Utrecht University Library, ms. 798; published in *Diarium van Arend van Buchell*, and online available at http://www.utrechtsekronieken.nl/kronieken/diarium/ (retrieved 22nd October 2017); the images of the Saint Denis tombs at fols. 189v–190r.

6 Letter dd 12 October 1586 to Adam Verdenius, in Buchelius Arnoldus, *Epistolae ad diversos*, Utrecht University Library, ms 984, fols. 2v–3r; cf. Pollmann, *Religious Choice* 47.

> Monumenta nil curant veterum aut maiorem memorias, caelo iam sua nomina scripta dicentes, adeo quidam eorum vel ipsis Gottis barbariores.
>
> They neglect the monuments of the ancients, and do not attend to the memorial masses of our ancestors, saying that their names have already been written in heaven, so that some of them seem more barbaric than the Goths themselves.[7]

To counter this iconoclast attack on the city's medieval material heritage, Buchelius includes in his chorography detailed designs of some of the monuments only very recently destroyed, like the church of Saint Salvator demolished in 1587–1588. This drive to document in writings and drawings recent heritage in order to preserve it from possible destruction motivated Buchelius at a later stage in his life to embark on a project scaled even larger. When after 1611 he decided to discontinue his career in public office and dedicate his life entirely to antiquarian research, Buchelius started a comprehensive documentation campaign of the epigraphical and related genealogical materials to be found in the Low Countries, a monumental project which would occupy him for three decades, from 1611 till his death in 1641.

This would produce a series of beautifully illustrated manuscripts containing comprehensive collections of epitaphs and related materials, particularly family coats of arms, starting with the material to be found in his hometown Utrecht collected in the *Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Trajectinae urbis atque agri inventa*.[8] As he again specifies in his Introduction, Buchelius felt the need to start this project to document and preserve in written form these monuments, because he had witnessed how war had destroyed so many others:[9]

> hoc in libro tantum ea collecturus sum, quae adhuc in templis ac locis publicis, partim cum temporis iniuria luctantia, partim hoc nostro

7 Buchelius, *Commentarius*, fol. 44v; English translation taken from Pollmann, *Religious Choice* 86.

8 Buchelius Arnoldus, *Monumenta passim in templis ac monasteriis Trajectinae urbis atque agri inventa*, Het Utrechts Archief, ms. XXVII L 1; available online, together with a detailed description by Joke Mammen, at http://www.utrechtsekronieken.nl (retrieved 22nd October 2017).

9 Similar motivations inform John Stow's 1598 *A Survay of London*; cf. Newstok S.L., *Quoting Death in Early Modern England. The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Houndmills: 2009) 100–104. Also some of the earlier humanists interested in collecting epigraphical evidence, notably Fra Giocondo, profess such motivations, on which cf. Weiss, "The Rise of Classical Epigraphy" 150–151.

> demum aevo posita supersunt monumenta [...]; neque ea verbis modo sed et forma sua, lineamentis ac coloribus quantum licebit, exprimere conabor. Aegris enim oculis tot nuper sepulcrorum aliorumque tam publicorum quam privatorum operum monumenta bellorum civilium iniquitate deperdita et irrecuperabili calamitate extincta per totum Belgium inspexi [...].
>
> In this book I intend to collect only those monuments that are still present in churches and public buildings, partly suffering from the threatening effect of time, partly erected only in our own days [...]. I will represent these monuments not only in words but also with coloured drawings, as much as I can. Because I have witnessed recently and with regret how in the entire Low Countries the remains of many sepulchral monuments and other public and private heritage have been lost because of the destructions caused by civil war and thus have disappeared without any chance of repair.[10]

So what he did was visit a large number of churches and monasteries and record in detail, in text and colour drawings, what he saw. Clearly this project to produce a repository of historical memories was motivated by feelings of local identity, since his initial collection, which we can date to around 1610, contained only Utrecht-related materials described in 172 folio pages. But later on he expanded this to other regions, producing a second repository mounting up to 464 pages, the *Inscriptiones monumentaque in templis et monasteriis Belgicis inventa*,[11] that presents material from all over the Low Countries [Fig. 14.1], both in the North and in the South, and a third one, the *Monumenta quaedam sepulcralia et publica* that present 34 folio pages dedicated to monuments in the Northern provinces of Friesland and Groningen, but with some elements from abroad, like the epitaphs Buchelius collected on his foreign trips to Liège and Orléans.[12]

10 Buchelius, *Monumenta* 4r. (translation mine), cf. Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht* 87, n. 84.

11 Buchelius Arnoldus, *Inscriptiones monumentaque in templis et monasteriis Belgicis inventa*, Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, ms. 1648.

12 Buchel Aernout van, *Monumenta quaedam sepulchralia, et publica in templis, aliisque locis inventa et descripta, quae in libris observationum ac hactenus descriptorum monumentorum meis non habentur,* Tresoar, Leeuwarden, ms. EVC 1323 A.



FIGURE 14.1 Arnoldus Buchelius, *Inscriptiones monumentaque in templis et monasteriis Belgicis inventa.* Utrecht University Library, ms. 1648, 64–65
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

2 Iter italicum

Buchelius's passion for epigraphy thus had a complex background: it was motivated by feelings of local pride and by the increasing awareness that the heritage he documented was under threat. It was informed by a rudimentary training in survey techniques, and by the experience gathered in the project to update the Parisian chorography of Corrozet with documentation on recently erected monuments. In addition to this, however, and perhaps primarily, it was a habit experimented with on a large scale during his educational travels to Italy, in 1587–1588, and in the subsequent process of elaborating his notes into a travelogue.[13] Following in the footsteps of earlier antiquarians from the North – like his fellow countryman Stephanus Pighius (1520–1604) – eager to personally observe and record the ancient heritage they had learned about during their education, on his Italian journey Buchelius took on-the-spot notes of the most remarkable monuments he came across, dwelling with particular attention on the epigraphical evidence they presented.[14] After his return home he started to elaborate these with the help of additional reference works into a travelogue, the *Iter italicum*, to be included in his *Diarium*,[15] just as Pighius had reworked his notes into a seminal travelogue included in his *Hercules Prodicius*, a book

13 Buchelius travelled to and in Italy from November 1587 through April 1588. On this Italian tour and its travelogue Jan de Jong is conducting an ongoing research project, which has resulted in a series of articles, partly co-authored with Sjef Kemper: Jong J. de, Kemper S., "'Historiam hanc diu quaesitam invenire non potui'. Aernout van Buchel op het Capitool", in Egmond M. Van – Jaski B. – Mulders H. (eds.), *Bijzonder onderzoek. Een ontdekkingsreis door de bijzondere collecties van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht* (Utrecht: 2009) 48–55; Jong J. de, "'Iacet in colle…' Siena in een beschrijving van Aernout van Buchel (1588)", *Frons. Blad voor Leidse classici* (2010) 41–52; Jong J. de, Kemper S., "'Where the Gate drips near the Vipsania Columns'. Aernout van Buchel Gathering Information on the Culture and History of Rome", *Fragmenta. Journal of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome* 5 (2011) 63–100; Jong J. de, Kemper J., "La visione di Roma dell'olandese Arnoldus Buchelius (dicembre 1588)", *Studi umanistici piceni* 31 (2011) 187–198; Jong J. de, Kemper S., "Aernout van Buchel in Napels", *Incontri. Rivista europea di studi italiani*, 27 (2011) 3–20; Jong J. de, "Responding to Tomb Monuments. Meditations and Irritations of Aernout van Buchel in Rome (1587–1588)", in Brusati C., Enenkel K., Melion W. (eds.), *The Authority of the Word. Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden-Boston: 2012) 533–558; Jong J. de, "Aernout van Buchel's Description of Italy, 1587–1588", *Print Quarterly* 33 (2016) 123–134.

14 The two notebooks are in the Utrecht University Library: mss. 760 (notes on the Italian trip and Rome) and 1640 (notes on Naples).

15 Buchelius, *Commentarius*, I-91, published in Buchelius A., *Iter italicum*, ed. Rodolfo Lanciani (Roma: 1901). Cf. also Buchelius Arnoldus, *Rerum memorabilium diversarum observationum itineris mei Germanici et Italici commentariolus*, ms. Het Utrechts Archief (Hs. 761), published in *Diarium* van Arend van Buchel, and online available at http://www.utrechtsekronieken.nl/kronieken/diarium/ (retrieved 22nd October 2017).

that immediately after its 1587 publication for Buchelius served as an authorative guide on his Italian tour and during the process of elaborating his notes.[16]

Since Buchelius' work on the *Iter italicum* coincided with his decision to start also in his native Utrecht campaigns to document such evidence on local monuments, his travelogue enables us to better understand his working habits as well as his intellectual attitudes and dispositions at a crucial turning point in his scholarly career. Essential in this approach is the combination and indeed connection of hands-on observations gathered while travelling with erudite knowledge collected from reference works and authorative sources. This working habit, which he might as well have adopted from his guide Pighius who equally had applied such methods in his recent travelogue, brings him to transfer antiquarian methods traditionally oriented exclusively towards evidence of ancient remains to a much vaster range of monumental artefacts encountered while travelling.

As a result Buchelius focuses in his report on a variety of heritage that is much broader than a conventional antiquarian approach would appreciate, ranging from the ancient and early Christian to late medieval and even contemporary culture. In Ravenna he reports on ancient, Byzantine and modern artefacts – like Dante's tomb erected in 1483 –, and in Florence he admires Michelangelo's tomb in Santa Croce completed only a decade before his visit.[17] In the section on Rome, he includes drawings not only of the Basilica of Maxentius and the *Molis Hadriani* [Fig. 14.2], but also of the contemporary building campaign transforming Capitol Hill into an ensemble designed by Michelangelo.[18] And this large range of heritage items is presented without much distinction,

16 Pighius Stephanus, *Hercules Prodicius seu Principis iuventutis vita et peregrinatio* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1587). The antiquarian Pighius had extensively travelled Italy during the years of his service to cardinal Cervini (1548–1556) and in 1573–1575 as tutor of the hereditary duke of Cleves. Most part of his manuscript notes are now in the *Codex Pighianus* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. lat. fol. 61). On his 1573–1575 tour he composed an elaborate travelogue integrating notes taken during his previous visits, the *Hercules Prodicius*, published only in 1587 with Plantin in Antwerp. The recent publication of this seminal antiquarian guide to Italy produced by a humanist from the Utrecht circle might have stimulated Buchelius to embark on an Italian journey himself. On Pighius cf. Jongkees J.H., "Stephanus Winandus Pighius Campensis", *Mededelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 8 (1954) 120–185, and particularly on his Italian tour: Laureys M., "Theory and practice of the journey to Italy in the 16th century: Stephanus Pighius' Hercules Prodicius", in Sacré D., Tournoy G. (eds.), *Myricae. Essays on Neo-Latin literature in memory of Jozef IJsewijn* (Leuven: 2000) 269–301.

17 Buchelius, *Iter italicum* 27–31 (Ravenna), 137 (tomb Michelangelo).

18 On this particular section in Buchelius' travelogue, with special reference to the drawings and their provenance, cf. Jong – Kemper, "'Historiam hanc diu quaesitam invenire non potui'".

suggesting therefore that even an erudite man like Buchelius had only a limited awareness of such distinctions and lacked the motivation to draft hierarchies in what was to be considered valuable or appropriate past.

What however connects many of these diverse kinds of heritage in the mindset we may deduct from Buchelius' travelogue is the written evidence many of them present in the format of epitaphs or other epigraphical specimens. His interest in the recent tombs of the likes of Dante and Michelangelo is triggered by a curiosity focused on the epitaphs the monuments present and by the desire to record such evidence. This indicates that Buchelius's observation of the reality he witnesses while travelling is dominated and indeed limited by a preference for written testimonies illustrating the heritage observed, a phenomenon characteristic of most antiquarians. What however distinguishes Buchelius' version of what one might coin as "epigraphical gaze" is that it developed from an orientation on ancient heritage, yet mediates and indeed invites a wider curiosity for all such material traces that present written evidence, regardless of their chronological or cultural provenance. This is a disposition that informs also Buchelius' slightly later endeavour to record and preserve the modern epigraphical and genealogical materials he finds in Utrecht and in the Low Countries at large: while the instrument derives from a typically antiquarian approach developed in an explorative dialogue with the antiquity, the content is modern and local heritage.

3 Inspiring Models

Yet Buchelius was not a man to develop himself such an innovative combination of ancient and modern. For this, he could rely on his usual guides, primarily Pighius, but even more so on the reference works he used during and after his Italian tour, books that had partly informed Pighius' *Hercules Prodicius* as well, like for example the well-known chorography of Ravenna, Desiderio Spreti's *De amplitudine, de vastatione et de instauratione urbis Ravenna*, which was republished only a few years before Buchelius' Italian tour, in 1574 and again in 1588, and is duly cited as being consulted during the writing of his travelogue.[19] As of its first edition published in 1489, Spreti's chorography had included an appendix on the epigraphical materials to be found in Ravenna's monumental religious buildings, both ancient and modern.[20] Likewise Buchelius made use of

19 Buchelius, *Iter italicum* 28.

20 Spreti Desiderio, *De amplitudine, de vastatione et de instauratione urbis Ravenna* (Venice, Guerra: 1588) 53–64, "Epigrammata".

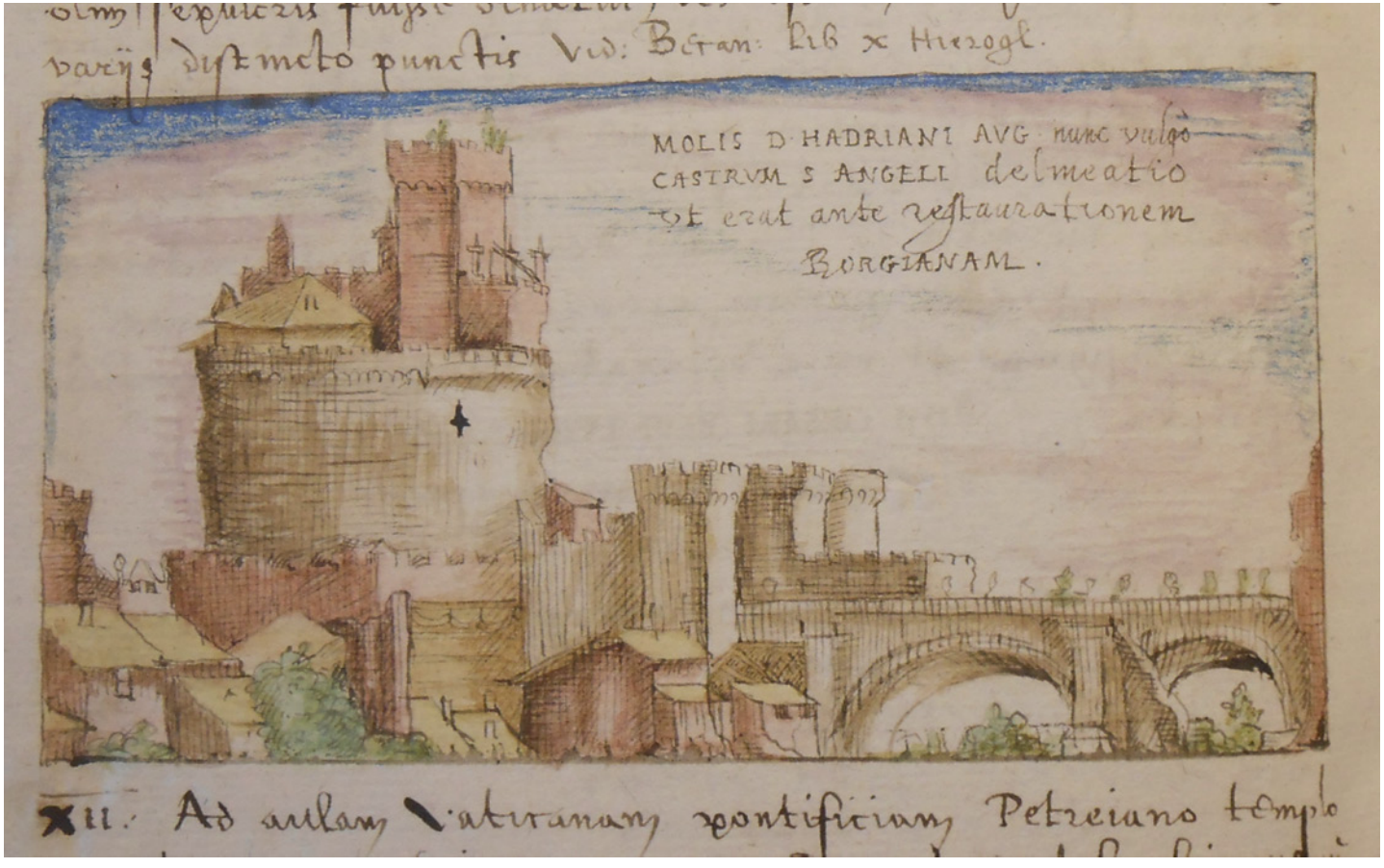


FIGURE 14.2 Arnoldus Buchelius, *Commentarius rerum quotidianarum*. Utrecht University Library, ms. 798 vol. 2, fol. 30v
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Bernardino Scardeone's monumental chorography of Padua published in 1560, a work that includes a supplement *De sepulchris insignibus* [Fig. 14.3] which even gives reproductions of the exact material forms of the mostly modern epigraphs it describes, exactly as Buchelius sometimes does in his travelogue.[21]

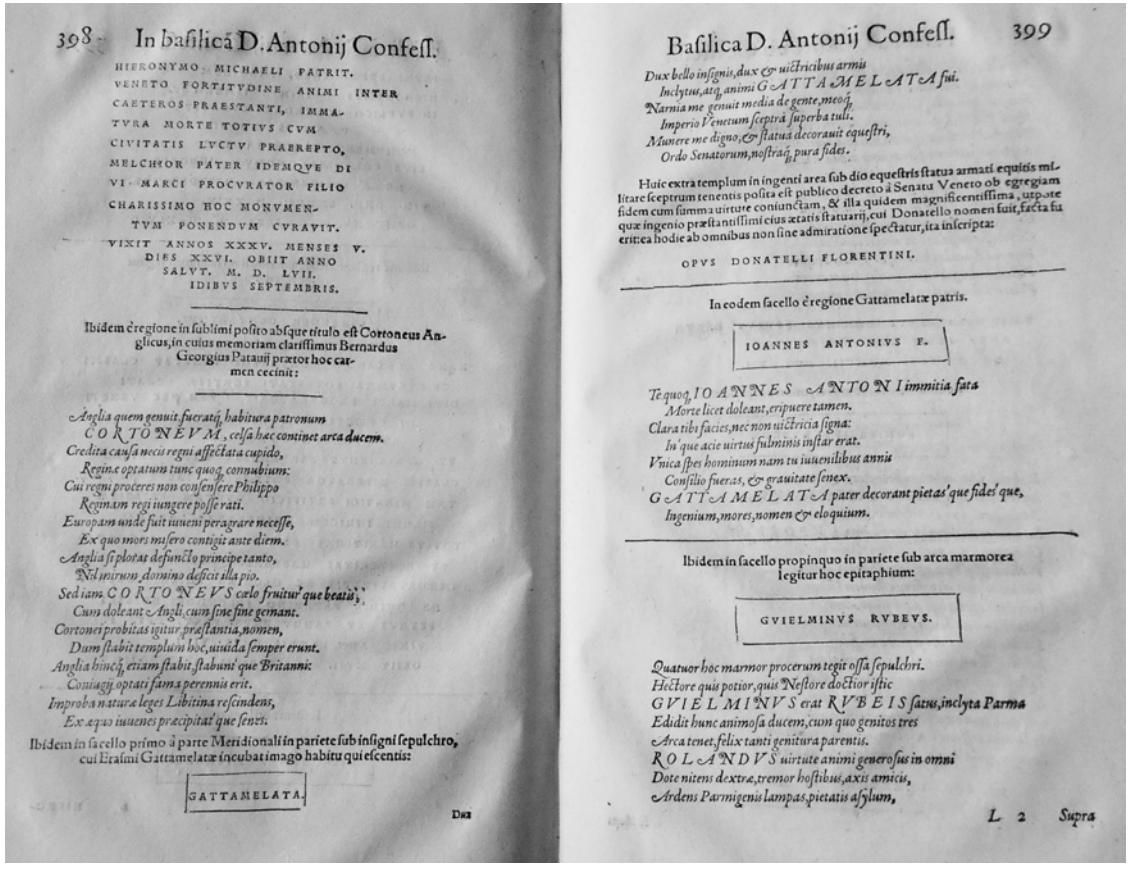
These examples illustrate that the project of collecting, documenting and preserving epigraphical materials is closely linked to the art of describing cities or similar geographical entities, and therefore informed by ambitions we might now describe in terms of identity constructions. Both Spreti's and Scardeone's projects in fact were rooted in a desire to boost their hometown's civic identity by stressing its ancient roots. The same goes for the first epigraphical collections that were published independently, and thus not as part of a chorography. This tradition starts outside of Italy, with the 1505 *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius diocesi*, collected and published by Konrad Peutinger, thus stressing Augsburg's direct connection to Roman Antiquity, as the graphically exact reproductions of the epigraphs underline.[22] But it also goes for the famous collection published at the instance of Raimund Fugger, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, collected by Petrus Apianus and Bartholomeus Amantius in 1534,[23] a repository of ancient epigraphs coming from all over Europe but (mostly) present in the local Augsburg antiquity collections. Being the description of collections, the publication here develops into something of a catalogue, with two-dimensional reproductions of the artefacts.

What emerges in these early collections of epigraphic materials is the clear-cut antiquarian orientation on the Roman past as the sole pathway to glory. Yet paradoxically in the Italian context of the early chorographies of men like Spreti and Cardeone this concept of heritage able to support a city's claim to glory incorporates also the epigraphical evidence of other pasts clearly accepted as being appropriate: from the early Christian to the modern age.

21 Scardeone Bernardino, *Historiae de urbis Patavii antiquitate, claris civibus Patavinis libri tres, in quindecim classes distincti, eiusdem Appendix De sepulchris insignibus exterorum Patavii iacentium* (Basel, Nicolaus Episcopius: 1560) 381–437, "De sepulcris insignibus Patavii iacentium". The reference to Scardeone is in Buchelius, *Iter italicum* 17.

22 Peutinger Konrad, *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi* (Augsburg, Erhard Ratdolt: 1505); modern edition in *Ein Augsburger Humanist und seine römischen Inschriften* […], ed. M. Ferber and G.M. Müller (Lindenberg: 2014) 45–149. See also Ott M., "Konrad Peutinger und die Inschriften des römischen Augsburg: Die 'Romanae vetustatis fragmentae' von 1505 im Kontext", in Mueller G.M. (ed.), *Humanismus und Renaissance in Augsburg* (Berlin: 2010) 275–289.

23 Apianus Petrus and Amantius Bartholomeus, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis: non illae quidem Romanae, sed totius orbis summo studio* […] *conquistae* (Ingolstadt, Petrus Apianus: 1534).



398 In basilica D. Antonij Confess.

HIERONYMO MICHAELI PATRIT.
VENETO FORTITVDINE ANIMI INTER
CAETEROS PRAESTANTI, IMMA-
TVRA MORTE TOTIVS CVM
CIVITATIS LVCTV PRAERIPTO,
MELCHIOR PATER IDEMQVE DI
VI. MARCI PROCVRATOR FILIO
CHARISSIMO HOC MONVMEN-
TVM PONENDVM CVRAVIT.
VIXIT ANNOS XXXV. MENSES V.
DIES XXVI. OBIIT ANNO
SALVT. M. D. LVII.
IDIBVS SEPTEMBRIS.

Ibidem è regione in sublimi posito absque titulo est Cortoneus Anglicus, in cuius memoriam clarissimus Bernardus Georgius Patauij prætor hoc carmen cecinit:

Anglia quem genuit fueratq; habitura patronum
CORTONEVM, cessa hæc continet arca ducem.
Credita causa necis regni affectata cupido,
Regina optatum tunc quoq; connubium:
Cui regni proceres non consensere Philippo
Regnum regi iungere posse rati.
Europam unde fuit iuueni peragrare necesse,
Ex quo mors misero contigit ante diem.
Anglia si ploras defuncto principe tanto,
Nel mirum, domino deficit illa pio.
Sed iam CORTONEVS cœlo fruitur' que beatis,
Cum doleant Angli, cum sine fine gemant.
Cortonei probitas igitur præstantia, nomen,
Dum stabit templum hoc, uiuida semper erunt.
Anglia hinc& etiam stabit, stabunt que Britanni:
Coniugij optati fama perennis erit.
Improba naturæ leges Libitina rescindens,
Ex æquo iuuenes præcipitat que senes.

Ibidem in sacello primo à parte Meridionali in pariete sub insigni sepulchro, cui Erasmi Gattamelatæ incubat imago habitu qui escentis:

GATTAMELATA.

Dux

Basilica D. Antonij Confess. 399

Dux bello insignis, dux & uictricibus armis
Inclytus, atq; animi GATTAMELATA sui.
Narnia me genuit media de gente, meos&
Imperio Venetum sceptra superba tuli.
Munere me digno, & statua decorauit equestri,
Ordo Senatorum, nostraq; pura fides.

Huic extra templum in ingenti area sub dio equestris statua armati equitis militare sceptrum tenentis posita est publico decreto à Senatu Veneto ob egregiam fidem cum summa uirtute coniunctam, & illa quidem magnificentissima, utpote quæ ingenio præstantissimi eius ætatis statuarij, cui Donatello nomen fuit, facta fuerit: ea hodie ab omnibus non sine admiratione spectatur, ita inscripta:

OPVS DONATELLI FLORENTINI.

In eodem sacello è regione Gattamelatæ patris.

IOANNES ANTONIVS F.

Te quoq; IOANNES ANTONI immitia fata
Morte licet doleant, eripuere tamen.
Clara tibi facies, nec non uictricia signa:
In que acie uirtus fulminis instar erat.
Vnica spes hominum nam tu iuuenilibus annis
Consilio fueras, & grauitate senex.
GATTAMELATA pater decorant pietas' que fides' que,
Ingenium, mores, nomen & eloquium.

Ibidem in sacello propinquo in pariete sub arca marmorea legitur hoc epitaphium:

GVIELMINVS RVBEVS.

Quatuor hoc marmor procerum tegit ossa sepulchri.
Hectore quis potior, quis Nestore doctior istic
GVIELMINVS erat RVBEIS satus, inclyta Parma
Edidit hunc animosa ducem, cum quo genitos tres
Arca tenet, felix tanti genitura parentis.
ROLANDVS uirtute animi generosus in omni
Dote nitens dextræ, tremor hostibus, axis amicis,
Ardens Parmigenis lampas, pietatis asylum,

L 2 Supra

FIGURE 14.3 Bernardino Scardeone, "De sepulchris insignibus Patavii iacentium", in idem, *Historiae de urbis Patavii antiquitate, claris civibus Patavinis libri tres* [...], appendix "De sepulchris insignibus exterorum Patavii iacentium" (Basel, Nicolaus Episcopius: 1560) 398–399
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

This moreover enables these collections to develop into comprehensive repositories of noteworthy things to be seen by visitors interested in contemplating such materials but without a thorough antiquarian preparation. As a consequence the "epigraphical gaze" here employed also informs the earliest chorographies in vernacular targeting wider audiences of travellers, well beyond the erudite circles of the antiquarians, as we may deduct from a contemporary Italian case, the trend-setting guide of Naples published in 1548, Benedetto di Falco's *Descrittione dei luoghi antichi di Napoli e del suo amenissimo distretto*,[24] which contrary to its title reports not only on ancient but also on many recent and even contemporary monuments, and on collections of both ancient and modern art. Characteristically, Di Falco reports at many points in his text the epigraphs present in the locations he describes, translating them systematically into the vernacular, or, when needed, from the Greek original first into Latin and then into Italian, and thus highlighting his ambition to reach an audience not only of erudites.[25]

Being a well prepared traveller to Italy himself, at the time of his journey in 1587–1588 and even more so when ordering and editing his notes some decades later, Buchelius had access to most of this documentation that by then had developed into a kind of a template easily to be imitated. This is what the Utrecht scholar indeed did, not only in the drafting of his travelogue, but also in his parallel project – undertaken between 1610 and 1620 – to compile a comprehensive record of the monuments in his native Utrecht and in the Low Countries at large. In this ambitious and innovative endeavour he was informed by the same passion for epigraphy that by the early seventeenth century had developed into something like a universal and indeed encyclopaedic vehicle for the documentation of heritage, regardless of its orientation. From what once had been a very specific instrument in the antiquarians' project to present Roman Antiquity as the only acceptable benchmark in the definition of new cultural standards, it gradually had incorporated ever more non-ancient materials in its mission to establish modern identities: of cities, regions, families, or professional categories. In the process, it had lost some of its erudite overtunes, transforming into an art accessible and enjoyable also to non-scholarly people with an interest in heritage, particularly travellers eager to document whatever evidence of the past they came across. As a result, the concept of which past

24 di Falco Benedetto, *Descrittione dei luoghi antiqui di Napoli* (Naples, Giovan Francesco Suganappo: [1548]); modern edition by T.R. Toscano and M. Grippo (Naples: 1992). Cf. Toscano T.R., "Due schede per Benedetto di Falco", *Critica letteraria* 19 (1991) 725–759.

25 Particularly in his description of the church of San Paolo that had incorporated large parts of the ancient Castor and Pollux temple.

was relevant to the present had widened up considerably. Alongside antiquity, also medieval and modern elements were taken into consideration, and conventional hierarchies of heritage tended to become obsolete.

Yet this blurring sense of what might be "appropriate past" was framed in and indeed depended on a methodological framework that remained unaltered: the undisputed conviction that the written evidence to be gathered from epigraphy was the preferential tool for all those eager to unravel, document and preserve the past. In this process, the authority originally conveyed to the materials coming from Roman Antiquity was transferred first to the medium of the inscription, and then to the habit of collecting such epigraphical material. This explains the wide appeal of the phenomenon, well beyond the erudite and scholarly circles in which it had originated. Also for those less knowledgeable, like the travellers who from the late sixteenth century onwards started touring Europe in ever growing numbers, taking notes on inscriptions became a habit that gave them an easy access to the heritage they came across, without coercing them to identify which heritage this was and if it had relevance to them.[26] So whereas the early modern "epigraphical gaze" described in this essay was instrumental in opening up ideas on which past was appropriate and in promoting this liberal vision amongst a large variety of audiences, its appeal and authority rooted in a working method that remained profoundly informed by the antiquarians' cult of Roman heritage.

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26 See Guthke, *Epitaph Culture* 42–54.

CHAPTER 15

'Sine amore, sine odio partium': Nicolaus Burgundius' *Historia Belgica* (1629) and his Tacitean Quest for an Appropriate Past

Marc Laureys

1 Introduction

From the 16th century onwards, Tacitus drew ever more attention for the help he could provide in coming to terms with the various turbulences and upheavals of the early modern age. Humanist scholars, such as Marcus Antonius Muretus and Justus Lipsius, observed a striking resemblance between the politics of the early principate, narrated by Tacitus, and their own times. For 16th- and 17th-century readers of Tacitus the turmoils, machinations and rebellions he evoked looked very familiar. This avowed similarity carried further implications. The historical constellations described by Tacitus could serve as a reference framework to interpret and legitimate contemporary political events, circumstances and developments. In order to understand the present, the history depicted by Tacitus could be adduced as an appropriate past.

In this context Tacitus exerted a double influence. In the field of political theory and philosophy he was a source of inspiration for a variety of political currents and theories, supporting either republican or princely rule. In terms of language and style, moreover, Tacitus offered a standard that was felt to be perfectly suitable to the political discourse of early modern times, not least in the political communication between a ruler and the advisors and attendants in his court. Tacitus was advanced – most prominently by Justus Lipsius – as a model author who perfectly illustrated the techniques of *simulatio* and *dissimulatio* (Tacitus, *Annales*, 4, 71, 3) as well as the characteristics of the 'imperatoria brevitas' (Tacitus, *Historiae*, 1, 18, 2).

The Low Countries, torn apart in the 16th century by political and religious conflicts, provided ample opportunities for observation and analysis through a Tacitean framework. Tacitus' description (in Books 4 and 5 of his *Historiae*) of the Batavian uprising, led by Julius Civilis, against Rome almost invited comparison with the Dutch Revolt. The rebellion of the northern provinces of the Low Countries against Spanish rule, was from the very beginning observed and recorded by humanist *literati*, diplomats, and merchants from various parts of

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Europe, far beyond the borders of the theatre of operations itself.[1] The international relevance of this episode in early modern history was immediately perceived: At stake were the aspirations of the Habsburg sovereigns to universal monarchy, thwarted by a small nation which struggled for freedom and opposed Habsburg supremacy.[2] The Dutch Revolt inspired political lessons and comparisons until at least the 19th century.[3]

Tacitus' historiography lent itself to varied interpretations. Supporters of Dutch independence and defenders of imperial rule both managed to connect with Tacitus's works; Tacitus's œuvre could thus be exploited as a setting that suggested either granting or denying legitimacy to the Revolt. In this paper I will examine the *Historia Belgica*, an account of the earliest phase of the Revolt, composed by Nicolaus Burgundius, the last Catholic historiographer, who prior to the peace treaty of Münster (1648) dealt with the rebellion of the northern provinces of the Low Countries against the Spanish Crown. I intend to assess Burgundius's stylistic and thematic appropriation of Tacitus and would like to show that the 'Tacitist' qualities of his historical writing are to be

1 Anton van der Lem's superb website *De bello Belgico* (http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu, retrieved 8th August 2017) offers excellent guidance on all the facts, sources, and contexts of the Revolt; it is an essential complement to his succinct survey *De Opstand in de Nederlanden, 1568–1648. De Tachtigjarige Oorlog in woord en beeld* (Nijmegen: 2014). Not only authors from the Low Countries wrote about the Dutch Revolt; its history attracted much attention, naturally, in Spain, but in various other countries as well. Notable accounts of the Revolt composed by "foreign" diplomats and historians include, e.g., Bernardino de Mendoza's *Commentaires memorables des guerres de Flandres et Pays Bas depuis l'an 1567 jusques a l'an 1577* (1591), Famiano Strada's *De bello Belgico decades duae* (1651; separate editions of the first and the second decade in 1632 and 1647 resp.), Guido Bentivoglio's *Della guerra di Fiandra* (1632). The Revolt is also a prominent topic in Jacques-Auguste de Thou's *Historiae sui temporis* (1604, with later additions down to the posthumous edition of 1620). In addition, many works were translated into other languages for different audiences. Nonetheless, the international perception of the Dutch Revolt remains relatively little studied to date. For the perception of the Revolt in Spain see Rodríguez Pérez Y., *De Tachtigjarige oorlog in Spaanse ogen. De Nederlanden in Spaanse historische en literaire teksten* (*circa 1548–1673*) (Nijmegen: 2003); the perspective of British contemporaries is examined by Dunthorne H., *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560–1700* (Cambridge: 2013).

2 Romein J., "Spieghel Historiael van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog", in Presser J. e.a., *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog*, vierde druk (Amsterdam – Brussel: 1963) 11–54, at 18 [first published in 1941, without the name of the main author and editor].

3 Pollmann J., "Internationalisering en de Nederlandse Opstand", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 124 (2009) 515–535, at 515–516. Particularly in recent times, though, several specialists of social, economic, religious and intellectual history have significantly corrected the traditional and one-dimensional image of the Revolt as the political struggle for freedom of what would become the Dutch republic.

found at the junction of the literary and political dimension of his work, in the way he devises a political rhetoric in a Tacitean mode.

2 The Concept of Burgundius' *Historia Belgica*

In the European panorama of historiography surrounding the Revolt, Nicolaus Burgundius (Nicolas de Bourgogne, 1586–1649) takes a sort of middle position: On the one hand, he claimed to write for an international audience, dedicated his work to a foreign ruler, and published it abroad, on the other he clearly positioned himself on the Catholic side, as one would expect from an author, born and educated in the Southern Low Countries.[4] Born in Enghien (southwest of Brussels, in the county of Hainaut), he was a student of Erycius Puteanus, Justus Lipsius' successor, at the University of Louvain and took part in Puteanus' "academy", the *Palaestra bonae mentis*,[5] during the years around 1610. Thereafter he worked as a lawyer in Ghent, and in 1627 he was appointed Professor of Law in Ingolstadt; in 1633 he also became counsellor and historian in the service of Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria and Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire.[6] In 1639 he returned to the Low Countries and took up a position as a councillor in the Council of Brabant (Raad van Brabant), the highest court in the county of Brabant.

In 1629, two years after his move to Ingolstadt, Burgundius published there his *Historia Belgica ab anno MDLVIII*,[7] devoted to the years 1558–1567, the

4 For a short bio-bibliographical profile see Paquot J.-N., *Mémoires pour server à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, vol. I (Louvain: 1765) 97–98, Britz J., "Bourgogne (Nicolas de)", in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* 2 (Brussels: 1868) 852–857, and van der Lem A., "Burgundius, Nicolaus" (2012) at http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/geschiedschrijvers/Pages/burgundius.aspx (retrieved 8th August 2017).

5 For this peculiar institution see Simar Th., *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646) considéré spécialement dans l'histoire de la philologie belge et dans son enseignement à l'université de Louvain* (Louvain: 1909) 143–152. Nicolaus Burgundius was one of the star pupils of Puteanus' *Palaestra bonae mentis*, but became embroiled in a conflict with his former teacher in the 1620s; see Simar, *Puteanus* 155–156, and Steyaert F., "Puteanus criticized by a former student: Nicolaus Burgundius", *Lias* 3 (1976) 131–138.

6 For Burgundius's writings as court historian, and especially his *Historia Bavarica*, see Kagerer K, *Jacob Balde und die bayerische Historiographie unter Kurfürst Maximilian I. Ein Kommentar zur Traum-Ode (Silvae 7,15) und zur Interpretatio Somnii*, Münchner Balde-Studien 5 (Munich: 2014) 70–94.

7 The work was reprinted in Ingolstadt in 1633, and again in Halle in 1708, this time with an introduction by the jurist and philosopher Nicolaus Hieronymus Gundling; this introduction was reprinted in Gundling's *Observationum selectarum ad rem litterariam spectantium*

period ranging from the death of Charles V and the accession to the throne of Philip II to the arrival of the Count of Alba in the Low Countries after the Iconoclastic Fury (Beeldenstorm) of 1566. He chose, therefore, a relatively short span of time, the critical years leading up to the Revolt itself.[8] Before leaving the Low Countries he had been encouraged by Petrus Peckius, chancellor of the county of Brabant, to write a larger history of the Low Countries,[9] which however never materialized. In his *Historia Belgica*, then, Burgundius looked back upon the origins of the Revolt, about 60 years after the events he chronicled, at a time when, after the end of the Twelve Years' Truce, military violence had flared up again, the Revolt had become entangled in larger international conflicts, not least the Thirty Years' War, and the hope of reuniting the Low Countries had all but vanished.

Burgundius dedicated his *Historia Belgica* to Duke Maximilian, in a gesture of gratitude for his recent appointment in Ingolstadt: 'Agnosco enim quo me favore exceperis, cum e Belgio evocatum celeberrimae Tuae Academiae Ingolstadiensi adscripsisti' ('For I acknowledge the goodwill with which you received me, when you called me forth from the Low Countries and appointed me in your most famous university at Ingolstadt').[10] In this dedication he ingeniously connects the obligatory praise of his dedicatee with an explanation of both his historiographical approach and the moral and political benefit to be drawn from it:

> Videbis virtutis vitiorumque certamen. Videbis perfidiam cum fide luctantem sectasque nostrorum temporum in religionem attollentes supercilium, breviter, quidquid malorum prorupit in publicam perniciem ex aemulatione et invidia Magnatum Principi suo non sat obedientium [...]. Pulchrum tibi erit alienae gentis calamitates percurrere, ut subditorum tuorum felicitatem agnoscas, quos pestilentissimum hoc sydus nunquam

tomus II, editio secunda (Halle, Renger: 1737) 205–228. Burgundius's *Historica Bavarica* similarly enjoyed renewed attention at the turn of the 18th century, as a reprint was issued in Helmstedt in 1705, with an introduction by the theologian Justus Christoph Böhmer.

8 This period corresponds roughly with the phase for which Robert Fruin coined the term 'voorspel' ('prelude') of the Revolt. The same time span is covered in *De initiis tumultuum Belgicorum* (1587), composed by Florentius vander Haer, who is the most important Latin author on the Catholic side to compose a historical work on the Revolt before Burgundius.

9 See Britz, "Bourgogne" 854, and Vermaseren B.A., *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw over den Opstand* (Maastricht: 1941) 267. Peckius had earlier tried to motivate Erycius Puteanus to write such a work; see Vermaseren, ibidem 209.

10 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* (fol. 3r). All quotations are from the 1708 edition of the *Historia Belgica*.

> afflavit, in mediis tamen collidentium inter se religionum fluctibus deprehensos.
>
> You will see a battle between virtue and vices. You will see treachery struggling with loyalty and the factions of our times looking down on religion with disdain, in sum, whatever evil burst forth and caused the ruin of the state, because of the rivalry and hatred of the high nobility, who did not sufficiently obey their sovereign ruler [...]. It will be pleasant for you to observe the calamities of a foreign nation, so that you will recognize the happiness of your own subjects, who were never affected by this most destructive constellation, even although they were caught in the midst of the billows of clashing religions.[11]

Burgundius' account, in other words, is a story of disruption and chaos, brought about by unruly and overambitious noblemen, a stark counterexample to the harmonious reign in Bavaria, for which Duke Maximilian is implicitly credited. The political and religious turmoil that led to the disintegration of the Low Countries is presented as a negative showcase that underlines by contrast the unfailing governing skills of Duke Maximilian in the exacting climate of the Thirty Years' War. In addition, Burgundius associates himself firmly with his new patron through his unequivocally pro-Spanish and pro-Catholic stance.

At the same time, Burgundius endows his report of the prelude to the Revolt with an exemplary quality beyond its historical contingency by defining its essence as a 'battle between virtue and vices', a kind of "psychomachia" between good and evil. In his preface, he elaborates this motif and highlights the ever-changing balance of power between the people, a privileged ruling class, and an autocratic ruler, provoking a continuous sequence of peace and war. The Dutch Revolt, too, is a manifestation of the same play, staged over and over again on the 'scena rerum humanarum' ('the stage of human affairs'),[12] which writers record for the purpose of moral instruction by means of 'exempla'.[13] In this way, Burgundius immediately emphasizes the fundamental relevance of his work for an international cultured audience: the Dutch Revolt illustrates basic characteristics of the course of world history, and therefore his *Historia*

11 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* (fol. 2r–v).

12 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 2: 'Nam qui haec leget, facile discet scenam rerum humanarum' ('For he who will read this work, will easily become acquainted with the stage of human affairs').

13 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 2: 'Quippe nemo rectius quam exemplis instruitur' ('For no one is taught more properly than by means of examples').

Belgica is essentially an autopsy of human nature; the facts and events reported in it are typical instances of human experience *tout court*.

Burgundius' particular approach can be grasped even more clearly by comparing the dedication and the preface of his work with the introduction of the sole historiographical treatise, prior to Burgundius, in which exactly the same period was treated, Florentius vander Haer's *De initiis tumultuum Belgicorum* (Douai, Jean Bogard: 1587).[14] Vander Haer dedicated his work to Alessandro Farnese, then Governor of the Southern Low Countries, and praised extensively his military prowess; his work itself reads to a large extent as a tribute to Farnese's mother, Margaret of Parma († 1586), Governor of the Southern Low Countries during the so-called 'prelude' to the Revolt. In the course of the treatise Vander Haer focussed ever more strongly on the political leadership of Margaret of Parma, who successfully opposed heresy and restored royal authority, thus paving the way for her son's later accomplishments.[15]

Not only did vander Haer's choice of dedicatee provoke a different assessment of some of the leading characters of his narrative,[16] but also Burgundius' analysis of the events operates on a different level. Vander Haer, and others with him, had identified three fundamental causes of the Revolt: the personal enmity between William of Orange and Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle,[17] the introduction of new bishoprics and the spread of Calvinism in the Low Countries.[18] Burgundius, instead, searched for deeper causes in the psyche of the main actors:

> Mehercule vero, nihil ego populari invidiae non attribuo. Novis tamen episcopatibus et Inquisitioni et edictis, quibus tum maxime irascebantur, cuncta non imputo. Altiores causae stimulabant Proceres in facinus. Furor et ambitus caecos obsederat. De cetero Inquisitionis edictorumque larvas palam assumpserant, ut sub honesto titulo litarent invidiae suae et publicae utilitatis speciem aemulationi praeferrent.

14 See Haitsma Mulier E.O.G. – van der Lem A., "Haer, Florentius (Floris) vander" (2012), at http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/geschiedschrijvers/Pages/haer.aspx (retrieved 8th August 2017).

15 Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving* 145–148.

16 Margaret of Parma, e.g., appears far less decisive and efficient in Burgundius's *Historia Belgica* than in vander Haer's *De initiis tumultuum Belgicorum*.

17 For a brief biographical profile of Granvelle see van der Lem A., "Antoine Perrenot, kardinaal Granvelle" (2012), at http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/personen/G/Pages/granvelle_antoine.aspx (retrieved 8th August 2017).

18 Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving* 147.

> True enough, I attribute everything to the resentment of the people. I do not impute the whole blame, however, to the new bishoprics, the inquisition, and the edicts, which infuriated people at the time most strongly. Deeper causes incited the nobility to their crime; rage and greedy ambition had made them blind. Also, they had patently taken the inquisition and the edicts as empty cloaks ('ghosts') to satisfy their own grudge under a respectable pretext and to cover their contention in a guise of public benefit.[19]

In other words, Burgundius aimed to uncover the reality underneath the appearances, to unmask the real motives and strategies of the protagonists of his *historia*.

3 Tacitus and Tacitism in the *Historia Belgica*

Any 17th-century reader of the *Historia Belgica* would associate a reference to 'altiores causae' immediately with the historiography of Tacitus. Especially under the impulse of Justus Lipsius, but even before,[20] early modern editors and commentators of Tacitus emphasized that Tacitus provided unique insights into the 'deeper causes' of political action and communication in an autocratic regime. Since Justus Lipsius and others perceived their own times to be strikingly similar to the era described by Tacitus, Tacitus became all the more relevant as an instructor of the political trade,[21] especially for the new functional elites in government, jurisprudence, and administration – the social class to which Burgundius himself also belonged. We may assume,

19 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 88–89.

20 A relevant passage from the preface of Puteolanus' edition is quoted by Etter E.-L., *Tacitus in der Geistesgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 103 (Basel – Stuttgart: 1966) 173.

21 This notion of *similitudo temporum* was made famous by Justus Lipsius in the dedication of his edition of Tacitus's *Annales* (1574) and the dedication of his commentary on that work (1581). In the modern edition of Lipsius' letters, the *Iusti Lipsi Epistulae* (Brussels, from 1978 onwards), the texts can be found in ILE I, 74 07 00 M, at 38–39 and ILE I, 81 00 00 H, at 25–26. The idea had been mentioned before by Machiavelli, and the term *similitudo temporum* appears also in the famous oration (1580) of Marcus Antonius Muretus, in which he defends himself against those who had criticized his lectures on Tacitus at the Sapienza; see Etter, *Tacitus* 16.

therefore, that these counsellors, jurists, and administrators were the audience Burgundius intended for his work.[22]

Already six years before the publication of the *Historia Belgica*, Valerius Andreas hinted in his note on Burgundius in his *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Louvain, Henricus Hastenius: 1623) at the Tacitean orientation Burgundius was going to adopt:

> Meditatur Historiam Belgicam, in qua praeter obsidiones, pugnas, pacta eventusque tractat artes, fraudes, rationem causasque eorundem, quae vel potissimae sunt historiae partes et leges.
>
> He is planning a History of the Low Countries, in which he discusses not only sieges, battles, pacts, and events, but also tactics, deceit, their reason and causes, which are by all means the principal parts and laws of history.[23]

This characterization contains a reminiscence of Tacitus, *Historiae* I, 4, 1 ('ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur').[24] Burgundius himself picks up one other of Tacitus' programmatic statements, when he declares that he will write 'sine amore, sine

22 On the various facets and implications of Tacitism in these milieus see especially the fundamental study of Kühlmann W., *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat. Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen: 1982), and from his later studies above all "Geschichte als Gegenwart. Formen der politischen Reflexion im deutschen Tacitismus des 17. Jahrhunderts", in Neumeister S. – Wiedemann C. (eds.), *Res Publica Litteraria. Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 14 (Wiesbaden: 1987), vol. I, 325–348.

23 Quoted by Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving* 267, with n. 545. In his bio-bibliographical survey of Latin literature in the Low Countries Valerius Andreas quite often mentions writings that are "being planned"; in those cases 'meditatur' is his standard term. I have not been able to ascertain whether he speaks about Burgundius's *Historia Belgica* from first- or second-hand knowledge. Burgundius may have shown and discussed (parts of) his work among friends and acquaintances before its publication. In any case, he worked extensively on his *Historia Belgica* before his departure to Ingolstadt; see, e.g., the letter, in which Puteanus tried to repair the relationship with his former student (*Erycii Puteani Epistolarum apparatus novus et miscellaneus* [Amsterdam: Jodocus Janssonius: 1646], cent. IV, epist. 40): 'Huius tibi iam specimen elaboratum scio' ('I know you have already fully worked out an example [of historiographical writing]'; ibidem 36–37, at 36).

24 The allusion is quite elegant: the key terms 'eventus', 'ratio', and 'causae' are taken over directly from Tacitus, whereas 'quae vel potissimae sunt historiae partes et leges' is a *Kontrastimitation* of 'qui plerumque fortuiti sunt'.

odio partium, quibus hactenus vitiis maxime laboratum est' ('without love or hatred towards the parties involved, the vices which until now have tormented people most severely'),[25] thus reiterating Tacitus' profession of impartiality at *Historiae* I, 1, 3 ('sed incorruptam fidem professis neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est').[26]

Burgundius, then, firmly espoused the widespread revalorization of Tacitus, which in the 20th century came to be labelled as 'Tacitism'.[27] Burgundius most likely inherited his appreciation of Tacitus from his professor at Louvain, Erycius Puteanus, whose views on Tacitus largely concurred with those of his predecessor, Justus Lipsius, the most important initiator of the entire Tacitean current.[28] The modern term "Tacitism", however, is an umbrella term for various modes and strands of the reception of Tacitus with respect to both content and style. The present state of scholarship concerning these different facets of the Tacitean tradition is quite uneven. Whereas there is a long tradition of scholarship, e.g., on the impact of Tacitus on 16th- and 17th-century political thought or on the reception of Tacitus' *Germania* in early German humanism, there hardly exist any extensive studies – surprisingly so – on the scope and nature of the reception of Tacitus in early modern historiography.[29]

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25 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 4.

26 Burgundius applies the statement more explicitly to himself than Tacitus, who relates the observation in a general fashion to the "professi incorruptam fidem" (those who profess impeccable sincerity – the context of the passage, of course, invites the reader to add 'like I do').

27 The term appears to have been coined by Giuseppe Toffanin; see his *Machiavelli e il "tacitismo". La "politica storica" al tempo della controriforma* (Padova: 1921). Good recent introductions (with the essential bibliography) to this broad and complex topic include Grafton A., "Tacitus and Tacitism", in Grafton A. – Most G.W. – Settis S. (eds.), *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: 2010) 920–924, and Poel M. van der – Waszink J., "Tacitismus", in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vol. IX (2009) 409–419.

28 Puteanus offers a succinct appraisal of Tacitus in his declamation "In Tacitum affectus, brevi encomio expressus", included as "Oratio XXI" in his *Suada Attica sive Orationum selectarum syntagma* ([Leiden], Elzevier: 1623) 442–458. He delivered this oration, just as most of the other ones collected in his *Suada Attica*, in his *Palaestra Bonae Mentis*, the "academy" he founded within the venerable *Collegium Trilingue* at Leuven; during his student years Burgundius was a member of this community. Naturally, Tacitus is praised above all for the insights he offers into the inner workings of monarchical rule (the *arcana imperii*, in Tacitus's own words: *Ann.*, 2, 36, 1), thus providing highly useful information to those who prepare themselves for a career in government and administration. Among the oratorical exercises performed at the *Palaestra Bonae Mentis*, one was devoted to the topic 'Historia Politicae officina est' ('history is the workshop of politics'); see Simar, *Puteanus* 131, n. 1.

29 This desideratum is pointed out by van der Poel – Waszink, "Tacitismus" 411.

The rise of early modern "Tacitism" went hand in hand with a growing attention for the analysis of political reality from the viewpoint of the political actors, rather than the forms and functions of different structures of government. This shift from a theoretical to a pragmatic focus can be noticed both in works of political theory and in historiography. Even in the case of the most famous "Tacitist" historians, however, such as Famiano Strada and Hugo Grotius in Latin or Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft in Dutch, the nature and extent of their reception of Tacitus are not easy to pin down, and scholars have only recently begun to investigate this question in depth.[30] Burgundius, too, who was a contemporary of these better known "Tacitist" historians, but published his *Historia Belgica* before they brought out their respective works, explicitly signals the Tacitean vein of his treatise and evidently considered Tacitus' *Annales* and *Historiae* a suitable reference framework for his own historical account. In what way and to what extent, then, did Burgundius recount and interpret the 'prelude' to the Revolt through the prism of Tacitus's *Annales* and *Historiae*? And in what sense is Burgundius' appropriation of Tacitus motivated by more than literary interests of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, typical of Renaissance humanism in general?[31]

30 For recent attempts to grasp more accurately the characteristics of Tacitism, and particularly its interconnection between style and content, in Neo-Latin historiography see several studies of Jan Waszink, among which "Shifting Tacitisms. Style and Composition in Grotius's Annales", *Grotiana* 29 (2008) 85–132, "Your Tacitism or Mine? Modern and Early-Modern Conceptions of Tacitus and Tacitism", *History of European Ideas* 36, 4 (2010) 375–85, "Lipsius and Grotius: Tacitism", ibidem 39, 2 (2013) 151–168; Marc van der Poel, "Tacitean Elements in Grotius's Narrative of the Capture of Breda (1590) by Stadtholder Maurice, Count of Nassau (Historiae, Book 2)", *Grotiana* 30 (2009) 207–246, and Coen Maas, "Was Janus Dousa a Tacitist? Rhetorical and Conceptual Approaches to the Reception of Classical Historiography and its Political Significance", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Laureys M. – Pieper C. (eds.), *Discourses of Power. Ideology and Politics in Neo-Latin Literature*, Noctes Neolatinae 17 (Hildesheim – Zurich – New York: 2012) 233–248.

31 On a fundamental level, the precepts of historiography, defined by Renaissance humanists, were entirely embedded in the requirements of the *narratio* in classical rhetoric. Any humanist historiographer, therefore, automatically thought or at least had to think about style – naturally always with the classical model authors in mind – in an effort to combine adherence to the truth and moral and rhetorical effectiveness; see my "The Theory and Practice of History in Neo-Latin Literature", in Ford Ph. (†) – Bloemendal J. – Fantazzi Ch. (eds.), *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* (Leiden – Boston: 2014) 363–375, at 366–367. For an emphatic defense and detailed illustration of the idea that classical historians need to be understood first and foremost as literary artists rather than recorders of events see the pioneering studies of Wiseman T.P., *Clio's cosmetics. Three studies in Greco-Roman literature* (Leicester: 1979) and Woodman A.J., *Rhetoric in classical historiography. Four studies* (London – Sydney: 1988).

4 The Nature and Extent of the Reception of Tacitus in the *Historia Belgica*

Burgundius connects his own historiography with Tacitus in various ways. First, without explicitly associating contemporary political actors with Tacitean characters – as, e.g., Lipsius did, comparing the Duke of Alba to Tiberius[32] –, he draws to an important extent on Tacitus, and particularly in a pejorative sense, in his portrayals of some of the main actors in his *Historia Belgica*. Here is how he characterizes William of Orange, when he first speaks about William's defamation campaign against Granvelle:

> Erat enim ingenio solers[33] et demerendis hominibus[34] aptus,[35] splendore familiae, iuxta opibus potens, quamvis plerumque falsa et inania[36] ingereret, tamen cum fide audiebatur. Quippe multis opinionem fecerat penetrasse se in arcana regis,[37] cuius innocentiam modeste criminabatur; fluxam illi fidem,[38] nec principe dignam; peregrinis consiliis imbutum et Granvellano obnoxium, in summo imperio non nisi imperium cogitare.
>
> For he had a shrewd mind and was skilled in winning the esteem of men, he had power because of the splendour of his family and also thanks to his wealth. Although he poured out for the most part false and empty blabber, he was nonetheless listened to with confidence. In fact, to many he had sparked the rumour that he had provided himself access to the innermost secrets of the King, whose innocence he mildly complained about; his loyalty was fluctuating, unworthy of a ruler; he was infected with foreign counsels and mean-spirited towards Granvelle, and in the pinnacle of power he could not think anything but power.[39]

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32 Justus Lipsius, *Orationes octo Ienae potissimum habitae, e tenebris erutae et in gratiam studiosae iuventutis foras productae* (Darmstadt, Balthasar Hofmann: 1607) 35. Lipsius delivered these orations in 1572. Throughout the entire Tacitist movement, the emperor Tiberius, as portrayed in Tacitus's *Annales*, was always at the centre of the discussion.

33 After Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 13, 2.

34 After Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae* II, 102, 1.

35 All three editions read 'apto', but the nominative is clearly required here. 'apto' seems to be influenced by the preceding ablative ('ingenio') and dative ('demerendis hominibus').

36 A common *iunctura*, but compare especially Tacitus, *Annales* III, 8, 2, and XVI, 8, 1.

37 After Tacitus, *Annales* II, 36, 1.

38 A common *iunctura*, but compare especially Sallust, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, III, 2; Tacitus, *Historiae* II, 75, 1 and III, 48, 2.

39 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 21. The final observation, clearly modelled as an epigrammatic *sententia* to round off the entire passage, alludes to the characterization of the

William's subversive mindset is particularly dangerous because of his perfect mastery of doublespeak, a crucial requirement of successful political communication in a court environment:

> nihil temere loqui, egregie dissimulare,[40] aliud lingua praeferre, aliud pectore claudere,[41] tutissima quaeque metuere[42] – magnae sane virtutes, quoties in virum bonum et civilia patientem inciderint.
>
> To say nothing rashly, to feign superbly, to express one thing in speech, but to hide something else in your heart, to dread even all the most secure things – great virtues for sure, whenever they occur in a good man, who submits to civility.[43]

Second, in his analysis of the political situation and course of events, Burgundius picks up motifs from Tacitus. Throughout the first book of his *Historia Belgica* he evokes the personal enmity between William of Orange and Granvelle, which they pursued to the detriment of public interest and welfare. At the beginning of Book 2, their 'privata odia' are cited as the main topic of Book 1: 'Hactenus quidem adhuc privata odia videri poterant' ('Up to that time, in fact, one could still see only private enmities').[44] This contrast between private vice and public benefit occurs of course in several ancient authors, but is a conspicuous leitmotiv in Tacitus' account of the Pisonian conspiracy (*Annales* XV, 73, 3: 'ne publicis malis abuti ad occasionem privati odii videretur'). The phrase 'privata odia' further recalls Tacitus' comment on Octavian's pursuance of the murderers of Julius Caesar: 'quamquam fas sit

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tyrant in the dedication of Justus Lipsius' *Politica*: 'Mali improbique illi, qui in imperio non nisi imperium cogitant' ('Bad and evil are those, who, being in power, think of nothing but power'); see Justus Lipsius, *Politica. Six books of politics or political instruction*, ed. and trans. J. Waszink, Bibliotheca Latinitatis novae 5 (Assen: 2004) 228.

40 A key notion in the theory and practice of political communication in the 16th and 17th centuries. For a wide-ranging exploration of the concept of *dissimulatio* see Geitner U., *Die Sprache der Verstellung. Studien zum rhetorischen und anthropologischen Wissen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Communicatio 1 (Tübingen: 1992), and Snyder J.R., *Dissimulation and the culture of secrecy in early modern Europe* (Berkeley: 2009). In connection with Tiberius see especially Tacitus, *Annales* IV, 71, 3 and VI, 50, 1.

41 After Sallust, *De coniuratione Catilinae* 10, 5.

42 A common *iunctura*, perhaps best known from Virgil, *Aeneis* IV, 298.

43 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 27. Taken at face value, the whole passage from which this quotation is taken, could indeed be read as praise, but the restrictive final point turns it *in malam partem* – a superb example of literary *simulatio*.

44 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 32.

privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere' (*Annales* I, 10, 3). Burgundius uses this pair of opposites to measure the degree of moral corruption in the state: when William of Orange first started rallying for supporters, Burgundius notes: 'Neque enim usque adeo corrupti mores erant, plerisque adhuc privatas simultates sic exercentibus, ut salutis publicae curam non deponerent'[45] ('For their character was not corrupted all the way through; most of them fought out their quarrels, which until then still remained private, in such a manner, that they would not abandon the care for the safety of the state'). Tacitus' pessimistic references to the difficult times he is writing about – marked as they were by a general moral decay (e.g., *Annales* III, 65, 2) –, were also echoed by Burgundius; he repeatedly calls attention to the 'malignitas temporum'[46] and at one point refrains from blaming the Count of Egmont personally for what he sees as a general moral decline: 'At perperam uni illi imputaverim culpam, quae temporum fuit' ('But I would be wrong to attribute to him alone a fault, which was typical of those times').[47] Here it is obvious that Burgundius intends to evoke a sense of *similitudo temporum*.

Third, like Tacitus, Burgundius focuses on the psychology of the main characters. He observes and interprets the events of the history he records through the thoughts, feelings, and moods of the personalities who shaped that history. And again like Tacitus, he conveys these inner motivations, compulsions or longings that inspire and steer their actions in large part through direct and indirect speech. We witness, for instance, how William of Orange and Viglius of Aytta, who was along with Granvelle one of the most influential counsellors of the Governor Margaret of Parma,[48] discuss the question how to react to the sharper measures, ordered by King Philip II for the Inquisition in the Low Countries: both William of Orange and Viglius expound their views, cast by Burgundius in a mixture of direct and indirect speech, and Margaret, wavering back and forth for some time, finally gives in to William's plea for a strict endorsement of the King's policy, even although she senses the violent reactions it may trigger; in reality, of course, provoking this policy to backfire was William's plan all along, and consequently, he was very pleased with the

45 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 27.

46 The term occurs at *Historia Belgica* 60 and 145. When Burgundius addresses the question who was responsible for sparking the Iconoclastic Fury, he declares (*Historia Belgica* 117): 'Ego vero ut non unum aliquem populum, ita iniuriam temporum accusare non desino, mutationem rerum portendentium' ('I, for one, do not cease to accuse not one single group of people, but rather the lawless violence of the times, portending a revolution').

47 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 167.

48 See "Aytta van Zwichem, Wigle van (Viglius)" (2012), at http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/personen/V/Pages/viglius.aspx (retrieved 8th August 2017).

outcome of the discussion: 'Laetus ergo Auriacus atque renidens[49] proxime sibi assidenti susurravit in aurem visuros se propediem ingentem tragoediam'[50] ('And then the Count of Orange, cheerful and beaming, whispered in the ear of the person sitting next to him that they would witness before long an immense tragedy').

In a similar fashion Burgundius also presents the deliberations that went on at the royal court in Madrid. At a certain point, the question was debated how and with what show of force the King himself could restore order, if he were to come to the Low Countries himself. Burgundius reports two orations in direct speech, one by the Count of Feria, who pleaded for a more cautious and conciliatory attitude, and another by the Duke of Alba, who defended a hard line to quench the revolt. Both interventions, contrasted with each other in the best rhetorical manner like a debate *in utramque partem* with arguments pro and contra, read like a compact manual of statecraft. Alba's view, Burgundius adds, made the more significant impact: 'Haec oratio, simul et dicentis auctoritas inveterataque prudentiae[51] fama, magnam procerum partem permovit'[52] ('This speech, as well as the authority of the speaker and his long-standing reputation of political wisdom, deeply moved a large part of the noblemen'). One is reminded here of the senatorial debates vividly related by Tacitus, especially in his *Historiae*. At times Tacitus, too, pits two opponents against each other and articulates their confrontation – obviously to maximum rhetorical effect – in two contrasting speeches, such as the 'acre iurgium' ('fierce altercation') fought out between the rival senators Helvidius Priscus and Eprius Marcellus on the question whether envoys to be sent to the new emperor Vespasian should be designated by the magistrates or picked out by lot (Tacitus, *Historiae* IV, 7–8). Being a trained lawyer, Burgundius can be expected to have a special interest in this kind of political rhetoric.

Through the speeches of his main characters, as well as through letters and other documents that are quoted verbatim, Burgundius also evokes the main points of contention in the contemporary political and religious controversy in the Low Countries: the new bishoprics and the position of Granvelle, the organization of government, especially the role of the (higher) nobility and its relationship to the central rule of the Spanish monarchy, and the question of religious toleration vis-à-vis safeguarding orthodoxy. In an address to the

49 After Tacitus, *Annales* IV, 60, 2 about Tiberius: 'falsum renidens vultu'.

50 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 51.

51 Another key concept of early modern political theory and practice.

52 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 158. Burgundius uses this occasion to defend Alba against accusations of deceit.

reader ('Ad lectorem')[53] Burgundius states that he has been able to rely on 'fidelissima manuscripta' ('most trustworthy documents'), namely private notes taken by Viglius of Aytta at the councils in the Low Countries and reports of Charles of Tisnacq concerning the Spanish councils,[54] as well as the correspondence exchanged between Philip II and Margaret of Parma. Since these papers of Viglius and Tisnacq have not been preserved, it is difficult to judge to what extent they actually influenced or shaped Burgundius' account. Of the letters and missives sent back and forth between the Spanish king and his half-sister large parts are still available in numerous copies, but a comparison with corresponding sections in Burgundius' *Historia* would nonetheless be fraught with difficulties and uncertainties, because it is impossible to ascertain what kind of version of these documents Burgundius would have read.[55] Most if not all of this material, in addition, was written in one of the vernacular languages used in the state affairs of the Habsburg empire; Burgundius' renderings presuppose, therefore, in any case a translation into Latin.[56] Most often Burgundius seems to have rephrased and shortened the documents he used; at times he says so with a formula such as 'in hanc sententiam', 'in hanc summam', 'in haec verba' or 'in hunc modum'.[57] In the case of some crucial texts he is a little more explicit about how he handled his source material. When he writes out a Latin version of the Compromise of Nobles (the 'formula coniurationis' in his own terms!) from December 1565, he remarks: 'Ipsa fere retuli verba, sicut erant

53 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica*, fol. 3v.

54 Charles of Tisnacq was another important counsellor of Philip II. During most of the 1560s he resided in Spain as Keeper of the Seals of Philip II. See Baelde M., "Tisnacq sr., Charles de" (2012), at http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/personen/T/Pages/tisnacq.aspx (retrieved 8th August 2017).

55 Compare the case of Tacitus, *Annales*, II, 24, where Tacitus reports a speech of the emperor Claudius, held in the Roman senate. By a stroke of luck, the original speech is partly preserved on a bronze tablet, discovered in 1528 in Lyon (CIL XIII, 1668). It is obviously very interesting to compare both versions (for a detailed comparative analysis see von Albrecht M., *Meister römischer Prosa von Cato bis Apuleius*, 2nd edition [Heidelberg: 1983] 164–189), but we cannot know in what form exactly Tacitus read Claudius' speech. Likewise, when Tacitus mentions that a particular speech of Tiberius has been preserved (*Annales* II, 63, 3: 'extat oratio'), it remains unclear in what kind of version Tacitus would have been able to consult this text.

56 I am grateful to Hans Cools for enlightening me on the complexities of the correspondence between Philip II and his administrators in the Low Countries, in particular the languages used in the different categories of letters and the various translation processes that could occur between dictation and redaction of the letters at the courts in Brussels and Madrid.

57 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 67, 93, 103, and 110 respectively.

incompta atque acerba, quantum Latino sermone assequi licuit'[58] ('I rendered more or less the very words [of the original text], in all their roughness and bitterness, as much as I was permitted to match them in the Latin language'). Occasionally, he explains why he takes pains to quote a source in full, such as, e.g., one of Philip's notorious letters from the Segovia woods, where he feels a need to defend the King's reputation: 'Hanc utique epistolam in longum transcripsi, non ut moli voluminis aut copiae consulerem […], sed ut boni regis famam calumniis exonerem'.[59] ('I transcribed at least this letter in full, not to make sure that my work be ponderous or luxuriant, but to free the reputation of the good king from false accusations').

Time and again, Burgundius exploits these speeches and letters to evince the basic tenets of contemporary political thought, particularly concerning the role of religion in politics and government – a topic that looms large over the entire *Historia Belgica*. In an address to the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, held on 30 November, the feast day of the Order's patron, Saint Andrew, of the year 1565, Viglius, the Order's Chancellor, states his belief in the fundamental unity of church and state as an essential requirement for any harmonious society: 'Basim et fundamentum rei publicae religionem esse; sine illa humanarum rerum regimen stare non posse'.[60] ('Religion is the basis and foundation of the state; without it no governance of human affairs can stand firm'). And with regard to religion, both nobility and kings have their set place and task:

> Tutelam eius omnibus incumbere, ac imprimis principibus viris, ad prodendum in vulgus exemplum. Ceteros mortales regibus subici, reges autem Ecclesiae, nec eam esse aliam quam Romanam, hoc est Christi Ecclesiam, quae a temporibus apostolorum continua serie ad nos descendens Beatum Andream huic Ordini patronum dederit.
>
> Safeguarding it is everyone's duty, and above all that of the leading ranks, to set an example for the common folk. Kings have all other people as subjects, but are subjected themselves to the Church, and this can only be the Roman Church, that is the Church of Christ, which came down to

58 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 66. For the text of this covenant, signed mainly by members of the lower nobility, see "Het verbond der edelen 1566" (2012), at http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/bronnen/Pages/15660000ned.aspx (retrieved 8th August 2017).

59 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 115.

60 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 61.

> us from apostolic times in an unbroken lineage and gave us Saint Andrew as the patron of this Order.[61]

First and foremost, Viglius wanted to remind the Knights of their obligation to defend – under the leadership of the Order's Grand Master, Philip II – the Church against all her enemies. Viglius', and – we assume – also Burgundius' view, compressed here in the most lapidary form, simply reflects a key notion of Counter-Reformation political theory.[62] Viglius' statement, however, also serves to underline the interconnection between the two fundamental aberrations of the nobility that to Burgundius' mind characterized the Revolt: they had forsaken both their proper place and task in society.

5 Medium and Message in Burgundius' Use of Tacitus

Burgundius's recourse to Tacitus, then, in moulding the representation of a crucial episode from recent national history cannot be adequately described as one of the political-ideological variants of 'Tacitism', as defined by Giuseppe Toffanin and Peter Burke.[63] First of all, we should not rule out or ignore Burgundius's literary aspirations. For Burgundius, just as for any humanist historian, historiography was an 'opus oratorium maxime' (Cicero, *De legibus* I, 5). Any historiographical work, therefore, necessarily required a studied *dispositio* and an elaborate *ornatus*. The claim to *veritas* (the 'prima lex historiae', according to Cicero, *De oratore* II, 62), moreover, was not a claim to objective truth, but rather to an accurate and persuasive representation of reality,

61 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 61.

62 For a discussion of Viglius' speech see Postma F., "Prefigurations of the future? The views on the boundaries of Church and State of William of Orange and Viglius van Aytta (1565–1566)", in McDonald A.A. – Huussen A.H. (eds.), *Scholarly Environments. Centres of Learning and Institutional Contexts, 1560–1960* (Louvain – Paris – Dudley, MA: 2004) 15–32, at 19–20.

63 The inadequacy of the categorizations of Tacitism, proposed by Toffanin and Burke, has been justly criticized by Karl Enenkel and Olga E. Novikova, "Nieuwe wereld – nieuwe klassieken. De ontdekking van Tacitus in de 16de en vroege 17de eeuw", in Enenkel K.A.E. – van Heck P. (eds.), *De mensen van vroeger, de hoven van weleer. Over de receptie van de klassieken in de Europese literatuur* (Voorthuizen: 2001) 13–53, at 45–47, and by Coen Maas, "Was Janus Dousa a Tacitist? Rhetorical and conceptual approaches to the reception of classical historiography and its political significance", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Laureys M. – Pieper C.H. (eds.), *Discourses of power. Ideology and politics in Neo-Latin literature*, Noctes Neolatinae 17 (Hildesheim: 2012) 233–248, at 235–239.

such as an orator was trained to deliver.[64] Burgundius adopts a distinctive style, which is certainly not purely Tacitean, but by all means conspicuously non-Ciceronian.[65] It seems that Burgundius tries to recreate above all the two markedly non-Ciceronian stylistic qualities that Tacitus shared with Sallust, namely (1) *brevitas*, brevity, but also implying narrative speed and vividness,[66] not only conciseness of expression (a reaction against Cicero's *copia verborum*) and (2) *inconcinnitas*, asymmetry, avoidance of balanced phrases (a reaction against Cicero's *concinnitas*). In addition, Burgundius imitates another literary trait common to both Tacitus and Sallust, namely their fondness for *sententiae*, aphoristic statements, often used to round off a particular section.

Just as Tacitus himself drew more than once directly on Sallust in descriptions of both scenes and characters, Burgundius seems to want to link these two models authors in some of his literary reminiscences and refer back to Sallust through Tacitus. When Burgundius highlights William of Orange's outstanding skill at 'dissimulatio',[67] he obviously thinks of the concepts of *simulatio* and *dissimulatio*, as Tacitus illustrates them in his portrayal of Tiberius, but he also harks back to Sallust's character sketch of Catiline: 'cuius rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator' (*Catilinae coniuratio* 5, 4). Sometimes, however, the literary context is wider still: the characterization 'fluxam illi fidem', e.g., in another passage quoted above occurs in Tacitus (*Historiae* II, 75, 1), where it is applied to Roman soldiers in civil war, but Burgundius probably knew that Tacitus consciously[68] uses here an expression that earlier authors had reserved for non-Romans, e.g. Sallust for Mauretanians (*Bellum Jugurthinum* III, 2). With regard to William of Orange, therefore, Burgundius intends to suggest that his attitude and behaviour make him an undesirable dissolute outcast, whose proper place is not in the inner circle of the Spanish government, but among barbarians. And to corroborate this suggestion, Burgundius includes one further strategically chosen reminiscence: 'ingenio sollers' alludes to the Batavian ringleader Gaius Julius Civilis, of whom Tacitus has said: 'ultra quam barbaris solitum ingenio sollers' (*Historiae* IV, 13, 2).

It is clear, then, that Burgundius's stylistic practice does not merely serve the purpose of literary embellishment; it is designed to guide the reader to the

64 See especially Heldmann K., *Sine ira et studio. Das Subjektivitätsprinzip der römischen Geschichtsschreibung*, Zetemata 139 (Munich: 2011) 21–75.

65 Already Puteanus, Burgundius' teacher at the *Palaestra bonae mentis* in Louvain, had moved away from the markedly Tacitean style of his teacher and predecessor, Justus Lipsius.

66 Quintilian highlights Sallust's 'velocitas' (*Institutio oratoria* X, 1, 102).

67 See above p. 408.

68 Compare *Historiae* III, 48, 2: 'fluxa, ut est barbaris, fide'!

author's interpretation of the events he narrates. It is for this interpretive guidance of the reader, rather than for the sake of a particular political ideology, that Tacitus's historiography is brought to bear; Toffanin's and Burke's understanding of Tacitism as a current of political thought, inspired by Tacitus' analysis of the early principate, therefore does not adequately cover Burgundius' use of Tacitus. The principal ideological question that transpires in the *Historia Belgica* pertains to the mutual relationship between religion and government, since the Dutch Revolt laid bare the dilemma of monarchical authority and how unity of religion helps consolidate it, on the one hand, and religious diversity and the right of opposition – the most extreme form of which would be civil war and tyrannicide – on the other, as Burgundius points out at the start of his work:

> Proinde operae pretium duxi aggredi bellum, quo nullum umquam diuturnius aut acerbius Belgium habuit, tum conflictu totius orbis Christiani, cum atrocitate proeliorum et nutatione victoriae, exercitibus hinc pro religione et imperio, illinc pro vindicanda libertate non minore animo concurrentibus.
>
> I have therefore considered it worthwhile to address the longest and fiercest war the Low Countries ever saw, both because the conflict concerned the entire Christian world and because its battles were hideous and victory swayed back and forth, with armies engaging in combat on one side for the sake of religion and the empire, on the other to claim liberty with no lesser zeal.[69]

For this question Tacitus was only partially relevant: Tacitus talked about civil discord and strife, about political intrigues and how to deal with them, about the inner secrets of imperial rule, but he had hardly anything to say about religion, apart from a few inconclusive remarks about a strange sect, called the Christians. Tacitus, moreover, could be convincingly exploited by both supporters and opponents of monarchy. Hugo Grotius in his *Annales et Historiae de rebus Belgicis* (Amsterdam, Blaeu: 1658)[70] chose a Tacitean perspective as

69 Burgundius, *Historia Belgica* 2. The beginning of this sentence evokes at once three famous openings of Roman historiographical works: Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum* (5, 1: 'Bellum scripturus sum'), Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (PR., 1: 'Facturusne operae pretium sim'), and Tacitus' *Historiae* (1, 2, 1: 'Opus aggredior').

70 The genesis of the *Annales et Historiae* goes back to 1601, when Grotius received a commission from the States of Holland to write this work, but in the end it was published only posthumously.

well, but advanced a very different analysis of the Revolt. Burgundius may have loved freedom, but he had no sympathy for freedom-loving rebels.

Burgundius's ideological agenda, therefore, is not set by the model of Tacitus, but by contemporary political thought.[71] Essentially, he espoused the traditional Catholic viewpoint: the Revolt was caused first and foremost by the higher nobility who had succumbed to an excessive hunger for power and wealth and forsaken its proper place and task in society, and most notably its obligations towards the King and the Catholic faith; William of Orange was but the most conspicuous exponent of that more general disorder. In Burgundius's *Historia Belgica* the reception of Tacitus seems to be grafted onto this contemporary political and ideological debate. In this way, Burgundius is able to devise a distinctive political rhetoric, in which form and content effectively reinforce each other. This rhetoric is already at work in Valerius Andreas' announcement of the *Historia Belgica* in his *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Louvain, Henricus Hastenius: 1623),[72] for when Valerius Andreas characterizes the work by evoking a phrase from the prologue of Tacitus's *Histories*, he not only intimates that Burgundius will draw on Tacitus in his *Historia Belgica*, he also adds implicit emphasis to Burgundius's point that the Revolt is a story of fraud and deceit. Tacitus, in the passage just before the phrase Valerius Andreas directly refers to, had announced the subject matter of his work in similarly glum terms: 'Opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum'. (Tacitus, *Historiae* 1, 2, 1: I am taking on the history of a period abounding in disasters, grim with battles, torn by insurrections, savage even in peace) – a passage Burgundius himself, too, had in mind when he wrote his preface.[73] The underlying message is obvious enough: already in 1623 it was clear to Valerius Andreas that Burgundius was going to deny the Revolt any legitimacy whatsoever.

To conclude, rhetoric connects the literary and political dimensions of Renaissance humanism and the Neo-Latin literature it inspired. Ever since Petrarch and Salutati put their humanistic interests and literary expertise to use for political purposes, Renaissance humanists never stopped devising new modes of political discourse, characterized in form and content by humanistic values. It is in this context, I believe, the rise and development of humanist political rhetoric, that Burgundius's *Historia Belgica* needs to be interpreted above all. In Burgundius, I submit, we encounter Tacitism not as a political

71 Coen Maas, "Was Janus Dousa a Tacitist?" 238–239, reached the same conclusion with respect to Janus Dousa's *Bataviae Hollandiaeque annales*.

72 See above p. 404.

73 See above n. 69.

ideology, but as a pattern of political communication, informed by the humanist rhetoric of imitation and designed by Burgundius as a literary instrument for an adequate representation of the recent past of his homeland.

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CHAPTER 16

The Mediaeval Prestige of Dutch Cities

Konrad Ottenheym

In the Dutch Republic the mediaeval past was important not only to the nobility but also to the cities, particularly in the Province of Holland.[1] Many of the cities in the former County of Holland had obtained their formal city rights in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the sealed charters attesting to these privileges were the city council's most treasured possession. In the seventeenth century these city charters took on an added significance in the regular politics of the Provincial States of Holland. Following the 1581 repudiation of the authority of their Habsburg ruler, Philip II, the Count of Holland was for a while a vacant title.[2] After a few years, the Provincial States of Holland resolved that they would appropriate the sovereign rights of the county to themselves. The States had originally been set up as an advisory panel for the Count, composed in those days of representatives of the peerage and the province's six oldest cities. Now, the political assembly took on the Count's own authority and extended the number of cities represented in it to eighteen. In the seventeenth century, the States of Holland was made up of representatives of each of these eighteen cities, plus one representative of the nobility. These cities thus formed part of the sovereign government and each had (in theory) equal vote. Differently than in many other European countries of the period, local government in the cities of Holland did not represent the central power but rather vice versa.[3] This made the cities effective city-states with a great deal of autonomy, and above all with a pronounced sense of their individual worth and city pride. That attitude was reflected in the architecture of urban public buildings.

The representative of the nobility always had the first word in the States of Holland, so that he was able to influence the rest of the assembly despite his single vote being heavily out-represented. After him, it was the cities' turn

1 This contribution is also published in Dutch, as chapter 10 in Enenkel K.A.E. – Ottenheym K.A., *Oudheid als ambitie. De zoektocht naar een passend verleden 1400–1700* (Nijmegen: 2017) 265–291.

2 Together with the other titles which combined to make up the collective term 'Lord of the Low Countries: these included also the titles of Duke of Guelders, Count of Zeeland, Lord of Utrecht and the Oversticht, and Lord of Friesland.

3 Israel J.I., *De Republiek 1477–1806* (Franeker: 1996), vol. I 305–314.

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to speak one by one. The set order of their interventions was determined by the date at which they had been admitted to the States, and here age was a great factor, with the year of official granting of the city charter being decisive. Most cities in Holland had been founded in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, typically at the Count's own initiative.[4] In most cases, these were not new towns built from scratch but acknowledgements of the importance of existing settlements.[5] It was only from the thirteenth century onwards that these cities in Holland began to acquire their city rights. Dordrecht counted as the oldest city in the province, with city rights dating from 1220, followed by Haarlem (1245) and Delft (1246). Fourth came Leiden (1266), followed by Amsterdam (1306) and Gouda (1272). That is to say, although Gouda's city rights topped Amsterdam's for age, Gouda had been a lordship of its own for a lengthy period and only pledged to Holland. Gouda's actual admission to the States of Holland had come later than Amsterdam's, which is why it had sixth place. After 1585, this group grew to include Rotterdam, Gorinchem, Schiedam, Schoonhoven, Brielle, Alkmaar, Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Edam, Monnickendam, Medemblik and finally Purmerend. It will be apparent that it was far from being merely a question of honour who got to speak first in the provincial assembly. It was also a matter of impact: the earlier speakers could chip in with extra points and steer the course of the debate. Later speakers could usually only endorse what had already been aired. Thus, politics was largely determined by Holland's oldest cities, and so in this hierarchy, just as with the nobility and with the interrelations of royal families, age was the key to political clout. This being so, it is only understandable that numerous cities sought to show off their ancientness in their public architecture, particularly that of their town halls.

1 Town Halls

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, town halls were the centre of urban power: they were the seat of the city council, chaired by a handful of burgomasters, with treasurers in charge of city finances and a panel of councillors (*vroedschap*) acting as advisory body. It was also where the sheriff (*schout*) and aldermen (*schepenen*) pronounced judgement on civil and criminal cases.

4 Henderikx P., "Graaf en stad in Holland en Zeeland in de twaalfde en vroege dertiende eeuw", in Rutte R. – Engen H. van (eds.), *Stadswording in de Nederlanden. Op zoek naar overzicht* (Hilversum: 2005) 47–62.

5 Rutte R., *Stedenpolitiek en stadsplanning in de Lage Landen (12de–13de eeuw)* (Zutphen: 2002) 123–143.

Consequently, government and jurisprudence tend to be central themes in the iconography of the facades and interiors of town halls in Holland. Although the council met in closed session, legal cases were open to the public. For these, the sheriff and aldermen came to the aldermen's hall (*schepenzaal*), where people were allowed to witness the trial. A separate solemn courtroom (*vierschaar*) was reserved for the handing-down of death sentences. The right to judge executable offences was regarded as the highest privilege in jurisprudence, and when a city acquired this 'capital justice' (*halsrecht*), it was typically expressed in the architecture by giving the *vierschaar* a prominent location and striking decor. Local government and justice were supported by town secretaries, clerks and in some cases committees charged with particular remits. Naturally, the scope of these civil service jobs depended on the size of the city. The cities did not start off with dedicated council buildings; in the early days, they met at taverns, cloth halls or guild lodges. However, all cities developed purpose-built city halls for their councils during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

With the expansion in population in the late sixteenth century, the administrative burden also swelled, so that almost all cities in Holland had to extend their existing council premises at some point during the Dutch Republic era. In some cases, they resolved to construct completely new buildings. As well as providing more room, these premises were intended to be prestigious and to showcase each city's newly-acquired status as a practically independent city-state. Here, two apparently contradictory impulses were at play as to how best to express that worthiness. It was an obvious choice to have the new building designed in the most current architectural style, so as to display status and wealth. Nevertheless, in many cases it was more judicious to demonstrate the city's great age, from which it derived its worth and rank. The mediaeval past, then, could play a role in shaping the urban authorities' headquarters, and not just contemporary architecture. To keep this history straightforward, we shall restrict ourselves for the rest of this contribution to the first six cities in Holland, observing the seventeenth-century order of precedence among them.

2 Dordrecht (1220)

That Dordrecht was the oldest and 'first' city of Holland was a point dwelt upon in all seventeenth-century descriptions of the city. It is said that the settlement arose as a fishing village in the tenth century along the dike beside the residence of the first Count of Holland, Dirk I, in his core district on the banks of

the Merwede.[6] It was from this origin that the city had obtained its privileges as premier among the cities of Holland, as the location where the Counts of Holland were inaugurated in office and as the mediaeval seat of the county's mint. In the Republican era, too, Dordrecht retained its place as chief among the cities of the Province of Holland. As well as netting the city the first right to speak (after the knights' representative), this also made Dordrecht the city which supplied the State Pensioner (*raadspensionaris*), the official who led the day-to-day-government of the province.

In 1284, Dordrecht City Council was given a building, while part of it was also used as a meat hall. This was not a rare combination of functions in the era, since most cities permitted meat sales to the public only under official oversight in council-run halls. In 1544, the council moved to what had previously been a trade hall (*handelshal*), a large building specially built for visiting overseas traders.[7] A tall brick building, it dated from 1383 and its front abutted the Groenmarkt (the Vegetable Market). The building contained originally one large space, forty metres deep and twelve wide, with the back extending over the water of the Oude Haven. In 1544–1550, the internal space was subdivided, leaving a smaller hall at the front, behind which were chambers for the aldermen, burgomasters and various clerks. The court of justice (*vierschaar*) was also housed in the new front section. The detail in the interior was entirely in contemporary style, as we can see from surviving architectural traces of this renovation. Later, there were several more renovations to install yet more offices and chambers. In 1671, the adjoining building to the south was demolished, making way for a gracious square beside the town hall [Fig. 16.1]. What had been its side wall now became the front entrance, ornamented with an outstanding example of a Classical entrance section. Notably, however, the fourteenth-century appearance of both sides remained substantially the same, apart from new frames for the windows and the new main entrance. Until the early nineteenth century, the town hall continued to look rather castle-like, its brick gables crowned with battlements and buttressed by a number of small towers. As time went on, the mediaeval exterior contrasted more and more with the fronts of the surrounding residential homes, which – unlike the town hall itself – did regularly adapt to changing tastes. Precisely by not modernising the exterior of its town hall, Dordrecht displayed its venerable antiquity.

6 Beverwijck Johan van, *'t Begin van Hollant in Dordrecht, mitsgaders der eerster stede beschrijvinge, regeringe, ende regeerders, als oock de gedenckwaerdighste geschiedenissen aldaer gevallen* (Dordrecht, Jasper Gorrisz.: 1640) 76–82.

7 Stades-Vischer M.E., *Het stadhuis te Dordrecht* (Dordrecht: 1985).



FIGURE 16.1 Dordrecht, the former trade hall of 1383, since 1544 in use as town hall. Drawing by Paulus Constantin La Fargue (ca. 1770), Gemeentearchief Dordrecht
IMAGE © GEMEENTEARCHIEF DORDRECHT

Only in 1835–1845, once the cities had lost their quasi-sovereign status and a settlement's age had no further bearing upon politics, was the town hall given a clean-lined new Classical front by city architect G.N. Itz, hiding the mediaeval structure from view under a fashionable white plaster coat replete with tall columns and pediment.[8]

3 Haarlem (1245)

Haarlem, the second city of Holland, had obtained its city rights from Count William II. The city's connection with that count, who reigned from 1234 to 1256, always remained a key point in later Haarlem historiography, the more so given that William II was also elected as Roman King of the German Empire in 1248, which – in the city's own view – lent it a 'royal' air (although William II died too early to see himself crowned as Holy Roman Emperor). The city had arisen from a modest hamlet around the old seat of the Count. According to

8 Meffert A. – Schook R., *G.N. Itz, stadsbouwmeester van Dordrecht 1832–1867* (Delft: 1985) 29–35.

tradition, the Counts of Holland had had a residence here since around 1100, in the time of Count Floris II, and William II's contribution had been to have it rebuilt in brick around 1240–1250.[9] However, that building was ravaged by a conflagration a century later, around 1350. Since the Counts were even at this early stage no longer making a circuit of the residences dotted around their territory, and more and more central administration was gravitating to The Hague, the city obtained the grounds of the destroyed court for free. On that very place, at the city's market square, Haarlem's new town hall arose around 1370, forming the kernel of the current municipal hall complex to this day.[10] Seventeenth-century descriptions of the city easily confounded these various stages of the building; hence, the kernel of the old town hall, with its Grote Zaal as the focal point, was wrongly taken to be a vestige of William II's residence. So it is that Hadrianus Junius, in his *Batavia* of 1588, writes of a 'royal palace' when describing Haarlem Town Hall.[11] Samuel Ampzing was even more florid in his 1628 *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem* [Fig. 16.2]:

> Hier siet Gy dat Paleys, dat William, Graef en koning
> heeft tot sijn Hof gesticht, en Koninklijke woning:
> gelijk soo voor als na het Grafelijke Hof
> te Haerlem is geweest tot onser eer en lof.[12]
>
> Here seest thou the palace that Count and King William
> did found as his court and kingly residence:
> thus, in old times and new times, the Count's Court at Haarlem
> hath long been our pride and our town's brilliance.

As set out in the contribution of Karl Enenkel to this volume, Holland's legacy of mediaeval counts exerted a powerful social pull in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This being so, the main building of the fourteenth-century Haarlem town hall, which was believed to have been the palace of

9 Ampzing Samuel, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem* (Haarlem, Adriaen Rooman: 1628) 48–50.

10 Cerutti W., *Het stadhuis van Haarlem. Hart van de stad* (Haarlem: 2001) 48–52.

11 Glas N. de, *Holland is een eiland. De* Batavia *van Hadrianus Junius* (*1511–1575*) (Hilversum: 2011) 323.

12 Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem* s.p., caption for engraving by Jan van de Velde after Pieter Saenredam: 'De Grote Markt met het stadhuis in Haarlem'. Schwartz G. – Bok M.J., *Pieter Saenredam. De schilder in zijn tijd* (Den Haag: 1989) 42, 266, cat. no. 88. Also featured in this sense in Blaeu Joan, *Toonneel der Steden van de Vereenighde Nederlanden met hare beschrijvinge* (Amsterdam, Joan Blaeu: 1652) s.p.: 'het koninglijck paleis. Dit is nu 't Raethuijs' ('The royal palace, which now is the town hall').



FIGURE 16.2 Market square and town hall of Haarlem before its transformation of 1630–1633. Etching by Jan van de Velde II after Pieter Saenredam. From: Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (Haarlem: 1628). Etching and engraving, 16.1 × 23.8 cm
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

thirteenth-century King William II, was spared any renovations or adaptations in the seventeenth century.[13] Its long, rectangular hall already had a pair of short wings in the fourteenth century, perpendicular to the front entrance on the Market; these were the large and small courts of justice (*vierschaar*). In the mid-fifteenth century, the town hall was extended with a building at the corner of the Market and Zijlstraat, which came to be known as the *stedehuis* (city-house). In 1620–1622, a Zijlstraat wing was added to the complex, designed by Lieven de Key, containing facilities such as basement jail cells and a number of chambers on the ground floor for the panel of councillors (*vroedschap*) and the aldermen. This wing, with its modern architecture, sharply contrasted with the older elements on the Market side. In 1628, Ampzing, while praising the new architecture, pointed out the 'old[er] glory' of the hall beside it on the Market:

> Ook is by onsen tijd een werk ter hand genomen
> tot meerd'ring van't Stad-huys en tot den eynd gekomen

13 Royaards C.W. – Jongens P. – Phaff H.E., *Het stadhuis van Haarlem. Algemeen restauratie-plan* (Haarlem: 1961).

> en kloeklijk uytgevoerd dat ver in sijn zieraed
> en pracht en mogendheyd het oud te boven gaet.
> So mag dit stuck wel mee: ja mag ten desen tijden
> in ouder heerlijkheyd met alle steden strijden.[14]
>
> In our own time, too, a work was begun
> to extend the town hall, and has fitly been done;
> which in its design, both ingenious and bold,
> and its decoration and power, far exceeds the old.
> So, then, that part [*i.e. the old wing*] too well deserves to remain;
> for old glory, not a city can match it again.

In 1630–1633, the front of the town hall was likewise modernised, probably to a design by Salomon de Bray. In this renovation, the *stedehuis* on the corner was melded with the 1620 wing and given a fitting entrance on the Market. The front entrance to the great court of justice was also renovated in Classical style, with pillars on the ground floor, topped with a pile-up of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian sequences of pilasters. The small court of justice and the great hall (*zaal*) were merely given new window frames and a new entrance section. This deliberately preserved the 'mediaeval' character of the council hall, with its great arches and battlements, intact, so that even in its modernised design, the origin of the complex as a possession of the counts would remain recognisable [Fig. 16.3].

There is another drawing in existence showing an alternative design for the new front of Haarlem town hall, which could date from approximately 1630 [Fig. 16.4].[15] In this proposal, both judgement halls would have been removed, the staircase up to the entrance more than doubled in width, and, most strikingly, two new corner turrets with battlements and pinnacles added, in order to give even more of the appearance of an old count's castle. Moreover, this design called for the walls separating the windows to be ornamented across the whole width of the front with 23 images of the previous Counts of Holland. The old town hall already had a few images of old Counts of Holland before that time, but in this design, the building would have boasted almost a full genealogical set. It was customary in the late-mediaeval Low Countries to affix

14 Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem* 53.

15 The attire of the figures in the foreground indicates that this must have been intended as a contemporary design for the seventeenth century, rather than being any kind of fantasy reconstruction of mediaeval Haarlem. This drawing is also attributed by some to Pieter Saenredam, and is known only from black-and-white reproductions (current whereabouts of original unknown). Schwartz – Bok, *Pieter Saenredam* 58 (Fig. 59), 266, cat. no. 89.



FIGURE 16.3 Haarlem town hall. Photo ca. 1920
IMAGE © RCE

such series of national rulers' images to façades; something similar is seen to this day in the Brabatine town halls of Brussels and Leuven. This practice made it clear in whose name it was that the men within handed down their edicts and sentences. In the seventeenth century, however, the citizens of Haarlem no longer viewed these hall-front images as tokens of the city's subordination, but rather as proof that the building truly was a former count's residence:

> En geven dit ook niet hun beelden, die nog huyden
> hier aen de puije staen, genoegzaem aen te duyden
> die van de Graven selfs voor't grafelijk gesticht
> voor't grafelijke hof sijn eertijds opgericht?[16]
>
> And do their statues, seen yet today
> upon the facade not clearly say
> that the building was founded by counts so bold,
> built for their own use in courts of old?

16 Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem* 53.

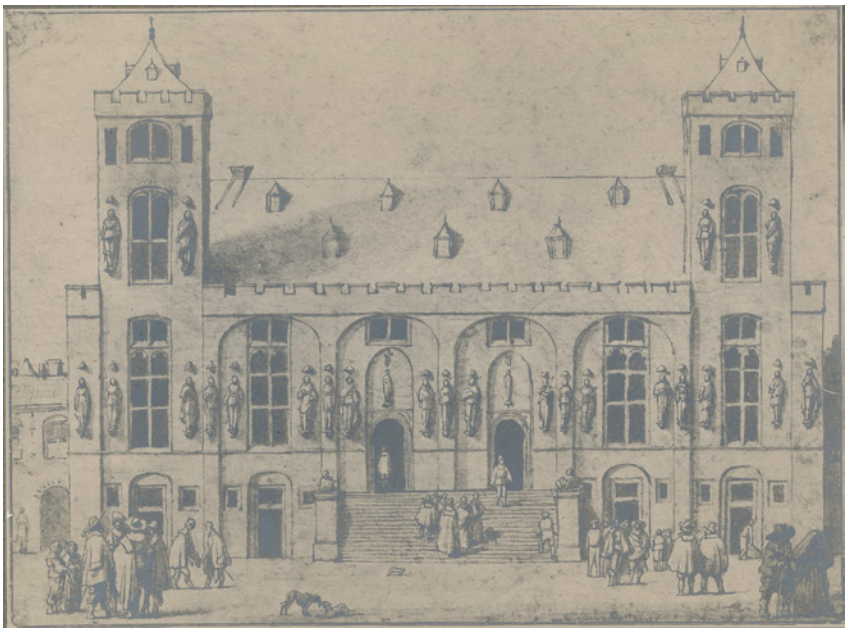


FIGURE 16.4 Anonymous artist, Alternative design for the transformation of the town hall's facade (ca. 1630). Current location unknown
IMAGE © RCE

This extreme plan to deliberately antiquate the architecture was never carried out. In 1630, it was decided to make a point of keeping the existing mediaeval elements, such as the battlements and high window arches, and to combine them with a few carefully-detailed contemporary Classical elements, including the windows, the entrance section and the balcony above the entrance. The identification of the town hall with the old count's castle was also seen in the interior. The walls of the Grote Zaal, referred to from the seventeenth century onwards consistently as 'the Counts' Hall' (*Gravenzaal*), had since the late sixteenth century been decorated with the series, dating from approximately 1490, of nineteen painted panels (mentioned in the contribution of Karl Enenkel) depicting a complete set of the thirty-two Counts of Holland from AD 900 up to Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I.[17] These portraits thus afforded the supposed 'Counts' Hall' its own ancestor gallery, visually reinforcing the illusion that the former Counts of Holland really had resided in this building.

17 For the history of this series of portraits, see the contribution of Karl Enenkel to this volume, and Cerutti, *Het stadhuis van Haarlem* 257–267.

4 Delft (1246)

In Delft, too, the architectural history of the town hall is bound up with the Counts of Holland.[18] Unlike in Haarlem, here there are still remnants of the old counts' court in the present building. At the crux of that court was a brick tower, about twenty metres high, which must have been built around the middle of the thirteenth century. This tower, christened the *Nieuwe Steen*, served as the county jail, and there may have been a count's hall on the upper storey. In 1436, the Count donated this complex and the adjoining market square to the city, and it was remodelled as the town hall [Fig. 16.5]. Beside the high tower, there now arose several council chambers, and the tower itself was raised higher by the addition of a natural stone construction for the city bells. Following the devastating Delft Fire of 1536, the town hall had to be renewed but the tower itself had survived the flames and had only to be given a new wooden pinnacle.

This town hall also burned down, less than a century later, in 1618. The Amsterdam sculptor-architect Hendrick de Keyser was retained for the years around 1618 for the construction of the monument to William the Silent in the Nieuwe Kerk, on the opposite side of the market square, and so it was only natural that he was awarded the commission for the replacement town hall too. The result was a completely new structure, now with its front facing the market, occupying a near-square area of 25 by 25 metres [Fig. 16.6a, b]. The



FIGURE 16.5
The old town hall of Delft before the fire of 1618. Detail from the map of Delft in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (ca. 1580)
IMAGE © PUBLIC DOMAIN

18 Groot A. de, "Het stadhuis van Delft. Aspecten van zijn bouw – en restauratiegeschiedenis", *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 83 (1984) 1–42.



FIGURE 16.6A Hendrick de Keyser (architect), Town hall of Delft (1618–1620)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

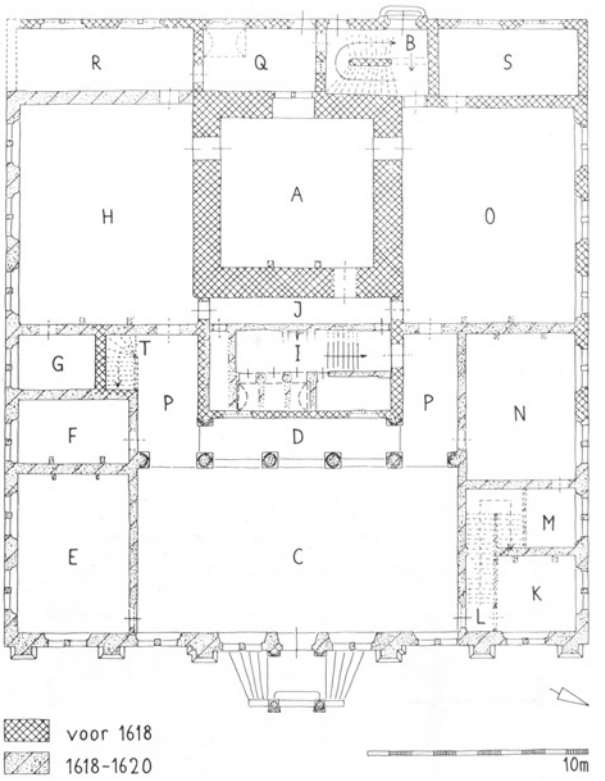


FIGURE 16.6B Town hall of Delft, ground plan.
Drawing A. de Groot
IMAGE © *BULLETIN KNOB* 83 (1984) 13

building has two stories topped with a trapezoid roof (*kap*), and its gables are richly ornamented with sculpted natural stone. The front is articulated with Doric and Ionic pilasters and in pride of place is a high central apex with Corinthian pilasters. Between and above the windows in this section, even more fantastical sculpted ornamentation has been applied. In its day, this was regarded as the most finely-decorated town hall in Holland and far beyond, and as a showcase of the contemporary architecture for which Hendrick de Keyser was so celebrated; this accolade was largely due to the copious application of artistically ingenious decorative sculpting based on Classical idiom.[19]

19 Terwen J.J., "Het stadhuis van Hendrik de Keyser", in Meischke R., e.a. (eds.), *Delftse studiën* (Assen: 1967) 143–170. Ottenheym K.A. – Rosenberg P. – Smit N., *Hendrick de Keyser, Architectura Moderna. Moderne bouwkunst in Amsterdam 1600–1625* (Amsterdam 2008) 106–109.

Yet all the while, the old tower was sticking out above the new building and attracting the gaze. This was all as intended; part of a carefully thought-out scheme. De Keyser's design refined the existing counts' tower, the *Nieuwe Steen*, to fit the new architectural design. In a U-form, the seventeenth-century new building wraps around the old tower, which thus acts as the hinge of the new plan. The spread of functions around the various chambers of the new complex also underscores the great ceremonial importance attached to that architectural relic of the Middle Ages: on the ground floor, the tower was now flanked by the burgomaster's chamber on one side (H) and the aldermen's chamber on the other (O), and the tower itself had become the council chamber (*raadzaal*) for the *vroedschap* (A). Higher up the tower was the archive, guarding documents including the city charters.

5 Leiden (1266)

For long ages, Leiden's town hall has stood on Breestraat, the main thoroughfare. The oldest element of the building dates from the first half of the fourteenth century, and with the passage of time the complex was enlarged with additions including a court of justice (*vierschaar*) and the council chamber (*raadzaal*).[20] Around 1410, the building was extended to the right with a long hall running parallel with Breestraat. Its ground floor became the meat hall; its upper storey served as the cloth hall. On that occasion, the complex had acquired a new front, melding the old and new elements together. In total, it was a roughly 40-metre-long complex, with a castle-like crown sporting battlements and small turrets, as if it were a patrolling wall. At the rear of the oldest part of the compound was a high city tower dating from around 1400, which had since been raised several times. That tower aside, the general aspect of this town hall was in the late sixteenth century roughly comparable with Dordrecht's. But Leiden's mediaeval complex was given a completely new natural stone gable in 1595–1598,[21] designed by Haarlem's city building master (*stadsmeester*) Lieven de Key. This new feature was supplied prefabricated by Luder von Bentheim, an architect-stonemason and contractor from Bremen. In a departure from the practice of Dordrecht, Haarlem and Delft, here all the elements reminiscent of castles were radically removed. The battlements-and-turrets crown

20 Oerle H.A. van, *Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten. De geschiedenis van de stedebouwkundige ontwikkeling binnen het Leidse rechtsgebied tot aan het einde van de gouden eeuw* (Leiden: 1975) 88–91.

21 Meischke R., "Een nieuwe gevel voor het Leidse stadhuis (1593–1598)", *Leids Jaarboekje* 81 (1989) 54–83.

was replaced with a Classical balustrade, ornamented by three monumental summit façades bearing Classical elements and sculpted contemporary designs. This made Leiden town hall the first monumental example – pre-dating the renovation of its counterpart at Delft and the addition of the new wing at Haarlem – of the rich, sculptural architecture which would become so characteristic of the art of building in Holland as the seventeenth century began.

Even in Leiden, however, citizens were highly aware of the importance of the origins of their own history in the chivalric era and of the connection of their home to the old Counts of Holland. The Roman King of the German Empire, William II, and his son Count Floris V had both come into the world in Leiden; a boast unfailingly made in Leiden city histories. However, Leiden commemorated its historical link to the counts not at the town hall but in the second centre of local government, the Courthouse (*Gerecht*). As the crow flies, the buildings were merely a hundred metres or so apart. The Courthouse formed the hub of the neighbourhood sandwiched between Breestraat and Rapenburg. It was here that the Counts of Holland had held residence in the second half of the twelfth century, possessing a private chapel (the forerunner of the Pieterskerk) and a jail located in a defensible natural-stone tower, known simply as *het Steen*.[22] A moat demarcated *het Steen* and the execution ground from the city proper. Even once the residence no longer housed the counts, this part of the complex remained the county's judicial seat, with the jail and execution ground still in use. [Figs. 16.7a, b]. When the city took on *het Steen* and began exercising its own jurisprudence in 1463, sentencing continued to be done there. During the fifteenth century, the complex was extended to the east with a few outbuildings; the old square tower was given a brick top storey and tall capping, so that the old kernel could remain readily recognisable in its new urban environment. In 1556, a new jail was built at the western end, and a covered (and trellis-enclosed) gallery connected the two wings left and right of the old tower. In 1670, city architect Willem van der Helm built a new court of justice (*vierschaar*) in front of the sixteenth-century jail. It became a model of seventeenth-century Classicism: a slim rectangular block with an entirely sandstone ground floor topped with high pilasters, the whole crowned at the front with a pediment containing Leiden's coat of arms and the personification of Justitia. Through all the fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century extensions, the vista to the counts' old stone tower was purposely left uncluttered, so that in the end it peeped out as a treasured relic among the showy new architecture. The ensemble unmistakably proclaimed that in this location, the city had taken on the time-honoured roles of the Count of Holland.

22 Oerle, *Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten* 67–72.

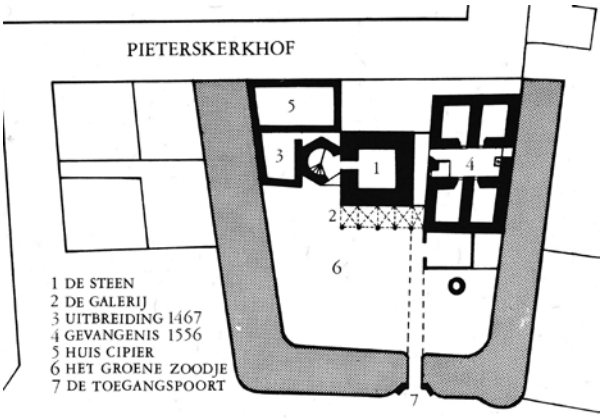


FIGURE 16.7A The Court of Justice of Leiden ("het Gerecht"). Drawing H.A. van Oerle
IMAGE © H.A. VAN OERLE, *LEIDEN BINNEN EN BUITEN DE STADSVESTEN* (LEIDEN: 1975) 71



FIGURE 16.7B Leiden, Court of Justice ("het Gerecht")
IMAGE © AUTHOR

This was more than a simple historical reference or boast of age; it was also a legitimation of the city's entitlement to rule.

6 Amsterdam (1306)

Amsterdam would appear to be the major exception to this trend. Its modest mediaeval town hall, built in 1368–1395, had mushroomed over a couple of centuries into an extensive complex occupying the entire block between the Dam and Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal, including the buildings of a former hospital. All that had been swept away, as is common knowledge, in the years 1648–1665, making way for the most magnificent city palace that the Europe of that time had ever seen [Fig. 16.8].[23] Amsterdam was the most powerful city in Holland and in the whole Republic, and in practice substantially dominated the agenda of the States of Holland and even the national States-General.



FIGURE 16.8 Jean-François Daumont, View on Dam Square of Amsterdam, with the town hall built in 1648–1667. Etching and watercolour (ca. 1750), 28.5 × 42.7 cm. See also Fig. 17.6
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

23 Vlaardingerbroek P.F., *Het paleis van de Republiek. Geschiedenis van het stadhuis van Amsterdam* (Zwolle: 2011).

Its paltry fifth place in the official provincial hierarchy stood in jarring contrast to its actual political clout, and clearly the high and mighty of Amsterdam felt it quite beneath them to engage in Holland's other represented cities' mutual rivalries about their age. Quite the contrary; Amsterdam made great play of its modest mediaeval origins, which served to enhance the glorious contrast with the present day: just as Rome's world empire had begun from an unassuming shepherds' hamlet, so Amsterdam had begun as a quite ordinary fishing village on the Amstel.[24] The scale and execution of the architecture, and the idiom of the imagery, of the town hall which presented Amsterdam as a latter-day Rome – presented as the hub of global trade and meeting-point of the world's oceans – demonstrates that for Amsterdam, actual prosperity and real power far outweighed quibbles about age, which the city would never have been able to win anyway. Nevertheless, this is only superficially so; the yearning for a celebrated mediaeval past was found in Amsterdam too, as we shall see further below.

7 Gouda (1272)

Gouda obtained its city charter from Count Floris V in 1272 but he had no residence of his own here. This was because the city was held in fiefdom by the hereditary Lord of Gouda, only reverting to the Count directly in 1397. Although of greater age than Amsterdam, this city was admitted to the States of Holland later than Amsterdam in view of this interruption, thus assuming sixth place in the speaking order. The old feudal centre of power of the local lord was on a hill fort beside the Molenwerf (Mill Quay), south of the Grote Kerk (alias St. Jan's church). However, in the mid-fourteenth century the Lords of Gouda moved to a new castle beside the harbour.[25] Unlike in Haarlem, Delft or Leiden, the town hall at Gouda thus lacked any connection with the historical counts. The first town hall built here was amidst the buildings along the side of the market. That square (or rather triangle) itself was still the property of the Lords of Gouda, and only after the handover of the market to the city in 1395 was the plan formulated of building a new municipal government complex in the middle of the market. After all, it had been stipulated in the transfer agreement that the city was entitled to build a new town hall complex

24 Fremantle K., *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam* (Utrecht: 1959). Goossens E.J., *Het Amsterdamse paleis: schat van beitel en penseel* (Amsterdam – Zwolle: 2010).

25 Sprokholt H., "De motte" and "Het kasteel", in Denslagen W., *Gouda, De Nederlandse monumenten van geschiedenis en kunst* (Zeist – Zwolle: 2001) 28–47.



FIGURE 16.9
The town hall of Gouda (1450–1459)
IMAGE © RCE

on the market, with cloth hall and meat hall, on the provision that the rest of the space remain undeveloped. As it turned out, this new town hall for Gouda was not built until 1450–1459 [Fig. 16.9].[26] The tall, rectangular building has natural-stone sides all around, and a richly-elaborated summit façade at the front bursting with sophisticated details typical of fifteenth-century Gothic architecture, such as pinnacles, corner turrets, profiled arches around the windows, and an ornamental steeple topping the whole. In 1599, a tall flight of stairs was added in front of the entrance, elegantly decorated with figures *all'antica*. A century later, in 1692–1695, the entire interior was renovated by Amsterdam builder contractor Hendrick Schut. In that project, the corridors, halls and fireplaces were completely renewed after the model of Amsterdam Town Hall on the Dam [Fig. 16.10]. A gallows supported by columns arose at the rear. The side elevations, too, were modernised by removing all Gothic detail

26 Pot G.J.J., "De bouwrekeningen van het Goudse stadhuis van 1450", *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* (1950) 129–145. Scheygrond A. (ed.), *Het stadhuis van Gouda* (Gouda: 1952). Denslagen W., *Gouda, De Nederlandse monumenten van geschiedenis en kunst* (Zeist – Zwolle: 2001) 212–225.



FIGURE 16.10 Upper hall of the Gouda town hall, interior created 1692–1695 by Hendrick Schut
IMAGE © RCE

and installing contemporary windows.[27] Despite all these modernisations, the town hall's late-mediaeval front was preserved. In seventeenth-century Gouda, as elsewhere, it appears to have been a conscious choice to show the world at large that the roots of the town hall, and thus of the city, were mediaeval.

8 Cities' Claims to an Earlier Origin

We are now in a position to conclude that the architecture and official imagery of the town halls discussed above, those of the six oldest cities of Holland, was more or less congruent with their actual position in the province's hierarchy of city relations. The apparent age radiated by the town halls was not

27 During the 1947–1952 restoration, the Gothic elements at rear and side façades were reconstructed.

so far removed from the age indicated in the (scarce) historical documentation. Errors were, however, sometimes made in the dating of the oldest elements of the buildings, thereby tacking a century onto the age of some town halls, but we do not see any explicit assertions of flagrant fantasies that these buildings had been handed down from mythical Trojan or Roman forebears. While such origin stories were not unknown, they were not expressly retold either, at least not in the formal seat of power.[28] The town hall refrained from openly questioning the official age-based priority order between the cities which was so crucial for relations at the States of Holland. That said, there very much were attempts elsewhere in these cities, in other public buildings with a slightly less formal function, to assert extra age for the settlement, thereby calling into question the justness of the set order. Although none quibbled with the official dates of the city charters, in practice all city historians nevertheless claimed that their own city had been founded far earlier than the date in question, sometimes with the explicit assertion that it was at least older than some other city. The stories which they used to make these claims were accounts of Batavian or Roman date, or from the following centuries, the age of the first Counts of Holland in the ninth and tenth centuries, or from some other juncture in the legendary chivalric age that followed (which was as richly elaborated with tales as earlier eras were).

9 Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft

We have seen already the example of Dordrecht, which, although universally known to have held its city rights only since 1220, asserted that its history as Holland's first ever city began in the early tenth century under Dirk I, the inaugural Count of Holland. Writing in 1640, city historian Johan van Beverwijck constructs this history as follows. The name Dirk is a derivative of Theodoricus, also shortened to Dorcus. The first fort which this Dirk or Dorcus built stood on the banks of the Merwede and was thus known as 'Dorcs-fort', later elided to 'Dorfort'. In the settlement which arose alongside it, judicial sentencing was pronounced in his name; consequently, it came to be known as 'Dorcs-recht', or 'Dordrecht'.[29] The later counts, he writes, extended the city from those

28 Tilmans K., "'Autentijck ende warachtig'. Stedenstichtingen in de Hollandse geschiedschrijving: van Beke tot Aurelius", *Holland, regionaal-historisch tijdschrift* 21 (1989) 68–87. Verbaan E., *De woonplaats van de faam. Grondslagen van de stadsbeschrijving in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek* (Hilversum: 2011).

29 Beverwijck, *'t Begin van Hollant in Dordrecht* 75–82.

beginnings. Since Dirk IV suffered an attack in this location in 1048, it must, van Beverwijck goes on to reason, already have been a town of some import by that date. Its oldest kernel, he reckons, was the Puttox-toren, a mediaeval defensive tower on the Merwede whose last remains collapsed in the early seventeenth century.[30] When that occurred, the monumental Groothoofdspoort, built close to that spot in 1619, took on the role of waterside city limit.

Seventeenth-century Haarlem had a remarkable ace to play in order to question subtly whether Dordrecht deserved its primacy. In the Fifth Crusade (c. 1215–1221), it was said, a Haarlem vessel was involved in the breaking of the chains at the mouth of the Nile Delta harbour of 'Damiate' (Damietta, or modern-day Egyptian Dumyāt), allowing the knights to capture the city.[31] According to this account, Frederick II Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, permitted Haarlem to add a sword to its coat of arms (which then consisted of a field of four stars), and the Patriarch of Jerusalem added the Cross to the design. In reality, the arms of four stars, sword and cross are not attested to earlier than the late fourteenth century, over a century and a half after that last Crusade. Moreover, the oldest source for the story is only late fifteenth-century. None of this was allowed, however, to detract from the swashbuckling account of the taking of Damietta. In the seventeenth century, this was Haarlem's central legend, represented in several paintings, celebrated as a scene in a monumental tapestry ordered for the town hall, and always the image depicted whenever the city presented an artwork to other settlements in the province. The first Damiate artwork was donated to Sint Janskerk in Gouda, to which a number of cities in Holland each gave a large stained-glass window between 1594 and 1603 to complete the cycle commenced in that church in the mid-sixteenth century. Here, too, Haarlem presented itself as the hero-city of the Crusade. William Thybaut's 1596 massive design is eleven metres high and nearly five metres across[32] [Fig. 16.11]. Because not everyone outside Haarlem might be familiar with the tale, the city's name was added, together with the year of the famed opening of the harbour by a Haarlem ship with a saw under its keel: '1219'. That is a crucial date for the importance of the story: if Haarlem had truly been able in that year – *a year before* Dordrecht obtained its charter – to send such a mighty fleet out on the Crusades, then it must have been no mean city even then, although official recognition did not come for many years subsequently.

30 Beverwijck, *'t Begin van Hollant in Dordrecht* 118.

31 Moolenbroek J. van, *Nederlandse kruisvaarders naar Damiate aan de Nijl. Acht eeuwen geschiedenis en fantasie in woord en beeld* (Hilversum: 2016).

32 Ruyven-Zeman Z. van (ed.), *The stained-glass windows in the Sint Janskerk at Gouda 1556–1604*, Corpus Vitrearum Netherlands 3 (Amsterdam: 2000).

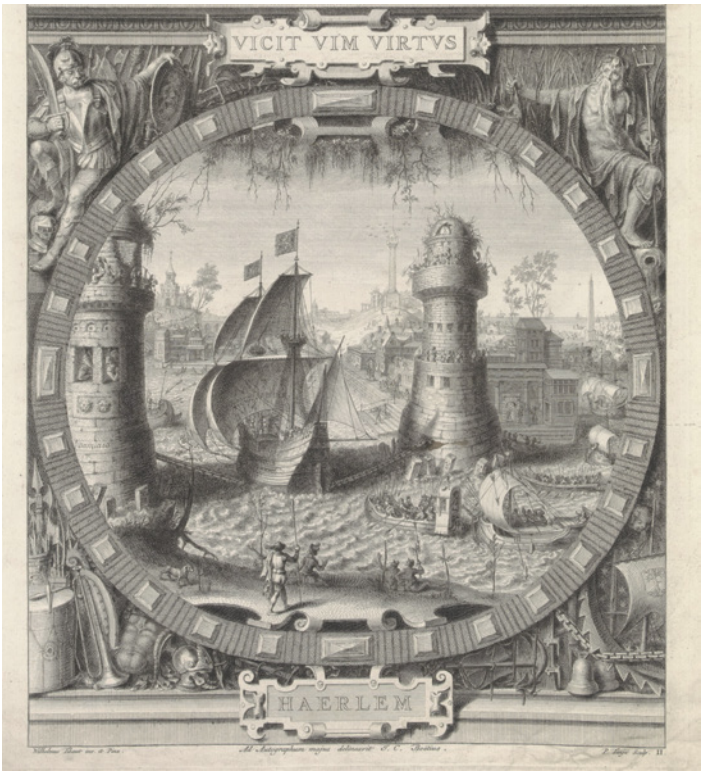


FIGURE 16.11 The capture of the port of Damiate as depicted on the window offered in 1596 by the city of Haarlem in de St. Jan's church, Gouda. Detail from a print by Pieter Tanjé and Julius Boétus after Willem Thybaut (1738–1754).
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

Holland's third city, Delft, likewise had its own understanding of its 'true' age and its connection with the Crusader era. The kernel of the settlement which later grew into Delft was said to have sprung up along the canal which the Roman general Corbulo had had dug in the first century AD. The pre-eminent historian of Delft, Dirck van Bleysweijck, reports that the bottom sections of the tower of the Oude Kerk, which stands practically on the quayside of Old Delft, originated from a Roman watchtower which Corbulo had installed alongside his freshly-dug canal, as was customary along the military limes. On the authority of unnamed scholars of 'Batavische Outheydt' ('Batavian antiquity'), van Bleysweijck reported that 'the bottom of the Oude Kerk tower was once (when the country was still wild, desolate and sparsely-populated) a redoubt or watchtower meant to provide a view over the canal, just as others

of its kind were installed here and there, particularly along the Rhine'.[33] He insisted that however the matter lay, this tower was the oldest building in Delft and for many miles around, as was borne out (in this instance too) by the tufa blocks used in its foundations: 'as the grey tuff-stones at the base of the fundaments indicate in a few places'.[34] Later, as he had it, the first Counts of Holland pronounced sentences at this tower, thereby gradually giving rise to the settlement. A true city only arose here, according to his account, in 1071 at the initiative of Count Godfrey the Hunchback (who is also discussed by Karl Enenkel in this volume) he fortified an existing village with doughty walls and towers, which, van Bleysweijck states, made the city 'the largest in area and best-fortified of all Holland in olden times'.[35] He goes on to claim that the cities of Dordrecht and Haarlem were much less amply fortified and that they only grew a touch larger than Delft in later times. A castle also formed part of Godfrey the Hunchback's fortifications. Van Bleysweijck reports that there are two possible locations for it: either outside or inside the city. In the latter case, the author adds, the likeliest location for it was on the market square, which had previously been a moat island; the castle would have been where the city hall later came to stand, and the castle gardens where the Nieuwe Kerk was erected.[36] He thus omits any treatment of whether the old counts' tower, Het Steen, may have been it a remnant of the very first castle on the spot.

10 Leiden

Certainly, Leiden was much older than the date of 1266, the year of its city charter. Local historians had proclaimed the city's presumed ancient

33 Bleysweijck Dirck van, *Beschryvinge der Stadt Delft, betreffende des selfs Situatie, Oorsprong en Ouderdom* (Delft, Arnold Bon:1667) 45: 'het onderste van de Oude-Kercks Toorn wel eer (als het Landt noch wilt en woest en weynich bewoont was) tot een Redoute ofte Wachttooren ten opsichte over de Gracht soude zijn ghestelt gelijck verscheyde van die nature hier en daer in sonderheydt langers den Rijn waren gheordonneert'.

34 Bleysweijck, *Beschryvinge der Stadt Delft* 60: 'gelijck de grijze Duijfsteenen onder aen de Fundamenten dat eenigermaelen uytwijsen', Evidently, van Bleysweijck believed that tufa was an artificial stone, perhaps something like Roman cement, whose production was a lost art: 'welcke soort van Steen van soo hooghen ouderdom is, dat haer compositie en maecksel nu alt'eenemael vergeten en uyt de wereldt is eraeckt' ('This kind of stone is of such great antiquity that its composition and production has now been entirely forgotten and lost to the world').

35 Bleysweijck, *Beschryvinge der Stadt Delft* 60: 'in voortijden de grootste van begrip en best ghefortificeerde is geweest van gansch Hollandt'.

36 Bleysweijck, *Beschryvinge der Stadt Delft* 59–60.



FIGURE 16.12 The Keep of Leiden, "de Burcht" (the 12th-century fort) and its surroundings at the confluence of two branches of the river Rhine.
IMAGE © GEMEENTE LEIDEN

origin, identification Leiden with the Roman fort of Lugdunum on the Tabula Peutingeriana. No bones were made about this: Jan Orlers blithely wrote in his 1614 city history that Leiden, or Lugdunum Batavorum, was the centre of Holland and perhaps the province's oldest city, and older at any rate than Dordrecht or Haarlem, since they had no Roman history: 'Leiden [is] not just old but the oldest and principal city of Holland, certainly older than Dordrecht and Haarlem.'[37] While those two cities assert their privileges, nobody, he dismissively adds, has ever seen the documents. The key proof of Leiden's great age was the round fort on the high motte at the confluence of two branches of the Rhine [Fig. 16.12]: 'The Fort, being an ornament to this city, is not only the first and oldest building which has stood in Leiden for several centuries but is

37 Orlers Jan Jansz., *Beschrijvinge der Stad Leyden* (Leiden, Henrick Haestens: 1614) 13–14: 'Leyden [is] niet alleen out maer de outste ende voornaemste Stadt van Hollandt, seeckerlijck ouder als Dordrecht ende Haerlem'.

even one of the very oldest establishments and fortresses of all Holland.'[38] It was generally believed that the city had come into being as a fishing village at the foot of that fortress. Opinions varied as to the exact date of construction. Aurelius, in his early sixteenth-century *Divisiekroniek*, thought that it had been founded by Julius Caesar.[39] A century after Aurelius, a later dating was given: under Nero.[40] Yet another account, circulating since the Late Middle Ages, spoke of its having been founded by Engistus (Hengist), King of the Frisians and later pioneer of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, in AD 449.[41] From the late sixteenth century onwards, the fairy-tale elements of this mediaeval story, with the fortress as a refuge from the merciless forest beyond, were disregarded, but the date itself continued to be regarded as reliable.[42] Bleau's mid-seventeenth-century *Toonneel der Steden*, too, repeats the account. In the current state of historical knowledge, this dating would be half a millennium too early: the first impulse to build a modest hill fort may have come around AD 1000 and it was raised in height around 1050, with the first ring-wall being raised around 1150 (subsequently repaired and fortified numerous times).[43]

Just after the mid-point of the seventeenth century, the age of this fortress became a very current topic. After all, the *Burcht* (Fort) had since time immemorial been the property of the Viscounts (*burggraven*) of Leiden. Besides the Fort, the office entailed a number of financial and political privileges. From 1340 onwards, the office was in the hands of the Lords of Wassenaer, and in the sixteenth century the title transferred to the Southern Netherlands noble family de Ligne. In 1651, the City of Leiden purchased the feudal rights and the title 'Viscount of Leiden' from Claude Lamoral de Ligne for a princely sum. This finally brought the city autonomy over its land and the ownership of the concomitant privileges. Until that time, the Fort had been a sealed enclave within the city, inaccessible to the burghers and abandoned for centuries since by the

38 Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stad Leyden* 59: 'Den Burch wesende een verciersel deser Stede is niet alleene het eerste ende alderoutste gebou het welcke eerst buyten en de over eenige Honderden Jaren binnen Leyden gelegen heeft maer selfs een van de alleroutste gestichten ende Sterckten van gantsch Hollant'.

39 Aurelius Cornelius, *Die cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant, beghinnende van Adams tiden tot die geboerte ons heren Jhesu: voertgaende tot den jare 1517* (Leiden: 1517) fols. 16v–17r. Tilmans, "Autentijck ende warachtig" 85.

40 Leeuwen Simon van, *Korte Besgryving van het Lugdunum Batavorum nu Leyden* (Leiden, Johannes van Gelden: 1672) 23 and 42.

41 Oerle, *Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten* 37–41; Vlist E. van der, *De Burcht van Leiden*, Leidse historische reeks 14 (Leiden: 2001) 9–18.

42 Junius Hadrianus, *Batavia* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1588). Used Dutch translation by Glas, *Holland is een eiland* 338. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stad Leyden* 59.

43 Vlist, *De Burcht van Leiden* 82–87.

titular viscounts. Following this acquisition, the city transformed the Fort and its surroundings into a public city park with an inviting open-air dining area at the foot of the mound.[44] A new access gate to the Fort grounds was also installed, right on the corner of Burgsteeg and Nieuwstraat. The importance of this development for the city's prestige is seen from the appointment in 1658 of court architect Pieter Post to supply drawings for it.[45] Post was one of the leading Classical architects of the Golden Age and had an intimate command of the idiom of antique forms. His skills were already well known in Leiden, as he had just the previous year delivered the designs for the new weighing-house (*waag*) and butter exchange (*boterhuis*) behind it.

Also in 1658, to improve access to the Fort, the city bought up a few houses lining the old path up to it. They were demolished, together with the old gate which had stood there so long. Pieter Post's new gate was erected in 1658–1659 ten metres closer to the city centre, on the corner of Nieuwstraat and Burgsteeg. This aligned its central opening perfectly with the broad Nieuwstraat. On the left-hand side, the gate opening abutted an existing residential house; to the right, there was some space left over to install a suitable porter's lodge or similar accoutrement. However, to preserve balance in the whole complex, Post also included the house to the left of the gate in his plans. Its corner was remodelled as a gate tower, as a pendant of the same structure seen on the right-hand side, so that the access route to the Fort would be nicely and symmetrically flanked by a pair of corner towers. Yet this work consisted only of a cosmetic retouching to match the corner of the house optically with the gate; the inner space of this 'tower' remained part of the private property as before. In fact, this intervention necessitated a near-complete reconstruction of the corner house – all at the city's expense. Evidently, money was no object for the city fathers in this beautification project.

For this gate, Post took leave of his customary Classical style to apply an almost chivalric architectural idiom, with towers, battlements and pinnacles [Fig. 16.13]. The frieze above the gate was topped by Leiden's coat of arms, with a heavy-set lion as shield-bearer, flanked by two round towers. Evidently, the aim was not to allude to the fortress' supposed Roman antiquity – for, if so, the Classical architectural idiom would have been a perfect choice – but rather to emphasise its mediaeval past. Besides his castle-like towers, Post added other deliberate anachronisms in the detail, such as the arch frieze under the tower cornices. In addition, the gate's great arch includes in its fabric some older

44 Moerman I.W.L., "De Leidse Burcht", in Hoekstra T.J. – Janssen H.L. – Moerman I.W.L. (eds.), *Liber Castellorum* (Zutphen: 1981) 257–269.

45 Terwen J.J. – Ottenheym K.A., *Pieter Post (1608–1669), architect* (Zutphen: 1993) 195–197.



FIGURE 16.13 Entrance gate to the "Burcht" of Leiden (1658–1659), architect Pieter Post
IMAGE © AUTHOR

elements of true Gothic profiling. These older components, which to judge by the profiling date from around 1500, may have come from the old gatehouse that used to stand just a dozen yards away. By including these anachronistic architectural forms in his construction, Post was deliberately setting out to emphasise the historical and venerable character of the fortification. The historicising gate designed here by Pieter Post might seem to have more in common with stage decor than with real-life architecture, but that was desirable to resonate with the structure's chivalric past.

The Latin inscription in the frieze above the gate, briefly commemorating the fortress' history, emphasises this intent. It commences local history with the van Wassenaers as viscounts: ARX EGO BELLONAE BIFIDO CIRCVMFLVA RENO / WASNARAE FVERAM GLORIA PRIMA DOMVS ('I am a military fortress enclosed by the Rhine on both sides; I was once the prime glory of the House of van Wassenaer'). By having the fortress' history begin with the van Wassenaers, this text alludes to the myths as to the supposed (late) Antique origin of the structure. After all, although in Leiden the office of viscount is documented



FIGURE 16.14
Dirck Wouters, The hero Hengist (Engistus), founder of castle of Leiden in ca. 440 AD (ca. 1570). Nationaal Archief 3.20.87, Van Wassenaer van Duvenvoorde 1226–1996, inv. no. 3A, fol. 10
IMAGE © NATIONAL ARCHIEF

'only' from the eleventh century onwards and the House of van Wassenaer acquired the title as late as 1340, the impression was given in the family's later chronicles that their forefathers had been lords of the fort here since the hoary antiquity of the fifth century. In the well-known illustrated chronicle of around 1570, we find Engistus (Hengist) holding the family's old coat of arms, devoid of the three crescent moons, as he keeps watch at Leiden Fort [Fig. 16.14], and a couple of pages later, he is followed by Alewijn, the eleventh-century, first historically-documented viscount [Fig. 16.15], bearing the same arms.[46] In fact, this illustrated van Wassenaer genealogy admits of no distinction between the architecture or heraldry of the fifth century and that of the eleventh: all this chivalric antiquity was rather regarded as one long period of continuity, with no recognisable developments in style or form. The poem above the gate identifies no other details as to who this first van Wassenaer viscount was – Hengist, Alewijn or another man – but it is at least congruent with the story that the van Wassenaers had always fulfilled that role.

The poem in the panel above the gate goes on to give a description of a documented event from the dawn of the thirteenth century: '1203 ARX INVICTA [...]' ('the invincible fortress'), a reference to the siege of the fort that year.

46 Nationaal Archief (National Archive, The Hague), Van Wassenaer van Duvenvoorde Family, access number 3.20.87, inventory number 3A, fols. 10 and 27.



FIGURE 16.15
Dirck Wouters, Knight Alewijn, the first documented viscount of Leiden, with Leiden and its keep in the background (ca. 1570). Nationaal Archief 3.20.87, Van Wassenaer van Duvenvoorde 1226–1996, inv. no. 3A, fol. 27
IMAGE © NATIONAAL ARCHIEF

This served at least to prove that Leiden must have been a significant location before Dordrecht obtained the province's first official city status in 1220.

11 Amsterdam

In the seventeenth century, Amsterdam was able to supply several arguments for perhaps not being so low in the hierarchy of cities of Holland after all. In economic clout and influence, it far exceeded all the others, but this was of no account to its official priority, to the chagrin of the city's wealthy gentlemen. To demonstrate an importance outweighing that of other cities, Amsterdam would have to come up with formal historical claims. It had some of these, too, such as a special connection with the Holy Roman Emperor: in 1489, Maximilian of Habsburg, in gratitude for services rendered by the city, had given licence for his crown to adorn the city's coat of arms. The crown depicted was at that stage still the crown of the Roman King of the German Empire. As Maximilian was elevated to the status of Emperor in 1508, Amsterdam was privileged from the sixteenth century onwards to mount the imperial crown above its coat of arms. For this reason, the tower of the Westerkerk, the city's highest tower, built in 1638, is topped by the imperial crown, and it is also



FIGURE 16.16 Capital in the composite order from the facade of the Amsterdam town hall, with the double eagle and the imperial crown (ca. 1650)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

worked into the capitals of the city hall on the Dam here and there [Fig. 16.16]. It may seem a purely symbolic honour to have a crown on a city's arms, but the only other cities with the imperial crown on their arms in the Empire were the Free Imperial Cities, such as Augsburg, Regensburg and Nuremberg. These Free Imperial Cities were directly answerable to the Emperor, with no involvement of a count, duke or other provincial lord. There were several imperial cities in the Northern Low Countries, too, including Nijmegen and Deventer; but none in Holland. Amsterdam was never officially declared a free imperial city, but the granting of the imperial crown to the city crest can, with a little goodwill, be interpreted as tantamount to awarding such status. In the seventeenth century, by flaunting the visible symbols of its imperial freedom, Amsterdam continually emphasised its understanding of its own privileged position vis-à-vis the other cities of Holland.

A second substantiation for its claim of deserving higher status in the province's order of cities had to do with the city's early history. The oldest extant mention of the name Amsterdam is on a document by Count Floris V of Holland dating from 1275. Yet Amsterdam was not officially a city at that time,

and formally it still belonged to *het Sticht*, the territory ruled by the Bishop of Utrecht. It was therefore that prelate who, sometime in the early 1300s, granted Amsterdam its city charter. In the seventeenth century, the date of 1306 was cited. Yet the Bishops of Utrecht were already a declining political force by that age, and the real fourteenth-century lord of the land on which Amsterdam stood was the Count of Holland. Besides the Bishop of Utrecht and the Count of Holland, there was a third key party to the earliest history of Amsterdam. Sometime in the twelfth century, the Lords of Amstel had obtained the Amstelland district, holding it as vassals of the Bishop. This local noble family, the most famous son of whom was Gijsbrecht IV van Amstel, sought to turn the Amstelland into an autonomous territory, in hock to neither Utrecht nor Holland. Their hopes were dashed; Amsterdam and the Amstelland definitively became a possession of Holland in 1317.

Yet the notion of an independent Amsterdam, which must have existed even before the city fell under the control of the County of Holland, was an undimmed hope in the seventeenth century. Central to that ambition was the myth that the Lords of Amstel had had a castle there. The very oldest section of Amsterdam was said to have arisen at the foot of a castle built by Egbertus van Amstel on the west bank of the Amstel in 1152. Because of his complicity in the assassination of Count Floris V in 1296, Gijsbrecht IV van Amstel was besieged and overthrown by Floris' son and heir, Count William III, a few years later. The Lords of Amstel were driven out of the country and all the city's defensive works and bridges destroyed. According to the traditional account, the Count's troops also pulled down the castle, wiping any trace of it from the face of the earth. It was with this tradition in mind that Olfert Dapper wrote in his 1663 guide to Amsterdam that the Hollanders 'drove Gijsbert out, and razed to the ground and destroyed the castle, never to be rebuilt'.[47] Thereupon, for nearly two centuries, Amsterdam lacked any fortifications, and only in the late fifteenth century did Maximilian of Habsburg order the construction of a new city wall, with towers and all other accoutrements. The modern-day remnants of these works are seen at De Waag (formerly Sint Antonispoort or St Anthony's Gate) on Nieuwmarkt and in the Schreierstoren (Criers' Tower) on the River IJ.

The myth of the lost castle of the Lords of Amstel received a boost from the later confusion that arose as to the city's first defensive works, those destroyed around 1300. The oldest source on these fortifications is from approximately 1350, a full half-century after the events it describes. It speaks of 'oppidum

47 Dapper Olof, *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, Jacob van Meurs: 1663) 69:'Gysbert verdreven, en het kasteel, dat noit weder opgemaekt is, tot den gront toe vernielden en sloopten'.

suum ligneis pontibus et turritis propugnaculis' ('its town with wooden bridges and fortified towers').[48] However, in the Dutch version of this account, which came into circulation from 1400 onwards, the Latin noun *oppidum* is translated as *kasteel* ('castle') rather than in the sense of a town.[49] This was how the Latin noun was adopted in Johannes Isaac Pontanus' history of the city of Amsterdam, and the Dutch translation of it by Montanus in 1614 also used the noun for 'castle'. In turn, these city chronicles served as the source for Joost van den Vondel's *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel*, a play portraying Gijsbrecht IV as a noble fighter against tyranny who tragically fails in his striving to gain independence for Amsterdam.[50] Vondel's Amsterdam is betrayed by intrigue by allowing entry to an apparently innocuous ship which turns out to be concealing enemy troops. To complete the Trojan analogy, this ship is called *Het Zeepaard* (The Seahorse). However, at the end of the drama, the Archangel Raphael reveals a glimpse of Amsterdam's glorious future: 'Though the city be ruined, yet tremble ye never; She'll rise from the dust with more glory than ever.' He prophesies that in three hundred years' time (i.e., ca. 1600), 'the ruling count will lose his right' and the city will 'bear stately rule', whereupon 'your city's crown will reach the heavens'.[51] This literary version presents Amsterdam's new glory and power as revenge for the defeat of the Amstelland's aspirations for independence. As Rome sprang from the destruction of Troy, so the new Amsterdam of the Dutch Golden Age is the heir to the lost realm of the Lords of Amstel. This message was repeated year upon year at the Amsterdam Theatre.

The great success of Vondel's *Gijsbrecht* made his castle, the focus of action in his drama, a study object of interest to Amsterdam historians even during the seventeenth century itself. Vondel situates the Lords of Amstel's castle somewhere near the Schreierstoren.[52] Most authors, however, sought its location on the Nieuwezijde, the west bank of the Amstel. From the sixteenth century, successive ground works had repeatedly dug up slivers of heavy masonry, which

48 Beke Johannes de, *Chronographia*, ed. H. Bruch, Rijksgeschiedkundige Publicatien Grote Serie 143 (The Hague: 1973) 253.

49 Verkerk C.L., "De benauwde veste in Amsterdam. Een historische vergissing uit de vijftiende eeuw", in Roever M.B. de (ed.), *Het 'kasteel van Amstel'. Burcht of bruggehoofd?* (Amsterdam: 1995) 115–130.

50 Gemert L. van, "3 Januari 1638: opening van de Amsterdamse Schouwburg. Vondel en de Gysbreght-traditie", in Schenkeveld-van der Dussen M.A. e.a. (eds.), *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis* (Groningen: 1993) 230–236.

51 Vondel Joost van den, *Gysbreght van Aemstel*, ed. M. B. Smits-Veldt (Amsterdam: 1994) stanzas 1829–1840.

52 Thus also in 1663 in Dapper, *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam* 69: 'het Kasteel, dat aen d' Oostzyde van den Damrak stont' ('the castle that stood on the eastern side of the Damrak').

were over-enthusiastically associated with the Castle of Amstel.[53] Ultimately, the city got its castle back in 1664, when city architect Daniel Stalpaert built a new entrance gate on Leidse Plein in the form of a fortress with four towers at the corners and four pinnacles [Figs. 16.17a, b]. This remarkable construction, torn down in 1862, was an outright fantasy building which seemed able to pass as the Castle of Amstel of Vondel's *Gijsbrecht*. In fact, it is a mere gatehouse with a central passageway on the ground floor, flanked by a pair of wings. What appear from the outside to be corner towers are in reality nothing but a relief of the outer walls. In the internal structure, the towers are nowhere to be seen, as indicated on the plan: on both sides, the structure had a single continuous space (with only an informal subdivision by means of thin partition walls). In this regard, the design of these 'corner turrets' was comparable with that of Post's gatehouse of five years previously. That gate, which is thus best interpreted as having been more of an ornamental object than a true military



FIGURE 16.17A The former "Leidse Poort" on the Leidse Plein in Amsterdam, built 1664 by Daniel Stalpaert. Photo taken before its demolition in 1862
IMAGE © STADSARCHIEF AMSTERDAM

53 Such as the find of foundations in 1564, described by Cornelis Haemrodius in his guide to the city which Pontanus in 1611 included as an appendix. Pontanus Johannes, *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium historia: in qua Hollandiae primum atque inde Amstelandiae, oppidique, natales, exordia, progressus, privilegia, statuta eventaque mirabilia* (Amsterdam, Jodocus Hondius: 1611).

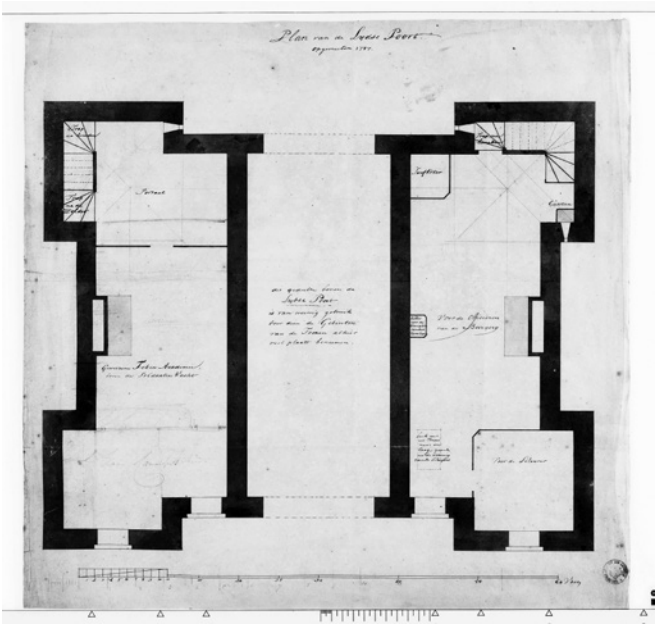


FIGURE 16.17B Amsterdam, ground plan of the former Leidse Poort. Drawing, 1787. Stadsarchief Amsterdam
IMAGE © STADSARCHIEF AMSTERDAM

fortification, had stood on the city's western flank beside the road to The Hague; that is, in the spot where a city's age was most fraught with significance.

This story about the Castle of Amstel and the first origins of Amsterdam was not in fact altogether invented. Sure enough, archaeological research of recent decades has turned up traces of the late thirteenth-century foundations of a military fortification on the river (in the vicinity of today's Dirk van Hasseltsteeg), with an area of approximately 21 by 23 metres.[54] It is only a fairly remote probability, however, that these were the remains of the ancestral castle of the Lords of Amstel, which are much likelier to have been in the settlement of Oudekerk aan de Amstel. Rather, this structure may have been a stronghold built by Count Floris V of Holland to keep the population of Amsterdam in check.[55]

54 Roever M.B. de (ed.), *Het 'kasteel van Amstel'. Burcht of bruggehoofd?* (Amsterdam: 1995). Toebosch T., *De Nieuwezijds Kolk en de Nieuwendijk in dertiende-eeuws Amsterdam. Een archeologische speurtocht* (Amsterdam: 2011).

55 Besides, it is not evident whether the building was ever completed. Speet B., "Een kleine nederzetting in het veen", in Carasso-Kok M. (ed.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam I. Een stad uit het niets, tot 1578* (Amsterdam: 2004) 21–61 (on the so-called Castle of Amstel: 50–59).

12 Conclusion

All the above examples make it clear that seventeenth-century urban authorities in Holland had a comparable degree of interest in mediaeval history to that of the nobility, which is considered in chapter 12 of this volume. Evidently, cities too could rise in esteem by dint of possessing a chivalric past. For the nobility, ancientness of the family line was key to determining the pecking order and as the ultimate way of setting oneself apart from the overweening nouveau riche. For the cities, only the first of these factors applied: the age of a settlement determined its political clout at assemblies of the States, and thereby all manner of other informal negotiations between the cities.

The question remains how special these "old-fashioned" town halls and gatehouses truly were in their own time.[56] Comparison with the twelve other cities which were given representation in the States of Holland only after 1585 leaves the impression that here, at least in town hall architecture, there was no comparable emphasis on the mediaeval past. Aside from the town halls of Alkmaar and Schoonhoven, which retained their Gothic exterior during the whole life of the Dutch Republic, the town halls of all these "newer" cities kept being built (or substantially rebuilt) in accordance with the dictates of the latest stylistic fashions of the moment. In the other provinces of the Republic, too, old town halls were completely modernised or adapted to the latest taste, with it apparently counting for nothing whether or not the city in question had voting rights at assemblies of its provincial States. Two of the most expressly Classical town halls, those of Maastricht and 's-Hertogenbosch, which in architectural terms and grandeur are every bit rivals for the leading examples in the Province of Holland, were in southern territories which lacked a provincial government of their own and which had no say in national politics at all. It would, therefore, seem that the competition for the title of oldest city was a matter of concern only among the old six cities of the Province of Holland, the first six to have been given representation in the States. For cities which gained this privilege later, there was apparently no further honour to be eked out of this issue.

56 The only building that could perhaps stand comparison with Leiden's Burchtpoort and Amsterdam's Leidsepoort was Utrecht's Wittevrouwenpoort (former city gate at the east side of the town) built in 1649–1652. Cuperus P.H., "De Wittevrouwenpoort van Utrecht", *Jaarboek Oud Utrecht* (1952) 110–116. Terwen – Ottenheym, *Pieter Post* 193–195.

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CHAPTER 17

An Appropriated History: The Case of the Amsterdam Town Hall (1648–1667)

Pieter Vlaardingerbroek

Precedence is one of the key characteristics of mankind, now and also in the Early Modern Age. The importance of being first must never be underestimated when people are concerned. The same goes for cities, as is made clear by Konrad Ottenheym's article on Dutch town halls. Cities in Holland vied to be the oldest: priority in age determined the sequence of speech in the States of Holland. Dordrecht held the best papers, being the oldest, but Haarlem, Leiden, Delft and Alkmaar did their utmost to rewrite history in such a way, that they could claim to be the oldest.[1] The impact of this discussion is visible when looking at the town halls or other public buildings. Parts of outdated town halls or court buildings were kept as a remembrance to the ancient history of the city.

In the seventeenth century, Amsterdam was by far the largest and most important city in Holland. It could, however, not compete in this game of being the oldest. It was a young city, founded by fishermen and farmers and first mentioned in the archives in 1275. There was nothing that could sustain the claim of being an old city. The medieval town hall that was used until 1652 consisted of a redeveloped monastery with a tower and judicial court added around 1425–1450. In the seventeenth century it was in such a dilapidated state that the spire of the tower had to be taken down. It befitted in no way the new status of the city as one of the leading trade capitals of the world [Fig. 17.1]. This caused quite a problem for instance during the visit of Maria de Medici in 1638, when the vibrant city wanted to elevate itself to the level on which kings and queens acted.[2] The minister and philosopher Caspar Barlaeus was made responsible for the reception of the queen. He wrote:

1 Schama S., *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: 1991 [1987[1]]) 75; Enenkel K.A.E. – Ottenheym K., *Oudheid als ambitie. De zoektocht naar een passend verleden 1400–1700* (Nijmegen: 2017) 265–291.

2 Vlaardingerbroek P., *Het paleis van de Republiek. Geschiedenis van het stadhuis van Amsterdam* (Zwolle: 2011) 15–22.

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> Mere Marie de Medicis arriva en cette ville le premier jour de ce mois. Elle fut recevu par l'auguste Senat & par la Bourgeoisie avec toutes les marques d'honneur deues à sa qualité. Lorsqu'elle fut proche de cette ville, une compagnie de chevaliers qui se faisoient remarquer par leurs chevaux caparaçonnes en sortit pour aller à sa rencontre. Car elle n'alloit pas à un combat ni à la guerre, mais pour recevoir honorablement & d'une maniere convenable une tres Auguste Epouse d'un grand Monarque, Mere de trois Rois, issue d'Empereurs par sa Mere, & des Ducs de Toscane par son Pere.[3]
>
> Queen Mother Maria de Medici arrived in this city on the first day of this month. She was received by the revered Senate and by the Burgers with all sorts of honors due to her quality. When she was near this city, a company of horsemen, distinguished by their caparisoned horses drove out to meet her. Because they did not go to battle, nor to war, but to receive honorably and in a manner befitting a very august Spouse of a grand Monarch, mother of three kings, offspring of emperors by her mother and of the Dukes of Toscany by her father.

The visit of Maria meant the informal recognition of the Dutch Republic and a tribute to its most important city, that regarded itself as virtually independent. No longer a rebel city, Amsterdam was accepted as an important partner in diplomatic and financial matters. By erecting ephemeral architecture and staging plays on the canals, Amsterdam created a suitable entourage for the visit. Luckily, the large hall of the Kloveniersdoelen, the gathering space of the local militia, had just been finished and could be used for the reception. But Amsterdam lacked an impressive town hall in which the Queen of France and the mother (-in-law) of four thrones could be received.[4] In the official publication commemorating this visit Barlaeus stated that 'the antiquity and dilapidation give this building some dignity'.[5] Amsterdam was lucky to have such a government, spending its money on the layout of the city instead of a new and luxurious town hall, according to Barlaeus.

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3 Wicquefort Joachim de, *Lettres de M. J. de Wicquefort avec les reponses de M. G. Barlée* (Amsterdam, George Gallet: 1696) 72 (letter XXIV, Amsterdam 16 September 1638).

4 She was the mother of Louis XIII, King of France. Two of her daughters were married to the Kings of England and Spain, and one to the Duke of Savoye.

5 In Dutch: 'D'ouderdom en bouwvalligheid geven dit gebouw eenige achtbaerheid'; Barlaeus Caspar, *Blyde Inkomst der allerdoorluchtighste Koninginne Maria de Medicis t'Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, Johan and Cornelis Blaeu: 1639) 47 (Dutch translation of *Medicea Hospes*).



FIGURE 17.1 The medieval town hall of Amsterdam as it appeared during the visit of Maria de Medici in 1638. Salomon Jacobsz. Savery after Jan Martsz. de Jonge, taken from: Caspar Barlaeus, *Blyde Inkomst der allerdoorluchtighste Koninginne Maria de Medicis t'Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, Johan and Cornelis Blaeu: 1639). Etching, 28.5 × 38 cm
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

It can be argued whether the burgomasters of Amsterdam agreed. They regarded themselves equals to kings as is made clear by an (apocryphal?) incident during Maria de Medici's visit. Standing in front of the town hall, burgomaster Abraham Boom wanted to help her getting out of her carriage. Maria hesitated and asked 'Monsieur, vous êtes noble?', Boom answered 'Oui Madame, nous sommes les Rois du pays', upon which Maria took his hand to help her get out of the carriage.[6] This idea of being kings can also be distilled from another passage from Barlaeus' book: 'Her Majesty was eager to see this city [Amsterdam], of which she had heard many outstanding and great things'.[7] At the end of the visit, Maria addressed the burgomasters and said that she had heard many

6 Dudok van Heel S.A.C., "Op zoek naar Romulus en Remus. Zeventiende-eeuws onderzoek naar de oudste magistraten van Amsterdam", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 87 (1995) 43–70. Another connection with nobility was made in 1655, when the city acted as godfather of Carolus Emilius, son of the Elector of Brandenburg.

7 'Haere Majesteit was enkel belust om deze Stadt te bezien, van welcke haer eertijds veele treffelijcke en groote dingen ter ooren gekomen waeren'. Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst* 6.

things about the glory and excellence of the city, but that its fame was selling the city short: 'dat ze eertijds veel gehoort hadde van den luister en voortreffelijckheid dezer Stede, maer bevond dat de Faem die veel te kort dede' ('that beforehand she had learned a great deal about the magnificence and excellence of this city, but she experienced that its Fame was selling her short').[8] Barlaeus evidently alludes to the words of 1 *Kings* 10: 6–7 in which the queen of Sheba addresses Solomon after visiting Jerusalem:

> And she said to the king, It was a true report that I heard in mine own land of thy acts and of thy wisdom. Howbeit I believed not the words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen it: and behold, the half was not told to me: thy wisdom and prosperity exceedeth the fame which I heard.[9]

Maria de Medici is put here in the admiring role of the Queen of Sheba, while Amsterdam is being compared to King Solomon, unparalleled in wisdom and wealth and fore fighter of peace.

1 Towards a New Town Hall

Four months after the queen's visit, the burgomasters proposed to install a committee to investigate the possibilities of a new town hall. This committee worked from 1639 to 1648 to attain consensus on the size of the building lot. Political and financial circumstances varied and so did the size of the lot. The design was another point of discussion, leading to the question of the self-image of the city. Instead of joining the argument of being the oldest – which Amsterdam could never win – the city changed the subject. Seeing itself more as an independent city state, Amsterdam looked for (historical) examples that went far beyond the local history of the province of Holland. Amsterdam wanted to draw historic parallels with other great cities that had been (or still were) the main capitals of the world. Until recently, mainly classical antiquity was seen as a source of influence for the preliminary and final designs of the Amsterdam town hall. For the preliminary designs this point of view seems to be correct as can be illustrated by the unexecuted designs for the Amsterdam town hall by the architect Philips Vingboons (1607–1678). He designed several variants, which were all influenced by buildings on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. One of his designs was printed in his book *Afbeelsels der voornaemste*

8 Idem 72.

9 1 *Kings* 10: 6–7; used edition: *The Bible. Authorized Version* (Oxford: s.a.).

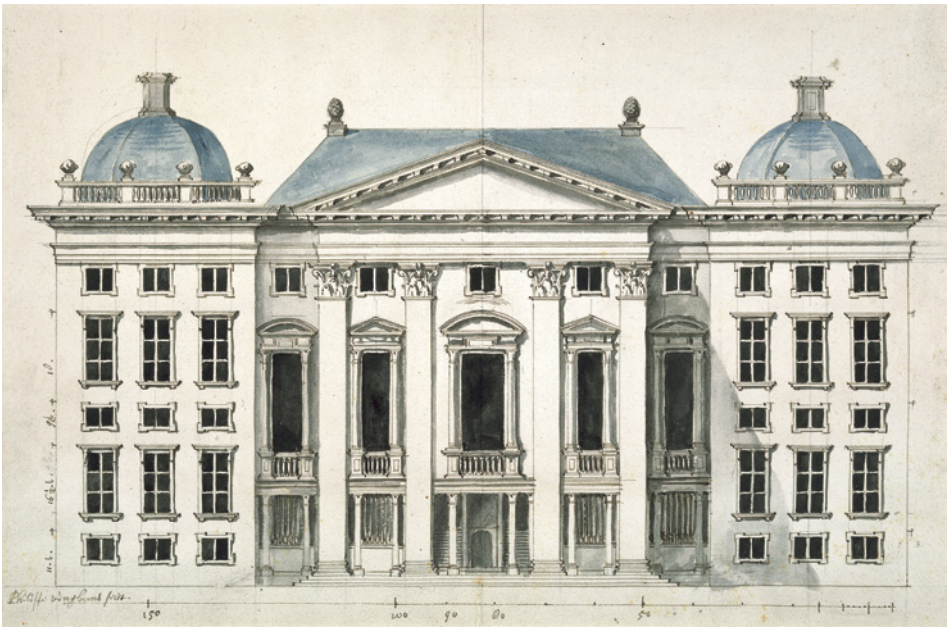


FIGURE 17.2 Philips Vingboons, (unexecuted) design for the Amsterdam town hall (1647). Drawing, 28.6 × 40.9 cm. British Library, Map Library, Collection Beudecker, Maps C.9.d.10, fol. 105
IMAGE © BRITISH LIBRARY

gebouwen uyt alle die Philips Vingboons geordineert heeft and clearly referred to the 'Palazzo dei Senatori', taking over the general shape and massing, as well as the staircase of the main façade. In the British Museum several drawings of another design are kept for which Michelangelo's *Palazzo dei Conservatori* served as example [Fig. 17.2]. Here we find the colossal Corinthian order combined with a smaller Ionian order. These elements can be seen as an architectural quote: Amsterdam presenting itself as the new Rome.[10] These designs by Vingboons were not executed; possibly the connection with the Capitoline Hill was considered too vague to constitute a meaningful historical connection between the two cities. Ancient Rome played a part in the history of the Batavians, the people that were considered to be the Dutch forefathers during the time of the Roman Empire. The Batavians had been very important in the constitution of a Dutch identity, with many provinces claiming to be the

10 Ottenheym K., *Philips Vingboons (1607–1678). Architect* (Zutphen: 1989) 116–123; Vlaardingerbroek, *Het Paleis* 30–33.

heartland of this Germanic tribe.[11] From an architectural point of view, however, these Batavians had accomplished little to nothing. Their most famous gathering place did not even take place inside a building, but in a forest called Schakerbos.[12] For architects there was little to refer to or to use as a source of inspiration when designing a new town hall. In this essay I will point out that antiquity in the seventeenth century comprised more than classical antiquity and that particularly the biblical antiquity played a large role in the final design of the Amsterdam town hall.

2 The New Town Hall

In 1648 Jacob van Campen (1596–1657) – who is famous for his role in introducing Palladian architecture in Holland – got the assignment to design the new Amsterdam town hall. The conditions for the new building had changed considerably since Vingboons had made his design. During the period 1640–1648 the measurements of the lot changed many times, from 150 × 280 feet in 1640 to 160 × 200 feet in 1645 to 165 × 225 feet in 1647 to 290 × 225 feet in 1648 [Fig. 17.3]. In the beginning, the building was planned deeper than wide, at the end it was wider than deep. The orientation of the lot had also changed. At first the new town hall had to fit in into the existing urban situation, but in the end the building lot became perfectly oriented with its façade on the Dam Square directed towards the east. The political situation had changed as well. With the Peace of Münster (part of the Peace of Westphalia) the Dutch Republic became an independent state in 1648. To celebrate this joyous fact, Amsterdam wanted to dedicate the new town hall to Peace. Instead of placing the statue of Justice on top of the façade, a statue of Peace would crown the building [Fig. 17.4].[13] Already in 1647, before the actual decision was taken

11 Schama, *Embarrassment* 69–93; Langereis S., "Van botte boeren tot beschaafde burgers. Oudheidkundige beelden van de Bataven 1500–1800", in Swinkels L. (ed.), *De Bataven. Verhalen van een verdwenen volk* (Amsterdam – Nijmegen: 2004) 72–106; Schöffer I., "The Batavian Myth during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Geurts P.A.M. – Janssen A.E.M. (eds.), *Geschiedschrijving in Nederland. Studies over de historiographie van de Nieuwe Tijd. Deel II: Geschiedsbeoefening* (The Hague: 1981) 85–109.

12 The influence of the Batavians on painting is much bigger; see for instance the six enormous paintings of the Batavian history, which were painted for the galleries of the executed town hall; Zwaag M. van der – Cohen Tervaert R. (eds.), *Opstand als opdracht* (Amsterdam: 2011).

13 Fremantle K., *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam* (Utrecht: 1959) 30–56; Goossens E.-J., "De Vredestempel. Het Amsterdamse stadspaleis uit 1648", in Dane J. (ed.), *1648. Vrede van Munster. Feit en verbeelding* (Zwolle: 1998) 205–223.



FIGURE 17.3 Cornelis Danckerts de Rij, The final building plot of the Amsterdam town hall (1648). Drawing. Stadsarchief Amsterdam
IMAGE © STADSARCHIEF AMSTERDAM



FIGURE 17.4 Artus Quellinus, *The Allegory of Peace*, on top of the town hall of Amsterdam (1665–1667). Copper
IMAGE © AUTHOR

to build the new town hall, the poet Joost van den Vondel connected the new building with Peace.[14]

On the 18th of July 1648 the design by Van Campen was officially approved.[15] The design consisted of a rectangular structure with two inner courtyards [Fig. 17.5]. Around these courtyards, Van Campen planned a system of galleries on the ground floor and on the first floor. These galleries were to give access to the offices. The galleries on the first floor were connected to the Great or Citizens' Hall ("Burgerzaal"), which formed the centre of the building. This enormous hall, 60 feet wide, 120 feet long and 90 feet high served as an internal square. The hall including the galleries measured 120 by 200 feet. In this new building, Van Campen had to allocate a great number of functions. In the seventeenth century Dutch town halls were more than just governmental buildings. They served for a very large part as a Courthouse and one could even argue that this function was the main function of a town hall. The façades of Dutch town halls are usually crowned by a sculpted allegory of Justice. In the executed building in Amsterdam, this is not the case but when looking at the ground plan, justice is evidently the main function of the building.[16] The routing through the town hall was clearly defined by its public function as Courthouse. The main axe of the building housed the Criminal Court ("Vierschaar") on the ground floor, right in the middle at the Dam Square. On the first floor the main Courtroom was situated behind the Citizens' Hall, accessible through the largest gate in the building. Committees of the Municipality such as the City Council, and the burgomasters were located at the Dam side of the building, while the financial institutions such as treasurers and the trustees of orphans

14 Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis* 36. Vondel Joost van den, *Leeuwendalers. Lantspel. Pax optima rerum* (Amsterdam, Jacob Lescaille: 1647) 5:

'Maar wie zal de paiskroon spannen.
Onder ons doorluchte mannen,
Vredevaders, nimmer moe?
Zingze prijs en eere toe.
Noem nu elck een' lantbeschermer,
Waert een beelt van gout, of marmer,
By 't gekroonde wapenkruis,
Midden voor ons nieuw stadthuis;
Dat gebouwt op die pylaren,
D'eeuwigheit, ontelbre jaren,
Kan verduren, zonder last,
Schoon de Nijt hiertegen barst'.

15 Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis* 36.

16 Vlaardingerbroek P., "Dutch Town Halls and the Setting of the Vierschaar", in Ottenheym K. – De Jonge K. – Chatenet M. (eds.), *Public Buildings in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: 2010) 105–118.

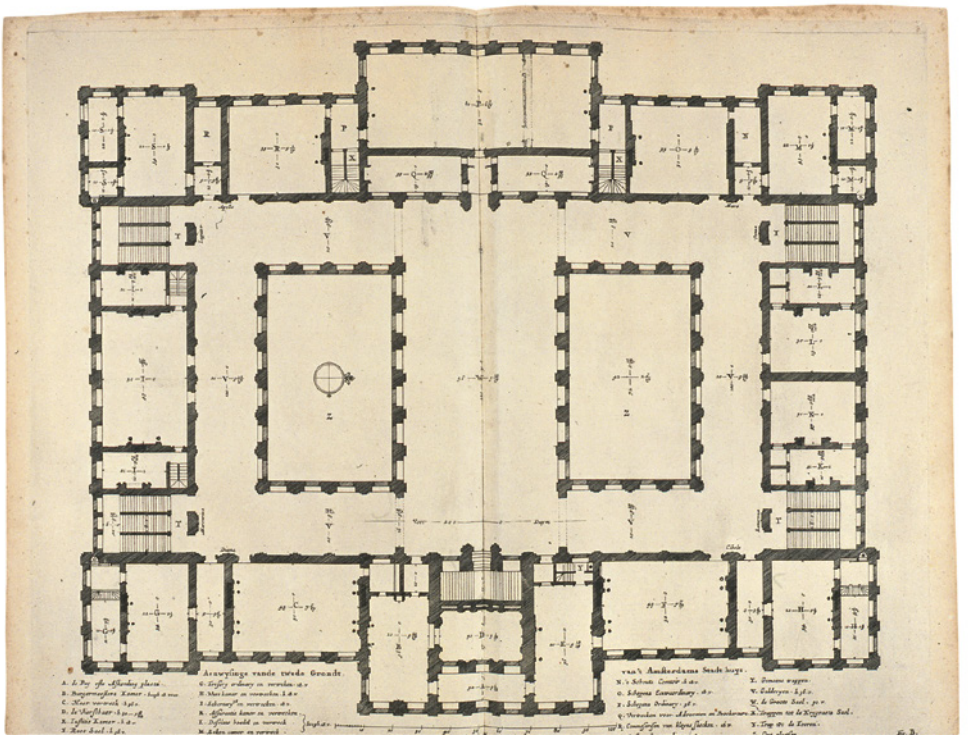


FIGURE 17.5 Jacob van Campen (architect), First or main floor of the Amsterdam town hall as depicted in *Afbeelding van 't Stadt Huys van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, Dancker Danckerts: 1661) Print B
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

were situated in the corners, which made them less easy to find and less accessible to the public. The Exchange Bank of Amsterdam and the prisons were allocated in the ground floor. The exterior of the building was completely made out of perfectly hewn sandstone, which was quite exceptional in the Dutch Republic, where hardly any natural stone was excavated. The present façades are built up with an austere basement, followed by a Composite and a Corinthian order [Fig. 17.6]. The interior of the Citizens' Hall has two superimposed Corinthian orders [Fig. 17.7]. Originally, Van Campen planned the exterior to have two superimposed Corinthian orders as well, as is visible on one of the few remaining drawings from the construction period [Fig. 17.8]. This would have made the building even more classical than it is now, as the outside would have reflected the inside.[17]

17 Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis* 54–56.



FIGURE 17.6 Jacob van Campen (architect), The exterior of the Amsterdam town hall (1648–1667). See also Fig. 16.8
IMAGE © RIJKSVASTGOEDBEDRIJF, WIM RUIGROK

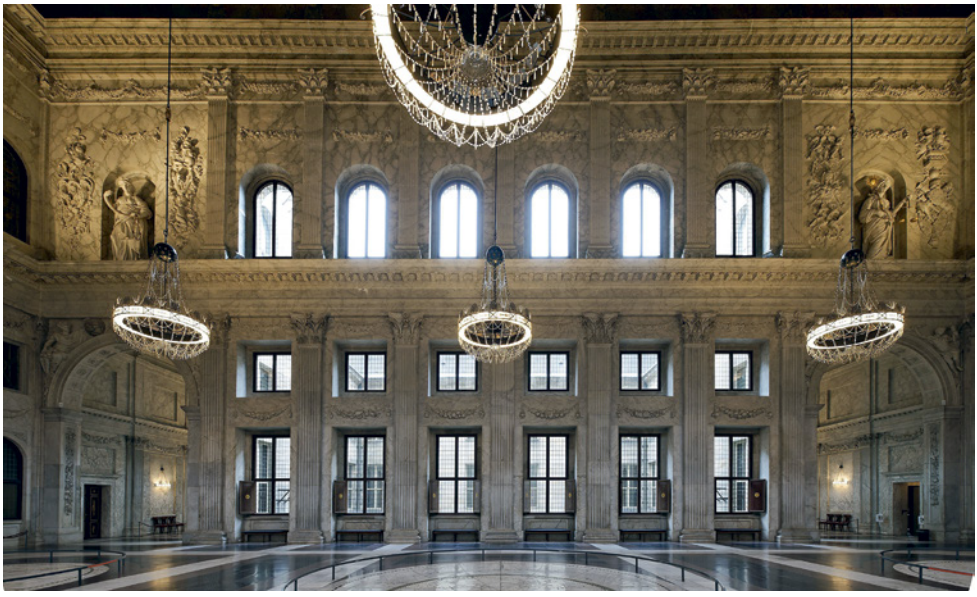


FIGURE 17.7 The interior of the Great of Citizens' Hall ("Burgerzaal") of the Amsterdam town hall, (1648–1667)
IMAGE © RIJKSDIENST VOOR HET CULTUREEL ERFGOED, CHRIS BOOMS

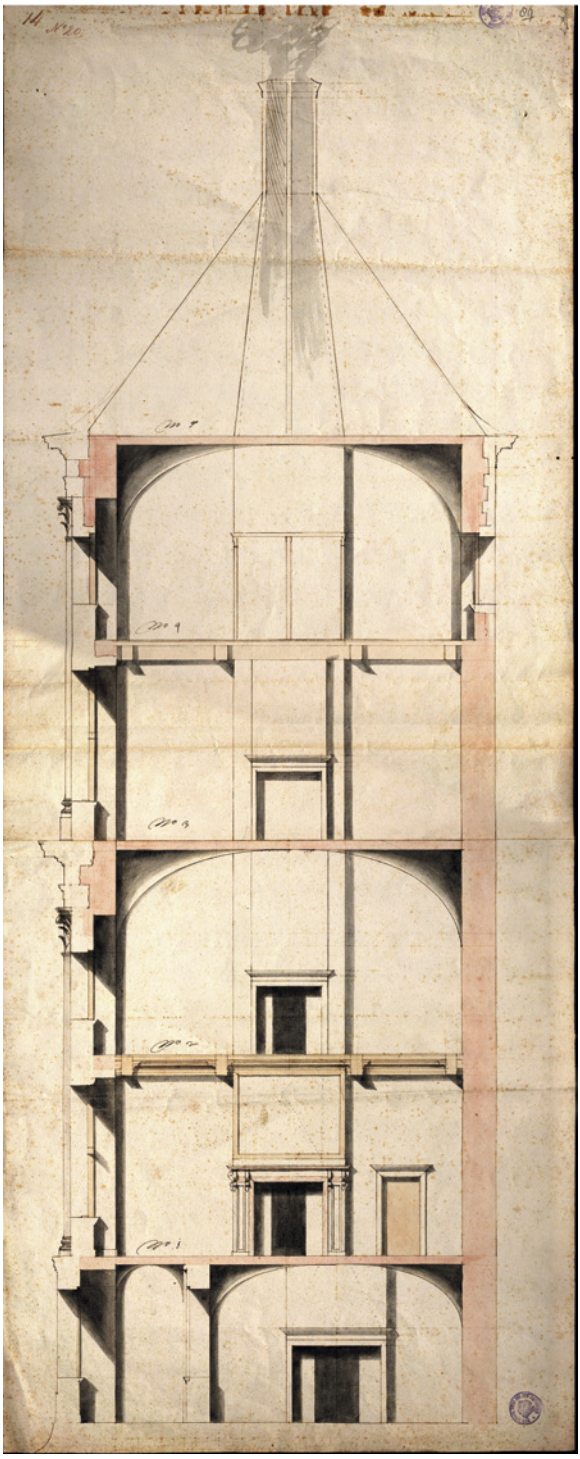


FIGURE 17.8
Unknown draughtsman, Section of the north wing of the Amsterdam town hall, showing a double Corinthian order. Drawing, 140.1 × 40.1 cm. Stadsarchief Amsterdam
IMAGE © STADSARCHIEF AMSTERDAM

3 Another Source of Inspiration: Holland as the New Israel

Van Campen found his source of inspiration by looking at history in another way than Vingboons did. Instead of the supposed 'real' history of Holland, inspiration could also be found in another way of historic thinking. The European Protestants and the Dutch in particular had a special bond with the Old Testament. They saw many parallels between themselves and the people of Israel, God's chosen people. The stories of the Catholic Saints were traded in for the stories of the Old Testament. The reading from Scripture and the sermon constituted the main elements of a protestant church service, as well as psalm singing in which Jerusalem and the Temple played a prominent role. Most Protestants had Bibles at home and reading them was made attractive by adding large-scale prints depicting the Ark of Noah, the Temple, Solomon's Palace or plans of Jerusalem.[18] François Vatable's reconstructions of these structures were printed in Henry Estienne's French translation of the Bible, which was again translated in Dutch and known as the *Deux-Aes Bible*.[19] This led to an increase in knowledge of the Bible and a growing identification with God's chosen people. Parallels were drawn between Dutch history and the history of Israel. 'In practice this meant that the Calvinist sense of their own dwelling in the contemporary world was saturated with scriptural allusion, analogy and example'.[20] This eventually led to the national consciousness of being 'Dutch Israel'.[21]

God's history with his chosen people of Israel was a very important part of the Protestant way of believing. It demonstrated the will of God and his powerful interventions the get his chosen people back on the right track. This history of God and his chosen people was a source of many analogies for the Dutch. Just as the people of Israel were saved from the cruelties of Egypt, the Dutch were liberated from the Spanish. They saw themselves as the newly chosen people. Only with God's special help a country like the Netherlands could have acquired this enormous wealth and power. Already in 1569, a print appeared in which William the Silent was compared to Joshua, the military leader who led

18 Poortman W., *Bijbel en prent* (The Hague: 1983); Coelen P.J.H. van der, *De Schrift verbeeld. Oudtestamentische prenten uit renaissance en barok* (Nijmegen: 1998) 190–201.

19 Linden C.J.R. van der, "De symboliek van de Nieuwe Kerk van Jacob van Campen te Haarlem", *Oud Holland* 104 (1990) 1–31.

20 Schama, *Embarrassment* 95.

21 Groenhuis G., "Calvinism and National Consciousness: the Dutch Republic as the New Israel", in Duke A.C. – Tamse C.A. (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands. Church and State since the Reformation* (The Hague: 1981) 188–133; Huisman C., *Neerlands Israël. Het natiebesef der traditioneel-gereformeerden in de achttiende eeuw* (Dordrecht: 1983).

the people of Israel into Canaan.[22] In 1594 prince Maurits received a glorious entree in Amsterdam after he had won Groningen from the Spaniards, portraying him as David triumphing over Goliath.[23]

4 Biblical Architecture

This religious aspect of Dutch history had a topographical and architectural counterpart.[24] There was a demand for books with geographical knowledge about the places indicated in the Bible, both topographical and architectural. See for instance the many editions of *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum Historiarum*, in which Christiaan van Adrichem described a multitude of holy places.[25] Of course, the Temple of Solomon was one of the most important buildings. Already in 1630 Constantijn l'Empereur van Opwijck (1591–1648) published a Latin translation of *Middot*, a tract of the Mishnah that discusses the measurements of the Temple.[26] This interest in Biblical topography was however bigger than just the Temple. Protestant theologians studied all kinds of buildings, mostly in cooperation with Jewish scholars. Some Protestants like Adam Boreel (1603–1665) believed that the Messiah would return when the Jews also accepted Him as their Savior. He asked the Sephardic scholar Jacob Jehuda Leon (1602–1675) to study buildings in the Holy Land in order to have a possibility to an interreligious discussion and an opportunity to convince Jews to convert to Christianity. Leon, who lived in Middelburg and Amsterdam respectively, made a model of the Temple around 1640. But he also reconstructed other buildings and architectural elements, such as the Tabernacle, the Ark

22 Horst D.R., *De Opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand (1566–1584)* (Zutphen: 2003) 109–111, 295–300.

23 Snoep D.P., *Praal en propaganda. Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Alphen a.d. Rijn: 1975) 32.

24 For the most recent literature about the influence of the Temple on Dutch architecture, see: Goudeau J., "Ezekiel for Solomon. The Temple of Jerusalem in Seventeenth-century Leiden and the Case of Cocceius", in Goudeau J. – Verhoeven M. – Weijers W. (eds.), *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture* (Leiden – Boston: 2014) 88–113; Linden, "De symboliek" 1–31; Steenmeijer G., *Tot cieraet ende aensien deser Stede. Arent van 's-Gravesande (ca. 1610–1662), architect en ingenieur* (Leiden: 2005); Vlaardingerbroek, *Het Paleis* 69–72; idem, "The Snoge: A Jewish building in a Dutch architectural style", in idem (ed.), *The Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam* (Zwolle: 2013) 55–72, esp. 64–72.

25 See for instance the many editions of Adrichomius Christianus, *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum Historiarum cum tabulis geographicis aere expressis* (Cologne, Arnold Mylius: 1593).

26 Steenmeijer, *Tot cieraet* 184.

and its Cherubim and Solomon's Palace.[27] He tried to reconstruct these structures by following the biblical texts closely. These models were on display at his house in Amsterdam and shown on fairs. In 1642 he published his findings on the Temple in his *Afbeeldinghe van den Tempel Salomonis*, which was translated and reprinted seven times. The print of the Temple includes also Solomon's Palace, which was situated next to the Temple. The combination of the main temple with a royal palace is a common one during history. Worldly power is legitimized by divine power; the king is seen as a representative of God.[28] This idea of combining Solomon's Palace and Temple remained influential during the seventeenth century. Olfert Dapper in his *Naukeurige beschrijving van gantsch Syrië en Palestijn of Heilige Lant* (Precise Description of whole Syria and Palestine or Holy Land) depicted almost an identical view on both buildings as Leon did [Fig. 17.9].[29] The palace was visualized as a rectangular structure with three classical orders, having a central risalite and tower-like structures at its corners. It comprised the House of the King, the House of the Queen, as well as the House of the Forest of the Lebanon, Solomon's Courtroom.

This interest in biblical architecture was common in the whole of Europe, both in Protestant and Catholic circles.[30] Two methods of research coexisted, especially concerning the Temple. Some had an antiquarian approach based on biblical texts, while others had a more spiritual view on the Temple, trying to recreate architecture in most perfect form as a true reflection of divine wisdom. In the case of the spiritual approach, the Temple was seen as a theological reconstruction in which the restored Temple was a spiritual image, representing the resurrection of Christ.[31] This wisdom was revealed in the proportions of the Temple, which God Himself had given to David and Solomon. The Temple was a mathematical expression of Gods "idea" behind His creation, an example

27 Leon Jaacob Jehuda, *Tratado de la Arca del Testamento* (Amsterdam, Nicolas Ravesteyn: 5413 [i.e. 1653]); Leon Jaacob Jehuda, *Retrato del Tabernaculo de Moseh* (Amsterdam, Gillis Joosten: 5414 [i.e. 1654]); Leon Jaacob Jehuda, *Tratado de los Cherubim* (Amsterdam, Nicolas Ravesteyn: 5414 [i.e. 1654]).

28 Offenberg A.K., "Jacob Jehudah Leon en zijn tempelmodel: een joods-christelijk project", *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 9 (1993) 35–50; Offenberg A.K., "Jacob Jehuda Leon (1602–1675) and his Model of the Temple", in Berg J. van den – Wall E.G.E. van der (eds.), *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Dordrecht – Boston – London: 2004) 95–115.

29 Dapper Olfert, *Naukeurige beschrijving van gantsch Syrië en Palestijn of Heilige Lant* (Amsterdam, Jacob van Meurs: 1677) print between pages 446–447.

30 Herrmann W., "Unknown Designs for the 'Temple of Jerusalem' by Claude Perrault", in Fraser D. – Hibbard H. – Lewine M.J. (eds.), *Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London: 1967) 143–158.

31 Morrison T., *Juan Bautista Villalpando's Ezechielem Explanationes. A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Text* (Lewiston – Queenston – Lampeter: 2009) 28.

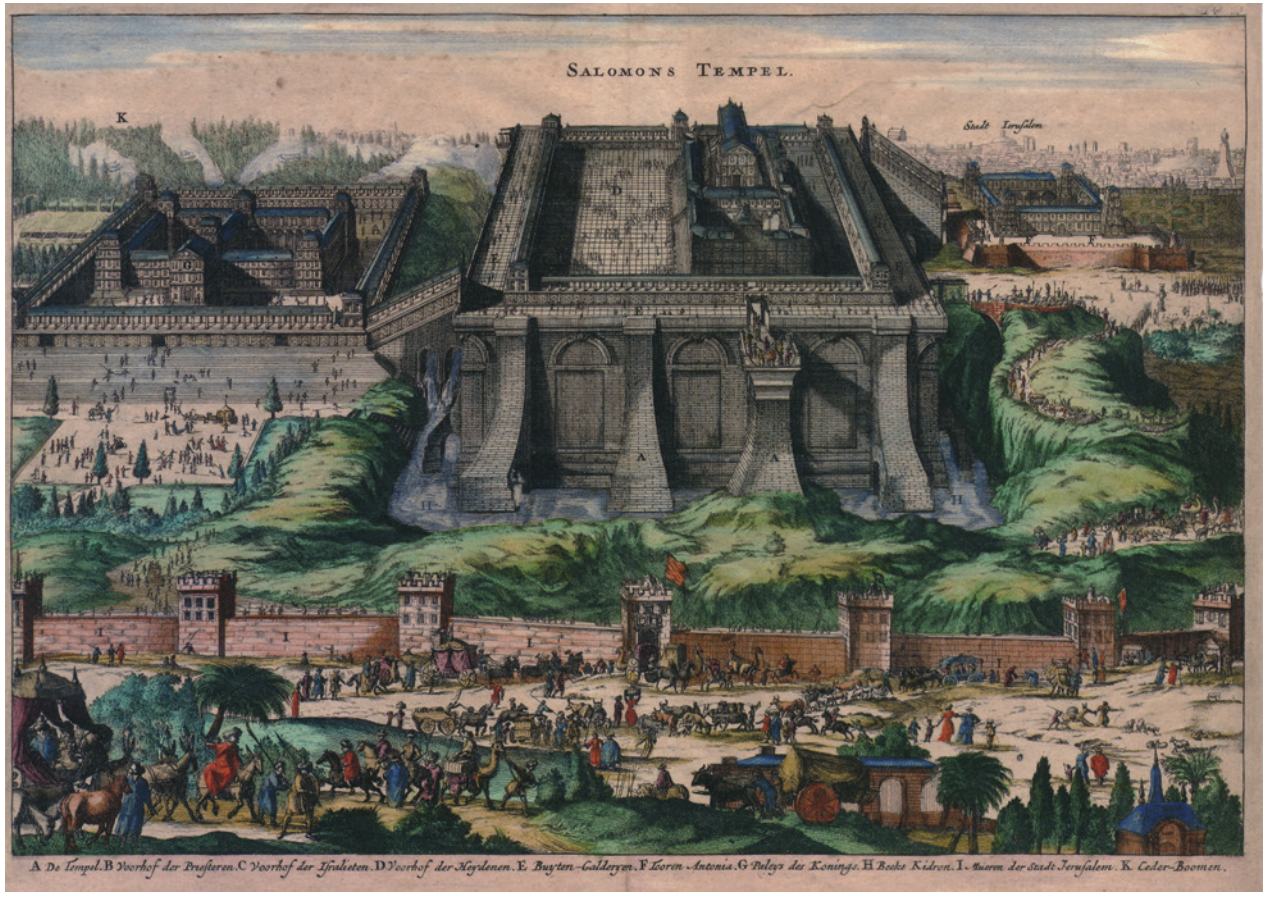


FIGURE 17.9 The Temple of Jerusalem with Solomon's Palace at its left. From: Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschrijving van gantsch Syrië en Palestijn of Heilige Lant* (Amsterdam: 1677)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

of a structure in the micro cosmos that mirrored the proportions existing in the macro cosmos. A fine example of this direction can be found in the books by Juan Bautista Villalpando, *In Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hiersolymitani*, published in Rome in 1596–1605. Villalpando declared Ezekiel's vision of the Temple to be a description of Solomon's Temple, despite all differences between the biblical texts in Ezekiel and the book of Kings. According to Villalpando, classical architecture derived from the architecture of the Temple; the Solomonic order was the origin of all other classical orders (Doric, Ionic and Corinthian). The Solomonic capitals were made up out of lilies and resembled the Corinthian order. In other words, the Temple was the origin of classical architecture, which was later taken over by the Greeks and the Romans. According to Villalpando, Vitruvius' book *De Architectura libri decem* was merely an interpretation of biblical architecture. Villalpando inserted large-scale prints of the Temple to clarify his architectural vision of the Temple. The Temple had a square ground plan, consisting of seven square courtyards and one rectangular courtyard on which the actual Temple with the Holy of Holies stood. The façades were covered with pilasters, while the Temple and the Temple Mount also had curving buttresses. Villalpando is however more than just the reconstruction of the Temple. The second of the three volumes (1604) gives an elaborate reconstruction of Jerusalem and other biblical architecture as well. Especially Solomon's Palace got a great deal of attention.

5 The Influence of Biblical Architecture on Dutch Architecture

Villalpando had an enormous effect on Dutch architectural theory. The influential architecture theoretician Nicolaus Goldmann was one of his followers. Following the ideas of Villalpando, architecture would become some kind of micro cosmos, having a direct mathematical relation to all things created by God. A perfectly Platonic idea, in which human architecture resembles divine architecture (creation).[32] A similar attitude can be found in Wilhelmus Goeree's treatise *d'Algemeene Bouwkunde* in which he considered Solomon's Temple to be the origin of architecture.[33] Villalpando must have been widely available in Holland, although little archival references can corroborate this idea. Several times the book is mentioned in archival sources. In 1658 the Amsterdam

32 Goudeau J., *Nicolaus Goldmann (1611–1665) en de wiskundige wetenschap* (Groningen: 2005) 327–342.

33 Goeree Wilhelmus, *D'algemeene bouwkunde, volgens d'antyke en hedendaagse manier* (Amsterdam, Wilhelmus Goeree: 1681) 9.

burgomaster Joan Huydecoper (1625–1704) received his copy of Villalpando's book.[34] We can surmise that Jacob van Campen studied Villalpando together with Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), secretary to stadtholder Frederik Hendrik. Huygens asked his friend Joachim de Wicquefort in 1634 to lend him his copy, which he received in 1636. Recently, Huygens own copy was discovered in the University Library of Nijmegen, signed 'Constanter 1637'.[35]

Van Campen hasn't written down his thoughts on architecture. There is however a letter of the poet and botanist Johan Brosterhuijsen (1596–1650) addressed to Constantijn Huygens, in which he refers to an essay about the origin of architecture, being written by Van Campen.[36] It had to appear in a book, combined with a translation of Vitruvius' book *De Architectura Libri Decem*, Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture*, as well as some passages from Andrea Palladio's *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* (1570), concerning temples and public buildings such as the Basilica. This treatise, which unfortunately was never realised, would have given the reader an overview on architecture in general. Contemporary literature was added to Vitruvius in order to give more practical information about architecture in general. Wotton's book would have served as a more accessible introduction to the classical book of Vitruvius, which contained some passages, which were rather difficult to understand. Of course, Vitruvius would function as core-text, giving a complete overview on architecture. Some paragraphs from Palladio's very influential treatise were added on Van Campen's advice; these texts were about temples and public buildings such as the classical Basilica, which had evolved since Vitruvian times into a modern Basilica. Van Campen's essay would probably have been the general introduction to the book. The origin of architecture seems a rather vague term, but it is not unlikely that it had something to do with the divine origin of architecture and the Temple of Jerusalem as an expression of this idea. For architects a very attractive theory of course, because if they understood the divine creation, they themselves would be able to make architecture resembling divine perfection. Van Campen designed three churches in which the influence

34 Het Utrechts Archief, Archief Huydecoper (67), inv. no. 54 (1658), letter of Huydecoper to Charles Angot, February 21 1658. In his book in 1659 Huydecoper mentions: 'Usque ad Caput XVII Esechielis' (Het Utrechts Archief, Archief Huydecoper [67], inv. no. 55, Libri Lecti).

35 Goudeau J., *Denken in steen, bouwen op papier. Een kleine geschiedenis van het architecturboek* (Nijmegen: 2016) 75.

36 Leiden University, Library, special collections, inv. no. 37 (41): Johan van Brosterhuijsen to Constantijn Huygens, Amersfoort February 6 1642. See also Seters W.H. van, "Prof. Johannes Brosterhuysen (1596–1650). Stichter en opziener van het Medicinale Hof te Breda", *Jaarboek de Oranjeboom* 6 (1953) 106–151.

of Villalpando's reconstruction of the Temple can be traced.[37] In the case of the Amsterdam town hall, Solomon's Palace seems to be a more likely example.

6 Source of Inspiration for the Amsterdam Town Hall

Of course the Amsterdam burgomasters wanted to be equal to kings, but the fact remains that they were not. What they needed was a town hall with space for courtrooms, and a building that visualized the highest right the city had, which was the right to decide over life and death. Instead of looking at the Temple of Solomon, Van Campen used Solomon's Palace as an example. From a functional point of view, this choice was quite defendable. Solomon's Palace mainly functioned as a Courtroom, but it was also the seat of the government, an armoury, a treasure house and a prison. This set of functions fitted exactly to the situation in Amsterdam. Again, Villalpando proves to be a very valuable source. Unfortunately, Villalpando did not produce a detailed visual reconstruction of Solomon's Palace. It was visualized on a rather small scale on the map of Jerusalem [Fig. 17.10]. He made up for this by giving an elaborate description of the building, based on several texts in the Bible and especially on 1 *Kings* 7:1–12. He starts his description with the words of Flavius Josephus, who referred to the visit of the Queen of Sheba:

> But she remained overwhelmed before the wisdom of the King, realizing that it was much greater than she had heard; there was cause for her to admire all the magnificence and elegance of the palace, the splendid order of the buildings, since in everything it shone with deep ingenuity. But above all, what astonished her most was the small palace that was

37 Ottenheym K., "Architectuur", in Huisken J. – Ottenheym K. – Schwartz G. (eds.), *Jacob van Campen. Het klassieke ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: 1995) 155–199. In his churches in Renswoude, Hoge Zwaluwe and Haarlem (New Church) Van Campen copied the outward curving buttresses that were present in the Temple itself and the Temple Mount on which the actual Temple stood. This element was used in order to create a truly divine inspired architecture. Similar ideas can be found in the work of other leading architects in the seventeenth century: Salomon de Bray (1597–1664), Arent van 's-Gravesande (1610–1662), Pieter Post (1608–1669), Daniel Stalpaert (1615–1676), Adriaen Dortsman (1635–1682) and Elias Bouman (1635–1686). In their treatises or in their designs of churches and synagogues references to the Temple of Jerusalem are being made. Vlaardingerbroek, "The Snoge" 68–72; Kravtsov S.R., "Juan Bautista Villalpando and Sacred Architecture in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64 (2005) 312–339.

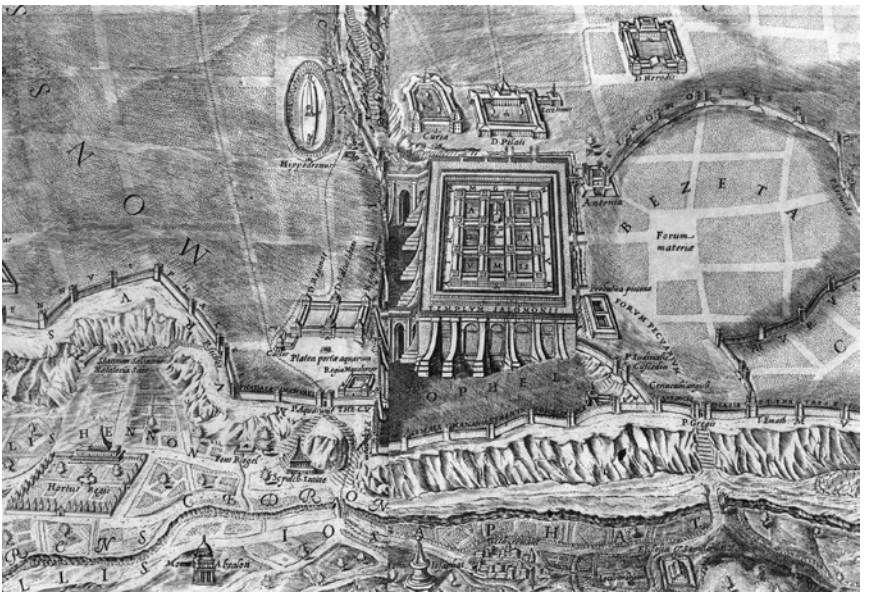


FIGURE 17.10A The Temple and the Palace of King Solomon in Jeruzalem. Detail of the map of Jerusalem from Juan Bautista Villalpando, *In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hiersolymitani* (Rome: 1596–1605), vol. II
IMAGE © UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, LIBRARY

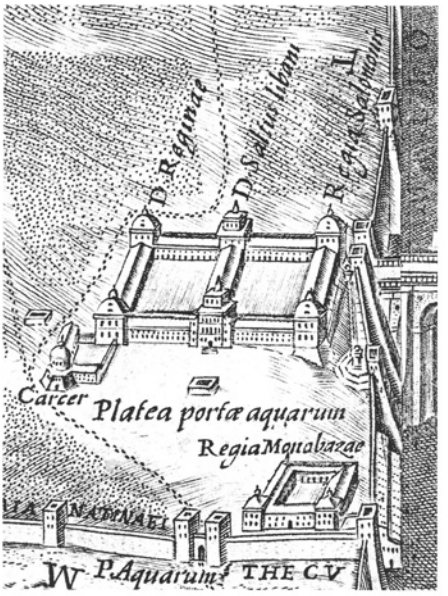


FIGURE 17.10B
The Palace of Solomon. Detail of Fig. 17.10a

called the 'House of the Forest of the Lebanon', as well as the daily expenses of his invitations.[38]

According to Villalpando, the palace consisted of three parts: the house of the King, the house of the Queen and the House of the Forest of the Lebanon.[39] It has a rectangular structure with its façade towards the east, having two inner courtyards next to a large central hall. The corners of the building had tower-like shapes, slightly protruding outwardly. The façade had a central projection, crowned by a tower. Its exterior was made out of beautifully hewn blocks of stone, all perfectly rectangular. A double entablature divided the façade in three orders. The central element in the palace was the House of the Forest of the Lebanon, where the people could gather to hear Solomon speaking justice. Flavius Josephus had called this part a Basilica, in which all people could hear justice. Behind the Basilica was a porch, which was translated by Villalpando into a separate Courtroom with Solomon's throne. This combined element was placed centrally in the building and was visualised by a ground plan in Villalpando's book, measuring 100 by 50 by 30 for the House of the Forest of the Lebanon and 50 by 30 for the Courtroom. He elaborates on the Palace by saying that Vitruvius based his Basilica on the House of the Forest of the Lebanon. Both had a ground plan with a proportion of 1:2. Both structures needed to have galleries, which were one third of the width of the House of the Forest of the Lebanon. Villalpando explained how the architecture of the Palace equalled that of the Temple. Solomon had grasped the divine wisdom of the Temple architecture and used this knowledge to design his own palace. For the exterior, the architecture of the Temple was applied.

Many of these elements of Solomon's Palace were taken over by Van Campen. One cannot speak of a copy of the building; Van Campen transformed the basic idea of Solomon's Palace into the new town hall. In order to achieve this, he copied the main elements of Solomon's Palace. The most important element of Solomon's Palace was the House of the Forest of the Lebanon. It formed the heart of the Palace and was followed by Solomon's Courtroom. This disposition was taken over literally in the Amsterdam town hall. The same goes for the measurements of the Citizens' Hall. This was modelled after the House of the Forest of the Lebanon, which – according to Villalpando – equalled the Basilica described by Vitruvius, which measured 60 by 120 feet.

38 Translation by: Morrison, *Ezechielem explanationes* 205, caput X.

39 Villalpando Juan Bautista, *In Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus urbis ac templi Hiersolymitani*, 3 vols. (Rome, Luigi Zannetti – Alfonso Ciaccone: 1596–1605), vol. II, cap. X–XII; and vol. III, 201–203.

Another important proportion was 3:5, which Van Campen used for Citizens' Hall with the galleries, measuring in total 200 by 120 feet.[40] Most importantly, the modular system for the town hall was taken over from Solomon's Palace. The ratio between the width of the exterior pilasters (columns) and the space in between them was 1:3; the ratio of width and height of the pilasters was 1:10, with cornice 1:12. Like all architecture by Solomon, the town hall was supposed to be executed in the Corinthian order.

Jacob van Campen had grasped the idea behind its building and especially the 'symmetria', the system proportions based on a module, a fixed measurement that determined all parts of the building. The width of the pilasters in relation to the intercolumnium and the height of the pilasters were taken over from Solomon's Palace. With a module of three feet, an intercolumnium of twelve feet and floors high 36 feet (3 × 12) the building referred to all kinds of perfect numbers related to Christianity and the proportions, prescribed by Villalpando. By recreating Solomon's Palace as a town hall in Amsterdam, Van Campen reflected the concept of the Dutch Republic as a New Israel. The burgomasters, who had strived for peace, were the kings of this town hall. Because of its function as a courthouse, Van Campen took Solomon's Palace as example. Of course, the situation in Amsterdam was different than that in Jerusalem. The town hall needed to function as such and in order to do so, Van Campen had to make some changes, but these changes were authorised by important writers about architecture. For instance, the Citizens' Hall was situated on the first floor, whereas the House of the Forest of the Lebanon and the Basilica were placed on the ground floor. The idea of lifting this hall a floor up came from Andrea Palladio's book *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* and exactly from those passages that Brosterhuijsen had translated on Van Campen's advice. Palladio described the old Basilica as a building with porticos, being one third of the width of the hall. Palladio situated the modern Basilica as a building situated on the first floor, while its portico's could be left out or applied at the outside of the building, or to be used as independent spaces. The Amsterdam town hall with independent galleries was the consequence of Palladio's ideas. Van Campen stayed in the classical context, using the permitted freedom to alter some aspects of a building without changing its essence.

40 Schmidt Johan Jacob, *Bybelsche Mathematicus of Schriftuurlijke wiskundige; behelzende eene opheldering der Heilige Schrift, uit de wiskundige wetenschappen. Te weten: de rekenkunde, meetkunde, weegkunde, bouwkunde, starrekunde, uurwyzerkunde en gezichtkunde* (Amsterdam – Dordrecht, Jacobus Loveringh and Abraham Bluss: 1768) 442.

7 As Great as Solomon

An important building like the town hall needed to have an interior decoration that matched the architecture of the building. The iconographical program consisted of sculpture and painting. Several sculptors and particularly Artus Quellinus (1609–1668) worked on an elaborate program of sculpture in the Citizens' Hall and the galleries. The sculpted decoration had a strong cosmic element. The galleries were adorned with statues of the planets, while the sculpted reliefs of the Citizens' Hall symbolized the four elements and the four parts of the world. The floor and ceiling were to get maps of the world as well as star maps. The offices and courtrooms were embellished with sculpture and paintings of 'exempla' taken from biblical and classical history. Solomon played a prominent part as main symbol for wisdom in the decoration of the Criminal Court, the most important space in the town hall, where death sentences were pronounced [Fig. 17.11]. The Judgement of Solomon is situated in the middle, flanked by Roman and Greek examples (Lucius Junius Brutus and Zaleucus). 'Solomon praying for wisdom', an enormous painting by Govert Flinck, was hung in the City Council. Interesting is also the personification of Amsterdam, situated in the top of the front tympanum at Dam Square [Fig. 17.12]. Amsterdam is visualised as a woman, wearing an imperial crown and sitting on a Lion's Throne, very similar to Solomon's throne as sculpted in the relief in the Criminal Court.

The sculpted works were published in prints, made by Hubertus Quellinus, the brother of Artus. The introduction to the second volume (1663) is addressed to the burgomasters. It tells the story of Solomon building the Temple and his own palace, and of the queen of Sheba, visiting Solomon's Palace and exclaiming that his wisdom and his works were even bigger than she had heard. Quellinus continued by stating that if people from other countries would come to see the town hall in Amsterdam, they would be sad, that their eyes could not be satisfied, 'openly acknowledging that the wisdom and the magnanimity of the Honourable Burgomasters are bigger than the rumour they had heard'.[41] It

41 'Maar als zy [bezoekers uit andere landen] komen aan het Huys van U Ed. Achtbaerheden, en 't selve soo uytwendigh als inwendigh door-siende, bevinden in soo veele groote Kamers verdeelt, met soo veele niet min kostelijcke als konstige Marmore Beelden verçiert, en hebben zy-lieden met de Coninginne Saba by nae geenen geest meer, en het is hen-lieden een verdriet, dat hunne oogen met sien niet en konnen verzaadt worden, opentlijk bekennende dat de wijsheyt en grootdadigheyt van V Ed. Achbaerheden grooter zijn als het gerucht dat zylieden gehoort hadden'. Quellinus Hubertus, *Secunda pars praecipuarum effigierum ac ornamentorum amplissimae Curiae Amstelrodamensis maiori ex parte in ca<n>dido marmore effectorum per Artum Quellinium* [sic] *eiusdem civitatis statuarium.*



FIGURE 17.11 Hubertus Quellinus after Artus Quellinus, *The Judgment of Solomon* (1655). From: Quellinus Hubertus, *Prima pars praecipuarum effigierum ac ornamentorum amplissimae Curiae Amstelrodamensis maiori ex parte in candido marmore effectorum per Artum Quellinium* [sic] *eiusdem civitatis statuarium. Het Eerste Deel. Van de voornaemste Statuen ende Ciraten, vant konstrijck Stadthuys van Amstelredam, tmeeste in marmer gemaeckt, door Artus Quellinus, Beelthouwer der voorseyde Stadt. La Premier Partie. De plusieurs Figures et ornements, de la Maison de Ville d'Amsterdam, le plus grand part faict d'marbre d'Artus Quellinus, Sculpteur de la ditte Ville* (Amsterdam, Artus Quellinus: 1655).

IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY



FIGURE 17.12 Hubertus Quellinus after Artus Quellinus, The Amsterdam town hall, the sculpted tympanon at the side of Damsquare with the Personification of Amsterdam on a throne of lions. From: Quellinus Hubertus, *Secunda Pars praecipuarum effigierum ac ornamentorum amplissimae Curiae Amstelrodamensis maiori ex parte in ca<n>dido marmore effectorum per Artum Quellinium* [sic] *eiusdem civitatis statuarium. Het Tweede Deel van de voornaemste Statuen ende Cieraten van't konst-rijcke Stadt-huys van Amstelredam 'tmeeste in Marmer gemaeckt door Artus Quellinus Beelthouwer der voorseyde Stadt* (Amsterdam, Artus Quellinus: 1663).
IMAGE © UTRECHT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

seems hardly coincidental that Hubertus Quellinus, who stood in close contact to people with a prominent role in the execution of the building, uses Solomon and his palace as an example.

8 Context and Conclusion

The Amsterdam town hall was an emanation of Solomon's Palace. Van Campen took the general layout of the palace as example and adapted it to the Amsterdam situation. The burgomasters got a town hall befitting the new status of the city that celebrated the Westphalian Peace of 1648. The city and its four burgomasters were important participants on Europe's political stage of the seventeenth century. As new Solomons they brought peace and wealth to the city, which they almost ruled as an independent city state. This mirror image of a new Solomon was quite common: European kings identified themselves with Solomon as well. King James I (1566–1625) saw himself as God's

Het Tweede Deel van de voornaemste Statuen ende Cieraten van't konst-rijcke Stadt-huys van Amstelredam 'tmeeste in Marmer gemaeckt door Artus Quellinus Beelthouwer der voorseyde Stadt (Amsterdam, Artus Quellinus: 1663) dedicatory introduction. The title page has erroneously 'cadido' (read: 'candido').

viceroy in Britain and as 'a spiritual descendant of the Hebrew kings'.[42] When James was buried, bishop John Williams gave a sermon entitled 'Great Britain's Salomon'.[43] As a new Solomon James had used his wisdom to bring prosperity and peace to the country. Especially peace was important to him – his motto was 'Beati Pacifici' – making the link to Solomon even more obvious. James' successor Charles I (1600–1649) commissioned Peter Paul Rubens to paint the ceiling of the Banqueting House. The ceiling was titled the 'Apotheosis of James I' and in one of the paintings James is depicted as the wise king Solomon (1629). Seen in this light, it cannot come as a surprise that Charles envisaged the enlargement of Whitehall Palace into a building based on the design of the Temple of Jerusalem by Villalpando.[44] Ideas for such a palace must have derived from the Escorial in Spain, which Charles visited in 1623. The Escorial is the archetype of a royal palace based on the Temple, built by Philips II of Spain (1527–1598), who saw himself as 'alter Solomon' as well.[45] The Escorial is a combination of a church, a monastery and a royal palace. The focal point is the church, taking over the place of the Holy of Holies in the Temple. The courtyards around it reflect the courts of the Temple. On the corners of the courtyards, towers arise, similar to the Temple.[46] In France Louis XIV (1638–1715) had plans to enlarge the Louvre, using the Temple as example. His architect, François Mansart, owned a copy of Villalpando's book as well.[47] All of these kings may have referred to Solomon's Temple, as they advocated the divine origin of monarchical rule.

Van Campen's choice for Solomon's Palace is rather unique within this context of architecture of rulers. It can only be explained by the fact that the function of a town hall was closer to Solomon's Palace than to the Temple. The

42 Parry G., *The Golden Age restor'd. The culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–1642* (Manchester: 1981) 21, 22, 23, 26–29, 31–32, and 35. Quote taken from p. 23.

43 Parry, *Golden Age* 31. This sermon was published as: Williams John, *Great Britains Salomon* (London, Iohn Bill: 1625).

44 Wittkower R., "Federico Zuccari and John Wood of Bath", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943) 220–222; Gunther R.T., *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt* (Oxford: 1928) 286, 304.

45 Bold J., *John Webb. Architectural Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford 1989) 107–125. For the Solomonic context of the Escorial, see Taylor R., "Architecture and Magic: Considerations on the Idea of the Escorial", in Fraser D. – Hibbard H. – Lewine M.J. (eds.), *Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London: 1967) 81–109.

46 See also Philibert de l'Orme's design for the Tuileries for Catherine de Medici. See Blunt A., *Philibert de l'Orme* (London: 1958).

47 Marías F., "La arquitectura de Felipe II: de las ciencias matemáticas al saber bíblico", in *Felipe II y las artes* (Madrid: 2000) 221–230; Braham A. – Smith P., *François Mansart*, 2 vols. (London: 1973).

palace was most of all famous for its courtroom, in which the wise and peace-loving king Solomon administered justice. As such, it was a perfect example for a Dutch town hall, which mainly served as a courthouse. Van Campen gave the burgomasters what they wanted: a town hall in which justice was administered in a wealthy city where peace ruled under the reign of new Solomons, that brought peace to their city.

The Solomonic connotation had another advantage. The city and the architect found the appropriate history not within their own history – as other Dutch cities did – but in a far more ancient history. The architect found an example in the widely spread idea amongst the Dutch that they were the newly chosen people as Israel had been before. The appropriation of Solomon's Palace as example for the Amsterdam town hall connected the city with a history that was more than 2500 years old. Following the idea of Villalpando, biblical antiquity included all following Greek and Roman antiquity, which made it possible for Van Campen to use these cultures as well in the interior decoration of the building. Amsterdam set itself apart from other Dutch cities; it belonged to an international category of historical cities and leaders. To underline this, Van Campen created a palace for the burgomasters, in which they could act on the level of kings and receive people of high rank and noble birth.

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PART 4

The Holy Roman Empire

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CHAPTER 18

Germany's Glory, Past and Present: Konrad Peutinger's *Sermones convivales de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus* and Antiquarian Philology

Christoph Pieper

1 Historical and Intellectual Context of Peutinger's Treatise[1]

In the 1470s, for a relatively short period, Alsace was carried into the bright spotlight of history. Sigismund of Habsburg, Archduke of Austria, had given his possessions in Alsace as a fiefdom to the duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold. In return, Charles would help the house of Habsburg defend its frontiers against the Swiss confederates. The Burgundians had become important players in European politics since the fourteenth century, and the control of a region abutting on the southern Rhine was an important step in their attempt to unite an impressive amount of territory in central Europe. But in 1474, Sigismund signed an agreement with the Swiss and decided to get back his possessions. However, Charles refused. The result of this and other problems in these same years were the so-called Burgundian Wars, which lasted until 1477 when Charles died on the battlefield.

The beginning of the Burgundian Wars was accompanied by weighty propagandistic writings in Germany. Alsatian authors regularly characterize Charles the Bold as an opponent as dangerous as the Turks.[2] Johannes Knebel, chaplain at the Minster of Basel, in a letter from 1474, writes: 'the whole of Germany is nervous because of this damned Burgundian' ('tota Germania commota est propter illum maledictum Burgundum').[3] It is noteworthy that here and

1 I thank the participants and especially the organizers of the very fruitful series of conferences for their stimulating interest in this paper. Thanks to Ronny Kaiser for having shared an unpublished manuscript with me, Uta Goerlitz for an offprint of her entry in *Killy Literaturlexikon*, and Coen Maas for helpful criticism on the written version of this chapter.

2 Cf. Sieber-Lehmann C., *Spätmittelalterlicher Nationalismus: die Burgunderkriege am Oberrhein und in der Eidgenossenschaft* (Göttingen: 1995) 251–281.

3 Quoted after Mertens D., *Reich und Elsaß zur Zeit Maximilians I.: Untersuchungen zur Ideen – und Landesgeschichte im Südwesten des Reiches am Ausgang des Mittelalters*. Habil. (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1977) 91. On Knebel's so-called *Diarium* or *Cronica* (a loose collection of material concerning the war) see also Sieber-Lehmann, *Spätmittelalterlicher Nationalismus* 30–33.

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elsewhere the conflict is not described as one between two European dynastic powers, but as a national one between 'Alamanni' and 'Galli' (or 'welsch' versus 'teutsch').[4] Of course, nothing was less true, especially as the pro-Burgundian army was not purely French. Furthermore, Alsace was not at all a clear-cut national entity.[5]

The death of Charles in 1477 meant the end of both the Burgundian line and the territorial complex united under its rule. Charles' daughter Mary of Burgundy married another Habsburg, Maximilian, who later became Holy Roman Emperor. The results, devastating as they were for the Burgundians, in fact helped the house of Habsburg in its rise to power (as it also got the Dutch portion of the Burgundian booty). However, the French crown, inspired by many inhabitants of Alsace who had great sympathy with the French, tried to revise the decision.[6] Therefore Maximilian, once he was elected Emperor, tried to revive the old feelings of a decisive fight between East and West, between Germany and Gaul; now that Burgundy no longer existed as an enemy, he simply replaced it with the French kings. According to Maximilian, the Holy Roman Empire had to face two major enemies: the Turks in the east and France in the west. To explain Maximilian's attempts to keep alive an anti-French attitude in central Europe in the years around 1500, it could be useful to again raise the discussion of the national identity of Alsace. Two dangers for the Habsburg monarch were present: on the one hand, the French king was a dangerous rival for the imperial crown; on the other hand, there was lots of sympathy for Swiss independence in Alsace, as the contestation that it had originally been Helvetian territory was repeatedly put forth.[7]

In 1501, the Alsatian humanist Jacob Wimpfeling composed his treatise *Germania*. In its short first book, he sided with Maximilian.[8] Without

4 Mertens, *Reich und Elsaß* 97–98; Sieber-Lehmann, *Spätmittelalterlicher Nationalismus* 289–300, on the label 'welsch' as a means to alienate the opponent as much as possible from oneself.

5 Mertens, *Reich und Elsaß* 17: 'Es gibt in dem ohnehin wenig einheitlichen Südwesten kaum ein anderes herrschaftlich derart stark aufgesplittertes Gebiet wie das Elsaß.'

6 See Samuel-Scheyder M., "Wimpfeling versus Murner: die Anfänge der Polemik um die elsässische Identität im 16. Jahrhundert", *Recherches germaniques* 26 (1996) 137–151, here 140–141.

7 Cf. Mertens D., "Maximilian I. und das Elsaß", in Herding O. – Stupperich R. (eds.), *Die Humanisten in ihrer politischen und sozialen Umwelt* (Boppard am Rhein: 1976) 177–201, here 196.

8 Cf. Mertens, "Maximilian I. und das Elsaß" 182: 'Bei Wimpfeling fließen das Wissen von den Armagnakereinfällen, Erinnerungen an die Zeit Peter Hagenbacks und der Kämpfe gegen Karl den Kühnen, die Wirkung der antifranzösischen Propaganda Maximilians und Lektüreeindrücke aus Enea Silvios Schriften und Briefen zusammen zu der einen Vorstellung von dem auf die linksrheinischen Gebiete ausgehenden, das Elsaß seiner libertas

mentioning the name Alsace explicitly, Wimpfeling begins his treatise with a dedication to the city fathers of Strasbourg:

> Multi existimant, clarissimi senatores, urbem vestram Argentinam et reliquas civitates ex hoc Rheni litore versus occidentem sitas fuisse quondam in manibus regum Gallicorum, et ob id animantur nonnumquam praefati reges ad repetendas istas terras, quae tamen semper a Julii et Octaviani temporibus in hunc usque diem Romano et nusquam Gallico regno coniunctae fuerunt atque constanter adhaeserunt.[9]
>
> Honourable senators! Many think that your city of Strasbourg and the other cities that are situated on the western shore of the Rhine once were in the hands of the kings of the French. They further believe that therefore the aforementioned French kings are incited to claim these regions back. But the country has always been, since the times of Julius Caesar and Augustus until our days, connected to the Roman Empire, never to the French, and it has always adhered to that.

Scholars have shown that it is obvious from Wimpfeling's other works that he is reacting to Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, who in his treatise *Europa* had defined Alsace as 'a province sometimes under French and sometimes under German jurisdiction' ('tum Gallici, nunc Germanici iuris provincia').[10] Also, in the second book of his *Germania* Enea Silvio had stated:[11]

> Danubius ac Rhenus, qui quondam Germanie limites clausere, nunc per medios Germanorum dilabuntur agros. Belgica regio, que Gallie prius portio tertia fuit, nunc maiori ex parte Germanie cessit.
>
> The Danube and the Rhine, which once formed the borders of Germania, nowadays flow in the midst of Germany's fields. And the land of the

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beraubenden und es in die Knechtschaft führenden Frankreich'. For Wimpfeling's biography, see also Mertens D., "Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528): pädagogischer Humanismus", in Schmidt P.G. (ed.), *Humanismus im deutschen Südwesten: biographische Profile* (Sigmaringen: 1993) 35–57; on the *Germania* esp. 50.

9 Quoted from von Borries E., *Wimpfeling und Murner im Kampf um die ältere Geschichte des Elsasses: ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik des deutschen Frühhumanismus* (Heidelberg: 1926) 94.

10 Enea Silvio Piccolomini (= Pius II), *De Europa* 42 (148), ed. A. van Heck (Vatican City: 2001). Cf. Mertens, "Maximilian I. und das Elsaß" 185.

11 Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Germania* 2.6 (= ed. Schmidt A., *Aeneas Silvius, Germania und Jacob Wimpfeling, Responsa et replicae ad Eneam Silvium*, Cologne – Graz: 1962, 48).

> Belgians, that previously was the third part of Gallia, has been ceded mostly to Germany.

Wimpfeling could not stand this kind of historical relativism. According to him, a Gallic past for Alsace was an invention of French or Italian propagandists. His polemical text was received enthusiastically by the city fathers of Strasbourg,[12] but it met with disapproval from a fellow humanist. Almost immediately after its publication, Thomas Murner drafted his response, the *Nova Germania*, also dedicated to the city of Strasbourg, in which he tried to demonstrate that Wimpfeling had stretched his arguments too far and misinterpreted his sources. He argued that in ancient times, the region had been in the hands of the 'Galli' (which he, however, distinguishes from the French, the 'Francigeni').[13]

Some years later, Wimpfeling's point was taken up again by Konrad Peutinger in his *Sermones convivales de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus* ('Dinner talks about the marvellous antiquities of Germany').[14] Peutinger, famous for having possessed a medieval copy of an ancient street map which after his death became known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, or for his house opposite the cathedral of Augsburg, in which he collected inscriptions, coins, and other objects of antiquity, was one of the most illustrious members of the young humanistic movement in Germany (Uta Goerlitz has characterized him as a typical *uomo universale* of the Renaissance).[15] He studied in Italy in the 1480s, where he was influenced by the outstanding Italian humanists of his generation (he was acquainted with, among others, the famous Pomponio Leto and his Roman Academy).[16] Later, he was appointed town chronicler of Augsburg (officially since 1497). In the 1490s he had met the young King (and

12 Warken N., *Mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung in Straßburg: Studien zu ihrer Funktion und Rezeption bis zur frühen Neuzeit*, PhD dissertation (Saarbrücken: 1995) 437–438.

13 Cf. Samuel-Scheyder, "Wimpfeling versus Murner" 143. Wimpfeling had not made this distinction, as for him it was important to prove the German(ic) roots of Alsace (ibidem 144). An important figure for both was Charlemagne, who was German for Wimpfeling, whereas according to Murner the dichotomy German-French did not exist in the Carolingian era (ibidem 149).

14 Peutinger Konrad, *Sermones convivales Conradi Peutingeri de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus* (Strasbourg: Johannes Prüss: 1506).

15 Cf. Goerlitz U., "Maximilian I., Konrad Peutinger und die humanistische Mittelalterrezeption", *Jahrbuch der Oswald-von-Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft* 17 (2009) 61–77, here 63.

16 On Peutinger and the Roman Academy, cf. Matheus M., "Pomponius Letus e gli Ultramontani", in Cassiani C. – Chiabò M. (eds.), *Pomponio Leto e la prima Accademia Romana: giornata di studi* (*Roma, 2 dicembre 2005*) (Rome: 2007) 47–60, here 52–53. On Leto as a model for Peutinger's publication on the antiquities of Augsburg cf. Pfeiffer R., "Augsburger Humanisten und Philologen", *Gymnasium* 71 (1964) 190–204, here 193.

later Emperor) Maximilian I, who made him one of his closest counsellors, especially for advice with regard to antiquities.[17]

Although the *Sermones convivales* were written in Augsburg and thus were no immediate reaction to the local dispute in Strasbourg, the treatise can be seen as being closely connected to the broader anti-French propaganda concerning Alsace which Maximilian wished to undertake. Also, Peutinger, being the emperor's expert and adviser on historical matters, argues for the Germanness of the region. But this is only one aspect of his work, a second one being the argument that the Germani had been the oldest European rulers with the noblest line of ancestors, which according to Peutinger is rooted in their eastern origins. Both parts of the work obviously serve Maximilian's alleged primacy among the European kingdoms and his legitimacy in claiming Alsace for his reign. In order to achieve his aims, Peutinger decided to recur to a presentation of his argument that was slightly different from that of Wimpfeling or Murner. The treatise is set within a literary framework, namely the genre of the symposium, i.e. a dinner during which invited guests discuss historical, philosophical, or antiquarian themes. Only in the second half does it become a more ordinary antiquarian treatise.

In the following, I will first give an overview about the structure of the Strasbourg edition of 1506. Second, I will comment on the literary genre of the treatise, especially on the symposiastic frame. Third, I will deal with one of Peutinger's major concerns, the alleged eastern origins of the Germani, a point that he considers the basis for his treatise. Fourth, I will give some hints on how, on the background of this claim, he tried to prove that the western shore of the Rhine had always been part of Germania. For reasons of space, I will mostly concentrate on the parts of the text in which Peutinger deals with the prehistory and ancient history of Germany, and will not comment on his treatment of the medieval period.

2 Thresholds and Structure

The Strasbourg edition of the *Sermones convivales* frames the text as an extraordinary achievement.[18] The treatise is preceded by two prefatory letters and

17 See on Peutinger's biography now Worstbrock F.J., "Peutinger (Bei-, Peitinger), Konrad", in idem (ed.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. III (Berlin – New York: 2015), cols. 1–32, and Goerlitz U., "Peutinger, Konrad", *Killy Literaturlexikon* 9 (2010) 177–181. The starting point of any biographical study on Peutinger still is Lutz H., *Conrad Peutinger: Beiträge zu einer politischen Biographie* (Augsburg: 1958).

18 In the *editio princeps* of 1506 (by Johannes Prüss in Strasbourg, the same printer who had also published Wimpfeling's treatise five years earlier), the paratexts, which the editor

one laudatory epigram: a prefatory letter by Ulrich Zasius to Thomas Volphius (fols. a II r–a III v), an epigram by Ulrich Zasius (fol. a III v), and a prefatory letter by Petrus, bishop of Triest, to Matthaeus Lang (fol. <a IIII> r–v). At the end of Peutinger's treatise, the editor has added more eulogies, mostly by Alsatian humanists: a letter by Peutinger to Matthaeus Lang on the German foundation of the city of Bergamo (fols. e III r–e IIII r), an epigram by Sebastian Brant (fol. e IIII v), two others by Thomas Aucuparius (= Thomas Heinrich Vogler, fols. e IIII v–e V r) and Matthias Ringmann (fol. e V r), and finally a letter by the printer Matthias Schürer (fol. e V r–v).

The paratexts hail the *Sermones convivales* as the origin of a renewed national pride in Germany. Peutinger is presented as 'the most perfect man of our age',[19] his text is written with 'heroic dignity',[20] his immortal writings defend the 'adornment of the fatherland'.[21] The poetic paratexts also partake in these eulogies. The epigram by Sebastian Brant expresses Germany's gratitude towards Peutinger; it starts with the verse 'Multa Pytingero debes Germania nostro', 'You are very much in Peutinger's debt, Germany'. According to Brant, the treatise is so well written that it can leave the native soil to testify to Germany's cultural brilliance to other countries.[22] Even more worship is paid in the epigram of Ulrich Zasius, which alludes to a famous verse by the Roman poet Ennius about Fabius Maximus Cunctator, one of the few Roman heroes during Hannibal's invasion in Italy. With his tactic of hesitation he had prevented Rome's armies from being wiped out: 'Konrad alone restored the German state by placing deserved trophies after having oppressed the enemies' ('Germanam *solus* Conradus *restituit rem* / hostibus oppressis iusta trophea locans', cf. Ennius, *Annales* frg. 363 Skutsch: '*unus* homo nobis cunctando *restituit rem*').[23] Zasius thus transforms Peutinger into a reborn and German version of Cunctator who saves Germany not by refusing the battle, but by triumphantly beating the enemy.

(i.e. not Peutinger himself) added to the treatise, give it a markedly Strasbourgian framework. They indicate that the contemporaries considered it to be part of the previous discussion in Strasbourg; cf. Worstbrock, "Peutinger" 10.

19 *Sermones convivales* fol. a II r: 'nostra aetate absolutissimus vir Conradus Peutingerus', cf. the prefatory letter by Ulrich Zasius to Thomas Volphius.

20 Ibidem fol. a II v: 'heroica dignitate'.

21 Prefatory letter by Bishop Petrus of Trieste to Matthaeus Lang, in *Sermones convivales* fol. <a IIII> v: 'patriae decus'.

22 Ibidem fol. e IIII v, vv. 5–6: 'perge liber foelix fausta pede porrige frontem / Italicis Gallis omnigenisque viris', 'continue your way, happy book, with blessed foot, and brave the Italians, French and all other kinds of men'.

23 Ibidem vv. 5–6, fol. a III v.

Peutinger's treatise itself begins with the setting of the symposiastic scene (fols. b <I> r–b II r). Afterwards, the guests talk about four topics. Very briefly, they discuss the first three: the first question, the *translatio* of the bones of Dionysius the Areopagite from Paris to Regensburg in the Ottonian period, serves to show that Germany possessed a kind of humanistic interest in antiquity even in what many humanists considered the dark ages, meaning the Middle Ages (fol. b II r). The second question of whether or not St Paul was married proves that the apostle had a wife (fol. b II v), whilst the third question is concerned with Germany's history in classical antiquity, namely whether a Roman expedition to India was carried to the Germanic coast by the winds (it was indeed, according to Peutinger, fols. b II v–b III r).[24] Then, they turn to the main topic of the treatise, which is discussed on 18 octavo folios: 'That since the time of the dictator Gaius Julius Caesar the cities at the West of the Rhine between Cologne and Strasbourg have never obeyed Gallic rulers, but always were obedient to Germanic kings and Roman Emperors'. The text is structured as follows:[25]

a. new praefatio (fol. b III v)
b. in Roman antiquity Germani lived on the western shore of the Rhine (fols. b III v–b IIII v)
c. the three German tribes and pseudo-Berosus' Tuisco (Tuisto), son of Noah, father of Mannus, and the later genealogy (fols. b IIII v–<b VI> v)
d. the name 'Germania': old or new? (fols. <b VI> v–<b VII> v)
e. Germania inferior and Germania superior (fols. <b VII> v–<b VIII> v)
f. the role of the Germani (esp. of Cologne) during revolts against the Romans (fols. <b VIII> v–c II r), with an excursus: the printing press is a German invention (fol. c I r–v)
g. Augsburg in antiquity (fol. c II r–v)
h. refutation of arguments of intellectual opponents (the 'patriae Germaniae desertores', fol. c II v) (fols. c II v–c III r)
i. the Helvetii are not a Gallic tribe (fol. c III r–v)
k. the Merovingians were not a Gallic tribe, but Franci, with an excursus: the (French, but according to Peutinger Frankish) lily in the city arms of Strasbourg (fols. c III v–d I v)

24 See Leitch S., "Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print", *The Art Bulletin* 91, 2 (2009) 134–159, here 141, on the *Sermones convivales* as being connected to Augsburg's huge interest in developing a trade route to India in these years.

25 *Sermones convivales* fol. b III v: 'Quod Cisrhenani civitates ab Agrippina ad Argentinam et aliae a Cai Caesaris Iulii Dictatoris et superiori tempore non Gallis, sed vel Germanis vel Romano Imperio Caesaribus Augustis vel Regibus semper paruerint.'

l. the Franks and their Trojan origin; *translatio imperii* (fols. d I v–<d IIII> v)
m. the dynasty of the Ottonians and the Hohenstaufen (fols. <d IIII> v–e II v)
n. summary (fol. e II v)

The amount of ancient, medieval, and contemporary sources used by Peutinger is much more impressive than those referred to by Wimpfeling and Murner. Whereas Wimpfeling's argument is concentrated mostly on the more recent past (the Frankish kings and the lilies on the coins of Strasbourg are two of his most important topics),[26] Peutinger's temporal focus is much broader and spans the time from the remote past (the time of the Trojans and the flood of Noah) to his own era. And whereas Wimpfeling's text was organized as a disputation (with thesis and textual witnesses treated one after the other), Peutinger's treatise is an ongoing argumentation which is roughly chronological. Moreover, at the end of the section on antiquity, before turning to the German rulers of the Middle Ages, Peutinger adds a section which he explicitly labels as a refutation of the counter-arguments that had been made by his opponents. If Wimpfeling's text is a disputation, the second part of Peutinger's antiquarian treatise has traces of a defence speech *pro Germania* against authors that argue for a political and cultural primacy of Italy and France in Peutinger's own era.

Thus, it neatly fits into a general tendency in early German humanism, namely to construct the authority and distinction of Germany's young humanistic movement.[27] The reason to choose the symposiastic setting for the first part of the treatise, however, needs further consideration.

3 The Symposiastic Frame

Peutinger was the first German humanist to treat the 'German question' in the genre of table talk literature. The genre had been especially popular in late antiquity as a pleasant, less pedantic way of bringing together pieces of knowledge of the past that should be rescued from oblivion by being stored in the collective memory. Plutarch's *Table Talks* and especially Macrobius' *Saturnalia* are the prime examples for this encyclopaedic tendency. The literary setting of the symposium allowed the ancient authors to structure their works and

26 The question of the lily on Strasbourg's coins had obviously been Wimpfeling's stimulus to write the treatise, cf. Warken, *Mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung* 436.

27 Cf. among many other contributions on this theme Robert J., *Konrad Celtis und das Projekt der deutschen Dichtung: Studien zur humanistischen Konstitution von Poetik, Philosophie, Nation und Ich* (Tübingen: 2003).

to enrich their literary appeal with little dialogical scenes. Macrobius, for example, in his preface explains that he has written his work for his son in order to bring 'the difference of the various things, with many different authors and stretched over a long distance of time, together in one kind of body so that the things which I excerpted indifferently and without system, coherently come together in an arrangement like members of a body.'[28] In a famous comparison in preface 9, this order is likened to the harmony of a choir in which all voices sing together in tune. This suggests that Macrobius did not only think of his work in terms of usefulness, but also of aesthetic pleasure. However, the *Saturnalia* are no mere literary pastime. Macrobius wrote the treatise at the beginning of the fifth century AD, a tumultuous period for the Roman state and especially for the old senatorial elite in Rome. Macrobius' rather conservative programme is to celebrate cultural achievements of the Romans of the past and thereby to harmonize the reverence for the past with the radically changing political and cultural environment of his own time. In other words: he defines Roman-ness in eternal cultural and political terms.[29]

Macrobius was probably an important pretext for Peutinger because of both the former's aesthetic and political agenda. As his Roman predecessor, the humanist from Augsburg aimed at writing a work of antiquarian scholarship that was an integral part of the contemporary political discourse. But as attractive as Macrobius might have been in this respect, an even more important reason for Peutinger to choose the genre of table talks was a concrete development in his own time. In Germany, a large number of learned circles and *societates* were formed in the late fifteenth and especially early sixteenth centuries. Peutinger himself had been involved in the establishment of the so-called *Sodalitas Augustana* in his home town of Augsburg.[30] The beginning of

28 Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, preface 3: 'sed variarum rerum disparilitas auctoribus diversa, confusa temporibus ita in quoddam digesta corpus est, ut quae indistincte atque promiscue ad subsidium memoriae adnotaveramus, in ordinem instar membrorum cohaerentia convenirent.' Fantham E., *Roman Literary Culture: From Plautus to Macrobius* (Baltimore: 2013^2) 284 stresses the literary complexity of Macrobius' narrative order; cf. for the preface Goldlust B., "Un manifeste sur l'organicité littéraire: la préface des *Saturnales* de Macrobe", in Galand-Hallyn P. – Zarini V. (eds.), *Manifestes littéraires dans la latinité tardive: poétique et rhétorique. Actes du Colloque international de Paris, 23–24 mars 2007* (Paris: 2009) 279–296.

29 For a good overview of Macrobius' work, cf. Cameron A., *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford: 2011), chapter 7 ('Macrobius and the "Pagan" Culture of His Age') 231–272, here 262: 'Macrobius was in effect trying to spearhead a revival of antiquarian scholarship'.

30 See Müller J.-D., "Konrad Peutinger und die Sodalitas Peutingeriana", in: Füssel S. – Pirozyński J. (eds.), *Der polnische Humanismus und die europäischen Sodalitäten: Akten des polnisch-deutschen Symposiums vom 15.-19. Mai 1996 im Collegium Maius der Universität*

the text, the description of the actual start of the symposium, defines such a context of a *sodalitas*, a learned and yet pleasant gathering in which the spirit of ancient Roman *convivia* seems to survive (*Sermones convivales* fol. b II r):

> Severitate omni postposita de variis et admirabilibus ipsius naturae et aliis rebus inter nos iucundissimus plenusque voluptatis et, ut Seneca ad Lucilium scribit,[31] 'nullam rem usque ad exitum adducens, sed aliunde alio transiliens' sermo habebatur.
>
> We had a table talk that was free of strictness and treated manifold and marvellous things of nature itself, and also other things. The discussion was very pleasant, full of joy and, as Seneca writes to Lucilius, 'not too persistent about the individual topics, but jumping from one topic to another'.

The setting is in the house of Matthaeus Lang, a native from Augsburg who since 1505 had been bishop of the diocese of Gurk (close to Klagenfurt); whether the dialogue is situated there or at his native house in Augsburg is not clear from the context and does not matter much. One might think of Augsburg, though, as at least one of the members of the group, Bernhard Waldkirch, was capitular official of the cathedral in Augsburg.[32] A humanistic circle, especially that of Augsburg, is a most fitting spot for this kind of discussion, as Peutinger makes clear from the very beginning of his dedicatory letter to Matthaeus Lang: the city of Augsburg is happy to see that one of her sons, Matthaeus, has reached such high honours that he has become bishop and a close collaborator of Maximilian, the new Augustus and Caesar. The close link between Augsburg and Maximilian on the one hand and between Maximilian and Peutinger on the other, which has been mentioned above, makes the *sodalitas* an ideal spot for discussing German politics. Peutinger's text therefore is not only a text about Germany's glory and about Alsace, but also serves more local and

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Krakau (Wiesbaden: 1997) 167–186. Müller H., "*Specimen eruditionis*: zum Habitus der Renaissance-Humanisten und seiner sozialen Bedeutung", in Rexrodt F. (ed.), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Gelehrten im späten Mittelalter* (Ostfildern: 2010) 117–151, here 129, remarks that *Sermones convivales* were a specific literary genre within the context of these *sodalitates*.

31 Seneca, *Letters to Lucilius* 64, 2.

32 Cf. Müller H., "Der Beitrag der Mönche zum Humanismus im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg: Sigismund Meisterlin und Veit Bild im Vergleich", in Müller G.M. (ed.), *Humanismus und Renaissance in Augsburg: Kulturgeschichte einer Stadt zwischen Spätmittelalter und Dreißigjährigem Krieg* (Berlin – New York: 2010) 389–406, here 391.

personal aims, namely the self-fashioning of one of the major representatives of Augsburg's intellectuals as a key figure for the German debate of his time (I will turn back to this point at the end of my chapter).

As Dieter Mertens has shown, the explicitly political engagement of Peutinger's *Sermones convivales* is a novelty in early modern symposiastic literature, which in the fifteenth century concentrated on humanistic or academic discussions instead of dealing with daily politics.[33] However, Peutinger's text only starts as a symposium. When the Alsatian question has been touched upon, the symposiastic frame is left behind. We even get a new internal preface (almost a second dedication) to Matthaeus Lang. The rest of the text is nothing more than a treatise. There is not a single reference to the symposium, or to the guests, or to questions that came up during the discussions. In fact, the text ends without any attempt to close the narrative framework.[34] Dieter Mertens has explained this by reading the text at face value: according to him, it rather faithfully represents the real symposium of the *Sodalitas Augustana*. When the discussion could not be developed until a satisfying end was reached, Peutinger would have added most of the material after having consulted his library.[35]

No wonder that Dieter Mertens and others find the literary aspect of the *Sermones convivales* rather disappointing. Jan Dirk Müller, on the contrary, offers an explanation for the narrative framework that is more satisfying. He suggests that the main reason for this framework is the portrayal of feudal representation at the Habsburg court: 'Der engere Kreis der Teilnehmer wird durch einen weiteren Kreis von Berühmtheiten [Müller thinks of the contemporary humanists whom Peutinger quotes in the text, CP] wie durch einen äußeren Ring umgeben. Und erst darum schart sich das anonyme Publikum

33 Mertens D., "Zum politischen Dialog bei den oberdeutschen Humanisten", in Guthmüller B. – Müller W.G. (eds.), *Dialog und Gesprächskultur in der Renaissance* (Wiesbaden: 2004) 293–317, here 300–302.

34 More generally, it is noteworthy that most topoi that characterize the genre in antiquity are absent in the *Sermones convivales* (for example, a host who plays a structuring role during the talks, or a non-invited latecomer). Of course, some ancient dialogues also stretch the literary framework to the end, e.g. when in some of Cicero's dialogues speakers are talking almost uninterruptedly for 100 or more paragraphs. But as the term *sermones* is used so prominently in Peutinger's title, I find the disappearance of the frame to be noteworthy.

35 Ibidem 311. On Peutinger's library, 'die größte private Bibliothek seiner Zeit nördlich der Alpen', see the summarizing article by Goerlitz U., "*Minerva* und das *iudicium incorruptum*: Wissensspeicherung und Wissenserschließung in Bibliothek und Nachlass des Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547)", in Schierbaum M. (ed.), *Enzyklopädistik 1550–1650: Typen und Transformationen von Wissensspeichern und Medialisierungen des Wissens* (Münster: 2009) 127–172, here 129.

des Drucks'.[36] But perhaps the framework also enhances the urgency of the political message which Peutinger wants to convey. Whereas the generic beginning might attract readers because of its pleasant literary form, at the end they realize that the topic is too 'hot' to be dealt with only in a relaxed intellectual setting. The second part of the text is not only evidence of humanistic learnedness, but first and foremost primarily an antiquarian essay with a political message, a piece of ideologically driven scholarship that is supposed to influence the readers' understanding of the present. Whereas Macrobius' *Saturnalia* conceal a serious programme of cultural conservatism within the relaxed frame of leisure time spent with friends, Peutinger's *Sermones convivales* break the frame in order to stress that the question of the German Alsace is one of general interest, stretching far beyond the confines of a learned *Sodalitas*.

4 The Eastern Origins of Germania: Annio of Viterbo

The first part of Peutinger's argumentation on the Alsatian question sets the ground for the later argumentation. As he wants to prove that Germany's claims on Alsace are more justified than those of the French king, he first has to argue for the supremacy of the Habsburgian ruler, who represents the Holy Roman Empire, and at the same time the German nation, over the French crown. To achieve this, he turns to what we today would call prehistory, i.e. to the origin of the ancient tribe of Germani and of their reign.

The origin of the Germani from *Tuisco* (known to Peutinger's contemporaries from Tacitus' *Germania*, where he is called Tuisto) is elaborated at length with the help of a source that heavily influenced the discourse of its time: pseudo-Berosus, or, to be more precise, the fifteenth-century forgery by Annio of Viterbo of a chronographic work which he attributed to the Chaldean Berossos, who had lived in the fourth century BC and of whom only very scarce fragments are known today.[37] Annio's text was extremely well received, as it ingeniously filled the gap between the deluge of Noah and the Trojan war. As all

36 Müller, "Konrad Peutinger" 179.

37 On Peutinger's use of Annio, see Lehr T., *Was nach der Sintflut wirklich geschah: die Antiquitates des Annius von Viterbo und ihre Rezeption in Deutschland im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M.: 2012) 215–230. For a short introduction to Annio's forgery, especially his interest in inventing an Etruscan past, and for the role Flavius Josephus played in his project, see Stephens W., "From Berossos to Berosus Chaldaeus: the Forgeries of Annius of Viterbo and their Fortune", in Haubold J. et al. (eds.), *The World of Berossos: Proceedings of the 4th International Colloquium on "The Ancient Near East Between Classical and Ancient Oriental Traditions", Hatfield College, Durham 7th–9th July 2010* (Wiesbaden: 2013) 277–289.

men were descendants of Noah, and as most European rulers were interested in having an ancestor among the survivors of Troy, such a project could serve almost all national historiographers extremely well.[38] Annio had included his forgery in his treatise *Antiquitates variae* and had added ample commentaries to the alleged ancient text, thus making the whole book look like a 'real' humanistic edition of an authorial classical text.

An important reason for the huge success of Annio's treatise in Germany was that the work reconciled the Tacitean tradition of the mythological origins of the Germani (Tuisco, followed by Mannus and his three sons) with biblical chronology. In short, Tuisco, according to Peutinger, was a son of Noah (*Sermones convivales* fols. <b IIII v–b v r>):

> Ipseque Noa, ut idem [Berosus] libro III refert, Ianus ob vitis inventae beneficium quod Arameis sonat quod vinifer sive vitifer, item Coelum et Ogyges cognominatus est; genuitque post diluvium filios plures, inter quos Tuisconem Germanorum et Sarmatum patrem, et cum partitus esset terram omnem, eundem in Europa Sarmatiae praefecit, ut libro IIII docet. Ipsius quoque termini erant Tanais atque Rhenus.
>
> This Noah, as our author [pseudo-Berosus, CP] tells in book 3, is also called Ianus because of the benefaction of having found out how to cultivate wine (in Aramaic, the word means bringer of wine), or Heaven or Ogyges. After the deluge, he got many sons, among them Tuisco, the father of the Germani and Sarmatians; and when he divided the earth (among his sons), he gave to Tuisco the dominion over the Sarmatians in Europe, as he teaches in book 4. The borders of his reign were the Tanais[39] and the Rhine.

Peutinger here summarizes Annio's text very neatly. In the third book of the alleged work of Berosus, Annio had printed the stemma of this lineage as the first stemma of the sons of Noah, thus giving to the German line pride of place (as a marginal addition printed in the 1512 edition emphasizes: 'Germanorum

38 A recent and good overview is Keller W., *Selves and Nations: the Troy Story from Sicily to England in the Middle Ages* (Heidelberg: 2008); more specifically on the Habsburg court: Tanner M., *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: the Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, CT: 1993).

39 The Sarmatian river (to be identified with the Don) according to ancient geography divided Europe from Asia, cf. Strabo, *Geography* XI, 2, 1.

excellentia').[40] In Annio's commentary, we read (Annio, *Antiquitates* 15 [= pseudo-Berosus, book 3], fol. CX v):[41]

> Sed notandum sunt duo: quod Noa sibi in filios adoptavit Tuysconis posteritatem et ideo in eius arbore ponuntur et non aliorum nepotes; in quo precellunt Germani et Sarmate, qui dicuntur nunc Tuysci a Latinis et Gallis.
>
> Two things are of special interest: namely that Noah adopted as his own sons the progeny of Tuisco, which therefore appears in his stemma, and not the descendants of others. In this, the Germani and Sarmatians who are now called Tuisci (Germans) by the Latins and French, outdo all other nations.

The fourth Berosian book then speaks of the division of the earth after the *diluvium*. Tuisco is said to have been given the reign of the European region Sarmatia.[42]

Tuisco's main achievement, according to Peutinger/Annio, is that he ruled over the Sarmatians, who in antiquity lived around the Black Sea but are presented as being the primordial tribe of Europe.[43] On the one hand, this ancient genealogy helps reinforce Peutinger's point that the *Germani* of antiquity are a very old and, more importantly, a culturally high-ranked tribe – in fact, they descended directly from the Sarmatians, the first rulers of Europe. Therefore, they would never have yielded to foreign, that is, Gallic, dominion in later times and could still claim political primacy in Europe in Peutinger's own time. On the other hand, even if Peutinger does not make this link explicit in his text, the eastern origin of the Germani fits the medieval legend of the Trojan origin of the Franks for which Peutinger towards the end of his treatise quotes Pius II as his source (*Sermones convivales* fol. d <I> v):

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40 The stemma is reproduced in Krebs C.B., *A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus's Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich* (New York – London: 2011) 103.

41 I quote from the edition *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII a venerando et sacre theologie et praedicatorii ordinis professore Io. Annio hac serie declarata* ([Paris], Badius Ascensius: 1512). For a good overview of the complex work of Annio, see Lehr, *Was nach der Sintflut* 62–100. On p. 68, he stresses the central importance of Berosus' book 15 ('Von hier aus läßt sich das ganze Werk erschließen, dessen weitere Bücher ihn lediglich vorbereiten, ergänzen oder präzisieren').

42 Annio, *Antiquitates* fol. CXVII v: 'in Europa regem Sarmatie fecit Tuisconem a Tanai ad Rhenum'.

43 On the "Sarmatism" in Polish early modern historiography, see Barbara Arciszewska's article in this volume and the secondary literature collected there.

> Pius II Pontifex Maximus in *Europa* sua inquit: 'Franci quidem Troiani Ilio deleto Priamo duce Priami ex sorore nepote Pontum Euxinum in Meotidas et in Scythiam pervenere ibique Sicambriam condiderunt, a qua dicti sunt Sicambri'.
>
> Pope Pius II says in his *Europa*: 'After the destruction of Ilion, the Trojan Franks with their leader Priam, a nephew of king Priam from his sister's family, came to the Black Sea to the region of the Maeotians in Scythia, where they founded Sicambria, from which settlement they received their name, Sicambri'.[44]

These Sicambri, he continues, inhabited Germania before Julius Caesar's arrival in the region.[45] Peutinger transforms this eastern connection of the ancient Germani into a *leitmotif* of Germany's ancient and medieval history. He needs it as proof that since the era of Charlemagne, Germany has been the new seat of the world's most powerful empire.[46] This *translatio imperii* always moved from the East westwards (in ancient times, the Empire went from Babylonia and Egypt via Greece to Rome). This means, as a consequence, that the German kings cannot possibly have inherited their power from the (western) French crown. It is therefore not surprising that when speaking of the *translatio imperii*, Peutinger quotes a poem by Sebastian Brant in which the Frankish Charlemagne is said to be the offspring of an eastern tribe.[47]

The eastern connection also serves for a short digression on a local tradition in Augsburg. As noted above, Peutinger pays special attention to his home town, one of the ancient Roman cities in Germany, throughout his text in order to enhance its importance as a cultural and political centre of his time. In the case of the discussion of the eastern origins, Augsburg serves as proof

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44 Cf. Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *De Europa* 38 (130); I note the following textual variants from van Heck's critical edition: Troiani] Troiani ab origine *van Heck*; Pontum Euxinum] per Pontum Euxinum *van Heck*; in Meotidas] et meothicas paludes *van Heck*; Sicambriam condiderunt] civitatem edificaverunt quam vocavere Sycambriam *van Heck*.

45 *Sermones convivales* fol. d II r: 'Sicambri ante Caesaris dictatoris tempora sedes suas fixas apud Germanos habuerunt'.

46 On the reception of this *translatio*-idea in fifteenth-century Augsburg, cf. Müller G.M., "*Quod non sit honor Augustensibus si dicantur a Teucris ducere originem*: humanistische Aspekte in der *Cronographia Augustensium* des Sigismund Meisterlin", in idem, *Humanismus und Renaissance* 237–273, here 242–248.

47 Cf. *Sermones convivales*, fol. <d IIII v>: 'Germanus quianam nostro quoque natus in orbe / Karolus et vero semine Theuton erat. / *Nempe orientalis Francus fuit* […]' ('Because also Charlemagne is born as a German in our part of the world; he was of true Teutonic offspring. *And indeed the Frank was of eastern origin* […]' [emphasis mine]).

of Germany's ancient importance on the whole. Peutinger tries to explain the existence of a strange local tradition, the sanctuary of a so-called local deity named Zisa (Cisa). She first appears in sources of the eleventh century,[48] but in Peutinger's time it was believed that the cult had ancient roots. Peutinger starts from Tacitus' remark in the *Germania* that a part of the *Suebi* venerated Isis, but that he does not know the origin for this foreign cult,[49] and then comments on this piece of information (*Sermones convivales*, fol. b v v):

> Ea causa mihi persuadeo nostrates Augustenses falso Cisam deam appellare templumque hoc, quod fuisse credunt, ubi nunc Augustae praetorium conspicimus, non Cisae […] sed Isidis fuisse, collisque ibi publici carceris non Cisen-, sed Isenberg quasi Isidis montem appellant.
>
> Therefore, I am convinced that our inhabitants of Augsburg have it wrong if they speak of a deity Cisa, and that the temple which, as they believe, once stood where one can see the town hall of Augsburg today, was not dedicated to Cisa, […] but to Isis. They call the hills of the public prison not Cisenberg, but Isenberg, that is to say, mountain of Isis.

This peculiar piece of information is not only of local interest. Obviously, it is suitable for Peutinger's aim to stress the eastern roots of Germany's past. As Thomas Lehr has shown, the key to this peculiar interpretation is again Annio da Viterbo, who claimed the Egyptian kings Isis and Osiris had long ago come to the Suebi. With this additional information, it was possible to give a satisfactory explanation for Tacitus' account that the ancient Germani venerated Isis. Consequently, Peutinger could more convincingly connect Augsburg's local Zisa with the Egyptian goddess.[50]

As we have seen, Annio of Viterbo's forged Berosian genealogy was of the utmost interest to Peutinger for his development of a glorious early history of the Germani. However, ps.-Berosus could potentially be a dangerous source, too.

48 The medieval sources are collected in Grimm J., *Deutsche Mythologie* (Göttingen: 1835) 269–275; the connection to Isis, which is mentioned on pp. 275–276, is probably influenced by sources like Peutinger's treatise. Cf. Simek R., *Lexikon der germanischen Mythologie* (Stuttgart: 1984) 63, who refers to scepticism about this alleged deity in modern research.

49 Cf. Tacitus, *Germania* 9, 1: 'pars Sueborum Isidi sacrificat; unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi'.

50 Lehr, *Was nach der Sintflut* 223–225, where he also shows that Peutinger did not simply copy Annio, but also made creative use of his information: he connects the invention of beer brewing to the early visitor Osiris.

The passages quoted above reveal that, according to Annio's treatise, the reign of Tuisco, enormous as it was, was nevertheless limited by the shores of the Rhine. Annio's commentary to the 'Berosian' sentence 'he made Tuisco king over the Sarmatians in Europe from the Tanais to the Rhine' not only explains the name *Germania* as a Roman invention (another potentially painful remark for Peutinger, according to whom it was a much older name), but explicitly marks a boundary which Peutinger wanted to downplay in his *Sermones convivales* (Annio, *Antiquitates*, fol. CXVIII r; emphasis mine):

> Scytharum nomen usque in Sarmatas et Germanos transiit. Nam Germania dicta est sub Romanis teste Cornelio Tacito de situ et moribus Germanorum. Est autem Germania proprie *a Rheno amne, qui dividit Gallos a Germanis* [...].
>
> The name of the Scythians was taken unto the Sarmatians and the Germani. For the name Germania came up under the Romans, as is witnessed by Cornelius Tacitus in his *Germania*. Germania in a proper sense begins at *the Rhine which divides the Gauls from the Germani* [...]

This is the reason why Annio is the main source of only the first part of Peutinger's treatise. As soon as the earliest history has been established, Peutinger has to rely on other sources in order to argue the second step of his case, namely the German roots of Alsace.

5 *Germania cisrhenana*: Peutinger's Philology

Peutinger's treatise gives evidence of the impressive learnedness of its author, who masters a broad spectrum of Greek and Roman sources with ease. Surely this exhibition of antiquarian competence is one of the functions of the text. As someone who had been trained in humanistic historiography, Peutinger knew that the authority of one's written account depended, among other things, on the number of sources one could quote. Surely one of Peutinger's main aims was to inscribe himself into the by then international circles of humanists. His mastery of ancient literature is impressive and covers far more than the usual authorities (Tacitus, Caesar). Moreover, Peutinger regularly quotes his contemporaries, not only German humanists like Conrad Celtis or Sebastian Brant, but also Italians like Enea Silvio Piccolomini or Biondo Flavio (whose *Italia illustrata* also is an important pretext for the *Sermones convivales* on the level

of its cultural-political impact).[51] However, he does so with a critical spirit, especially when it comes to Italians who tried to downplay the achievements of Germany. At one point, he even criticizes his venerated teacher Pomponio Leto in rather drastic terms because Leto, with reference to a passage in pseudo-Cyprian, had ascribed the invention of printed books to antiquity, namely to the god Saturnus.[52] Even if Leto's spokesman for this claim had been a church father (only recently has the treatise been attributed to an anonymous author transmitted under Cyprian's name), Peutinger considers it to be a lie.[53] Among his German contemporaries, it is striking that Peutinger never mentions Conrad Celtis' programmatic text *Germania generalis*. The reason for this lacuna might be that in this poetic work (that was first published in his edition of Tacitus' *Germania* of 1498/1500) Celtis defined the Rhine as Germany's western border (vv. 110–111):[54]

> Pulcer ab occiduo quas claudit limite Rhenus
> Qui pulchras rapidus †alveo† preterit urbes.
>
> [...] the beautiful Rhine forms the Western border [of Germany's territory], the Rhine that in his bed quickly passes by beautiful cities.

Peutinger's main focus is nevertheless on the large number of ancient sources, among which (not surprisingly) Tacitus and Caesar take pride of place. But Pliny the Elder, Ammianus Marcellinus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and many others also are quoted regularly. It is probably no coincidence and is surely intended to impress the readers that the first classical source quoted

51 On the ideological aspect of antiquarian studies as such and of Biondo's works especially, see Enenkel K.A.E., "The Politics of Antiquarianism: Neo-Latin Treatises on Cultural History as Ideology and Propaganda", in Enenkel K.A.E et al. (eds.), *Discourses of Power: Ideology and Politics in Neo-Latin Literature* (Hildesheim: 2012) 43–64.

52 *Sermones convivales* fol. c <1> r: 'movit mihi stomachum praeceptor meus rerum vetustarum alioquin solertissimus inquisitor Pomponius Laetus; voluit enim nobis Germanis inventae artis impressoriae laudem praeripere' ('I got very angry about my teacher Pomponio Leto, the otherwise very competent investigator of antiquity; for he wanted to take the invention of the letterpress away from us Germans').

53 Pseudo-Cyprianus, *Liber de idolorum vanitate* 2 (quoted from: *Patrologia Latina* 4, ed. J.P. Migne, cols. 563–582): 'hic [i.e. Saturnus, CP] litteras imprimere, hic signare nummos primus in Italia instituit'.

54 Quoted after Müller G.M., *Die 'Germania generalis' des Conrad Celtis: Studien mit Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Tübingen: 2001) 96.

is not Tacitus' *Germania*,[55] but Ammianus Marcellinus, who mentions two Germaniae.[56] Additionally, if it seems useful, Peutinger also quotes (local) inscriptions (which he published in 1505) and in two cases even numismatic evidence, thus showing himself to be absolutely up to date with respect to the antiquarian methodology of his time. Peutinger tries to harmonize all these different sources in order to rule out any argument that could question the German claim of the western Rhine regions. To give one example for this tactic: Caesar's fourth book of *De bello Gallico* is quoted only sporadically because there Caesar mentions that the Germani lived on the eastern shore of the Rhine and crossed the Rhine only in order to wage war with the Gallic inhabitants. Instead, Caesar's second book is Peutinger's favourite, in which Caesar speaks of the 'Germani cisrhenani' ('Germani on the western shore of the Rhine', *De bello Gallico* II, 3) and defines the Belgae in the following way (*Sermones convivales*, fols. b III v–b IV r = *Bellum Gallicum* II, 4; emphasis mine):

> Belgas [...] plerosque a Germanis ortos Rhenumque *antiquitus* traductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse.
>
> Most Belgae stem from the Germani and crossed the Rhine in ancient times because of the fertility of the place; they settled there and drove the Galli off who lived in this region.

At a certain point, Peutinger deals with the question of whether Germania was a relatively recent name that had come up in the time of Caesar and Tacitus, or whether it was much older. Peutinger is thus given the opportunity to deal with opposing opinions within the ancient authorities (*Sermones convivales* fols. <b VI> v–<b VII> r):

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55 Cf. on Tacitus' extraordinary popularity recently Krebs, *A Most Dangerous Book*, and Kaiser R., "Lesarten und Funktionalisierung: zum Verständis der *Germania* des Tacitus in der Kommentarliteratur des deutschen Renaissance-Humanismus in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts", in: Eusterschulte A. et al. (eds.), *Buchkulturen des deutschen Humanismus: Netzwerke und Kristallisationspunkte* (forthcoming).

56 Cf. *Sermones convivales* fol. b III v: 'pro Germaniae nostrae laude Ammianum Marcellinum referre dixi ambas Germanias (primam et secundam eas ita appellat) inter Belgas et Rhenum sitas esse'. ('I said that for the praise of our Germany, Ammianus Marcellinus has mentioned two Germaniae (he calls them the first and the second) and that they are situated between the Belgae and the Rhine'). The reference is to Ammianus Marcellinus XV, 11, 6–7, where Ammianus lists the regions of Gaul among which of those he mentions are the first and the second Germania; cf. also XXVII, 1, 2 ('per utramque Germaniam').

> Germaniae vocabulum recens esse dicunt libro VII Strabo[57] et Tacitus 'nuperque additum quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi sunt Gallos expulerint at nunc Tungri nunc Germani appellati sunt. Ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox a se ipsis, invento nomine Germani vocarentur'.[58] Ego autem id magis vetustum credo. Prisco enim Tarquinio Romae et Ambigato supra Gallos regnante in Italiam Gallorum transitum T. Livius libro V primae decadis describit[59] et de Belloveso Ambigati sororis filio, cui augurio quodam Dii laetiorem in Italiam viam dabant. Ita inquit alia subinde manus Germanorum Elitovio duce vestigia priorum secuta eodem saltu favente Belloveso.
>
> That the word 'Germania' is not old, is asserted by Strabo in book 7 and Tacitus: 'and newly introduced, from the fact that the tribes which first crossed the Rhine and drove out the Gauls, and are now called Tungrians, and now Germans. Thus what was the name of a tribe, and not of a race, gradually prevailed, till all called themselves by this self-invented name of Germans, which the conquerors had first employed to inspire terror'. But I believe that the name is more ancient. For when Tarquinius Priscus was king in Rome and Ambigatus reigned in Gaul, the Gauls entered Italy, as Livy describes in the fifth book of his first decade; he also writes about Bellovesus, the son of Ambigatus' sister to whom the gods with a good omen granted an easier passage into Italy. Thus, says Livy, another group of Germani under their leader Elitovius immediately followed the former group via the same pass; Bellovesus approved their march.

It is typical of Peutinger's eclectic way of treating his sources that in the case of the antiquity of the name 'Germania', he has to argue against Tacitus' *Germania*. It would have been easy to leave the whole question out of the text in order not to question the Tacitean authority, but Peutinger seems almost to enjoy the moment in which he can show his critical spirit – in fact, the passage is one of the very few in which he uses an explicit reference to his own beliefs, 'ego […] credo'. And it is Livy who saves him. He informs Peutinger's readers that the word Germani existed already around 600 BC, in the era of the fifth Roman king, Tarquinius Priscus.

57 Strabo VII, 1, 2.

58 Tacitus, *Germania* 2, 3.

59 Livy V, 34–35 (modern editions read *Etitovio* instead of *Elitovio*).

I have already hinted at the fact that Peutinger's *Sermones convivales* have elements of a speech in defence of *Germania*. This is especially visible in the argument about Germany's history in antiquity. After the long first part in which the positive arguments for Germany's glorious past in antiquity are piled up in a kind of rhetorical *confirmatio*, a new part is labelled *refutatio* of the counter-arguments. Its first words stress this division: 'Against us, they bring forward the very same witnesses, deserters of our fatherland; we will answer to their charges as well as we can'.[60] The problem with which Peutinger has to deal in this section is the undeniable fact that in Caesar's time, Gallic tribes settled on the western shores of the Rhine, and that many ancient authors mentioned the Rhine as the border between Gauls and Germani. Peutinger's list of ancient authorities who serve as witnesses for the other party is impressive: Caesar, Pliny, Tacitus, Suetonius, Solinus, Orosius, Eutropius, and Paul the Deacon. Peutinger's contemporaries could easily infer from these that the western Rhine province historically belonged to the French kings. His refutation of their arguments is ingenuous, as it differentiates between (in the words of Franz Josef Worstbrock) 'Siedlungsgeschichte' and 'Herrschaftsgeschichte':[61] he admits that the Galli once had settled on the western shores, but according to him they did not rule over the Germani, who did not care very much about their neighbours. When, however, the Germani decided to cross the river, they immediately drove the Gauls out of their homeland and took over the dominion.[62] Thus, the Germani had never been subdued by the Gauls; only after having been free for a long time (Germany's *libertas* is an important concept in Peutinger's treatise, as it was in other texts by German humanists of the time)[63] did they bow to the Roman emperors or Germanic kings (*Sermones convivales* fol. c III r): 'nunquam Gallis sed vel Romanis vel Caesaribus Augustis vel etiam regibus vera origine Germanis paruerunt'. The line of Roman Caesares Augusti, however, was still continued in Peutinger's time both institutionally and dynastically through the Holy Roman Empire that was preserved by Charlemagne

60 *Sermones convivales* fol. c II v (emphasis mine): 'Contra nos forte patriae desertores *testes* eosdem proferent quibus, si poterimus, *satisfaciemus*'.

61 Worstbrock, "Peutinger", cols. 10–11. Kaiser, "Lesarten und Funktionalisierung", mentions that undeniable historical discontinuities in the settlement of Germania/Germany formed a major challenge for commentaries on Tacitus' *Germania* in the first half of the sixteenth century.

62 *Sermones convivales* fol. c III r: 'Gallis expulsis Germani cisrhenum sedes proprias fixerunt'.

63 The etymology of the Franks as *liberi* is stressed on fol. d II r, cf. also Piccolomini, *De Europa* 38 (130).

and was in Peutinger's time in the hands of the house of Habsburg and especially in those of his major patron, Emperor Maximilian I.[64]

6 Conclusion

Konrad Peutinger's *Sermones convivales* are an excellent example of an antiquarian treatise with a highly political agenda. He outdoes his predecessors in the completeness of the source material that he was able to produce as evidence, and he radically interprets the sources according to the interests of his patron, the Habsburg emperor. The formal innovation – i.e. the incorporation of symposiastic literature into a politically informed antiquarian treatise – further adds to its effectiveness. In effect, one could say that Peutinger recuperated the Macrobian notion of political urgency for the genre of table talks in a way that was unprecedented in previous humanistic literature.

The treatise has various aims. First, as has been demonstrated above, it wants to legitimize Habsburg supremacy in Europe, and as a consequence the Habsburg interest in Alsace. It was this aspect of the text that seems to have triggered a special interest in the humanistic circle of Strasbourg, as the paratexts of the 1506 edition attest. Second, it wants to demonstrate to the humanist Republic of Letters that Germany's glorious past still is vigorous in Peutinger's own time. Therefore, Peutinger participates in the same intellectual methods as most humanistic historiographers and antiquarian writers: reading and rearranging ancient sources in order to prove one's own point with the authority of antiquity. Peutinger's text thus becomes a performative proof that German humanists are operating on a level equal to those of their colleagues in other countries (especially Italy). Third, Peutinger wants to enhance the renown of his home town of Augsburg. As a Roman foundation and a powerful city in the present, it functions as a successful example of the rootedness of Germany's glory in the past. What is more, as one of the few free imperial cities, it represents the love for *libertas* that according to Peutinger was so dear to the old Germani and Franks. In other words: it could rightly postulate a special position among the cities of the Habsburgian Empire. Also, its very name is helpful: in early modern times, verbal similarities and alleged etymologies had a hugely persuasive power. At a certain point in his text, Peutinger points to an

64 Cf. Krebs, *A Most Dangerous Book* 128, on the stereotypes of the Germani as immediate role models for early sixteenth-century Germans: 'By 1505 the mythical *Germanen* had become exemplary Germans: pure and noble, long-limbed, fair, and flaxen-haired; free-spirited, stouthearted, and straightforward.'

important one: Augsburg, the *urbs Augusta Vindelicorum*, relates to the Roman emperors (the 'Augusti Caesares'), and ultimately also to the contemporary Emperor Maximilian. In order to stress this, Peutinger remarks that Drusus, the son of Emperor Tiberius, had restored the buildings of the city in antiquity ('restituit urbem aedificiis'), whereas Maximilian continued to amplify the town ('amplificaturque in dies ab invicto Caesare Maximiliano').[65] Antiquity and the present day merge in Augsburg in a way that definitively seals the legitimacy of the Habsburg rulers.[66] It is little wonder that Peutinger emphasizes this: already since 1491, he himself is a similarly successful example of the close connection between Augsburg and the Habsburg court.[67] According to Zasius' accompanying epigram mentioned above, with his *Sermones convivales* Peutinger restored Germany's glory, 'restituit rem'. Not by chance does the word 'restituere' link Peutinger's achievements to those of the ancient Roman rulers, in this case Drusus, who restored the city with his building programme. The fourth aim of the text is therefore the self-fashioning of its author Peutinger as a leading authority on antiquity and, by consequence, of politics. This personal interest is surely not of the least importance in Peutinger's quest for an appropriate past.

65 *Sermones convivales* fol. c II r. The foundation by Drusus was already mentioned in Otto von Freising, *Chronica* 3, 3 (ed. A. Hofmeister, *MGH SS rer. Germ.* 45, Hannover – Leipzig: 1912) 139f: 'Hic Drusus Maguntiam in Gallia et Augustam in Retia, quae antea Vindelica dicebatur, ex nomine Augusti fundasse vel instaurasse dicitur.' ('Here Drusus is said to have founded or restored Mainz in Gallia and Augsburg in Raetia which before was called Vindelica and which received its name from the name of Augustus.') The idea reappears in the fifteenth-century *Cronographia Augustensium* of Sigismund Meisterlin, cf. Müller, "*Quod non sit honor*" 253. On Peutinger's vision of the mediating role of the Middle Ages, see Müller, "Konrad Peutinger" 186, and more generally Goerlitz, "Maximilan I.". For Peutinger and Arminius, cf. also Ridé J., *L'image du Germain dans la pensée et la littérature allemandes de la redécouverte de Tacite à la fin du XVI*ème *siècle*, PhD dissertation (Paris: 1976) 486–487.

66 That Peutinger was interested in increasing the glory of his home town by revealing its antiquity can be deduced from the fact that only one year after he had written the *Sermones convivales*, in 1505 he published his collection of local inscriptions, *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta*, which soon became famous across the whole humanistic world. Cf. Ott M., "Konrad Peutinger und die Inschriften des römischen Augsburg: die *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* von 1505 im Kontext des gelehrten Wissens nördlich und südlich der Alpen", in: Müller, *Humanismus und Renaissance* 275–289, esp. 289.

67 According to Goerlitz, "Peutinger" 180, Peutinger advised the emperor on his projects to commemorate his own deeds ('gedechtnus').

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CHAPTER 19

Translating the Past: Local Romanesque Architecture in Germany and Its Fifteenth-Century Reinterpretation

Stephan Hoppe

The early history of northern Renaissance architecture has long been presented as being the inexorable occurrence of an almost viral dissemination of Italian Renaissance forms and motifs.[1] For the last two decades, however, the interconnected and parallel histories of enfolding Renaissance humanism have produced new analytical models of reciprocal exchange and of an actively creative reception of knowledge, ideas, and texts yet to be adopted more widely by art historical research.[2]

In what follows, the focus will be on a particular part of the history of early German Renaissance architecture, i.e. on the new engagement with the historical – and by then long out-of-date – world of Romanesque architectural style and its possible connections to emerging Renaissance historiography

1 Cf. Hitchcock H.-R., *German Renaissance Architecture* (Princeton, NJ: 1981).

2 Burke P., *The Renaissance* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: 1987); Black R., "Humanism", in Allmand C. (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, c. 1415–c. 1500*, vol. 7 (Cambridge: 1998) 243–277; Helmrath J., "Diffusion des Humanismus. Zur Einführung", in Helmrath J. – Muhlack U. – Walther G. (eds.), *Diffusion des Humanismus. Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten* (Göttingen: 2002) 9–34; Muhlack U., *Renaissance und Humanismus* (Berlin – Boston: 2017); Roeck B., *Der Morgen der Welt. Die Geschichte der Renaissance* (Munich: 2017). For more on the field of modern research in early German humanism, see note 98 below.

The following works may serve as examples of the current art historical debate that seek a more nuanced understanding of the exchange processes between the Renaissance arts outside Italy: Belozerskaya M., *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe* (Cambridge: 2002); Smith J.C., *The Northern Renaissance* (London: 2004); Nußbaum N. – Euskirchen C. – Hoppe S. (eds.), *Wege zur Renaissance. Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen neuzeitlicher Kunstauffassung im Rheinland und in den Nachbargebieten um 1500* (Cologne: 2003); Chatenet M. – Kavaler E.M. (eds.), *Le Gothique de la Renaissance, Actes des quatrièmes Rencontres d'architecture européenne*, Paris, 12–16 juin 2007 (Paris: 2011); Hoppe S. – Nußbaum N. – Müller M. (eds.), *Stil als Bedeutung in der nordalpinen Renaissance. Wiederentdeckung einer methodischen Nachbarschaft* (Regensburg: 2008); Kavaler E.M., *Renaissance Gothic: Architecture and the Arts in Northern Europe 1470–1540* (New Haven, CT: 2012).

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and thought.[3] A rather new element in this context constitutes the analytical integration of the different roles taken on by learned and mobile *Brückenfiguren* (bridging figures),[4] a number of German and Italian humanist writers, councillors, politicians, and courtiers, within transregional networks. Therefore, this essay attempts to sketch out the first outlines of an entangled history (*histoire croisée*) of early humanism and artistic developments in the late fifteenth century in Germany. In this way, the intellectual background between particular architectural innovations which can be labelled as a kind of Romanesque Renaissance may perhaps be better understood. In addition, some connections, little regarded thus far, between contemporaneous approaches to historiography and the search for an appropriate language of architecture can be opened up to an interdisciplinary debate.

Although the artistic and intellectual phenomena of the Romanesque Renaissance described in this essay do not end with the fifteenth century (and are not restricted to German-speaking lands), for reasons of space their continued existence and further development can only be traced into the early sixteenth century.

1 The Romanesque Style as a New Model

As the current state of art historical research indicates, the electoral Saxon court and its residences remodelled in the 1470s played an important role in developing a new attitude towards the architectural achievements and stylistic idiosyncrasies of previous cultural eras.

3 My own scholarly engagement with the theme of a contemporary perception of different styles in the architecture of the early Renaissance (and late Gothic) outside Italy and of its context in the history of thought started in 2001 with my paper at the first Sigurd-Greven-Colloquium at the University of Cologne on the beginnings of the Renaissance in the Rhineland (Hoppe, S., "Romanik als Antike und die baulichen Folgen. Mutmaßungen zu einem in Vergessenheit geratenen Diskurs", in Nußbaum – Euskirchen – Hoppe, *Wege zur Renaissance* 89–131). I would like to thank numerous colleagues who at the time received my perhaps somewhat unconventional theses with favour and who subsequently offered valuable suggestions and commentaries, in particular Hubertus Günther, Norbert Nußbaum, Claudia Eußkirchen, Krista De Jonge, Konrad Ottenheym (especially for coining the term 'Romanesque Renaissance' at a 2017 conference in Florence), Jean Guillaume, Hanns Hubach, Ute Verstegen, Matt Ethan Kavaler, and many more. I wish to thank Andrea M. Gáldy for her editorial assistance in preparing the present essay for its English-language publication. This essay is dedicated to Hubertus Günther and Jean Guillaume.

4 For this term of 'Brückenfigur', see Helmrath in relation to Enea Silvio Piccolomini: Helmrath J, "Vestigia Aeneae imitari. Enea Silvio Piccolomini als 'Apostel' des Humanismus. Formen und Wege seiner Diffusion", in Helmrath – Muhlack – Walther, *Diffusion des Humanismus* 102.

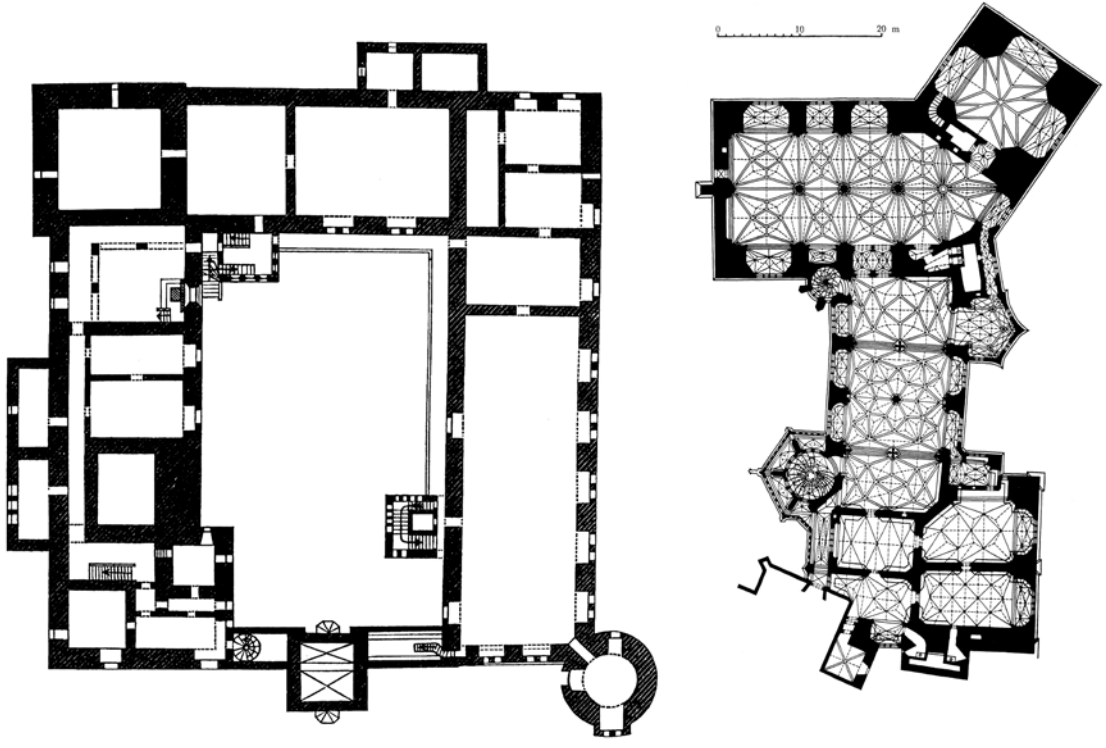


FIGURE 19.1 Left: Dresden, residential palace (Schloss), attributed to Arnold of Westfalen (ca. 1468–ca. 1475). Right: Albrechtsburg in Meißen, by Arnold of Westfalen (1471–ca. 1490), roughly the same scale
IMAGE © AUTHOR

In 1468, the brothers Elector Ernest (1441–1486) and Duke Albert III (Albrecht) (1443–1500) of Saxony decided to transform the old Wettin castle in Dresden into a modern and up-to-date residence [Fig. 19.1 left].[5] The architecture of the renovated castle in the shape of a compact four-wing complex built around an inner courtyard on a quite regular plan was well able to integrate a range of diverse functions. It was also supposed to match current new ideals of courtly architecture as they were developing at the time throughout Europe. The castle was later rebuilt and enlarged. Nonetheless, its late fifteenth-century shape is well documented by a sixteenth-century wooden model, and it has also been quite well reconstructed by means of archaeological excavations in recent decades.[6]

Based on such information, an architectural ideal can be reconstructed at the Saxon court, the models for which probably ought to be sought out above all in the emergent duchy of Burgundy, which set new standards for the display of princely magnificence at the time.[7] One of these particular models may have been the Palais Rihour, constructed from scratch from 1453 for Duke Philip the Good (1396–1467) in Lille, displaying a main stair turret on a square or rectangular ground plan, which we also find in Dresden. Other examples, such as the new stair turret added by Duke Charles the Bold (1433–1477) in 1468 to the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels or the splendid, today only partially preserved city palaces of the elites close to the court in Bruges and other Burgundian towns, may also have been highly influential in Saxony.[8] Dresden

5 For a modern art historical survey about this era north of the Alps, see: DaCosta Kaufmann T., *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800* (Chicago: 1995). For a nuanced and useful explanation of the political background as well as of the various attempts at reform within the Holy Roman Empire, see the recent survey by Brady T.A., *German Histories in the Age of Reformations: 1400–1650* (Cambridge – Leiden: 2009).

6 Oelsner N., "Die Errichtung der spätgotischen Schlossanlage (1468 bis 1480) und ihre weitere Entwicklung bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Bauaufgabe – Strukturen – Befunde", in Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen (ed.), *Das Residenzschloss zu Dresden*, vol. 1: *Von der mittelalterlichen Burg zur Schlossanlage der Spätgotik und Frührenaissance* (Petersberg: 2013) 189–231.

7 On the residences in Lille, Ghent, and Brussels, see De Jonge K., "Bourgondische residenties in het graafschap Vlaanderen. Rijsel, Brugge en Gent ten tijde van Filips de Goede", *Handelingen der Maatschappij der Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 54 (2000) 93–134. Heymans V. – Cnockaert L. – Honoré F. et al. (eds.), *Le Palais du Coudenberg à Bruxelles. Du château médiéval au site archéologique* (Brussels: 2014).

8 German scholarship generally tends to pick up French examples as models for the electoral Saxon palace architecture of the time. With regard to Dresden Castle, however, these influences cannot be traced, nor are they referenced in the extensive recent work of Norbert Oelsner. Oelsner lists the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels and the castles in Berlin and Innsbruck as reference objects: Oelsner, "Spätgotische Schlossanlage" 189–231.

Castle, therefore, followed then-current northern European trends, which in principle still stylistically fit the tried-and-tested architectural traditions of the late Gothic. *All'antica* stylistic elements, which at the time had been developed in Italy for palace architecture, for example in Florence, Naples, or Urbino, cannot be detected in the original basic concept at Dresden.

The councillor and lord marshal of the Wettins Hugold of Schleinitz (1435–1490) imitated the concept and the stylistic orientation of the renovated electoral castle at Dresden when he undertook the modernization of his own country seat of Rochsburg, west of Dresden, from 1470 onwards. Hugold of Schleinitz was the highest-ranking superintendent of financial administration, of parts of the administration of the electoral court, and of foreign policy, and thus was a very powerful person.[9] Therefore, it may be assumed that the modernization of the castles in Dresden as well as in Rochsburg followed to a substantial degree his own perceptions, shaped in accordance with international standards. In both cases, the electoral court architect Arnold of Westfalen (ca. 1425–1481) was probably responsible for the artistic realization, since Hugold expressly lauded his intellectual capacities.[10]

Only a year later, in 1471, the perceptions of ideal princely architecture had changed considerably at the Saxon court [Fig. 19.1 right]. An expression of this change is the Albrechtsburg above Meißen, started in that same year.[11] Even

9 Streich B., *Zwischen Reiseherrschaft und Residenzbildung. Der Wettinische Hof im späten Mittelalter* (Cologne – Vienna: 989), for example 129.

10 For the rebuilding of Rochsburg Castle, begun in 1470 according to the bills preserved, Arnold of Westfalen is documented from the subsequent year in connection with the patron. Donath M., "Schloß Rochsburg und der sächsische Schloßbau des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", in Donath M. (ed.), *Schloß und Herrschaft Rochsburg* (Beucha: 2006) 59–75. Regarding Dresden, conceptually so similar, the leading role of Arnold from 1468 can only be assumed. On Arnold of Westfalen see Lemper E.-H., "Arnold von Westfalen. Berufs – und Lebensbild eines deutschen Werkmeisters der Spätgotik", in Mrusek H.-J. (ed.), *Die Albrechtsburg zu Meißen* (Leipzig: 1972) 41–55 (on the hypothetical early work, today superseded); Bürger S., "Innovation als Indiz – Oeuvre und Ära der Amtszeit Arnold von Westfalens (1461/71 bis 1481)", in Bürger S. – Klein B. (eds.), *Werkmeister der Spätgotik. Personen, Amt und Image* (Darmstadt: 2010) 171–192; Bürger S., "Eine neue Idee zur Herkunft des Landeswerkmeisters Arnold von Westfalen", in Bärnighausen H. (ed.), *Schlossbau der Spätgotik in Mitteldeutschland*, conference volume (Dresden: 2007) 43–52; Donath M., "Meister Arnolds Familie. Arnold von Westfalen, Hans Rülcke und Claus Kirchner", *Monumenta Misnensia. Jahrbuch für Dom und Albrechtsburg zu Meißen* 8 (2007/2008) 103–107.

11 The most comprehensive survey of Meißen Castle is still the collection of essays published in 1972, which includes a comprehensive bibliography of the older literature: Mrusek H.J. (ed.), *Die Albrechtsburg zu Meißen* (Leipzig: 1972). In addition: Hoppe S., *Die funktionale und räumliche Struktur des frühen Schloßbaus in Mitteldeutschland: untersucht an Beispielen landesherrlicher Bauten der Zeit zwischen 1470 und 1570* (Cologne: 1996)

though the architect was again Arnold of Westfalen, who in the previous year had begun rebuilding the Rochsburg and who supposedly had devised three years previously the initial concept for Dresden Castle,[12] the Albrechtsburg shows a very different architectural approach as well as a radically divergent formal language.

For example, contrary to Dresden or the Rochsburg, the Albrechtsburg is vaulted in all of its main storeys up to its eaves, in a remarkably elaborate and structurally challenging increase in levels of aspiration.[13] In the majority of the rooms, a new type of vault without ribs was introduced – it was expressed either by a simple cruciform or through a more complicated star or web pattern (*Zellengewölbe*) [Fig. 19.2]. Recently, Stefan Bürger discussed very comprehensively the late-Gothic art of vaulting, which was then in its highly developed state in central Germany.[14] In the Albrechtsburg, however, contrary to local as well as national traditions of late-Gothic masonry,

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here in particular 34–77; Hoppe S., "Wie wird die Burg zum Schloss? Architektonische Innovation um 1470", in Laß H. (ed.), *Von der Burg zum Schloss. Landesherrlicher und adeliger Profanbau in Thüringen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Bucha bei Jena: 2001) 95–116; Donath M., "Herzog Albrecht der Beherzte und die Bauten auf dem Meißner Burgberg. Spätgotische Baukunst im ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert", in Thieme A. (ed.), *Herzog Albrecht der Beherzte (1443–1500). Ein sächsischer Fürst im Reich und in Europa* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2002) 233–281; Müller M., *Das Schloß als Bild des Fürsten. Herrschaftliche Metaphorik in der Residenzarchitektur des Alten Reiches (1470–1618)* (Göttingen: 2004), here in particular 42–66; and Bürger S., *MeisterWerk Albrechtsburg. Von fürstlichen Ideen, faszinierenden Formen und flinken Händen* (Dresden: 2011).

12 Whether Arnold von Westfalen really supervised the rebuilding of Dresden Castle from the beginning, i.e. from 1468, is for the moment no more than a plausible conjecture. There is no other similarly qualified master worker traceable in the sources. Should new observations bring to light additional workplaces of Arnold around this time, it will become necessary to think anew about the creator of the Dresden designs.

13 As a rule, in the case of later castles that referred stylistically to the innovations of Albrechtsburg, a vaulting of the upper floors was renounced. An exception is the residential castle of the bishops of Meißen in Wurzen, with its large number of vaulted state rooms. A second exception to the rule is constituted by the rebuilding of the country house Sachsenburg for the electoral Saxon councillor and major domo Caspar von Schönberg (ca. 1430–1491) by an assistant of Arnold von Westfalen. The cell vaults planned here in 1485 up to the second storey for the princely accommodation were, however, only realized in part, cf. Schwabenicki W., "Das spätgotische Schloss Sachsenburg", in Bärnighausen, *Schlossbau der Spätgotik in Mitteldeutschland* 88–89.

14 Bürger S., *Figurierte Gewölbe zwischen Saale und Neiße. Spätgotische Wölbkunst von 1400 bis 1600*, 3 vols. (Weimar: 2007). Cf. also Müller W. – Quien N., *Virtuelle Steinmetzkunst der österreichischen und böhmisch-sächsischen Spätgotik. Die Gewölbeentwürfe des Codex Miniatus 3 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Petersberg: 2005). See also Nußbaum N. – Lepsky S., *Das gotische Gewölbe. Eine Geschichte seiner Form und Konstruktion* (Munich – Berlin: 1999). Schröck K. – Wendland D. (eds.), *Traces of Making.*



FIGURE 19.2 Arnold of Westfalen, Albrechtsburg in Meißen, Great Staircase Tower (ca. 1485)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

ribs were demonstratively forgone in nearly all the high-ranking staterooms. Some examples of this include the elector's apartment on the second floor (ca. 1477/1480), the *Frauenzimmertafelstube* (ladies' dining room, after 1480),[15] the presumed state and guest apartments in the northeastern wing (during the phase of construction on the first floor, ca. 1480),[16] or the *Große Wendelstein* (Great Staircase Tower, ca. 1485).[17] Here, typical late-Gothic ground-plan patterns, with their artful geometrical complexity, connect to an innovative visual emphasis on the self-supporting shell (in the form of separate cells) and a visual preference for the load-bearing mass walls.

For a considerable amount of time, art historical scholarship has considered the reception of Romanesque vault architecture in connection with Meißen Castle. In 1972, Hermann Meuche proposed possible stimuli of this formal language to the debate:

> We must – as suggested elsewhere – suppose that Arnold von Westfalen developed this new type of vaulting for Meißen Castle. Thus, from the beginning the aim obviously was to develop this type of *vault without ribs* (*Gratgewölbe*) [emphasis mine]. In any case, the web and star cells already appear without ribs in the rooms of the upper basement and on the ground floor. Such a rejection of the still mandatory Gothic ribbed vaults is meaningful. Perhaps the recollection of simple Romanesque vaults prompted this decision here in particular, where the sober function of the rooms called for a simple design.[18]

Equally, during the 1970s Milada Rada (Radová-Stiková) connected two further motifs typical of Meißen architecture to Romanesque models:

Entwurfsprinzipien von spätgotischen Gewölben. Shape, Design, and Construction of Late Gothic Vaults (Petersberg: 2014).

15 Hoppe S., "Bauliche Gestalt und Lage von Frauenwohnräumen in deutschen Residenzschlössern des späten 15. und des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Hirschbiegel J. – Paravicini W. (eds.), *Das Frauenzimmer. Die Frau bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: 2000) 151–174.

16 Hoppe S., "Der Raumtypus des 'Prunkappartements' als Träger symbolischen Kapitals. Über eine räumliche Geste der zeremonialen Gastfreundschaft im deutschen Schloßbau der beginnenden Neuzeit", in Hahn P.M. – Schütte U. (eds.), *Zeichen und Raum. Ausstattung und höfisches Zeremoniell in den deutschen Schlössern der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich – Berlin: 2006) 229–251.

17 Harksen S., "Zum Bauverlauf auf der Albrechtsburg", in Mrusek, *Albrechtsburg* 31–34.

18 Meuche H., "Zellengewölbe und die Albrechtsburg", in Mrusek, *Albrechtsburg* 56–66, here 56. Translation Andrea Gáldy.

> It ought to be added that the low, triangular-shaped window lintel and the more innovative and more frequent inflexed arch (*Vorhangbogen*), which were characteristic for Arnold's architecture, were not taken from the level the Gothic stylistic development had reached at the time, neither were the spiral decorations of the shafts and pedestals. Both are new elements in contemporaneous Gothic, the analogy of which is rather to be found in Romanesque architecture. If we explain Arnold's rich artistic power of invention in part by his enthusiasm for the Romanesque style, it reduces by no means his merits in the field of architecture, since the transformation of the Romanesque elements in typical traits of his personal style was without doubt of great importance. The Renaissance of old forms was after all a typical procedure in the late fifteenth century, not only in Italy but also in other parts of Europe.[19]

Later on, Milada and Oldrich Rada repeated this thesis in a more nuanced version, this time in relation to Guelf Romanesque architectural models from the region of Brunswick:

> At this time, spiral columns were not yet customary in the wider German territory. They were only present on old Romanesque buildings, for example in Brunswick, where the chapter house of the monastery of St. Ägidien has columns, the shafts of some of which are decorated with spiral lines. A two-nave Romanesque room with diversely decorated columns that are alternatingly provided with spiral lines has been preserved as part of the cloister in the nearby monastery of Königslutter. Perhaps the speculation that such Romanesque rooms inspired the architects of the late Gothic to use alternative forms of columns and to adopt spiral motifs on the columns' shafts should not be rejected.[20]

At this point it ought to be added that at the same time, around 1470/1475, a ground floor hall (probably the new *Hofstube/ceremonial dining hall*) in the eastern wing of Dresden Castle, then already under construction, was refurbished with a new brick vault of this new type [Fig. 19.3]. In the guise of a two-nave groin vault with a simple ground plan, the new Dresden hall follows Romanesque architectural solutions more closely than the more complex

19 Radová-Stiková M., "Über die Quellen des architektonischen Schaffens Arnold von Westfalen", *Acta Polytechnica* 1 (1974) 29–50, esp. 45; translation Andrea Gáldy.

20 Radová M. – Rada O., *Das Buch von den Zellengewölben* (Prague: 2001) 20–21.



FIGURE 19.3 Arnold of Westfalen (attributed), Dresden, Schloss, ground floor hall of the east wing with its Romanesque Renaissance vault, so called "Gotische Halle" (ca. 1470–1475)
IMAGE © LANDESAMT FÜR DENKMALPFLEGE SACHSEN

figured vaults of the upper storeys of Albrechtsburg do, the latter being realized only from the fiscal years of 1476/1477 on.[21]

The older and initial basement vaults in Meißen, to the contrary, follow the neo-Romanesque pattern in Dresden much more closely [Fig. 19.4 top]. In particular, the first batch of unribbed groin vaults that may be attributed to Master Arnold ca. 1471 obviously followed typical Romanesque interior designs [Fig. 19.4 bottom] more closely than the later and art historically better-known cell vaults, with their obvious additional and hybrid references to the highly complex art of late-Gothic net and star vault patterns.

A further observation may underpin the experimental status of the new Saxon vault style: current building-archaeological research has proposed the chronologically precedent renovation of the princely accommodation on the second floor of the electoral castle of Rochlitz on the Zwickauer Mulde as the experimental prototype for the more complex figured cell vaults (*Zellengewölbe*) of the Meißen upper storeys from 1476/1477 on.[22]

21 Harksen, "Zum Bauverlauf auf der Albrechtsburg" 31–34.

22 The Rochlitz renovation with cell vaults in the window niches and other small vaults in the new style was dated by Reuther by dendrochronology of the floor beams to the years 1472/1473 (Reuther S., "Bautätigkeit auf Schloss Rochlitz in der zweiten Hälfte des 15.



FIGURE 19.4 Top: Arnold of Westfalen, Albrechtsburg in Meißen, ground floor room (ca. 1475). Below: Upper Chapel of the Kaiserburg at Nuremberg, in the second half of the 15th century regarded as a Roman Temple dedicated to Diana (in reality built ca. 1200)

TOP IMAGE © AUTHOR; BOTTOM IMAGE © TILMAN2007 WIKIMEDIA CC BY-SA 4.0

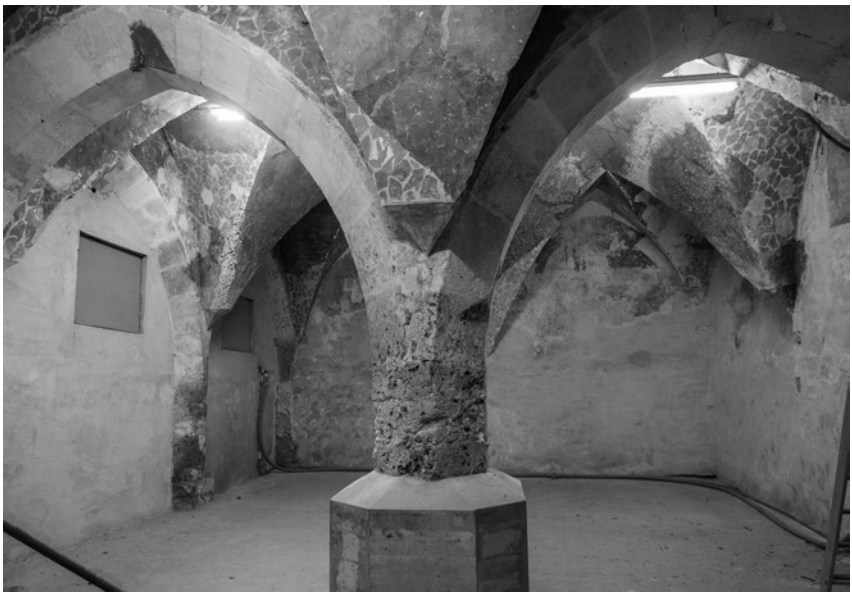


FIGURE 19.5 Graz Castle, ground floor hall, "Einstützenhalle" (ca. 1460–1470)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

But it was not only in the Saxon towns of Meissen, Dresden, and Rochlitz that new architectural motifs appeared from ca. 1471 on. Only a little later, northern Alpine architecture created additional high-quality buildings which adopted stylistic elements of Romanesque interior architecture and more or less transformed them. Particularly important seem those edifices in which the reception is stylistically even more closely linked to the historical models from the Romanesque era than is the case in the works of Arnold von Westfalen.

Unfortunately, it is not quite clear at the moment whether two monumental vaults without ribs on the basement floor of the imperial castle at Graz (Styria) (*Einstützenhalle* and *Dreistützenhalle*) predate or postdate the Dresden exemple [Fig. 19.5]. The similarity in position and overall stylistic approach of the unribbed groin vaults in Graz and Dresden is striking. Local art historical experts date the Graz vaults to the midway through the reign of Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg into the 1460s, and we may have here an initial experiment with the reception of Romanesque architecture at the imperial court

Jahrhunderts", in Staatliche Schlösser, Burgen und Gärten Sachsen, *Schlossbau Spätgotik* 146–154). This dating is not undisputed, as David Wendland and Günther Donath prefer a slightly later date, around 1480, for this vaulting campaign.



FIGURE 19.6 Ulrich Pesitzer (attributed), Burghausen (Bavaria), ground floor hall with a Romanesque Renaissance vault (ca. 1480)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

that soon became a meaningful role model for some of the following princely building projects.[23]

Another prominent example of this new type of prominent vaults with Romanesque features is the vaulted hall on the ground floor of the *palas* constructed from ca. 1480 at the secondary residence of the dukes of Bavaria-Landshut in Burghausen [Fig. 19.6].[24] Again, we see an example of the courtly ambience of this period. The new Burghausen *palas* has a vaulted ground floor,

23 Absenger W. – Legen M., "Die Grazer Burg und Residenz in der Zeit Friedrichs III. und Maximilians I. Erkenntnisse und Fragestellungen zur Baugenese des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts", in Becker U. et al. (eds.), *Ich hab das selbig paun lassen. Beiträge zur Kunst der Spätgotik in der Steiermark* (Graz: 2011) 20–55.

24 Hoppe S., "Die Residenzen der Reichen Herzöge von Bayern in Ingolstadt und Burghausen. Funktionale Aspekte ihrer Architektur um 1480 im europäischen Kontext", in Schmid A. – Rumschöttel H. (eds.), *Wittelsbacher-Studien. Festgabe für Herzog Franz von Bayern zum 80. Geburtstag*, Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte 166 (Munich: 2013) 173–200; Langer B., *Burg zu Burghausen. Amtlicher Führer* (Munich: 2004). For a survey of the cultural politics at the Landshut court see Niehoff F. et al. (eds.), *Ritterwelten im Spätmittelalter. Höfisch-ritterliche Kultur der Reichen Herzöge von Bayern-Landshut*, exh. cat., Museen der Stadt Landshut (Landshut: 2009).

in which four areas with seemingly massive cross-ribbed vaults with ribbon-type ribs (*Bandrippen*) form one connected hall-type room. The vaulted interior so closely follows a (late) Romanesque architectural language that it had indeed been misdated to the thirteenth century by regional scholarship.[25] The examination of the stone surfaces and of the conceptual connection with the early Renaissance apartment plan in the two princely living quarters above attests to the construction from ca. 1480 onwards.[26]

Whether the Lower Bavarian court architect Ulrich Pesnitzer (ca. 1450–1521), who was also in charge of enlarging the fortifications in Burghausen, was the architect responsible for the vault design cannot be ascertained for the moment.[27] It is, however, rather conspicuous that the inner court chapel of Burghausen Castle, next to the *palas*, which was rebuilt at the same time or a little bit later, shows both typical modern rib vaults in the nave and groin vaults without ribs in the Romanesque style under the ducal gallery [Fig. 19.7]. In this case, the exact time of construction still needs to be verified. There is much evidence in favour of dating the gallery to the building period between 1480 and 1490.

It is perhaps not by chance that the Burghausen building project, with its demonstrative reception and integration of Romanesque vaulting styles, belongs in the context of the Lower Bavarian court of the Wittelsbachs, who after all were closely related by marriage to the electoral court of Saxony. Building patrons in Burghausen were Duke George the Rich (1455–1503) and his bride Duchess Hedwig Jagiellon (1457–1502), who descended from the Polish royal family. Duke George's mother and Hedwig's mother-in-law, Amalie of Saxony (1436–1501), was the sister of the two princely building patrons in Dresden, Meißen, and Rochlitz.

In the ambience of the Landshut court belongs, probably, another vaulted gallery in the new style that is set inside a church building. The three-nave west gallery with two bays and its vault without ribs in the style of this Romanesque Renaissance was created, probably during the last quarter of the fifteenth

25 Landgraf A., "Mittelalterliche Holzeinbauten in der Burg zu Burghausen", *Burgen und Schlösser* 22, 2 (1981) 108–111.

26 I wish to express my thanks to Alexander Wiesneth, Krista De Jonge, Konrad Ottenheym, Barbara Archizewska, Christa Syrer, and Magdalena März, who discussed and shared my redating on two visits on-site. Further investigations of the Burghausen architecture are planned in future.

27 Hoppe S., "Baumeister von Adel. Ulrich Pesnitzer und Hans Jakob von Ettlingen als Vertreter einer neuartigen Berufskonstellation im späten 15. Jahrhundert", in Lang A. – Jachmann J. (eds.), *Aufmaß und Diskurs. Festschrift für Norbert Nußbaum zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin: 2013) 151–186.



FIGURE 19.7 Ulrich Pesitzer (attributed), Burghausen (Bavaria), inner Palace Chapel with the Romanesque Renaissance vault of the ducal gallery (ca. 1480–1490)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

century, in the thirteenth-century collegiate church of Moosburg.[28] The collegiate chapter situated ca. 20 km west of Landshut maintained close connections to the Lower Bavarian ducal court.

Also belonging to the group of princely German buildings which during the last third of the fifteenth century adopted stylistic features of the Romanesque era and integrated them into the current architectural culture, is the renovated archiepiscopal palace of Hohensalzburg, not far from Burghausen [Fig. 19.8]. But this renovation did not happen during the well-known phase of construction of the staterooms, which consisted of the creation of the carved chamber and its neighbouring bedroom in a sumptuous and modern late-Gothic style ca. 1500,[29] but concerns a slightly older campaign of the monumental staircase and its vaulted hall that is reminiscent of Romanesque models.

28 Außermeier M. – Hentschel C., *Kastulusmünster Moosburg* (Lindenberg: 2016). Cf. Weber H., *'Mausoleum Stat in medio Chori' Zum Bildgebrauch in Kollegiatstiftskirchen im Mittelalter, dargestellt am Beispiel des Moosburger Hochaltars von Hans Leinberger*, Ph.D. dissertation (Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg: 2006).

29 Riegel N., "Die Fürstenzimmer auf Hohensalzburg – Ausstattungsluxus und Repräsentation um 1500", *Münchner Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst* 66 (2015) 23–74. Also



FIGURE 19.8 Hohensalzburg Palace at Salzburg, central staircase hall with a Romanesque Renaissance vault (ca. 1480–1485)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

Traditionally, this older building Salzburg project with its distict Romanesque stylistic features, which also include the rounded arches of the new doorways, is ascribed to Archbishop Johann III of Gran/Esztergom (Johann Beckenschlager, r. 1485–1489), and therefore dated to the mid 1480s.[30] A further candidate for the building's patronage might have been his predecessor, Archbishop Bernhard of Rohr (r. 1468–1482/1485), a prince of the church particularly devoted to humanism and to the arts, whose personal passion for architecture and other art projects is much better documented than that of his successor. Rohr's wide-ranging network included the neighbouring Wittelsbach court in Landshut, where in 1475 he had united in matrimony the princely couple of George and Hedwig. Rohr's bailiff in Salzburg, chancellor, and personal

cf. Riegel N., *Die Bautätigkeit des Kardinals Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468–1540)* (Münster: 2009); Riegel N., "Hohensalzburg unter Leonhard von Keutschach und Kardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg. Fortifikation und Repräsentation 1495–1540", in Lieb S. (rev.), *Burgen im Alpenraum*, Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern 14 (Petersberg: 2012) 95–109.

30 Schicht P., *Bollwerke Gottes. Der Burgenbau der Erzbischöfe von Salzburg* (Vienna: 2010) 103–113, on the enlargement during the second half of the fifteenth century. Schicht, like the older literature, ascribes the vaulting of the staircase halls because of the coat of arms on a door lintel to Archbishop Johann III of Gran.

confidant was the Chiemsee bishop Georg Altdorfer (1437–1495), a man from a Landshut patrician family who had received his doctorate in Bologna. In Landshut, his sculptured marble tomb is preserved in the Altdorfer family's chapel; its unribbed groin vault and ornamented, sturdy column shafts clearly allude to Romanesque architectural motifs, and this represents a Romanesque Renaissace work in a related discipline.[31]

It is not only in diverse places within the framework of Central European courtly architecture that one can observe, during the final third of the fifteenth century, a new interest in stylistic features of Romanesque architecture. A rather particular example of Romanesque revival is offered by the interior architecture of a private chapel in Bruges [Fig. 19.9]. The merchant and diplomat of Italian origins Anselm Adornes (Adorno) (1424–1483) had it built as part of his city palace and dedicated it to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The patron was closely connected to the Burgundian court and entertained contacts with artists, such as Hugo van der Goes (1430/1440–1482), and eminent humanists, such as Filippo Buonaccorsi (1437–1497). Construction of the Jerusalem Chapel was started in 1471, directly after the return of Adornes from the Holy Land. It was structurally completed on his death in 1483 at the latest.[32]

In accordance with the patrocinium, the Bruges chapel consists of a soaring central building with a single-aisled nave in front. The polygonal choir is superelevated by means of four squinches (actually, this was also a typical motif of the Romanesque style) to a high tambour on a polygonal plan, which terminates above the clerestory with a wooden rib vault. The ribs are underpinned by ten engaged columns, the proportions and diversely decorated shafts of which

31 Niehoff F. – Tewes M., "Epitaph des Dr. Georg Altdorfer" cat. no. 54, in Niehoff F. (ed.), *Vor Leinberger Landshuter Skulptur im Zeitalter der Reichen Herzöge 1393–1503* (Landshut: 2001) 404–407; Halm P.M., "Hans Beierlein", *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 6 (1911) 27–60, here 34; Liedke V., *Zum Leben und Werk des Bildschnitzers Hanns Peurlin des Mittleren, dem Meister von Bischofsgrabdenkmälern in Augsburg, Eichstätt und Freising*, Die Augsburger Sepulkralskulptur der Spätgotik 3 (Munich: 1987), here cat. no. 12, 42–49. Made by the second Beierlein/Peurlin (ca. 1440–ca. 1507) or his Augsburg family workshop are also a number of artistically ambitious tombstones of personalities of humanistic backgrounds (like Wilhelm of Reichenau) from Augsburg and Eichstätt, which have Renaissance Romanesque architectural elements.

32 Catalogue entry by Esther J.P. in Geirnaert N. – Vandewalle A. (eds.), *Adornes and Jerusalem: International Life in 15th-and 16th-Century Bruges* (Bruges: 1983) 51–80. Cf. Dikken C., "A Monument to a Glorious Past and a Questionable Future? The Jerusalem Chapel in Bruges and its Stained-Glass Windows", in Weijert-Gutman R. – Ragetli K. (eds.), *Living Memoria: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Memorial Culture in Honour of Truus van Bueren*, Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 137 (Hilversum: 2011) 79–96, 420–421. I would like to express my gratitude to Krista De Jonge for drawing my attention to this building and for opening its doors for me.



FIGURE 19.9 Jerusalem Chapel in Bruges (ca. 1470–1483)
IMAGE © KRISTA DE JONGE

closely follow Romanesque examples. The Jerusalem Chapel is lit by a mixture of ogival windows with much reduced tracery in the tambour and large, round *oculi*. The building therefore adopts typical motifs of the Romanesque architectural sculpture as well as typical construction ideas of the older period. The point of departure for these stylistic allusions would have been the reference to the patrocinium of the Holy Sepulchre church, built and renovated in antiquity and then again modernized during the Romanesque era.

Another project from a sacred context is the newly constructed cloister of ca. 1470–1480 of the Westphalian monastery at Dalheim, refounded in 1460 at a new location [Fig. 19.10].[33] In this case, and contrary to the example at Burghausen, a different strategy of vaulting inspired by the Romanesque was chosen, by adding stuccoed groins and braided ornaments to the relatively simple, if monumental, groin vaults. The large, concavely settling cells that had thus been created were from the beginning destined for painted decoration. Here as well, a spatial impression came into being that had no equivalent in

33 Pieper R., *Dalheim. Pfarrort – Kloster – Staatsdomäne* (Münster: 2000), on the cloister see 65–78.



FIGURE 19.10 Dalheim monastery (Westphalia), cloister (ca. 1470–1480)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

coeval Gothic architecture and that needed the detailed study of Romanesque buildings and of respective ornamental techniques as its prerequisites.

It almost seems as if the current trends of monastic reform and the humanistic thought often connected to it had prepared the ground within the monastic sphere for architectural stylistic experiments with respect to Romanesque models in German. The Cistercian monastery of Bebenhausen, near Tübingen, in Swabia was very close to the ducal and later comital family of Württemberg during the final decades of the fifteenth century. Count Eberhard the Bearded (Eberhard I of Württemberg, 1445–1496) had gathered a great number of scholarly people close to the ideas of humanism for the intended reform of his territory.[34] His abbots also played a major role in the neighbouring, sovereign University of Tübingen, which had rather early on turned into a trading point for humanist ideas.

Shortly before 1500,[35] in Bebenhausen the so-called *Laienrefektorium* (lay refectory) was created by the mastermason and architect Johann of Bebenhausen; it was a vaulted hall spanning twelve bays in the west wing of the cloister, and it obviously referred back to older vaulted rooms in the thirteenth-century part of the monastery [Fig. 19.11]. Their heavy-set and sculptural forms were revisited in general, while single details were adapted in such a way that their creation within the context of design trends current during the fifteenth century can be perceived. Constructed contemporaneously were the vaults of the neighbouring western whing of the Bebenhausen cloister, designed and manufactured by the same architect and his masons but here in the modern forms of Gothic style. It is a particular feature of this architect and his masons that they were able to work in two different styles and think in the stylistic language of an older architecture.

This microhistory of different examples from the early phase of an innovative reception of Romanesque architecture in the fifteenth century already indicates the diversity of reception strategies and architectural approaches that were at the disposal of architects and patrons. The phenomenon of the Romanesque Renaissance can be traced well into the sixteenth century and

34 Mertens D., "Eberhard im Bart und der Humanismus", in Maurer H.M. (ed.), *Eberhard und Mechthild. Untersuchungen zu Politik und Kultur im ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: 1994) 35–81.

35 On the issue of dating cf. Knapp U., "Zentraler Erschließungsraum und Ort klösterlicher Repräsentation. Neue Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte des Kreuzgangs der Zisterzienserabtei Bebenhausen", in Beuckers K.G. –Peschel P. (eds.), *Kloster Bebenhausen. Neue Forschungen. Tagung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten Baden-Württemberg und des Kunsthistorischen Institut der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel am 30. und 31. Juli 2011 im Kloster Bebenhausen* (Bruchsal: 2011) 43–78.



FIGURE 19.11 Johann of Bebenhausen, Bebenhausen monastery (Swabia), so called "Laienrefektorium" (ca. 1495–1500)
IMAGE © THE AUTHOR

can be observed in other European regions; for reasons of space, a detailed debate is omitted here.[36]

All of the examples presented thus far have in common that they adopted from a certain starting point, around 1470, stylistic elements which can be ascribed art historically to the pre-Gothic architecture of the Romanesque period. It remains to be seen, however, which specific Romanesque models possibly served artists and patrons for orientation. The reception of Romanesque architecture is so generic in the case of the buildings mentioned thus far that although it can be recognized today by means of art historical style analysis, it cannot be used to classify them as copies or revivals of particular edifices (except for Bebenhausen). That is an important observation in itself, since it attests to a new appreciation of a previously existing architectural era as a different style in general.

In what follows, I shall attempt to identify some particular local or regional Romanesque buildings that had individually attracted the attention of

36 For some examples of the sixteenth century in the regions north of the Alps, see Hoppe, "Romanik als Antike und die baulichen Folgen" 89–131.

interested artistic and learned circles during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in Germany.

Thereby, I will examine three very diverse fields which are nonetheless connected by striking personal and geographical points of contact: firstly, fifteenth-century learned interpretations of Romanesque edifices and joint narrative constructions of an ancient and classical past shall be identified and put into the context of current intellectual life. Here, the collective label of humanism and its contemporaneous intellectual background will presumably help us understand more fully the above-mentioned built examples in terms of art historical and style analysis.

Secondly, references in the fictional primeval architecture contained in the works of contemporaneous North Alpine painters will be examined for traces of specific case studies and of an awareness of Romanesque buildings.

Finally, a new boom happening in the engagement with and recontextualization of *spolia* of Romanesque architecture will be discussed.

2 Humanist Anachronistic Dating of Romanesque Buildings

During the fifteenth century a fundamental new interest in the preserved remains of ancient material culture emerged, as is attested by a rich body of scholarly literature on Renaissance culture. Scholars have so far mainly examined this topic for the fifteenth century in connection with investigations related to the early Italian Renaissance or to the early history of archaeology.[37] It was not only objects from classical Roman antiquity that were the targets of investigations and narrative reconstructions of the period, but also objects from later periods, the style of which resembled the older remains and could establish a link to previous historical eras.[38]

Quite well known are, for example, Italian humanist theories that classified the twelfth-century, centrally planned building of the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence as an ancient Roman Temple of Mars.[39] By ascribing

37 Günther H., *Das Studium der antiken Architektur in den Zeichnungen der Hochrenaissance* (Tübingen: 1988); Schnapp A., *La conquête du passé. Aux origines de l'archéologie* (Paris: 1993).

38 Birnbaum V., *Románská renesance koncem středověku* (Prague: 1924), with a very different interpretation than presented in this study concerning the role of humanism.

39 Straehle G., *Die Marstempelthese. Dante, Villani, Boccaccio, Vasari, Borghini. Die Geschichte vom Ursprung der Florentiner Taufkirche in der Literatur des 13. bis 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: 2001). Further literature on the general topic: Gombrich E., "From the Revival of Letters to the Reform of the Arts: Niccolò Niccoli and Filippo Brunelleschi", in

such an early date and by reinterpreting Romanesque architecture, the local fourteenth-century politician and chronicler Giovanni Villani (ca. 1280–1348) wished to present Florence – beyond a purely theoretical-historical interest – as a legitimate heir of past Roman greatness. Important humanist scholars, such as Leonardo Bruni (ca. 1369–1444) and Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), followed suit. It would not be until the seventeenth century, i.e. well beyond the development of a detailed and realistic knowledge of Roman architecture, that the fictitious Temple of Mars and the consequently mistaken perception of Romanesque architectural style as classical were increasingly challenged.

Around 1490, Venice intellectuals regarded the type of the Byzantine cross-in-square church, popular since the tenth century, and local representatives, such as San Giacomo di Rialto (consecrated 1177), as the transmission of ancient temple architecture. Even though Vitruvius and other classical authors had described their architectural shapes, no appropriate image tradition existed to explain their forms. Hubertus Günther has explained the contemporary historiographical and artistic consequences:

> As in the cases of the Byzantine tradition in Venice as well as the so-called *proto-renaissance* in Florence, a local pre-Gothic tradition was able to influence even in other regions the ideas of antiquity and provided a guideline for the renewal of antiquity. The integration of local pre-Gothic architectural traditions, as observed in the case of the cross-in-square church, was something completely normal during the Renaissance.[40]

The Romanesque church of San Giacomo di Rialto in Venice was actually still dated to the year AD 421 by sixteenth-century Italian authors.[41] The first local testimonials of a corresponding early dating of the existing building go back as far as the 1420s.[42]

Fraser D. – Hibbard H. – Lewine M.J. (eds.), *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London: 1969) 71–82; Ackerman J.S., "The Certosa of Pavia and the Renaissance in Milan", *Marsyas* 5 (1950) 23–37; Tietze H., "Romanische Kunst und Renaissance", *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 6 (1926/1927) 43–57; Nagel A. – Wood Chr. S., *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: 2010). Wood Chr. S., "The Credulity Problem", in Miller P.N. et al. (eds.), *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500–1800* (Ann Arbor: 2012) 149–179.

40 Günther H., "Die Vorstellungen vom griechischen Tempel und der Beginn der Renaissance in der venezianischen Architektur", in Naredi-Rainer P. von (ed.), *Imitatio. Von der Produktivität künstlerischer Anspielungen und Mißverständnisse* (Berlin: 2001) 104–143, here 138.

41 Günther, "Vorstellungen" 112.

42 Günther, "Vorstellungen" 114.

Less well known is the fact that such early humanist attempts at dating and interpreting local or regional Romanesque architecture also started to leave their traces north of the Alps during the fifteenth century. Therefore, here we also find the first references to specific Romanesque buildings, the formal difference of which attracted the contemporaneous northern Alpine learned interest.

In Augsburg, the young Benedictine monk Sigismund Meisterlin (ca. 1435–after 1497) had been commissioned by local elites to study the history of the city. In 1456, his research led to a new narrative that reconstructed the city's ancient history as being far older than the previously accepted Roman origins. Meisterlin was not only well connected to a local circle of early humanist clergy and lay-people, he also had excellent contacts with Italian humanists and their assistants. For example, the teacher of the Medici household and collector of classical manuscripts Enoch of Ascoli (1400–ca. 1457) had visited him in Augsburg on his return journey to Italy in 1455. It is likely that he reported details about the rediscovered manuscript of Tacitus' *Germania*, which he had just acquired in Germany.[43]

In 1457, a special edition of Meisterlin's *Augsburg Chronicle* came out, furbished with remarkable illustrations that, through a range of diverse details, visualized the material culture and building history from the time of the city's foundation by the ancient Germanic tribe of the Vindelici, long before the arrival of the Romans.[44] Among these illustrations is a visual reconstruction of the simple first lodgings in caves and in huts made of wattled branches, as well as of the first half-timbered buildings in the city (HB V, 52, fol. 14 v). At the time, scholars in Augsburg engaged in innovative ways and in accordance with

43 Mertens D., "Die Instrumentalisierung der Germania des Tacitus durch die deutschen Humanisten", in Beck H. (ed.), *Zur Geschichte der Gleichung germanisch – deutsch. Sprache und Namen, Geschichte und Institutionen* (Berlin – New York: 2004) 37–101, in particular 39 and 59–61.

44 Meisterlin Sigismund, *Augsburger Chronik* (1457); repository: Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Cod. HB V 52. Cf. Ott N.H., "Von der Handschrift zum Druck und retour. Sigismund Meisterlins Chronik der Stadt Augsburg in der Handschriften – und Druck-Illustration", in Paas J.R. (ed.), *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas. Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der frühen Neuzeit* (Augsburg: 2001) 21–29, here 22 and note 12; Saurma-Jeltsch L.E. – Frese T. (eds.), *Zwischen Mimesis und Vision. Zur städtischen Ikonographie am Beispiel Augsburgs*, Kunstgeschichte 87 (Berlin: 2010); Ott N.H., "Zum Ausstattungsanspruch illustrierter Städtechroniken. Sigismund Meisterlin und die Schweizer Chronistik als Beispiele", in Füssel S. (ed.), *Poesis et pictura. Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in Handschriften und alten Drucken, Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Baden-Baden: 1989) 77–106.

current humanist patterns of interpretation with the material culture of local antiquity.

In 1478, Meisterlin moved to a place near Nuremberg and started to concern himself with the alleged ancient foundation of the Franconian imperial city.[45] There, he once more made contact with a circle of humanists, members of which included the well-known Nuremberg patricians Hermann Schedel (1410–1485) and Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514), as well as the entrepreneur and collector Sebald Schreyer (1446–1520).

In his *Nieronbergensis Cronica*, completed in 1488, Meisterlin not only dated the foundation of Nuremberg to the year 12 BC by using the context of the military campaigns of Drusus the Elder and Tiberius, but he also invoked the Margarethenturm (Margaret's Tower) of the Nuremberg Kaiserburg and the connected Romanesque court chapel as material proof of the great antiquity of the city. In accordance with this interpretation, Tiberius commissioned the building of 'ain alten starcken turen auff den velsen seczen zu ainer wart' ('an old strong tower set onto the castle hill as a watch tower'). In reality, the still existing tower was built in the period around 1200 and had been decorated with Romanesque structural elements and architectural sculpture. Meisterlin took the court chapel, neighbouring and coeval to the tower [cf. Fig. 19.4 bottom], for a pagan temple originally dedicated to Diana, and he even interpreted an image of the Madonna in this light. This kind of recontextualization and historiographical activation of prominent Romanesque architecture in Nuremberg was taken up and elaborated by other important humanists. In 1502, Conrad Celtis wrote about the building, albeit with some reservations:

> Collis delubra tria et ornata habet, […], tertium in imperiali arce angustis, quo Caesar rei divinae et sacrificiis ceremoniisque adsistit. Ferunt vulgo illud quosdam Dianae fuisse phanum eiusque rei argumentum adducunt idolon veteresque quasdam et incogniti simulacra imagines, quod ego […] non quidem affirmaverim.
>
> On the castle hill, there are three beautiful chapels […]. The third, rather narrow one is located inside the castle. In it, the emperor attends the

45 Kießling R., "'Wer etwas sucht, der sucht es offt an viel steten, da es nit ist'. Stadtgründungslegenden schwäbischer Reichsstädte im Spätmittelalter", in Dotterweich V. (ed.), *Mythen und Legenden in der Geschichte* (Munich: 2004) 47–75, here 68–72; Stemmermann P.H., *Die Anfänge der deutschen Vorgeschichtsforschung. Deutschlands Bodenaltertümer in der Anschauung des 16. u. 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: 1934) 14; cf. Joachimsen P., *Die humanistische Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland*, vol. 1: *Die Anfänge: Sigismund Meisterlin* (Bonn: 1895) 181.

> services and the mass. The people say that it used to be a temple dedicated to Diana, and they offer as a proof an idol as well as several old images that can no longer be identified. I cannot quite confirm this to be true [...].[46]

This first reference probably served as the basis for a later handwritten German chronicle composed soon after 1525:

> dieweil [Drusus] da lag pauet er ein thurn auff dem perg, gleich als zu einer wach unnd auff sehenns unnd das ist der thurn, so noch auf heutigen tag uff der vesten statt, an Sannct Margarethe Kirchen, wie man dann noch allte possenn unnd haidnische pild daran sicht, deren ettliche im Jar 1520 da man die Kirchen unnd das schloß geweychet unnd verneuert hatt, sindt herab geworfen worden.
>
> While [Drusus] campaigned there, he built a tower on the hill, as a watch tower and lookout, and that is the tower that to this day stands on the castle at the church of St. Margaret. Accordingly, some old bizarre and pagan images can still be seen, several of which were thrown down in the year 1520, when the chapel and the castle were newly consecrated and renovated.[47]

The notion of the antique origins of the Romanesque Margaret's Tower and of the Nuremberg court chapel persisted so tenaciously over the centuries that in 1739 an illustration with the eastern view of the chapel was still included in the *Nürnbergische Altertümer* by Carl of Wölckern [Fig. 19.12]. The caption ran:

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46 See Schauerte T., "Antikenrezeption, Archäologie und Numismatik. Humanistische Bildthemen", in Schauerte T. with the assistance of Münch B. (eds.), *Albrecht Dürer – das große Glückcelti. Kunst im Zeichen des geistigen Aufbruchs*, exh. cat., Kulturgeschichtliches Museum Osnabrück (Bramsche: 2003) 101–107, here 104; Celtis, Konrad, '*Norimberga*'. *Ein Büchlein über Ursprung Lage Einrichtung und Gesittung Nürnbergs vollendet um das Jahr 1500 gedruckt vorgelegt 1502*, ed. and trans. G. Fink (Nuremberg: 2000) 39–40. English translation here A. Gáldy.

47 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Cod. 12640, fol. 24 v; translation based on Ott M., "Römische Inschriften und die humanistische Erschließung der antiken Landschaft. Bayern und Schwaben. Die Dokumentation antiker Inschriften im frühen 16. Jahrhundert. Konrad Peutinger und Johannes Aventinus", in Brendle F. – Mertens D. – Schindling A. – Ziegler W. (eds.), *Deutsche Landesgeschichtsschreibung im Zeichen des Humanismus* (Stuttgart: 2001) 213–226, here 265.

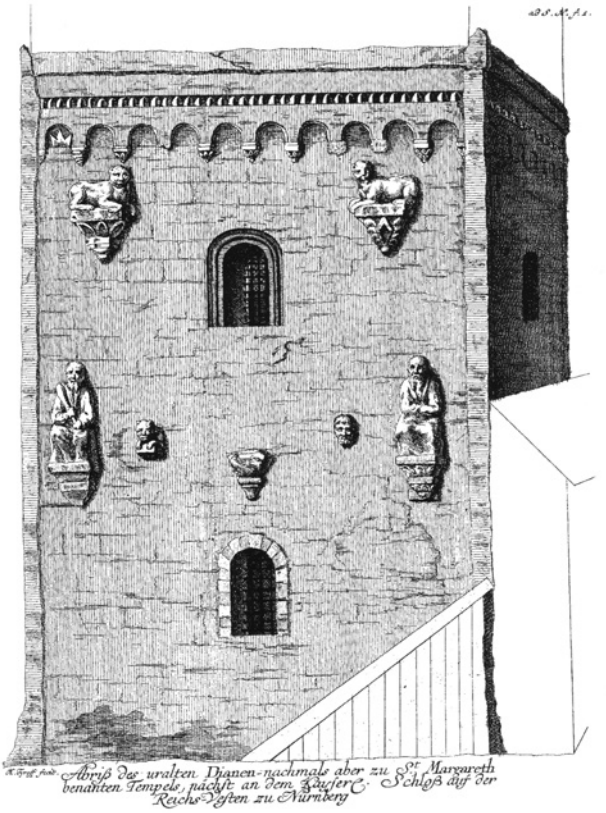


FIGURE 19.12 Margaret's Tower of the Kaiserburg in Nuremberg, depicted as a Roman temple. Engraving, taken from: Lazarus Carl von Wölckern, *Singularia Norimbergensia* (Nuremberg: 1739). Fig. after page 244
IMAGE © PUBLIC DOMAIN

'elevation of the ancient Diana temple – later dedicated to St. Margaret next to the imperial castle on the imperial fortress at Nuremberg'.[48]

48 'Abriß des uralten Dianen – nachmals aber zu St. Margareth benannten Tempels nächst an dem Keyserl. Schloß auf der Reichs-Vesten zu Nürnburg', see Wölckern, Lazarus Carl von, *Singularia Norimbergensia oder aus denen Geist – und Weltlichen Rechten und Geschichten sowohl als Glaubwürdigen Zeugnussen besonders erläuterte Nürnbergische Alterthümer und andere vornemlich merckwürdige Begebenheiten auch insonderheit zu Nürnberg gepflogenen Reichs-Handlungen und Zusammenkünfften* (Nuremberg, J.A. Endter: 1739), fig. after 244; cf. Schauerte, "Antikenrezeption" 105.

Almost contemporaneously, in Ulm, which was located near Augsburg and engaged in an intensive exchange with German early humanists, Romanesque architectural remains were also dated to an ancient past. Around 1488, the Dominican Felix Fabri (ca. 1438/1439–1502), resident in Ulm from 1468, started to investigate the foundation of the monastery of Wiblingen outside the city gates in the eleventh century for his chronicle of the city of Ulm, the *Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi*. To underpin his dating of the age of the precedent church there, he argued that:

> When the holy city of Jerusalem had been liberated by our troops and the counts mentioned above had returned sane and safe, they were told by the architects that the building would not be able to stay on the mentioned hill and that no large building would be able to stand there because of the sandy quality of the hill.
>
> Therefore, they held a council and placed the foundations of the monastery on the spot where it is still today by the grace of God. Not long afterwards, the hill on which they had originally started to build fell apart, and part of the previous church, the sculptures of which seem to attest to a construction date of AD 444, suddenly collapsed, together with part of the churchyard. When excavations were conducted afterwards, human remains were found that slid down together with the earth.[49]

In the chronicle's Latin original version, the crucial part of the passage reads 'pars antiquae ecclesiae (quae constructa fuit anno domini 444 sicut sculptura docere videtur)'.[50] Remarkable is the use of the verb 'docere' and the active role thus attributed to the 'sculptura' in the teaching of historical knowledge.[51] Sigismund Meisterlin's and Felix Fabri's references to architectural remains of

49 An edition of the chronicle was published by Veesenmeyer G., *Fratris Felicis Fabri Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi, de eius origine, ordine, regimine, de civibus eius et statu* (Tübingen: 1889). The quotation used here is based on the German translation by Haßler K.D., *Bruder Felix Fabris Abhandlung von der Stadt Ulm nach der Ausgabe des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart verdeutscht* (Ulm: 1909) 117–118, cf. Fabri, Felix, *Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi*, trans. F. Reichert (Eggingen: 2012). Fabri's Ulm chronicle has remained largely understudied; a recent work on subject is Kießling, "Wer etwas sucht" here esp. 59–64; also cf. Graf K., "'Ulmer Annalen' und 'Ulmer Chronik'", in Stammler W. – Langosch K. – Ruh K. (eds.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, Verfasserlexikon, vol. 11, 2nd ed., instalment 5 (Berlin – New York: 2004) 1580–1583.

50 Veesenmeyer, *Fratris Felicis* 175.

51 I wish to thank Ute Verstegen (Erlangen) for her help in sharpening the focus of this interpretation.

a pre-Gothic style belong to the early testimonies transmitted in writing from areas north of the Alps, in which phenomenological observations had been used by humanists in an attempt to date ancient architecture that we would rather consider to be part of the Romanesque art historical period.[52]

Recently, Christopher Wood reconstructed a further impact-generating encounter of humanist scholarship with North Alpine Romanesque architectural sculpture.[53] Conrad Celtis reports in his programmatic ideal description of Nuremberg, completed in 1495 and published in 1502, six figures, seemingly sculptural, of Germanic Druids, which he had seen in a monastery located in the Fichtelgebirge north of Ratisbon.[54] Wood persuasively locates these alleged testimonies of Germanic and pre-Roman proto-history in Germany on a figured portal, lost today, of the twelfth-century monastery of Speinshart, which the Ingolstadt professor of poetry and rhetoric Celtis visited with his friend, the Ratisbon humanist and astronomer Johannes Tolhopf (1429–1503), in the early 1490s.

Given the subsequent loss of the artefacts, it is impossible to make firm statements about the appearance, style, and actual date of the presumed Romanesque portal in the Fichtelgebirge. Celtis' student Johannes Aventin (1477–1534), however, disseminated this interpretation well into the sixteenth century, and Hartmann Schedel included it in his notes.

Wood implies that the two humanists, ca. 1490, must have been aware of the real construction date of the portal in the twelfth or thirteenth century. At the same time, he nonetheless asserts that the dating techniques of historical buildings based on style were still limited, even during the late Middle Ages, and that they rested above all on typological characteristics.[55]

The examples gathered together in the present case study may, however, be rated as an evidence that the techniques of stylistic differentiation of historical buildings had become more sophisticated in highly educated circles during the

52 Lukas Clemens' investigations were able to show that this interest north of the Alps was a new development after the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had witnessed a continuous decrease of engagement with the oldest architectural remains, cf. Clemens L., *Tempore Romanorum constructa. Zur Nutzung und Wahrnehmung antiker Überreste nördlich der Alpen während des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: 2003).

53 Wood C.S., *Forgery, Replica, Fiction. Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: 2008) 1–13.

54 Celtis, Conrad, *De origine, situ, moribus et institutis Norimbergae libellus* = part of *Quattuor libri Amorum secundum quattuor latera Germaniae* (Nuremberg, Sebald Schreyer – Vincent Longinus: 1502).

55 Wood, *Forgery* 43–50.

fifteenth century. In this case, the development in Central Europe corresponds, at least in its general trend, to the much better explored development in Italy.[56]

Wood thus takes up Celtis' interpretation of the Romanesque figured portal and other observations of the contemporaneous dealings with historical artefacts in Germany. In addition, he discusses the theory of a contemporaneous dualism, or rather a radical change, in the historical thinking about artefacts. I agree with him when he states that during the Renaissance period diverse schools of thought competed with one another and that it is impossible to apply modern theories about the unrepeatability of the creative process and about the aim of absolute dates. Nonetheless, it will remain to be seen whether precisely the new awareness for the stylistic traits of older art and architecture as described in the present article under a range of diverse perspectives led to a correct understanding.

The diverse functions of contemporaneous attributions and dates will have to be reconstructed in detail. In any case, the search for textual as well as for material testimonies of a Roman and Germanic proto-history belonged to the typical practices of early humanists in Germany during the final third of the fifteenth century.[57]

An additional, somewhat younger example of this type of interpretation of Romanesque architecture also comes from the sphere of southern German humanism. The humanist and Lutheran theologian Andreas Althamer (ca. 1500–ca. 1539), born in Brenz, near Ulm, in the second edition (1536) of his Latin commentary on Tacitus, presented the church of his native village as a Roman edifice:

> Fuisse enim Romanos in iis locis, primum arguit lapis intrinsecus muro insertus, hac inscriptione […], deinde numismatica […], et quod ipsius templi structura mirandam quondam vetustatem referat. Nam foris per muri gyrum sunt ad ducentos ferme lapides excisi variarum imaginum miri operis et aethnicae antiquitatis indices. Sunt regum, reginarum, virorum, mulierum, centaurorum effigies. Avium varia genera, aquilae, pellicani, grues, ciconiae, cygni, struthiones, auritae propendulis et longe patentibus auribus, basilisci, galli, gallinae, et aliae mihi prosus ignotae. Animalia leones, thauri, cervi, canes venatici, apri, pardi, pantherae, porci,

56 Cf. Strätz H.W., "Notizen zu 'Stil' und Recht", in Gumbrecht H.U. (ed.), *Stil. Geschichten und Funktionen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Diskurselements* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1986) 53–67. Pfisterer U., *Donatello und die Entdeckung der Stile. 1430–1445* (Munich: 2002).

57 Fundamental on the issue: Ott M., *Die Entdeckung des Altertums der Umgang mit der römischen Vergangenheit Süddeutschlands im 16. Jahrhundert* (Kallmünz: 2002).

> simiae, lepores, hirci, feles, asini. Monstra marina, syrenes, pisces, cancri, araneae, testudines. Praeterea labyrinthi, rosae, lilia, flores, folia et alia multa. Si orthodoxa fides tum fuisset huic populo praedicta, haud dubie aliquid Christiani operis de dominica passione aut sacris historiis incidissent: nunc cum nihil harum rerum cernatur, coniicio ante plantatam iis locis fidem, non Germanos, sed Romanos id aedificii struxisse: nam et populares mei ab paganis (ita ethnicos apellant) extructum praedicant.
>
> There were Romans in these locations; on the one hand this is attested by a stone with this inscription [...] set into this wall, on the other hand by coins [...] as well as by the fact that the building of this temple shows its amazing antiquity. For outside, on the apse, there are nearly 200 stones sculpted into various images that betray particular workmanship and an origin in the pagan antiquity. These include images of kings, queens, men, women and centaurs. There are diverse kinds of birds – eagles, pelicans, cranes, storks, ostriches, creatures with protruding and long ears, basilisks, roosters, hens and others that are totally unknown to me – of animals such as lions, bulls, stags, hunting dogs, wild boars, panthers, pigs, monkeys, hares, bucks, cats and donkeys, and of sea monsters: sirens, fish, crabs, spiders and turtles; finally, of labyrinths, roses, lilies, flowers, leaves and many other things. If the true faith had been preached among the people at the time, would they not have (then) sculpted other Christian works of the Passion of our Lord or holy legends? Since it is impossible to find any trace of these things, I conclude that before the planting of the faith at this place, it was not Germans but Romans who erected this building: for my compatriots say as well that they were built by 'pagans', which is their name for heathen people.[58]

In contrast to the church in Wiblingen, the Romanesque church in Brenz is preserved to this day; modern art history dates it to the period of ca. 1240.[59] The truly Roman stone with the inscription that Altheimer mentions still survives as a *spolia* inserted into the walls of the apse, as well as the rich figurative

58 Althamer, Andreas, *Commentaria Germaniae in P. Cornelii Taciti Equitis Romani libellum de situ, moribus et populis Germanorum* (Nuremberg: Petreius, 1536) (this second edition, commented by Althamer, had been considerably extended as far as its commentary was concerned in comparison to the 1529 one), cited according to Körte W., *Die Wiederaufnahme romanischer Bauformen in der niederländischen und deutschen Malerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wolfenbüttel: 1930) 86.

59 Cichy B., *Die Kirche von Brenz* (Heidenheim: 1966); Messerschmidt W., *Gallus-Kirche Brenz* (Brenz: 1975).

ornamentation of the Romanesque Lombard band, which Altheimer lists in such detail and attempts to interpret.

3 Fiction and Reinterpretation of Romanesque Architectural Motifs in Fifteenth-Century North Alpine Visual Art

Parallel to the early humanist attempts to date and interpret local Romanesque buildings as material witnesses of ancient German culture and history, a further debate about the stylistic traits of Romanesque architecture developed north of the Alps. It is not yet clearly established how its origin was connected to the regional as well as to the European humanist debate. The new interest expressed by some representatives of the art of painting fed its development, which may first be observed in the Netherlands and was increasingly adopted in Germany from the 1450s onwards.[60]

The *Ghent Altarpiece*, completed in 1432 by the Flemish painter Jan van Eyck (ca. 1390–1441), displays in its weekday scene (with the outer wings closed) an *Annunciation* that is placed inside a boxlike interior. On the back wall, three mullioned windows divided by a central column are inserted. In two cases, beyond the windows, in a second wall, are windows with Gothic tracery. In the three anterior mullioned windows, windows of a Romanesque style are evoked visually in minute detail without being true depictions of particular originals.

Never before had Gothic painting differentiated visually so clearly between two architectural styles, and never had the by then outdated Romanesque architectural ornamentation been observed so carefully by a painter. The Romanesque two-light windows have mullions in the guise of double columns set obliquely to the wall, with shafts made of black marble and with sculpted bases and capitals. The bases are reminiscent of upside-down capitals, with a crown of leaves based on French twelfth-century crocketed capitals. The capitals consist of a crown of leaves placed above the characteristic head of a cubiform capital as it had been developed in Central European architecture shortly after the year 1000. Prominent examples of this kind of cubiform capital exist in St Michael in Hildesheim (ca. 1010) or at Speyer Cathedral (ca. 1025). Nonetheless, there are no examples of a similar shape of composite capitals

60 Körte, *Wiederaufnahme*; Panofsky E., *Die altniederländische Malerei. Ihr Ursprung und Wesen*, eds. J. Sander and S. Kemperdick, 2 vols. (Cologne: 2001), here in particular vol. 1, 143–144; Frodl-Kraft E., "Der Tempel von Jerusalem in der 'Vermählung Mariae' des Meisters von Flémalle. Archäologische Realien und ideale Bildwirklichkeit", in Crosby McKnight S. et al. (eds.), *Etudes d'art médiéval offertes à Louis Grodecki* (Paris: 1981) 293–316.

as depicted in the paintings known in Europe. Here it can only be mentioned briefly that the closest known parallels to the composite capital design and to the double columns shown on the *Ghent Altarpiece* may be found in the mid-eleventh-century column grid inside the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[61]

While a possible model for the *Ghent Altarpiece* in Jerusalem probably has to remain hypothetical, more precise models and perhaps also de facto objects of study may be tied to visual evocations of Romanesque architectural motifs in the pictorial work of Jan van Eyck. In the *Annunciation* (today Washington, DC, formerly St Petersburg), commissioned ca. 1436 as a donation by Duke Philip the Good for the Charterhouse of Champmol near Dijon, the pictorial space is determined by the corner situation of a basilica-type edifice with ambulatories that run on two sides halfway up along the walls.[62] Such details as the monolithic columns below the clerestory wall, the multilayered wall structure, and the arched windows without tracery on the upper storey, could then be observed in the older Romanesque churches of the Rhine-Meuse region.

Of particular significance is the shape of the triforium-type gallery in the painted architecture of the *Annunciation*, in which three or five elongated colonnettes per bay carry one straight lintel. A similar architectural situation is still visible in the triforium of the transepts of Tournai Cathedral that were begun ca. 1170 and vaulted in 1198; in this case, we are dealing with with a motif

61 Hoppe S., "Die Antike des Jan van Eyck. Architektonische Fiktion und Empirie im Umkreis des burgundischen Hofs um 1435", in Boschung D. – Wittekind S. (eds.), *Persistenz und Rezeption. Weiterverwendung Wiederverwendung und Neuinterpretation antiker Werke im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden: 2008) 351–394.

62 On the date and context of the donation see Suckale R., "Zum Körper – und Wirklichkeitsverständnis der frühen niederländischen Maler", in Schreiner K. (ed.), *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter: politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen* (Munich: 2002) 271–297, here 275; Purtle C.J., "Van Eyck's Washington Annunciation: Narrative Time and Metaphoric Tradition", *The Art Bulletin* 81 (1999) 117–125; Gifford E.M., "Van Eyck's Washington Annunciation: Technical Evidence for Iconographic Development", *The Art Bulletin* 81 (1999) 108–116; Purtle C.J., *The Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton: 1982); Purtle C.J., "Assessing the Evolution of Van Eyck's Iconography through Technical Study of the Washington Annunciation II: New Light on the Development of Van Eyck's Architectural Narrative", in Foister S. – Jones S. – Cool D. (eds.), *Investigating Jan van Eyck*, exh. cat., The National Gallery London (London: 2000) 67–78; Gifford E.M., "Assessing the Evolution of Van Eyck's Iconography through Technical Study of the Washington Annunciation I", in Foister – Jones – Cool, *Investigating Jan van Eyck* 67–78; Harbison C., *Jan Van Eyck: The Play of Realism* (London: 1991); Lyman T.W., "Architectural Portraiture and Jan van Eyck's Washington Annunciation", *Gesta* 20 (1981) 263–271.

that is very rare in northern Alpine architecture, and therefore all the more important for the painting with regard to its source of derivation.[63] In Tournai Cathedral, the two-layered structure of the arcades as well as buttressing that spans more than one storey may be observed, the same as van Eyck had originally set out in the preliminary sketch of the pictorial architecture but had later overpainted.[64]

Even more conspicuous are the similarities between the imaginary wall structure in the Washington *Annunciation* and another church in Tournai, to which Robert Suckale has drawn attention. The twelfth-century church of St. Quentin has a triforium in the bays next to the crossing that is partially executed as a blind and the horizontal lintel of which is borne by five elongated colonnettes.[65] Underneath this section of the wall, beyond the pillars of the crossing, columns carry an ogival arcade. The profile of these arches in the transepts shows the kind of step that is so typical of the lower storeys of van Eyck's architecture. Even one of the characteristics of the painted architecture – in which rounded arches are placed on top of ogival arches in an irritating contradiction of the architectural development of styles as seemingly reflected by building chronology – may be found in these bays of St Quentin. Considering the geographical vicinity between Jan van Eyck's workshop in Bruges during the 1430s and the famous cathedral city of Tournai, it seems plausible that the two churches mentioned above may have provided important details for Jan van Eyck's stylistic imagination without a specific building being copied in its spatial impression.

Almost contemporaneously with Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400–1464), who had recently moved to Brussels and become the court artist of the Burgundian dukes, began to study Romanesque architectural elements and to integrate them into his paintings. One work that may serve as an example is the so-called 'Lukas-Madonna' (*Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin*, today in Boston), which most scholars agree on dating to the years of ca. 1435/1440.[66]

63 The reference to Tournai is already to be found in Panofsky E., *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, MA: 1953). The additional references to the architecture of the cathedrals at Sens and Canterbury included by Panofsky will not be examined here.

64 See the infrared reflectogram, Fig. 2 in Gifford, "Technical Study of the Washington Annunciation I" 59.

65 Suckale, "Körper – und Wirklichkeitsverständnis" 275.

66 De Vos D., *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works* (New York: 2000) cat. no. 8; Purtle C.J. (ed.), *Rogier van der Weyden: St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context* (Turnhout: 1997); Kruse C., "Rogiers Replik. Ein gemalter Dialog über Ursprung und Medialität des Bildes", in Kruse C. – Thürlemann F. (eds.), *Porträt – Landschaft – Interieur. Jan van Eycks Rolin-Madonna im ästhetischen Kontext* (Tübingen: 1999) 167–185;

In this painting, Rogier referred very closely to a slightly older *Madonna* that had been done for the Burgundian chancellor Nicolas by his colleague Jan van Eyck, which also displays closely observed Romanesque architectural elements: the famous *Madonna of Chancellor Rolin*.

Rogier's reference included the new themes of an empirically substantiated pictorial architecture and of the landscape in the background. Here Rogier explained to the informed spectator that the imaginary architectural scenery was not a mere copy of pictorial elements existing in van Eyck's work, but that his new edition was based on an autonomous study of reality. For this purpose, he not only appropriately changed van Eyck's fictitious architecture, but presented it as the result of his own research on real Romanesque building details.

Rogier was not content to frame his painted opening in the background wall by van Eyck's marble columns. Their shafts looked grand, if stylistically unspecific, as did those used by Jan van Eyck in other historicizing architectural examples, such as for the *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* and the *Dresden Triptych*, both created during the late 1430s.

Rogier's own column shafts constituted in 1435 a minor antiquarian revolution, since their torsion motif unmistakably repeats the typically elaborate forms of ornaments of real column shafts from the Romanesque period. In the older tradition of pictorial architecture in the Netherlandish artistic sphere, this torsion motif had remained unknown, and it seems certain that Rogier had only been able to gain access to it by means of personal empirical study of appropriate models from real Romanesque architectural works of different sizes.

Therefore, this architectural detail may be understood as the result of Rogier´s innovative empirical studies as well as the contemplation of possibilities of production within a newly discovered historicizing architectural language. In addition, it also functions as evidence for the notion of an incomplete and ongoing process of the study of historical relicts. Finally, the apostle creating the drawing in the painting refers to the manual procedure of image creation.

We can only surmise where Rogier studied the Romanesque decorated and sculptured shaft forms. They often occurred during the Romanesque period on colonnaded portals, such as they appear on the northern and southern sides of Tournai Cathedral from the mid-twelfth century. After all, Tournai was Rogier's long-term place of work before his move to Brussels. The columns

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Kemperdick S. – Sander J. (eds.), *Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden*, exh. cat., Städel Museum and Gemäldegalerien der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Ostfildern: 2008), cat. no. 48 (refers here to the copy in Bruges).

with decorated shafts preserved there are the result of modern restoration; nonetheless, it is probable that they follow their models rather faithfully. Inside the nave of the Cathedral, similar, more torsioned column shafts may be seen, in this case in their original state of conservation. This is not to say that Rogier had used exactly these sculptured column shafts as models for his panel painting. Twelfth-century goldsmiths' works or other forms of microarchitecture which are stylistically related may equally be considered as models, even though today only a tiny fraction of these works is preserved.

In German-speaking regions, the interest in painted illusions of Romanesque architecture spread in particular from the 1450s.[67] At this point, German artists and their audiences engaged more intensively with many of the Netherlandish pictorial innovations.[68] An active early protagonist of this reception of Netherlandish image culture was the Franconian painter Hans Pleydenwurff (ca. 1420–1472), who ca. 1455 (then still in Bamberg) had placed his scene of the Adoration of the Magi inside a palace of Romanesque architectural style on his Löwensteinsches Marienretabel (GNM Gm 132) [Fig. 19.13], following the model of Rogier van der Weyden's famous Columba altarpiece.[69] To explain the new use of Romanesque forms as a stylistic indication of biblical antiquity, Pleydenwurff added to his pictorial invention appropriate antiquicizing inscriptions and image applications. The work commissioned by the Bamberg canon Count Georg of Löwenstein was a very famous painting in his time.

From this period there existed ever more numerous examples for a pictorial *mise-en-scène* of architecture, including Romanesque stylistic elements in drawn and painted works executed in Nuremberg.[70] The same happened

67 Jan van Eyck's innovation towards the stylistic aspects of architecture was first adopted in the German lands by Stefan Lochner in Cologne. See Hoppe S., "Architekturstil und Zeitbewusstsein in der Malerei Stefan Lochners. Verwendung und Vorbilder", in Euskirchen C. – Kieser M. – Pfotenhauer A. (eds.), *Hörsaal, Amt und Marktplatz. Forschung und Denkmalpflege im Rheinland, Festschrift für Udo Mainzer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Regensburg: 2005) 57–70.

68 For a general survey about the process of adoption of Netherlandish painting in fifteenth-century Germany, see Borchert T.H. (ed.), *Van Eyck to Dürer: The Influence of Early Netherlandish Painting on European Art, 1430–1530* (London – New York: 2011).

69 Fundamental work on fifteenth-century Franconian painting: Suckale R., *Die Erneuerung der Malkunst vor Dürer*, 2 vols. (Petersberg: 2009), here vol. 2, cat. no. 25 *Löwensteinsches Marienretabel*. Cf. cat. no. 42 and 47 with more painted Romanesque details and vol. 1, 134–136, with general thoughts on humanistic aspects like inscriptions.

70 In Nuremberg, this idea was adopted, for example, by Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519) in the Nuremberg Chronicle 1493; Schedel, Hartmann – Wolgemut, Michael – Pleydenwurff, Wilhelm, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg, Anton Koberger: 1493), i.e. Beheading of John the Baptist, fol. XCIIII; Pentecost, fol. CII; and Mohammed, fol. CLI; and later by his student Albrecht Dürer (Paumgartner-Altar, ca. 1503).

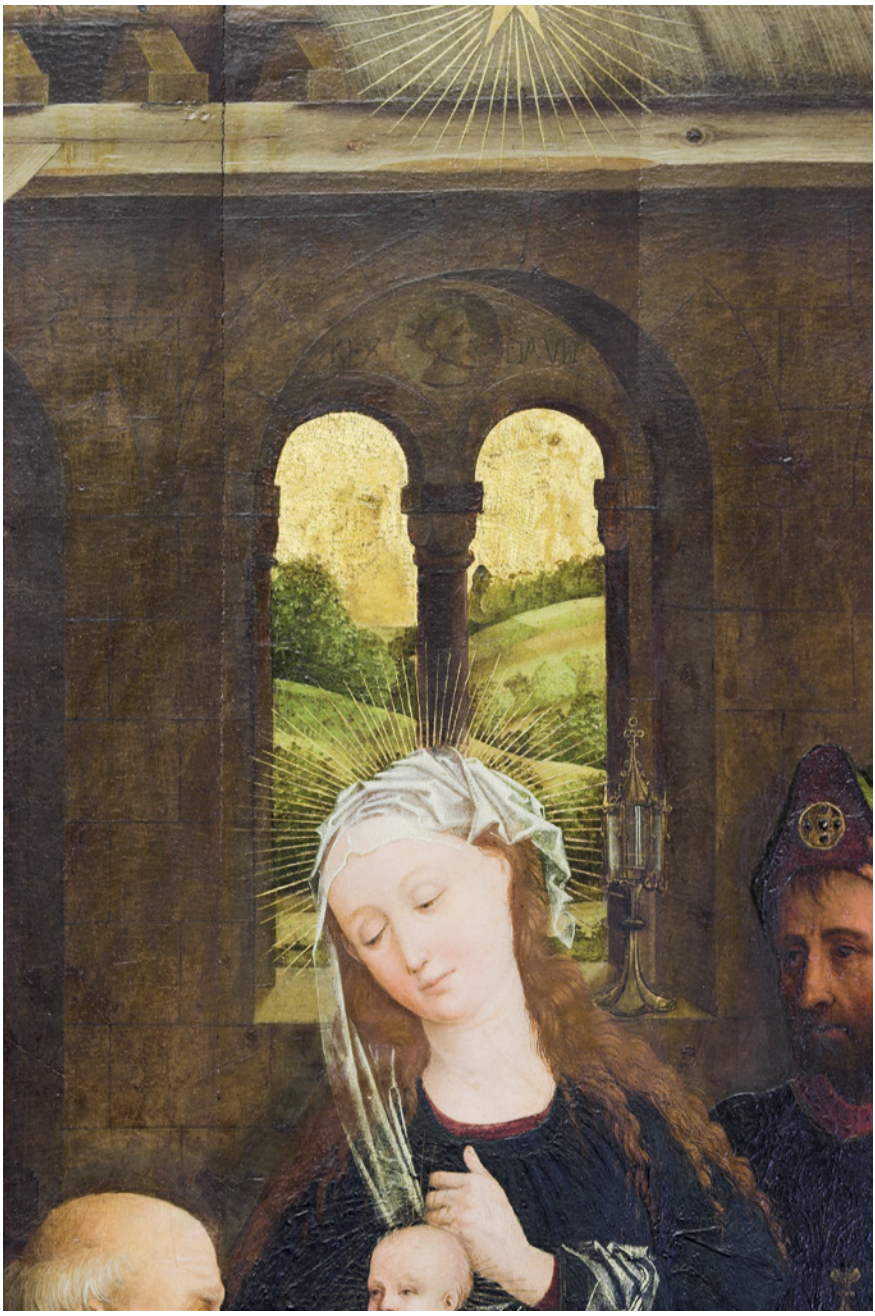


FIGURE 19.13 Hans Pleydenwurff, *Adoration of the Magi with the palace of King David* (detail); part of the *Löwensteinsches Marienretabel* (ca. 1455). Nuremberg, Germanisches National Museum
IMAGE © AUTHOR

in neighbouring artistic centres, for example at the ducal court of George the Rich and Hedwig of Poland, at Landshut.[71]

It can be shown that in this period certain German humanists also acted as patrons of such new pictorial subjects. In 1457, an anonymous painter was commissioned to illustrate the chronicle of the city of Augsburg (now Stuttgart WLB), written by the above-mentioned Sigismund Meisterlin. Prompted by the innovative way in which the chronicle reported about the city's ancient protohistory, the artist purposefully used pictorial fictions of Romanesque buildings to visualize for an educated audience the pagan period of Augsburg before Christianization and the arrival of the Romans [Fig. 19.14].[72] Thus it was here that the pictorial practice starting with Jan van Eyck ca. 1435 and the early humanist debate directly met. The same may have happened in Nuremberg and Landshut only a little later, even though further research on this is needed.

In this context, an artistic project of a hybrid character was undertaken with great effort in the free imperial city of Ulm from the second half of the 1460s. In 1468 the woodcarver and carpenter Jörg Syrlin the Elder (ca. 1425–1491) was commissioned to create the first part of the wooden choir stalls in the municipal parish church, the so-called Ulmer Münster (Ulm Minster), under construction since 1377.[73] This three-part *sedile* was signed and put in place by Syrlin in the following year, while between 1469 and 1474 Syrlin and his workshop created the adjacent choir stalls for the Minster, which would become highly renowned in the older municipal historiography as well as in modern art history [Fig. 19.15].[74]

In this work – *sedile* and stalls – occurs a surprising interrelated reference to pagan antiquity both in terms of content as well as in format and style, for

71 In Landshut, the court painter Sigmund Gleismüller, ascertainable from ca. 1473, used appropriate architectural forms based on Romanesque style, for example in the ca. 1485 altarpiece of Attel (Bavarian State Gallery at Burghausen Castle); see Statnik B., *Sigmund Gleismüller. Hofkünstler der reichen Herzöge zu Landshut* (Petersberg: 2009).

72 Meisterlin, *Augsburger Chronik* (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, manuscript HB V 52, fol. 21 r; http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz330045024); cf. Delarue D.E., "Das Bild Augsburgs als Stadt. Repräsentation von Größe, Heiligkeit und Einigkeit in den Illustrationen zur Stadtchronik Sigismund Meisterlins", in Saurma-Jeltsch – Frese, *Zwischen Mimesis und Vision* 35–58, here 39.

73 Reinhardt B. – Roller S. (eds.), *Michel Erhart und Jörg Syrlin d. Ä. Spätgotik in Ulm*, exh. cat., Ulmer Museum (Stuttgart: 2002).

74 Vöge W., *Jörg Syrlin der Ältere und seine Bildwerke. II: Stoffkreis und Gestaltung* (Berlin: 1950); Deutsch W., "Der ehemalige Hochaltar und das Chorgestühl. Zur Syrlin – und zur Bildhauerfrage", in Specker H.E. – Wortmann R. (eds.), *600 Jahre Ulmer Münster* (Ulm: 1977) 242–322; Gropp D., *Das Ulmer Chorgestühl und Jörg Syrlin der Ältere. Untersuchungen zu Architektur und Bildwerk* (Berlin: 1999).



FIGURE 19.14 Sigismund Meisterlin, *Augsburger Chronik*, Veneration of the pagan goddess Cisa, Stuttgart version from 1457. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, manuscript HB V 52, fol. 21r
IMAGE © WLB IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

which there was no precise antecedent in the northern Alpine artistic sphere at the time. The new furnishings of the Ulm Minster display not only the usual people from the Old and New Testaments, as one would expect in such a place, but also an innovative and very prominent presentation of pagan Wise Women and Learned Men of Greek and Roman, i.e. pre-Christian, antiquity. In their artful and innovative multiple viewpoints, these effigies of ancient male and female intellectuals, such as Ptolemy, Terence, Virgil, Cicero, Quintilian, sibyls, and others, are reminiscent of ancient busts and function as tentative attempts to connect with ancient stylistic principles. A famous Italian example of a cycle of sibyls was the one painted for the humanist Giordano Orsini in Rome ca. 1425; a prominent later cycle was executed for Sigismondo Malatesta in Rimini ca. 1455.[75] Today most of the Ulm busts are considered early masterworks of

75 Vöge, *Jörg Syrlin* 17–18.



FIGURE 19.15 Jörg Syrlin the Elder and Michel Erhart, choir stalls of Ulm Minster with the busts of Seneca and Ptolemy (1469–1474)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

the then still rather young woodcarver Michel Erhart (ca. 1440/1445–post 1522), created under the supervision of Jörg Syrlin the Elder.

At first glance the microarchitecture of the Ulm stalls,[76] carrying and framing the images, acts as an implementation of then modern Gothic architectural motifs in the so-called *schöner Stil* (international Gothic).[77] Closer formal analysis, however, brings to light that Syrlin the Elder at the same time also used motifs of pre-Gothic, i.e. here Romanesque, architecture [Fig. 19.16]. This becomes particularly clear through the stylistic comparison with the slightly older stalls (1467–1470) of Constance Minster that catered for the imperial city and that in certain parts might actually be regarded as a model for Ulm. In Constance one can see, in the lower parts of the seating stalls as well as further above, artful yet contemporary Gothic architectural forms, but in Ulm there is

76 On the topic of microarchitecture for this period, see in particular: Kratzke C. – Kratzke U.A. (eds.), *Mikroarchitektur im Mittelalter. Ein gattungsübergreifendes Phänomen zwischen Realität und Imagination* (Leipzig: 2008); Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*; Timmermann A., *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ. c. 1270–1600* (Turnhout: 2009).

77 See Schurr M.C., "Der 'Schöne Stil' in der Architektur um 1400", in Braun K.H. (ed.), *Das Konstanzer Konzil 1414–1418. Weltereignis des Mittelalters*, vol. II (Stuttgart: 2013) 171–174.



FIGURE 19.16 Above: Jörg Syrlin the Elder and Michel Erhart, choir stalls of Ulm Minster with knot column (1469–1474). Below: Romanesque knot columns *Jachin and Boaz*, Würzburg Cathedral (ca. 1230)
IMAGES © AUTHOR

a multitude of sturdy colonnettes in the lower levels. Their combined impression and in particular their ornamented shafts refer to pertinent designs of the late Romanesque era.

In Ulm in the late 1460s one could find – as far as is known at this point – for the first time the torsion motif on column shafts in three-dimensional form, as it would appear from the 1430s in northern Alpine painting in the works of Rogier van der Weyden and other, later artists. In Ulm there was the addition of further motifs known from Romanesque architecture, such as scaled patterns and knot motifs on column shafts. In particular, the knot motif on column shafts is generally so rare during the Middle Ages that the precise reference to old Romanesque examples is rather evident. The Romanesque works newly studied by Jörg Syrlin and his workshop from 1468 onward may actually have looked like the exemplar of a Romanesque knot column still preserved in neighbouring Augsburg in the church of St George, consecrated in 1142.

In 1475, two rows of choir stalls were installed in the already mentioned collegiate church of Moosburg, closely connected to the Landshut ducal court, in which diverse Romanesque motifs displayed in Ulm also appear. They occur together with branchwork motifs (*Astwerk*) and a rich, vegetal ornamentation reminiscent of Romanesque models. Branch tracery is also included. The Moosburg stalls are remarkably dependent on the slightly older stalls in Ulm, even if their master is unknown.[78]

In Ulm as well, the innovative study and the revival of Romanesque architectural motifs, for the first time ascertainable by means of the three-part *sedile* from 1468, must have become popular. For example, in the Ulm Municipal Museum, a wooden column is preserved that comes from a citizen's townhouse and is dated to 1482 [Fig. 19.20]. It alludes to a Romanesque cubiform capital as well as typical Romanesque ornamented shafts. This Ulm column is also highly reminiscent in its proportion and ornamentation of the above-mentioned, probably only slightly older columns in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Bruges, even though no direct connection will be proposed in this case.

In the present survey, Ulm is an example with a certain hybridity, for there a carpenter, together with other wood sculptors, was first responsible for this study and reactivation of Romanesque models for the then-current art production in the genre of microarchitecture. It is, however, rather unlikely that this artistic process may have happened independently of the local architect in charge, i.e. a trained stonemason.

78 Dichtl R., "Das Moosburger Chorgestühl", Heimatverein Moosburg a.d. Isar (ed.), *Unser Moosburg* 7 (1988) 127–136.

From 1465 the master builder (*Werkmeister*) of Ulm Minster was Moritz Ensinger (ca. 1430–ca. 1483), who had succeeded his famous father, Matthäus, in this office.[79] The pieces of architecture in Ulm that can be ascribed to him, including the monumental Ulm sacrament house of the Minster,[80] completed in 1472 in the direct vicinity and conceptional context of Syrlin's *sedile*, do not display a reception of Romanesque stylistic elements. Nonetheless, in their early and innovative use of spiral shafts and stands,[81] branchwork,[82] and bent pinnacles,[83] in conjunction with a disturbing renunciation of symmetry at some points,[84] Moritz Ensinger's architecture attests to his willingness to ponder fundamental traditional qualities of building styles and even to question their validity from case to case. For Achim Timmermann, by means of the microarchitecture of his sacrament house Moritz Ensinger had intended to provide a potent pattern of his intellectual as well as artisanal prowess:

> If Moritz Ensinger were indeed the artistic mastermind behind the sacrament house – and the stylistic and circumstantial evidence suggests that he was – it can be argued that it was this tabernacle, the tallest and most complex anywhere in existence, that eventually, in 1465, won him his place at the head of the Ulm workshop. Demonstrating technical mastery, competence in logistic matters, but above all, unprecedented formal inventiveness, the sacrament house represents the artistic counterpart

79 So far, there is no monograph dedicated to Moritz Ensinger.

80 On the not yet completely researched sacrament house in Ulm, see Gropp D., "Der Prophetenzyklus am Sakramentshaus des Ulmer Münsters", in Reinhardt B. – Roth M. (eds.), *Hans Multscher. Bildhauer der Spätgotik in Ulm*, exh. cat., Ulmer Museum (Ulm: 1997) 145–164; Frebel V., "Das Ulmer Sakramentshaus und sein Meister", *Ulm und Oberschwaben* 44 (1982) 239–252; on Ulm, see Timmermann, *Real Presence* 80–89.

81 Moritz Ensinger's design, executed in 1462/1465, does not yet include this motif; repository: Ulm, Stadtarchiv, draft no. 12.

82 Ascertainable on the Ulm sacrament house as a bracket for an Old Testament prophet, which was probably created shortly after 1467 by a pupil of Hans Multscher (Gropp, "Der Prophetenzyklus"). It was Anneliese Seeliger-Zeiss who first stressed the importance of Ulm as the early and innovative centre of branchwork applications in the 1460s: Seeliger-Zeiss A., *Lorenz Lechler von Heidelberg und sein Umkreis. Studien zur Geschichte der spätgotischen Zierarchitektur und Skulptur in der Kurpfalz und in Schwaben* (Heidelberg: 1967) here 43–49.

83 Bent pinnacles are included in the sacrament house on the second canopy register (ca. 1470) as well as in the design, also attributed to Moritz Ensinger (Riss B, London) for the Ulm west tower ca. 1470.

84 Visible even in the early design drawing; Ulm, Stadtarchiv, draft no. 12. Körner chose for related phenomena the term of *gestörte Form* (disturbed form): Körner H., "Die gestörte Form in der Architektur des späten Mittelalters", in idem, *Blickende Leiber, lebendige Farbe und Randfiguren in der Kunst. Kunsthistorische Aufsätze* (Berlin: 2011) 135–154.

> to an inaugural speech, spelling out the agenda of its author. In some ways, the tabernacle may also be compared to a three-dimensional pattern book or architectural dictionary.[85]

In 1493, humanist Hartman Schedel particularly mentioned the Ulm sacrament house together with the choir stalls in his *Weltchronik* as a remarkable work: 'ein mercklich köstlich und wercklich sacrament gehews auch gestüle in die chore'.[86]

The Ulm project of building and furnishing the Minster, connecting diverse artistic genres, may have, from the late 1460s, played a pioneering and key role in relation to the new ideas and the vital potential of Romanesque architecture. It is probably not by chance that the microarchitectural framing of intellectual heroes from pagan Roman and Greek antiquity by Jörg Syrlin the Elder on *sedile* and choir stalls, as well as the historicizing interpretation of Romanesque remains at the Wiblingen monastery by Felix Fabri, originate de facto in the same artistic and intellectual circle. All of these people were not only contemporaries, but also almost neighbours in the imperial town of Ulm. I shall return to this theme when investigating additional patrons, audiences, and personal networks.

But first, this condensed and by no means complete survey of some areas of innovative interest in Romanesque architecture taking place in the pictorial arts during the fifteenth century north of the Alps needs to be strengthened. It will be underpinned by discussing a further area of the reception of Romanesque style: i.e. the contemporaneous treatment and the recontextualization of *spolia* from buildings of the Romanesque era. Although this topic has already brought forth a lively scholarly debate, it has not yet received the full attention it needs.

4 A New Boom of Romanesque Building *Spolia*

From the 1480s onwards, architectural *spolia* from the Romanesque era were integrated into an increasing number of new buildings in a contrasting modern style in Germany. Among these examples of reuse in prominent places were a striking quantity of elaborate and sculpturally ornamented church portals. In some cases, these older works had to be rearranged or were in part created from scratch. Different strategies for the preservation of the status quo,

85 Timmermann, *Real Presence* 88.

86 Schedel et al., *Liber chronicarum* CXCI.

for revival, for repairs done in the style of the existing structures, and for new formulations may be observed.

In some instances of the reuse and revival of Romanesque architectural sculpture, the works in question were key works of Romanesque art that by such means have been preserved intact to this day. An example is the relocation of the Goldene Pforte (Golden Gate) at the southern entrance of the collegiate church at Freiberg in Saxony, when the church as a whole was newly built in modern Gothic style from 1484 on.[87] The Goldene Pforte is an unusually elaborate figured portal in the guise of a rounded arch with richly decorated jamb steps and archivolts sculpted ca. 1225/1230. It represents one of the oldest figured portals in the German-speaking regions. Scholarship generally assumes that the portal originally marked the western main entrance of the Freiberg church. The Romanesque church was destroyed in 1484 during a fire in the city and was replaced subsequently by a completely new construction, a hall-type church in the gothic style.

Despite the complete abandonment of the previous building, the portal was carefully disassembled. Then, with almost archaeological meticulousness, it was correctly reassembled in the new location. Great appreciation of an older sculpted work of art is hereby expressed. Who in Freiberg decided to handle a work of art – one that had long since become obsolete – with this kind of conservative care can no longer be ascertained in detail. Freiberg Cathedral had become in 1480 the church of a newly founded college, closely connected to the electoral Saxon court. Single canons took up important political tasks at the Saxon court and maintained strong ties to the Saxon state university at Leipzig.

In other regions, a similar handling of elaborate architectural sculpture from the Romanesque era may be observed around this time. One problem in dealing with this topic consists in the fact that it goes beyond the possibilities of art historical style-analytical methodology. Even though it is possible to narrow down the original period of creation of the Romanesque *spolia*, as far as the type and chronology of the reuse, and sometimes even its factuality, are concerned, it is rarely possible to come to an agreement in art historical scholarship.[88]

87 Magirius H., *Der Dom zu Freiberg* (Lindenberg: 2013) 15–23.

88 Among the constellations and artefacts that art historical scholarship has so far not been able to date conclusively belongs the southern porch of Innichen; cf. Dobler E., "Die Portalschauwand an der Südseite der Stiftskirche von Innichen", *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 25 (1972) 177–186; Dobler E., "Zum Lettnerproblem und zum Südportal an der Stiftskirche von Innichen", *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 28 (1974) 185–187. The same is the case for Schöngrabern, cf. Fillitz H. (ed.), *Schöngrabern*, coference volume

In the 1970s, Erika Doberer proposed several groups of Romanesque building sculptures for discussion as having been reused in the Alpine region during the final third of the fifteenth century. Particularly interesting and widely accepted by scholarship are her findings about a building campaign at the Benedictine monastery Millstadt, in Carinthia, where a whole range of types of Romanesque building sculptures, such as choir screen figures, pulpit reliefs, and mullions, were put into new contexts. Here, an older monastery was adapted for the purpose of the military order of St George, founded on 1 January 1469 by Emperor Frederick III and Pope Paul II (r. 1464–1471) for defence against the Turks.

Among other things in Millstadt, a new portal was composed from Romanesque *spolia* in the redesigned cloister [Fig. 19.17].[89] The cloister itself was newly covered with a Romanesque-type groin vault, and therefore belongs conspicuously to the almost contemporaneous group of fifteenth-century interiors created with an orientation towards traits of Romanesque style already presented above. The above-mentioned Salzburg *palas* extension of ca. 1480/1485 seems to be a stylistically similar example. In Millstadt, a mural dated by inscription to 1499 provides a secure *terminus ante quem*. Perhaps Emperor Maximilian I, who was a main patron of the new order, promoted the building project. Before the 1490s, the order would have made the construction of defence structures its main priority. Nonetheless, one should try further to specify the date.

During the same time, in the 1490s, the Wasserburg master builder Wolfgang Wiser (also: Wiesinger; ca. 1450–1507) rebuilt the church of the Nonnberg monastery in Salzburg.[90] Apart from artful architectural innovations, such as arched rib vaults, and the conspicuous staging of fake architectural auxiliary constructions, such as ribs seemingly mounted at random, the new, southern

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of the international Colloquium of the Austrian National Commitee of the C.I.H.A. 17–18 September 1985 (Vienna: 1985); Doberer E., "Abendländische Skulpturen des Mittelalters und ihre metamorphischen Veränderungen", *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46/47 (1993/1994) 161–163; Pippal M., *Die Pfarrkirche von Schöngrabern. Eine ikonologische Untersuchung ihrer Apsisreliefs*, Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Kunstgeschichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1 (Vienna: ²1996). Similar debates were conducted about the so-called *Schottenportal* in Ratisbon.

89 Doberer E., "Eingefügte Fragmente am Kreuzgangsportal der Millstätter Stiftskirche", *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 24 (1971) 49–58.

90 Pretterebner G., "Baumeister Wolf Wiser", *Burghauser Geschichtsblätter* 30 (1970) 5–43; Bischoff F., *Burkhard Engelberg 'der vilkunstreiche Architector und der Statt Augspurg Wercke Meister'. Burkhard Engelberg und die süddeutsche Architektur um 1500. Anmerkungen zur sozialen Stellung und Arbeitsweise spätgotischer Steinmetzen und Werkmeister* (Augsburg: 1999) on Wiser: 344.



FIGURE 19.17 Monastery of Millstadt, Romanesque Renaissance vault (ca. 1490)
IMAGE © FOTO MARBURG



FIGURE 19.18 Wolfgang Wiser, (southern) porch with Romanesque spolia (1499), Salzburg, Nonnberg monastery
IMAGE © AUTHOR

porch of the monastic church, created elaborately in marble starting in 1497, incorporated Romanesque *spolia* [Fig. 19.17]. Wiser added an architrave decorated with tendrils and a figured tympanum. In 1499 an invoice lists 'Item mer ainen lanngen alten stain von der allten tür auf die new gross Tür' (Further, a long, old lintel from the old portal on top of the new grand door).[91]

In Frankfurt/Main, the merchants' settlement west of the Staufian-era city had established its own chapel with the patrocinium of 1219, which had from the start been furnished elaborately with two sculpted Romanesque porches. The larger the two was even signed with an inscription: 'Engelbertvs f(ecit)'. It thus presents an early example of true or supposed artists' self-assurance. From ca. 1500, the nave and the western façade of the St Leonard church were demolished and replaced by an elaborate hall church. As in Freiberg or Nonnberg, the new Frankfurt building was designed in a modern Gothic style. Around 1507, in the new building's north wall, the two Romanesque porches from the original building were integrated. In contrast to the Freiberg porch,

91 Tietze H., *Die Denkmale des Adeligen Benediktiner-Frauen-Stiftes Nonnberg in Salzburg*, Österreichische Kunsttopographie 7 (Vienna: 1911) XXII.

several blocks of the original Romanesque building decoration had been lost or resisted the integration in the new architectural context. In these places, the Romanesque decorative system was taken over and completed in stylistically matching forms [Fig. 19.19]. It is noticeable that particularly in these stylistically sensitive positions, motifs of the spiral column were used, which were interpreted here as evocations of the pertinent Romanesque motifs rediscovered in the North only by the mid-fifteenth century.

These examples of diverse approaches towards artefacts of the Romanesque era attest that they met with an empirical interest adopted by the painters and humanists of the ongoing fifteenth century, but were also considered within the framework of real building practice in their materiality.

New concepts for the dealings with the artefacts of a long-ago period needed to be developed. Old masonry needed to be translocated in accordance with the rules and principles of its reintegration and of the formal integration into stylistically diverse new buildings.[92] In Frankfurt there was an effort made to achieve a stylistically harmonic result for the integrated elder building parts in their new setting; in Salzburg the aesthetic contrast was not solved, or even appreciated. Only one further small step needed to be taken to make the newly acquired knowledge about the characteristics in terms of style and motif of such architectural decoration available for new designs.

The newly designed buildings mentioned above in connection with the Albrechtsburg, buildings that picked up style characteristics of long-ago architecture, did so in a way that allows for no argument about the precise sources of this stylistic takeover and its adaptation. In this case there can only be arguments made on the basis of style analysis, since essential principles of modern Gothic building were overruled.

In comparison, the analysis of motifs from architectural sculpture offers further possibilities for the identification of precise models. The building master Hans Schweiner (1473–1534) was going to adopt complete imitations of older building sculpture after Romanesque models at Worms Cathedral and at the Romanesque church in his hometown of Weinsberg for his new design of the western tower of the municipal church of Heilbronn from 1513.[93]

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92 The integration of older figured porches into newly built churches was not a new phenomenon. In the newly built Ulm Münster the porch of the previously existing city church, which was situated outside the city walls, was integrated. Around 1377, these remains were not yet very old. In the thirteenth century, an older porch was incorporated into the western building of the newly constructed cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris.

93 Farys S., *Bauen im reichsstädtisch-reformatorischen Heilbronn. Eine exemplarische Werkanalyse zu Hans Schweyner von Weinsberg (1473–1534)* (Münster – Hamburg – Berlin – Vienna – London: 2004); Hoppe S., "Stildiskurse, Architekturfiktionen und Relikte.



FIGURE 19.19 St. Leonard church of Frankfurt am Main, portail with Romanesque spolia (ca. 1507)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

As late as the 1560s, the ancestral castle of the Echter family of Mespelbrunn, who belonged to the lesser nobility, was ornamented with numerous newly created capitals and columns in combination with a Vitruvian architectural order.[94] There are many more examples from this later period.

The examples for how to address Romanesque building sculpture and Romanesque buildings gathered in this section attest in total to a new interest in the local material remains of a building art that presented itself formally as 'older', one that had 'gone out of use long ago', developing during the final third of the fifteenth century in Germany. These creations are consistently of social and artistic relevance and, as a rule, of aesthetic aspiration. Their difference from traditional regional northern Alpine artistic work ought to easily become obvious through contemporaneous observation. No specialist was needed to recognize the differences from the current Gothic style. Even for a non-artistic audience the pre-Gothic stylistic language had reached a new importance and value.

5 Early Humanist Networks and the Renewal of German Architecture

From the chronology reconstructed here, there is evidence that the new palace building at Meißen from 1471 takes a key position in the development of the northern Alpine architecture during the second half of the fifteenth century. A new kind of practical and productive engagement with an older artistic era can be traced: an era that was clearly recognized as being stylistically different. This engagement was going to become more frequent over the subsequent years and finally would feed into the broader architectural development of the northern Alpine Renaissance.

Before this date, it was particularly painted and small-scale imitations of architectural designs in wood and stone (microarchitecture) that had included similar elements of a pre-Gothic architectural language. Thereby, they had created new meanings and in general new references to the history of antiquity. Such an approach, developed from the 1430s in Netherlandish painting, was going to be received particularly during the 1450s and 1460s in some artistic centres in Germany, attested by the painterly work of Hans Pleydenwurff or

Beobachtungen in Halle, Chemnitz und Heilbronn zum Einfluss der Bildkünste auf mitteleuropäische Werkmeister um 1500", in Bürger – Klein, *Werkmeister der Spätgotik* 69–91.

94 Hoppe S., "Stil als Dünne oder Dichte Beschreibung. Eine konstruktivistische Perspektive auf kunstbezogene Stilbeobachtungen unter Berücksichtigung der Bedeutungsdimension", in Hoppe – Nußbaum – Müller, *Stil als Bedeutung in der nordalpinen Renaissance* 48–103, see 76 (with Fig.).

the sculptural work of Jörg Syrlin the Elder. But only at the clectoral Saxon court were appropriate consequences for monumental buildings drawn. These buildings, at least in part, still belong to the main works of art history of this period. Later works followed in the early 1480s.

Single commentaries, expressed by prominent contemporaneous exponents about diverse representatives of the Romanesque building style, refer to the fact that it was not the art historical era of the 'real' Romanesque, as defined and termed only in the nineteenth century, that was to be studied anew and reactivated for the contemporaneous art of building. Numerous factors seem to attest that at the time the stylistic continuity of ancient buildings was presumed to have lasted up to the times of the Carolingians and Staufians.[95] Even rather recent buildings could be understood as points of reference for a 'jtzige widererwaxsung'[96] (regrowth) (Dürer) to ancient artistic levels. At the time, such a semantic connection between Romanesque building style and ancient history was not solely a German but a pan-European phenomenon. This notion was adopted north of the Alps during the course of the fifteenth century.

When reactivating obsolete forms of art and finding a new use for appropriate artefacts, the focus could be on a more intellect-based approach to the sheer beauty and the potential as an aesthetic model of ancient art, as well as on a politically usable reference to an age and antiquity that bestowed historical and exemplary prestige. Both approaches had already been developed and applied in Italy.

In the North, new actors, such as schoolteachers, court scribes, and learned advisors and councillors who had received a humanist education in Italy, worked from the 1440s onwards. They became the new rank of experts for the learned interpretation and revival of an ancient quality of art.

The second approach, i.e. the political use of ancient cultural objects, could be observed also in neighbouring regions in the European North. Such redeployment happened, for example, increasingly in Burgundy, where in particular during the rule of Charles the Bold (r. 1467–1477) innovative possibilities to legitimize the ruler's authority by ancient history were thereby examined.[97]

95 Cf. also Günther, "Vorstellungen" 106.

96 Rupprich H. (ed.), *Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlaß*, vol. II (Berlin: 1966) 144.

97 Vanderjagt A.J., "Classical Learning and the Building of Power at the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Court", in Drijvers J.W. – MacDonald A.A. (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden – New York – Cologne: 1995) 267–277; Franke B., "Ritter und Heroen der 'burgundischen Antike'. Franko-flämische Tapisserie des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Städel-Jahrbuch* N.F. 16 (1997) 113–146; Ehm-Schnocks P., "'Très invaincu César'. Antikenrezeption am burgundischen Hof unter Philipp dem Guten und Karl dem Kühnen", in Suntrup R. – Veenstra J.R. – Bollmann A. (eds.), *The Mediation*

In view of this diverse material, which originated in different artistic genres, the central issue must be the query regarding the personnel and the intellectual horizons to be addressed by these architectural ideas. Some of the local artists concerned were briefly introduced above. Since in those circles, however, direct contacts with Italy and Italian thought were then hardly ever relevant at the time and can only be proven in some exceptional cases, one must examine the wider sphere of personnel involved in innovative art projects, i.e. the circles and networks of patrons, advisors, and transmitters. Numerous and conspicuous are the references to literates who should be counted as humanists and to patrons influenced by humanism, who turn up every so often while gathering eyewitness accounts of Romanesque reception. In part, they even appear several times in diverse functions.[98]

It comes as no surpise that the intellectual and educational movement of humanism, which spread from Italy, also concerned itself with issues of cultural reactivation of ancient art and architecture. So far, art historical scholarship has supported this connection between learned, humanist-trained personnel and the arts for the fifteenth century as an Italian specialty that only in the wake of the sixteenth century was more strongly received north of the Alps. Nonetheless, the 'diffusion' of applicable humanist ideas, to pick

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of Symbol in Late Medieval and Early Modern Times. Medien der Symbolik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit (Frankfurt a. M.: 2005) 275–295; Welzel B., "Schenkung – Territorium. Zum Reliquiar Karls des Kühnen von Gérard Loyet", in Kruse – Thürlemann, *Porträt – Landschaft – Interieur* 203–217.

98 In the present study, 'humanism' is supposed to be understood as rather broadly defined, beyond the older definition, for example, in Kristeller. In this way, it is possible to draw on more recent developments in the scholarship concerning humanism, in which the entangled or networking character of the humanist educational movement is examined and productive transformations are considered as much as the relatively strict orientation towards the Italian original ideas. The term 'humanism' ought to be seen in this context as an intellectual movement, intentionally encompassing all spheres of life with a link to antiquity, thereby opening up the narrower and stricter perception of humanism as literary phenomenon. Fundamental examples of innovative approaches to forms of research regarding the early Renaissance humanism north of the Alps (while mentioning the relevant older literature): Helmrath – Muhlack – Walther, *Diffusion des Humanismus*.

On the relationship between Renaissance humanism and courtly life, see the critical research survey in Hirschi C., "Höflinge der Bürgerschaft – Bürger des Hofes. Zur Beziehung von Humanismus und städtischer Gesellschaft", in Müller G.M. (ed.), *Humanismus und Renaissance in Augsburg. Kulturgeschichte einer Stadt zwischen Spätmittelalter und Dreißigjährigem Krieg*, Frühe Neuzeit 144 (Berlin – New York: 2010) 31–60. Cf. also the newer case studies on particular circles of humanists: Müller H., *Habit und Habitus. Mönche und Humanisten im Dialog* (Tübingen: 2006); Landois A., *Gelehrtentum und Patrizierstand. Wirkungskreise des Nürnberger Humanisten Sixtus Tucher (1459–1507)* (Tübingen: 2014).

up a term coined by the historians Johannes Helmrath, Ulrich Muhlack, and Gerrit Walther, ought to be in certain cases definitely predated to the fifteenth century.[99]

Back in the Augsburg of the 1450s, a tight connection between patrons, educated and networked within the parameters of early humanism, and a programmatically used reception of Romanesque forms, can be reconstructed as the identification of the city and its elites as originating in pagan antiquity, going back to a time even before the arrival of the Romans. Augsburg, therefore, certainly belongs to the very early centres of humanist activities in Germany, and may accordingly hold a certain exceptional status. It was not only their studies at Italian universities during the fifteenth century that brought the members of the Augsburg elite into contact with the various new ideas of Renaissance humanism. Augsburg was, as mentioned above, at least visited by Italian humanists during their travels north of the Alps and was considered a place of intellectual exchange, where one could find competent and attentive interlocutors.

An equally close connection between humanist personnel and artistic production may also be shown for the slightly later project of the choir stalls of Ulm Minster. Scholarship has not yet fully investigated this project as a humanist one, in contrast to those in Augsburg. The imperial city of Ulm offered a particularly well-prepared breeding ground for such a innovative project. Here, quite early in the fifteenth century, it had become the norm among the leading families of the patriciate and other similar societal groups to connect narratives of their own origins, which had deliberately been moved back to pagan antiquity, with solid humanist studies and activities in the fields of literature and the visual arts.[100] Humanist education abroad and activities at home presented a qualitative rank distinguishing the families who considered themselves part of the old nobility. It therefore found a comparably wide and early dissemination within the urban elites.[101]

99 Helmrath – Muhlack – Walther, *Diffusion des Humanismus.*

100 On surveys on the early reception of humanism in Ulm that may so far be found in dedicated investigations, see Joachimsohn P., "Frühhumanismus in Schwaben", *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte* 5 (1896) 63–126, 257–291; Mertens, "Eberhard im Bart und der Humanismus" 42–43; Klingner J., *Minnereden im Druck. Studien zur Gattungsgeschichte im Zeitalter des Medienwechsel* (Berlin: 2010) 139–153.

101 Lang S., *Die Patrizier der Reichsstadt Ulm. Stadtherren, Gutsbesitzer und Mäzene* (Ostfildern: 2011); Fieg O., "Das Ulmer Patriziat zwischen Zunftbürgertum und Landadel", in Hengerer M. – Kuhn E.L. (eds.), *Adel im Wandel. Oberschwaben von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. II (Ostfildern: 2006) 631–642.

The city council had been responsible for the furnishing of the Ulm parish church ever since it gained jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters in 1396. It gave orders to the three members of the body of church wardens, two of whom hailed from the patriciate.[102] The church wardens also chose the parish priest of the Minster. The long-serving parish priest Jodocus Clamer (in office 1443–1470), as a highly educated and intellectually influential personality, might be considered as being responsible for and as one of the decision-makers in the case of the new furnishing programme. He was related to a number of patrician families, had studied canon law in Heidelberg and Vienna, and maintained close contacts with the Augsburg clergy. Altogether, he belonged to a rather conservative movement in ecclesiastical matters.

This orientation was to change direction during the tenure of his successor, Dr Heinrich Neithardt the Younger (ca. 1425/1430–1500), who had studied in Paris and then had gained his doctorates in ecclesiastical law as well as in theology in Pavia. In the 1460s, he was in close exchange with compatriotic humanist authors, such as Albrecht of Eyb (1420–1475), and with other humanists in the southern German regions. Back in the 1460s, Neithardt had already campaigned from Constance for issues concerning the Minster at Ulm. In 1468, there was talk of a design for or a copy of a depiction of the Last Judgement in Basel that he is supposed to have supported financially.[103] Neithardt belonged to a family that distinguished itself in multiple ways through its erudition. In the fifteenth century, it had traced back the family's noble origins to the Norici, who had reached Bavaria from Armenia during antiquity.[104]

From the late fourteenth century, members of this family had been directing the Ulm chancellery school, and they later expanded it into a widely renowned educational institution. An elder Heinrich Neithardt had donated 300 volumes of his unusually rich library to the city in 1437/1443, and Hans Neithardt from the younger generation (ca. 1430–ca. 1490) was going to support translations of Latin classical texts and would help bring them into print during the 1480s.

These same people responsible for the furnishings of Ulm Minster were at the same time linked to a complex local configuration consisting of additional civic institutions and local people influenced by humanism. Several members of the Neithardt family would subsequently preside over the above-mentioned chancellery school. The Ulm Latin School also held supraregional importance,

102 Vöge, *Jörg Syrlin* 26. Urbach D.U., *Weltgericht und städtische Selbstdarstellung. Das Wandgemälde am Triumphbogen des Ulmer Münsters* (Freiburg: 2001) 151.

103 Urbach, *Weltgericht* 158, and Rott H., *Quellen und Forschungen zur südwestdeutschen und schweizerischen Kunstgeschichte im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2: *Altschwaben und die Reichsstädte* (Stuttgart: 1934) 72.

104 Fabri, *Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi*, trans. Reichert 93–95.

since under its rector Heinrich Better it had established an obvious early-humanist profile by the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1460, it employed the famous 'wandering humanist' and eager promotor of the new ideas Peter Luder as teacher, who in turn had been attracted by the impressive number of pupils at the school. Wilhelm Vöge wondered if a young humanist teacher from this school, Theobald Seidener, could have been the author of some of the *tituli* on the Ulm choir stalls.[105]

Heinrich Steinhöwel (1410–1479) – an Ulm city physician educated in Padua, humanist, and book entrepreneur – belonged in particular to the supraregionally renowned and connected people.[106] In 1454, he even became a personal physician to the Burgundian Duke Philip the Good. The entire range of Steinhöwel's interests cannot be presented presented here, but he acquired a particular reputation as an editor of classical texts and as a translator of renowned classical authors, as well as Italian humanists, into the German vernacular language. To disseminate these texts also through the new medium of book printing, he financially supported the ambitious printer Johann Zainer in the establishment of the first printing press in Ulm and was responsible for the introduction of innovative and high-quality woodcut illustrations in his works.[107] Although we do not know for sure the identities of the artists of the 191 stylistically new woodcuts in the *Buch und Leben des hochberühmten Fabeldichters Aesopi* of 1476/1477, Steinhöwel's humanist projects confirm his intense relationship with the visual arts.[108] Altogether, the intellectual scene in Ulm shows a conspicuously tight connection between early humanist studies and aims, literary projects, and the visual arts.

As in the case of the Ulm Minster furnishings, in the case of the Landshut ducal court the degree to which early humanism was embedded in pan-European relations has been rather underestimated for a long time. Nonetheless, back in 1459, Duke Georg's father, Duke Ludwig the Rich (1417–1479), had called the renowned humanist and Doctor juris utriusque Martin Mair (ca. 1420–1480) to join his court council. Mair maintained tight contacts with numerous early

105 Vöge, *Jörg Syrlin* 40.

106 Terrahe T., *Heinrich Steinhöwels 'Appolonius'* (Berlin – Boston: 2013); Dicke G., *Heinrich Steinhöwels Esopus und seine Fortsetzer: Untersuchungen zu einem Bucherfolg der Frühdruckzeit* (Tübingen: 1994); Amelung P., *Der Ulmer Aesop von 1476/77*, comment (Ludwigsburg: 1995).

107 Worringer W. – Benz R. (eds.), *Buch und Leben des hochberühmten Fabeldichters Aesopi* (Munich: 1925); Worringer W., *Die altdeutsche Buchillustration*, 3rd ed. (Munich: 1921) 44; Fischel L., *Bilderfolgen im frühen Buchdruck. Studien zur Inkunabel-Illustration in Ulm und Strassburg* (Constanz – Stuttgart: 1963).

108 Cf. Vöge, *Jörg Syrlin* 30.

humanists.[109] In 1454, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who personally knew Mair, visited the duchy. Somewhat later, the two humanists conducted the famous exchange of letters in which they compared the ancient and modern conditions in Germany. When in 1472, after long preparations, a Bavarian university was finally founded in Ingolstadt, Mair held the foundation speech, which was enriched with references to ancient history.

From the beginning, this ducal institution was supposed to look after the new educational themes of humanism and of ancient tradition.[110] The first chancellor, William of Reichenau, Bishop of Eichstätt (ca. 1426–1496) had received his doctorate from Padua. The university stood in a long-established local tradition of humanist interests. Between 1491 and 1495, the 'archhumanist' and *poeta lareatus* Conrad Celtis taught in Ingolstadt, where young Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534) would receive his formation as a humanist historian.

At the same time, the Munich branch of the Wittelsbach dynasty under Duke Albert (Albrecht) IV (1447–1508), who had been educated at the universities of Cologne and Pavia, worked on the construction of a dynastic and territorial identity, reaching far back into history. Despite all the inner-dynastic difficulties, from the middle of the fifteenth century a pan-dynastic Wittelsbach consciousness developed, expressed by the term 'House of Bavaria'. It quickly became the general principle of Alberts concept of "state". In this context, the 'unity of the Bavarian tribe, the long-ago creation of Bavaria as a political entity and the inclusion of the Wittelsbachs in the long and venerable series of the dukes' were emphasised. To revive these magnificent, and in part fictive, origins was the declared aim of Duke Albert.[111]

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109 Märtl C., "Herzog Ludwig der Reiche, Dr. Martin Mair und Eneas Silvius Piccolomini", in Niehoff F. (ed.), *Das goldene Jahrhundert der Reichen Herzöge*, exh. cat., Museen der Stadt Landshut (Landshut: 2014) 41–54; Hansen R., *Martin Mair. Ein gelehrter Rat in fürstlichem und städtischem Dienst in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Kiel: 1992).

110 Schuh M., *Aneignungen des Humanismus institutionelle und individuelle Praktiken an der Universität Ingolstadt im 15. Jahrhundert* (Leiden: 2013); Fuchs F. (ed.), *Humanismus in Ingolstadt*, acts of the symposion 11–12 November 2011 in Ingolstadt (Wiesbaden: 2013).

111 Störmer W., "Die wittelsbachischen Landesteilungen im Spätmittelalter (1255–1505)", in Bäumler S. – Brockhoff E.M. – Henker M. (eds.), *Von Kaisers Gnaden. 500 Jahre Fürstentum Pfalz-Neuburg*, exh. cat., Bavarian state exhibition Neuburg an der Donau (Augsburg: 2005) 17–23, here 21: 'die Einheit des bayrischen Stammes, die Entstehung Bayerns als politisches Gebilde in uralten Zeiten und die Einbindung der Wittelsbacher in die lange und ehrwürdige Reihe der Herzöge'; translation by Andrea Gáldy; cf. Moeglin J.M., "Die Genealogie der Wittelsbacher. Politische Propaganda und Entstehung der territorialen Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 96 (1988) 33–54; Moeglin J.M., *Les Ancêtres du prince, propagande politique et naissance d'une histoire nationale en Bavière au Moyen-Âge (1180–1500)* (Geneva:

In the case of the idiosyncratic imitation of Romanesque vaulted rooms in the Burghausen Residence around 1480, it may be assumed that this Wittelsbach building project was an experiment with a historical building style that was prompted by humanist notions of history and art. It was supposed to underpin the immensely long history of the Bavarian state, which went all the way back to late antiquity (the sixth century AD), of its dynasty and unbroken line of dukes. Perhaps it was intended to provide a model character of ancient artistry and magnificence. Obviously, the Burghausen project chose to rely far more closely on the architectural style then perceived as ancient than the palace buildings of their Saxon relatives had done a few years previously by means of a looser allusion to Romanesque role models.

There remains the issue of the conclusions to be drawn based on an ever more evident humanist background of turning towards the Romanesque as a medium for transmitting ancient art. What does it mean in relation to the electoral Saxon court, which seems to have been operating in a similar way relatively early on?

Thus far, the Saxon court has not been known for being influenced so soon by humanist education and ideas. The ruling brothers Ernest and Albert, born ca. 1440, still belonged to a generation of German princes in which a literary or humanist education did not yet count as an important cultural or political element to gain.[112] In Saxony, an early engagement with humanist interests from the 1450s onwards took place at the electoral university at Leipzig.[113] But court and humanist circles were not yet as closely connected, as had been the case in the South of Germany. It would take until 1486 for a university-educated teacher looking after the instruction of the next generation of princes to be mentioned in the records of the Saxon court.

There is no doubt that the innovative architecture in Meißen was practically designed by the then newly installed *Landeswerkmeister* (court architect) Arnold of Westfalen. It is also highly probable that Arnold had been responsible for Dresden Castle, started three years previously and planned in accordance with a different concept. So far, scholarship has not been able to establish Arnold's artistic lineage. After all, Stefan Bürger recently developed new ideas of Arnolds´s education at the then renowned Viennese cathedral

1985); Dicker S., *Landesbewusstsein und Zeitgeschehen. Studien zur bayerischen Chronistik des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne – Weimar: 2009). On the cultural politics of the Upper Bavarian line, cf. Dahlem A.M., *The Wittelsbach Court in Munich: History and Authority in the Visual Arts (1460–1508)*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Glasgow: 2009).

112 Cf. Deutschländer G., *Dienen lernen, um zu herrschen. Höfische Erziehung im ausgehenden Mittelalter (1450–1550)* (Berlin: 2012).

113 Bünz E. – Fuchs F. (eds.), *Der Humanismus an der Universität Leipzig* (Wiesbaden: 2008).

workshop under the architect Lorenz Spenning.[114] Whether the most important supraregional station of Arnold's education was thereby identified is still under debate. In any case, it means that additional transfer channels leading towards Dresden and Meißen have to be considered.

The examples of what was then a new reception of Romanesque style, gathered here loosely into a matching field of intellectual history, may suggest a similar intellectual background to have become effective at the electoral Saxon court. Therefore, the learned electoral Saxon councillor Dr Heinrich Stercker of Mellerstadt (ca. 1430–1483) ought to be brought into the discussion, even though thus far little attention has been paid to him. Jörg Schwarz recently compiled his biography, and thus traced his intensive intellectual roots in Italian and German early humanism.[115]

Dr Heinrich Stercker had studied in Leipzig from 1454 and belonged to an elite circle of early German humanists, including the experienced Peter Luder (ca. 1415–1472) and the young Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514). Stercker there had become familiar with the work of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, before he continued his studies in Italy, in Perugia. After his return to Saxony, the freshly graduated jurist first entered the services of the humanist Bishop Dietrich III of Meißen (Dietrich III. of Schönberg, ca. 1400–1476). In this role, he would lead the ecclesiastical tribunal of the diocese.

The moment of Stercker's transfer into the service of the electoral court is of the greatest importance. When he was promoted to his new position, not only did he gain important political and administrative duties, but we may assume that this office also would have provided him with decisive influence on the new artistic commissions of the electoral princes. In 1469, he was appointed an electoral councillor. It happened exactly in the short window of time in which the decision in favour of a new humanist, or rather Italian, orientation of the Meißen building project may have taken place. In the same year, he accompanied his prince to the imperial court. Dr Stercker served Elector Ernest as a learned councillor in important matters, probably to the very end of Sterckers life and he also participated in Duke Alberts's pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1476.

Although we do not know Stercker's exact degree of involvement with the development of the architecture of his time, being a permanent member of the princely council with rich experience of courtly life made him clearly responsible for advice on such a sophisticated architectural project in a new

114 Bürger, "Herkunft des Landeswerkmeisters Arnold von Westfalen" 43–52.

115 Schwarz J., "Der sächsische Rat und Frühhumanist Heinrich Stercker aus Mellrichstadt (ca. 1430–1483). Eine biographische Skizze", in Bünz E. – Fuchs F. (eds.), *Der Humanismus an der Universität Leipzig* (Wiesbaden: 2008) 181–193.

style as the Albrechtsburg. Stercker is attested as an eager recipient of the ideas of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, and it can be assumed that he was also familiar with Piccolomini's main ideas on the renewal of architecture in their general outline.

In this essay it cannot be discussed conclusively whether the Albrechtsburg and the smaller palaces at Rochlitz and Sachsenburg display further conceptual innovations beyond the conspicuous and innovative staging of historicizing vaulted chambers. A main feature which clearly reveals connections with favourite architectural topics of Italian humanists, among them Enea Silvio Piccolomini, was the elaborate staging of the vista into the surrounding landscape, which Enea in particular had praised many a time.[116] Piccolomini constructed concurrent buildings with their *loggie* in Pienza in the 1460s, and later, in Trent, so did his friend and early pupil Bishop Johannes Hinderbach from Rauschenberg, in Hessia (1418–1486).[117]

It seems likely that the examples of Saxon architectural staging of the landscape views did not happen independently of such southern aims and experiments.[118] Even for Hinderbach the parallel reception of Romanesque architectural motifs can be proven. In particular, such is the case for the *loggia* with columns in the Romanesque style constructed ca. 1480 for the episcopal palace of Trent and surely inspired by suggestions by his Italian mentor.

In this context, one must understand the role of the humanist councillor Heinrich Stercker as an intellectual advisor for the introduction of new architectural ideas in collaboration with the architect Arnold of Westfalen at the electoral Saxon court from 1469. For the moment little more than a hypothesis, it gains in plausibility in particular through connections that have recently come to light between humanist interrelations and the conspicuous coeval as well as colocated reception and development of new architectural ideas in other courtly centres of the northern Alpine cultural region.

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116 Tönnesmann A., *Pienza. Städtebau und Humanismus* (Munich: 1990); Esch A., "Das Erlebnis der Landschaft bei Enea Silvio Piccolomini/Pius II.", *Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung* 16, 1 (2011) 149–160; Esch A., *Landschaften der Frührenaissance. Auf Ausflug mit Pius II*. (Munich: 2008). Cf. Blum G., *Fenestra prospectiva. Architektonisch inszenierte Ausblicke: Alberti, Palladio, Agucchi* (Berlin – Boston: 2015); Ackerman J.S., *The Villa. Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (London: 1990) in particular 77.

117 Rando D., *Johannes Hinderbach (1418–1486). Eine 'Selbst'-Biographie* (Berlin: 2008).

118 Hoppe S., "Das renaissancezeitliche Schloss und sein Umland. Der architekturgebundene Fächerblick als epochenspezifische Herrschaftsgeste", in Holzner-Tobisch K. – Kühtreiber T. – Blaschitz G. (eds.), *Die Vielschichtigkeit der Strasse. Kontinuität und Wandel im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit 22 (Vienna: 2012) 303–329.

6 Humanist Translation Theory and the Beginnings of a Renaissance Architecture in Germany

Every so often art history has addressed the issue of a possible intellectual background for the architectural development in Germany in the transitional area between medieval craftsmanship and beginning Renaissance culture.[119] One of the first printed works of the modern theory of architecture in general – after the print of Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* in the previous year – was presented in 1486 in the sphere of the court of the above-mentioned humanist bishop of Eichstätt, Wilhelm of Reichenau.[120] The author of the small booklet *Büchleins der Fialen Gerechtigkeit* was the Ratisbon master builder Matthäus Roritzer (1430/40–ca. 1492/1495), who belonged to the same generation as many of the people already presented here.

So far, modern scholars have not been able to agree about the exact interpretation of this process. While the later deliberations in architectural theory by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), who belonged to the next generation, have always been seen in the context of the developing art theory of the Renaissance, the interpretation of the early publications by Roritzer vacillates, since these works concentrate on geometrical foundations and single motifs of late-Gothic design. Some years ago, Hubertus Günther supported the interpretation as an early product of humanist interest in theoretical architectural issues, here mathematics and geometry and the dynamics of artistic design.[121]

The Ulm example of the choir stalls transcending the borders of art genres attests that the architectural innovation process was more complex than the traditional and somewhat romantic image of a fifteenth-century masons' yard culture north of the Alps. A wider circle of protagonists interested in art and architecture and with a new intellectual profile may be recognized, at least to some extent. These persons seem to have been predestined for the transfer and implementation of certain new ideas about art and its quality and origins.

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119 Günther H. (ed.), *Deutsche Architekturtheorie zwischen Gotik und Renaissance*, (Darmstadt: 1988) 31; Kruft H.W., *Geschichte der Architekturtheorie. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: 2004) 41–42.

120 Geldner F., "Matthaeus Roritzers 'Büchlein von der Fialen Gerechtigkeit' und die beiden Ausgaben des 'Visierbüchleins' von 1485", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 38 (1963) 60–66; Strohmayer W., *Das Lehrwerk des Matthäus Roriczer* (Hürtgenwald: 2004); Schmitt L., "Über die schwere Geburt des deutschen Architekturtraktats. Die Wiegendrucke Mathes Roriczers und Hanns Schmuttermayers", *Scholion* 3 (2004) 168–174; on the architecture by Roritzer cf. Huber M.T., *Die Westfassade des Regensburger Doms. Konvention und Innovation in einem spätmittelalterlichen Hüttenbetrieb* (Regensburg: 2014) 310–337. Huber also attributes the Eichstätt branch work vault from 1471 to Roritzer (p. 327).

121 Klinnert R., "Matthäus Roritzer", in Günther, *Deutsche Architekturtheorie* 31–36.

At the time, humanist circles were deeply fascinated by the discovery and deeper understanding of further ancient texts on the art of rhetoric. The more technical texts, such as Cicero's *De inventione* and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, had been widely used in the Middle Ages, in school and university education, as well as for practical applications, such as letter writing.[122] But the complete texts of more sophisticated works in terms of content, however, i.e. Cicero's *De oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, were only rediscovered and put into service during the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and thus became now available for new art-theoretical approaches.[123] As a result, the field of ancient rhetoric, keenly received by humanists with its manifold implications for everyday life and the arts in particular, gained an interesstig sub-theme for our investigation.

From the 1450s, the practice and theory of the art of literary translation met with a very positive response in early southern German humanism.[124] Joining deliberations on translating known since the Middle Ages, such as Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorum* (46 BC), was Quintilian's complete treatise on rhetoric, which had been fully rediscovered in 1416/1417 by the humanists. Around 1420/1426 Leonardo Bruni created in Italy a treatise entitled *De interpretatione recta*, which constituted the first humanist work on this issue.[125]

Gregor Heimburg from Franconia (ca. 1400–1472),[126] otherwise better known for his political reform plans and his political career, already constitutes an early German example for the reception of humanist ideas from Italy.[127]

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122 Leidl C.G., "Cicero. B. De inventione und Rhetorica ad Herennium", in Walde C. (ed.), *Die Rezeption der antiken Literatur. Kulturhistorisches Werklexikon*, Der Neue Pauly, suppl., vol. VII (Stuttgart – Weimar: 2010) cols. 214–229.

123 Vickers B., *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford: 1988); Vickers B., "Humanismus und Kunsttheorie in der Renaissance", in Forster K.W. – Locher H. (eds.), *Theorie der Praxis. Leon Battista Alberti als Humanist und Theoretiker der bildenden Künste* (Berlin: 1999) 9–74; Brassat W. (ed.), *Handbuch Rhetorik der Bildenden Künste* (Berlin – Boston: 2017) with numerous articles on this theme.

124 Vermeer H.J., *Das Übersetzen in Renaissance und Humanismus* (*15. und 16. Jahrhundert*), vol. 2: *Der deutschsprachige Raum* (Heidelberg: 2000); Schwarz W., "Translation into German in the Fifteenth Century", *The Modern Language Review* 39 (1944) 368–373.

125 Norton G.P., "Humanist Foundations of Translation Theory (1400–1450): A Study in the Dynamics of Word", *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature. Revue Canadienne de Litterature Comparee* 8, 2 (1981) 173–203; Botley P., *Latin Translation in the Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Manetti, Erasmus* (Cambridge: 2004).

126 Hiksch J., *Gregor Heimburg* (*um 1400 bis 1472*)*, Politiker zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Ph.D. dissertation (Potsdam University: 1978).

127 Among the more substantial modern surveys on the German history of literature of this time: Rupprich H. – Heger H. (eds.), *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, vol. IV, 1:

He may be considered as having formulated at least implicit deliberations on the challenges of translating. However, three other German humanists of the first generation emerged much more prominently in this field. All of them lived and worked in the the vicinity of Ulm, or even for many years in the city itself: the city scribe Niklas of Wyle (ca. 1410–1479), who worked until 1469 in Esslingen and later in the service of the counts of Württemberg; the Ulm city physician Dr Heinrich Steinhöwel (1410–1479); and the Franconian canon Albrecht of Eyb (1420–1475)[128] in neighbouring Eichstätt.

The theme of translating as a means of transmitting culture was not new, since in the Middle Ages there was already an existing awareness of the fact that the Holy Scriptures existed mainly in the form of textual translations. The point of reference for the translation of a secular text was usually Cicero, who had explained principles of translating in *De optimo genere oratorum* (IV, 13, to V, 14).[129] Horace later sided with him substantially in his *Ars Poetica* (II, 128–144).[130] Technical terms used were *ad sensum* for the analogous translation and *ad verbum* for the verbatim translation. In antiquity, one actually agreed with Cicero and Horace that a translation really ought to be done analogously. Clinging too tightly to the grammatical structures of the source language was seen as rather negative.

With this straightforward referential context, one possible testament to the lively dynamic and intellectual importance of the topic during the second half of the fifteenth century north of the Alps is if, among the three mentioned and interconnected German translators, both possible modes of translating were raised and considered.

Das ausgehende Mittelalter, Humanismus und Renaissance 1370–1520, 2nd ed. (Munich: 1994); Cramer T., *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im späten Mittelalter*, 3rd updated ed. (Munich: 2000); recommended in particular: Burger H.O., *Renaissance, Humanismus, Reformation. Deutsche Literatur im europäischen Kontext* (Bad Homburg v.d.H.: 1969). Most surveys are still based on many problematic notions regarding this era that have long since revised by specialized research.

128 Limbeck S., *Theorie und Praxis des Übersetzens im deutschen Humanismus. Albrecht von Eyb's Übersetzung der 'Philogenia' des Ugolino Pisani*, Ph.D. dissertation (Albrecht-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg i. Br.: 2000); Rautenberg U., "Albrecht von Eyb und die Ehe-Diskussion in der Übersetzungsliteratur deutscher Humanisten", in eadem (ed.), *Über die Ehe. Von der Sachehe zur Liebesheirat*, exh. cat., Bibliothek Otto Schäfer (Schweinfurt: 1993) 46–50.

129 Weissbort D., "From Cicero to Caxton: Classical Latin and Early Christian Latin Translation", in idem – Eysteinsson Á. (eds.), *Translation: Theory and Practice: A Historical Reader* (New York: 2006) 21 (with English translation).

130 Weissbort, *Translation* 22 (with translation by Ben Jonson ca. 1640).

On the one hand, the analogous mode might refer to ancient authorities, such as Cicero and Horace, as well as to the mainstream of current practice. On the other hand, the stricter ideal of a verbatim translation noticeably interfered with the grammar of the (German) target language.

Sven Limbeck stated in a current study on the theory and practice of translating by Albrecht of Eyb:

> In der frühen Neuzeit entfaltet sich im deutschen Sprachgebiet, insbesondere unter dem Einfluss des italienischen Humanismus, ein Problembewusstsein um die adäquate volkssprachige Wiedergabe fremdsprachiger, d. h. in dieser Zeit vornehmlich lateinischer, Texte. Die Übersetzer diskutieren diese Probleme nach einem aus der Antike übernommenen Muster, bei dem sich wörtliches und sinngemäßes Übersetzen oppositionell gegenüberstehen. Obwohl nach den Maßgaben der antiken Übersetzungstheoretiker Cicero, Horaz und Hieronymus der "ad sensum"-Übersetzung der Vorzug zu geben ist, bildet sich in der frühen Neuzeit eine Übersetzungsrichtung heraus, die die wörtliche Anlehnung an die lateinischen Ausgangstexte präferiert. Sie hat besonders im schwäbischen Frühhumanismus um den Grafen Eberhard im Bart ein gesellschaftliches Zentrum. Gleichzeitig und in der Folge überwiegt jedoch die Zahl der Übersetzer, die ihre sinngemäße Übersetzungspraxis unter Berufung auf Horaz und Hieronymus rechtfertigen und gerade dabei ein hohes Maß an Bewusstsein um die Verpflichtung zur Originaltreue entwickeln.[131]

We remember the Württemberg Count Eberhard the Bearded in the sphere of the Bebenhausen monastery as one of the first princely patrons of humanism in Germany. In the 1470s, he ruled in the small and then largely embellished town of Urach, ca. 55 km from Ulm. Count Eberhard was in close contact with the Esslingen city scribe Niklas of Wyle, who had practised the *ad verbum* type of translation into German from the early 1460s and had them printed in 1478 as a selection of collected 'Translazen'.

In addition, Wyle also defended the *ad verbum* strategy by giving it a theoretical underpinning.[132] The introduction to the printed anthology states:

131 Limbeck, *Albrecht von Eyb's Übersetzung der 'Philogenia' des Ugolino Pisani* 128.

132 Greule A., "Der frühhumanistische Kanzlist Niklas von Wyle und die frühneuhochdeutsche Sprachkultur", in Hünecke R. – Aehnelt S. (eds.), *Kanzlei und Sprachkultur* (Vienna: 2016) 11–21; Schwenk R., *Vorarbeiten zu einer Biographie des Niklas von Wyle und zu einer kritischen Ausgabe seiner ersten Translatze* (Göppingen: 1978); Tisch J.H., "The Rise of the Novella in German Early Humanism: The Translator Niclas von Wyle (c. 1410–1478)", in Treweek A.P. – Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association (eds.), *Proceedings and Papers of the Twelfth Congress Held at the University of Western Australia,*

'deshalb aber not gewesen ist; mich in disen translatzen by dem latin (so nechst ich mocht) beliben sin, vmb daz nützit der latinischen subtilitet durch grobe tütschung wurd gelöschett' ('but therefore it was needful that I keep myself in these translations as closely to the Latin as I was able to do, so that none of the Latin subtlety would be lost through crude deceit').[133]

Applied to the German vernacular as a target language, Wyle´s strategy often led to unusual formulations and new grammatical structures. Nonetheless, Wyle's innovative work exercised a lasting influence on the formal development of the German language of the period (Frühneuhochdeutsch).[134]

One of the prominent representatives of the other model – i.e. a freer translation practice *ad sensum*, which allowed the local vernacular tradition greater influence on the final product – was Albrecht of Eyb in Eichstätt.[135] In Albrecht's case, his free approach to translation work into the German vernacular manifested itself in his *Ehebüchlein* (Marriage Booklet) printed in Nuremberg in 1472, as well as in the *Spiegel der Sitten* (Mirror of Customs), completed in 1474 but published posthumously.[136]

The second prominent representative of the freer translation practice was Heinrich Steinhöwel, already mentioned above as a possible provider of ideas for the innovative architecture in Ulm.[137] Steinhöwel practised the principle of the analogous translation in his German or bilingual editions of Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* and of the Fables of Aesopus, which ca. 1474 were printed in Ulm as the book *Von den Synnrychen Erluchten Wyben* and 1476 as *Buch und Leben des Hochberühmten Fabeldichters Aesopi*. In the preface to the *Speculum Vitae Humanae* Steinhöwel explained his method of translation:

> Darynne ich dem Spruch Oracij nachvolget hab. Lutend du getruwer dolmetsch nit wellest allweg eyn wort gegen wort transferieren. sonder geburt sich und ist gnuog ausz eynem synne eynem andern synne. doch geleicher mainung zesetzen. das ich dann in diser meyner translacion auch an etlichen orten getan und ettwann etliche wort hab gelassen czuo

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5th–11th February 1969 (Sydney: 1970) 477–499; Vermeer, *Das Übersetzen in Renaissance und Humanismus* 526–549.

133 Keller A. von (ed.), *Translationen von Niclas von Wyle* (Stuttgart: 1861, reprint 1967) 10.

134 Polenz P. von, *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin – New York: 1999).

135 Limbeck, *Albrecht von Eyb's Übersetzung der 'Philogenia' des Ugolino Pisani*, passim.

136 On the *Ehebüchlein*, 1471, completed as manuscript, see the Marburger Repertorium zur Übersetzungsliteratur im deutschen Frühhumanismus (MRFH) 40201, URL: http://mrfh.de/40201; on the *Spiegel der Sitten* MRFH 40202, URL: http://mrfh.de/40202, pages accessed 9 July 2017; Kümper H. (ed.), *Das Ehebüchlein. Nach dem Inkunabeldruck der Off. Anton Koberger, Nürnberg 1472* (Stuttgart: 2008).

137 Vermeer, *Das Übersetzen in Renaissance und Humanismus* 549–568.

> loffen oder abgebrochen czuo merer verstaentnusz den lesenden menschen disz buoches.
>
> Therein I followed the maxim of Horace: You should not, faithful interpreter, translate by always using a precise equivalent for each single word, it is right and sufficient to use a word with a different sense while at the same time maintaining the overall meaning. I have done so in this my translation in several places, and have then left out several words or broken them off for the better understanding of the humans who read this book.[138]

Compared to these early literary translation projects into the German language – born of a spirit of humanism and at the time concentrated particularly in Swabia and in southern Franconia – the artistic experiments with reform and enrichment of the traditional northern Alpine formal language of architecture also seem to show two different ways of dealing with antique sources. One imagines the manifold architectural projects referred to above acting as models for the creation of a new architectural language that refers to distant origins in antiquity and to a distant culture. And one seems to recognize two positions of artistic production that seem analogous to the two positions discussed in the contemporaneous humanist translation practice.

In building projects – such as the Burghausen or the Salzburg palaces, the Dresden dining hall, the Moosburg gallery, the Ulm town house column from 1482 [Fig. 19.20], or the case of the inclusion of Romanesque *spolia* in the stylistically contrasting ecclesiastical buildings of Freiberg, Salzburg, Millstadt, or Bebenhausen – the original grammar of the Romanesque style remained recognizable as being almost unchanged. The artistic strategy seems analogous to the verbatim school of translation of a Niklas of Wyle and of its formal faithfulness in translating *ad verbum*. As in the case of Wyle, this method brought with it a certain aesthetic rigour and alien style as the outcome. The results could be assimilated only to an extent into further northern Alpine architectural development and have not yet been included at all by modern art history into the narrative of the early Renaissance building culture of the North.

Alternative strategies for dealing with the stylistic idiosyncrasies of Romanesque and ancient architecture, like in Meißen or Rochlitz, tried to connect the ancient principles of the Romanesque language, as the reduction to the vaulting bowl and its volumina, with the modern late-Gothic artistic

138 Fol. 7b of the autograph, cgm. 1137. Cited in accordance with Harthun K., *Die Übersetzungspraxis des deutschen Frühhumanismus*, Kindle Version: Position 809.



FIGURE 19.20 Left: Romanesque Renaissance column from an Ulm townhouse (1482). Museum Ulm. Right: Romanesque column, Regensburg St Emmeram West Crypt (ca. 1050)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

achievements, such as vaults with sophisticated figured ground plans. The new solutions of this free and highly innovative fusion of two stylistic worlds would become popular in Central Europe and continue to inspire even younger generations of master builders.

In this initially much more successful strategy of the 'analogous' design, compared to the 'verbatim' adoption of Romanesque building motifs, one almost expects to find aims similar to the translating principles of the translation *ad sensum* as promoted by Heinrich Steinhöwel as a kind of art-theoretical basis.

At the moment, the meaning and status of such structural similarities in literature and visual arts are still difficult to gauge. Nevertheless, one should recall here some more 'translated' motives of contemporaneous building culture. For example, ca. 1470 on the exterior building of the Ulm Minster a language of wooden constructions was 'translated' into figures of modern Gothic tracery [Fig. 19.21].[139] The iconography of this new architectural language seems to depend on Tacitus' descriptions of ancient German wooden buildings and

139 Huber, *Die Westfassade des Regensburger Doms* 328 dates the Ulm astwerk motives around the year 1465.



FIGURE 19.21 Moritz Ensinger, north-east portal of Ulm Minster, with branch work of ca. 1470
IMAGE © AUTHOR

new pictures of the era like in the Augsburg chronicle while the grammar was mostly modern Gothic.[140] In these very early architectural experiments with

140 Cf. Crossley P, "The Return to the Forest, Natural Architecture and the German Past in the Age of Dürer", in Gaehtgens TW (ed.), *Künstlerischer Austausch. Artistic Exchange, Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte Berlin. 15.–20. Juli 1992*, vol. II (Berlin: 1993) 71–80; Krohm H, "Der 'Modellcharakter' der Kupferstiche mit dem Bischofsstab und Weihrauchfaß", in Châtelet A. (ed.), *Le beau Martin. Etudes et mises au point* (Colmar: 1994) 185–207; Günther H., "Das Astwerk und die Theorie der Renaissance von der Entstehung der Architektur", in Heck M.C. – Lemerle F. – Pauwels Y. (eds.), *Théorie des arts et création artistique dans l'Europe du Nord du XVI^e^ au début du XVIII siècle* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: 2002) 13–32; Hubach H., "Johann von Dalberg und das naturalistische Astwerk in der zeitgenössischen Skulptur in Worms, Heidelberg und Ladenburg", in Bönnen G. – Keilmann B. (eds.), *Der Wormser Bischof Johann von Dalberg (1482–1503) und seine Zeit* (Mainz: 2005) 207–232; Hubach H., "Zwischen Astwerk und Feston. Bemerkenswertes zum Epitaph des kurpfälzischen Hofgerichtssekretärs Paul Baumann von Oedheim (1488)", in Hubach H. – Orelli-Messerli B. von – Tassini T. (eds.),

the so-called branchwork (*Astwerk*), the idea of an 'analogous' (*ad sensum*) transformation of imagined ancient building modes into the tracery grammar of modern Gothic seems to be an illuminating concept and matches very well with the humanist background of a lot of such branchwork architecture. In the case of the branchwork, too, an application of the appropriate 'loose' and integrating artistic transfer strategy would have meant an impressive success story, as is attested by the numerous adoptions from the 1480s onwards in Germany and elsewhere. From this perspective, the transformation of the originally purely geometrical building element of the Gothic vaulting rib into a vegetable branchwork in Eichstätt Cathedral in 1471 may well be understood in some likelihood as a direct and early application of a kind of newly developped artistic strategiy in an *ad sensum* mode.

Perhaps even in the field of the architectural stylistic transformation and fusion during the fifteenth century the principle of audience orientation was valid, something which the German philologist Sven Limbeck formulated as follows:

> But the type of translation contemporary early modern translators preferred depended to a large degree on the type of audience that is supposed to be reached by the translated text. Those who from the start targeted exclusively societal and educational elites may well have disregarded the requirements of those of an average education. To be intelligible to a German readership who does not know Latin, translators needed to adjust themselves to the level of education and to the cultural, societal, religious, and linguistic customs of the intended audience.[141]

Against this background, it seems almost logical that the branchwork, which might had come out of a free *ad sensum* artistic transformation and transfer process, would subsequently disseminate itself in a hundred ways outside the educated humanist circles. The direct integration of Romanesque artefacts and stylistic principles, which was rather more to be regarded as an application of a verbatim (*ad verbum*) mode of artistic transfer of ancient sources, remained at first a matter of the elitist and educated as well as internationally up-to-date, leaders.

Reibungspunkte. Ordnung und Umbruch in Architektur und Kunst. Festschrift für Hubertus Günther, Studien zur internationalen Architektur – und Kunstgeschichte 64 (Petersberg: 2008) 115–122.

141 Limbeck, *Albrecht von Eyb's Übersetzung der 'Philogenia' des Ugolino Pisani* 128–129. Translation by Andrea Gáldy.

Deliberations of this kind perhaps hint at the fact that the buildings presented here corresponded far more to the intellectual principles of humanism and the Renaissance than, for example, the slightly younger Fugger Chapel in Augsburg, even though the latter is every so often mentioned as point of departure for Renaissance architecture in Germany. The Augsburg chapel merely constitutes an adoption of some Venetian architectural models and the connection to what has been at this point long adopted as normal, star or lierne rib vault. Buildings such as the Albrechtsburg or the vaulted hall at Burghausen display a new attention to historical change (Flavio Biondo's *mutatio rerum regionumque*)[142] and a new mode of adopting historical material into service, which is very typical of early humanism and the early Renaissance in Europe. The perception prevails that the new interests of the humanist movement and Renaissance-type innovative attempts led to highly diverse formal results, particularly during the early period of the era.

7 Conclusions

In general, the architectural phenomena described here and put under the term 'Romanesque Renaissance' allow for two types of interpretation that build on one another.

First of all, during the course of the fifteenth century, a growing artistic and intellectual interest in the material transmission of the precise form and the stylistic idiosyncrasies of Romanesque architecture may be established. The single objects of interest and their respective historical contexts – and not just in Germany – still need to be explored more carefully. In German scholarship a long-adopted trend to hypostatize 'die Gotik' as an ideal actor in stylistic development of this time may be observed. Such hypostatization already aggravates linguistically the integration of the phenomena described here into the international debate on the European Renaissance era. However, there ought to be no doubt that this process happened within the framework of the epochal intellectual and cultural change of the Renaissance, might it be considered as revolution or evolution. Single networks or entaglements within the phenomena of early humanist debate as well as the possible relationship to appropriate

142 Muhlack U., *Geschichtswissenschaft im Humanismus und in der Aufklärung. Die Vorgeschichte des Historismus* (Munich: 1991) 199–202; Müller G.M., *Die 'Germania generalis' des Conrad Celtis. Studien mit Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Tübingen: 2001).

trends in Italy can already be proven. The supraregional embeddedness into the European context ought to be emphasized more forcefully in future.

The second interpretation that goes beyond this result concerns the contemporaneous understanding of the historiography connected to it. The new kind of interest in the material and formal traditions of a long-ago Romanesque architecture could, at the time, be activated in two ways. Both of them are equally typical of the European Renaissance.

At first the new interest means an innovative activation of the historical as well as identity-giving dimension of older cultural eras regarded as exemplary. The Romanesque period could be understood stylistically as a late phase of the tradition of ancient culture in general. This may have been the case with Jan van Eyck and during the early phase of discovering the stylistic diversities in Romanesque art. The phenomenon inserts itself into the 'Entdeckung der Stile' (discovery of styles), which Ulrich Pfisterer described for the early fifteenth century in Italy and interpreted within the framework of intellectual history.[143] Flavio Biondo's *mutatio rerum regionumque* is a contemporaneous key concept.

The old buildings that north of the Alps were obviously increasingly regarded as testimonials of past epochs and as art objects worthy of imitation, could also be seen by learned Germans as testimonials for an increasingly appreciated *own* proto-history, similar to Italian debates at the time. Naturally, the relationship was with a differently peopled national and local history in the North. Augsburg is an early German example of the rewriting of its own history and of the connection of this history with a parallel notion of a different material culture. Such discussions were conducted in Germany at least since the last third of the fifteenth century more intensively and on diverse levels.[144]

Given the general lack of textual sources explaining the buildings from the northern Alpine region, today we cannot always precisely distinguish between the two kinds of contextualization. Surely, even in Germany there was competition between diverse images of the country's own history, as historical scholarship has been able to establish during recent years with the aid of German chronicles of the fifteenth century and of other humanist-influenced publications.[145]

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143 Pfisterer, *Donatello.*

144 Hirschi C., *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge – New York – Melbourne: 2012).

145 Brendle – Mertens – Schindling – Ziegler, *Deutsche Landesgeschichtsschreibung*; Patze H. (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen: 1987).

In principle, the awareness of a new interest in the formal and aesthetic achievements of a previous period also allows for the interpretation of a prospective activation of such models. On this level, we would indeed have to look at an integrating development for a reform of the current northern Alpine architecture, just as the literary translation projects of a Wyle or a Steinhöwel were meant to be inspiration and models for one's own cultural and artistic progress. Here, the aim would have been less the staging of a stylistic difference to maintain a distance from the modern Gothic, than it would the reform and development of the arts. Such a scope was equally to be observed in Italy and included Italy´s own modern achievements. In this plethora of scopes, the appropriate artistic strategy would not have consisted in the mere imitation of older and diverse styles, but the selection and transfer of artistic achievements from the past into modern art practice.

The examples show that the precise dating and more detailed (micro-) historical contextualization of the works are essential, while traditional and general art historical (period) style labels can sometimes be problematic. The examples assembled here fit with difficulty into a model of autonomous stylistic development. A history of stylistic options, which art history often termed as *modi*, seems more appropriate.[146] The epochal context is the history of the emerging European Renaissance and the intellectual history of an early period of European humanism. It is understood as a part of an innovative intellectual and educational movement and entangled personal network of persons and works with a reference to ancient culture. Precisely for the European Renaissance, stylistic options were typical. And within humanism the phenomena of translation and cultural transfer were newly discussed with a reference to their aesthetic stylistic consequences.

146 Bialostocki J., "Zum Modusproblem in den bildenden Künsten" (first published 1961) in idem, *Stil und Ikonographie. Studien zur Kunstwissenschaft* (Cologne: 1981) 12–42. On contemporary conceptions of 'modern' and 'classical' architecture, see for a basic introduction: De Jonge K., "Style and Manner in Early Modern Netherlandish Architecture (1450–1600): Contemporary Sources and Historiographical Tradition", in Hoppe – Nußbaum – Müller, *Stil als Bedeutung in der nordalpinen Renaissance* 264–285. See also Hipp H., *Studien zur 'Nachgotik' des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland, Böhmen, Österreich und der Schweiz* (Tübingen: 1979); Hipp H., "Die Bückeburger 'structura', Aspekte der Nachgotik im Zusammenhang mit der deutschen Renaissance", in Großmann G.U. (ed.), *Renaissance in Nord-Mitteleuropa*, vol. 1 (Munich – Berlin: 1990) 159–170.

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CHAPTER 20

The Babylonian Origins of Trier

Hubertus Günther

1 Introduction: The Real History of Trier

Isidore of Seville complains: 'Concerning the question of by whom a city was founded, disagreement is a common thing, so that even the origin of the city of Rome cannot be established with certainty'.[1] In Trier, the memory of the fact that the city was temporarily one of the capital cities of the Roman Empire led to the construction of a legendary prehistory which was to surpass that of all cities, except perhaps Rome, with age and grandeur. This circumstance is well known and has often been investigated. In this contribution I will summarize how the legend of the founding of Trier developed in the course of the Middle Ages and how the humanists of the Renaissance reacted to it; finally, I will touch upon the rather delicate question of the ideas of architectural history behind such an early dating.

Nowadays, historians believe to know about the origins of Trier [Fig. 20.1].[2] The city was founded by Emperor Augustus; her name, Augusta Treverorum, from which the present name derives, means city of Augustus in the country of the Treverians, which was what the Germanic tribe that resided there was named. During the second century the city attained great wealth. At the end of the third century it became the seat of a bishop. Immediately after the conversion of Constantine the Great to Christianity, and still during his reign, the first construction of the cathedral was completed. It was the first bishop's church outside Italy. From the year 318 Trier was the seat of the Gallic Prefecture, which was one of the highest authorities in the Western Roman Empire. In the fourth century Trier was a seat of government of the Roman Empire and an imperial residence. The city would then have numbered approximately 80,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. In the Middle Ages Trier was greatly diminished, as were most Western cities, but the church still gave her great importance. The

1 'De auctoribus conditarum urbium plerumque dissensio invenitur, adeo ut nec urbis quidem Romae origo possit diligenter agnosci'. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XV, 1, ed. W.M. Lindsay, vol. II (Oxford: 1911, reprint 1962).

2 Heinen H., *Trier und das Trevererland in römischer Zeit. 2000 Jahre Trier*, vol. I (Trier: 1985); Anton H.H. – Haverkamp A. (eds.), *Trier im Mittelalter. 2000 Jahre Trier*, vol. II (Trier: 1996).

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FIGURE 20.1 Image of Trier, from: Matthias Merian, *Topographia Germaniae, Archiepiscopatuum Moguntiensis, Trevirensis, et Coloniensis* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1646)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

archbishop of Trier was one of the three ecclesiastical electors of the Empire and was often considered the most noble. The Holy Robe of Jesus, which is preserved in the cathedral, is one of the most prominent relics of Christianity and attracted many pilgrims. Since the mid tenth century the city was called, as proudly as Constantinople, a 'second Rome'; this was also repeated in the eleventh century on coins of the archbishop.[3]

The buildings and infrastructure of antiquity shaped the face of the city until the Middle Ages. Nowadays some impressive monuments still bear witness to her great Roman past: these are two thermal baths and an arena, the Roman bridge, the audience hall of the imperial residence – i.e. the so-called Basilica [Fig. 20.2], which was included in the archbishop's residence – and one of the four city gates, the Porta Nigra [Fig. 20.3]. During the Middle Ages, the ruins of many other buildings, large graveyards, and parts of the ancient city walls with the other three large city gates also were preserved. These city gates were as magnificent as the Porta Nigra, which remained unaffected only

3 Anton – Haverkamp, *Trier im Mittelalter*, vol. II, 168, 232.



FIGURE 20.2 The Basilica or Aula Palatina at Trier (ca. 310 AD)
IMAGE © AUTHOR



FIGURE 20.3 The Porta Nigra (180 AD) of Trier, field side
IMAGE © PUBLIC DOMAIN

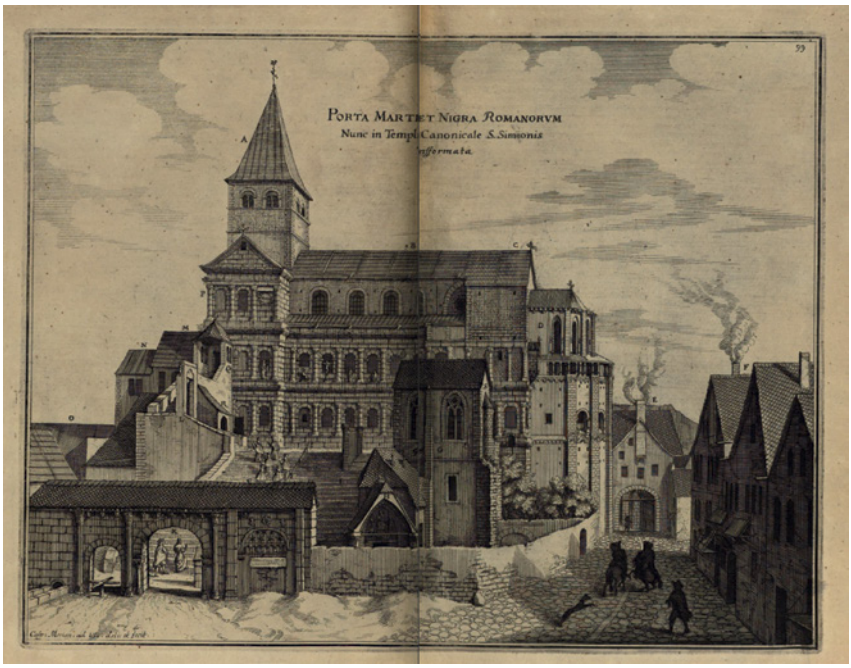


FIGURE 20.4 Caspar Merian, Porta Nigra, town side with the church of St. Simeon. From: Christoph Brouwer – Jacob Masen, *Antiquitatum et annalium Treverenisium libri XXV* (Liège, Johannes Mathias Hovius: 1670–1671) vol. 1
IMAGE © AUTHOR

because a church was built into it [Fig. 20.4]. It was then evident that the ancient city walls were about twice the size of the medieval one. In no city north of the Alps were antiquity and early Christianity as present as they were in Trier. The city of Trier was proud of her great monuments. She portrayed them on her seal and on coins.[4] The old seal (of which only an exemplar dated 1261 is known) shows quite realistically the Palace Hall, and on some archiepiscopal denarii the Porta Nigra and another city gate, the Porta Alba, which has since disappeared, are represented somewhat idealized.

Trier competed with other bishop cities for power and prestige. In the ninth century Trier had already claimed primacy over the entire province of Belgica Gallia, established by Augustus, which included the western part of Belgium, the north-eastern part of today's France, and the catchment area of the Moselle where Trier is situated. In 969 by an indult of Pope John XIII Trier did indeed obtain the primacy over Gaul and Germania. The prominent secular position

4 Anton – Haverkamp, *Trier im Mittelalter*, vol. II, 198–200.

of Trier in antiquity and the Roman monuments were pointed out as reasons for this preference.[5] However, the archbishop of the old capital of the province of Belgica Gallia, i.e. Reims, resisted the claim. He relied on the fact that in the Diocletian Reformation the province established by Augustus had been divided into two parts, one around Trier and the other around Reims. Reims should have primacy over one part, and Trier over the other part.

2 The Founding Legend of Trier: Origins and Reception in the Renaissance

Since the mid eleventh century the city of Trier underlined her elevated position by the invention of various legends. St Peter was said to have sent a disciple of Christ, Saint Eucharius, to Trier, in order to convert the population to Christianity. He was considered to be the first bishop of Trier. His presence in Trier was the main reason for the indult of Pope John XIII. The parents of Emperor Constantine the Great, Constantius Chlorus and Saint Helena, lived in Trier. Saint Helena was thought to have brought the Holy Robe and other relics to Trier.[6] There was even a document created in Trier which stated that Pope Sylvester, who allegedly received the western half of the Roman Empire from Constantine the Great, had elevated the bishops of Trier to be head pastors of all Germans and Gauls, and this was declared to have been regularly reconfirmed by the following popes.[7]

Moreover, the legend of the primeval foundation of Trier emerged. The Roman history of the city Augusta Treverorum was moved into the second row behind this legend; sometimes it was even completely suppressed. As all other cities north of the Alps had to be surpassed in age, one had to go far back in time. Many cities, like Rome, traced their origins back to Trojan heroes who escaped to Europe. Johannes Trithemius, although himself an inventor of historical myths, complained that everyone was seeking to secure a Trojan ancestor, 'as if there had been no peoples in Europe before the fall of Troy and no crooks

5 Anton – Haverkamp, *Trier im Mittelalter*, vol. II, 218; Kentenich G., "Die Trierer Gründungssage in Wort und Bild", in Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen zu Trier (ed.), *Trierer Heimatbuch. Festschrift zur Rheinischen Jahrtausendfeier 1925* (Trier: 1925) 193–212, spec. 198.

6 Anton – Haverkamp, *Trier im Mittelalter*, vol. II, 195–196. Kölzer T., "Zu Fälschungen für St. Maximin in Trier", in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter Teil*, vol. 3: *Diplomatische Fälschungen* (Hannover: 1988) 315–326. Heyen, F.-J., "Fälschung und Legende. Das Beispiel der Trierer Märtyrerlegende", in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter Teil*, vol. 5: *Fingierte Briefe, Frömmigkeit und Fälschung, Realienfälschung* (Hannover: 1988) 403–415.

7 Kentenich, "Trierer Gründungssage" 199.

under the Trojans'.[8] The Celts were also said to have come from Troy. Reims was supposed to have been founded by Remus at about the same time as Rome. But the city of Trier set her age back to the time of Abraham. She claimed to have been founded 1300 years earlier than Rome, and that many more cities had been founded from Trier; Reims was sometimes counted among them. During the Middle Ages, Trier appeared to be without dispute the oldest city north of the Alps. This is the topic of the present contribution.[9]

The founding legend was reported for the first time in the *Hystoria Treverorum*, dated 1050–1060, with reference to an unidentifiable *Historia Gallica*.[10] It has the following main content: Trebeta was a son of Ninus, a great-grandson of Noah, and his first consort. Ninus founded the first empires – Babylon and Assyria – and built the Tower of Babel. After the death of Ninus, his second wife Semiramis became ruler and constructed or continued to construct the city of Babylon. She tried to force her stepson, Trebeta, to marry her. However, the young prince fled from his stepmother. He arrived in Belgica Gallia in the beautiful valley of the Moselle, at the place where he

8 Johannes Trithemius, *Chronologia mystica. Opera historica*, vol. I (Frankfurt, Marnius and heirs of Ioannes Aubrius: 1601), fol. 5 v. Cf. Staubach N., "Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Zeit", in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, vol. 1 (Hannover: 1988) 263–316. Grafton A., *Fälscher und Kritiker. Der Betrug in der Wissenschaft* (Berlin: 1990) 31, 49.

9 Basic mainly: Amiet J., *Die Gründungssage der Schwesterstädte Solothurn, Zürich und Trier* (Solothurn: 1890); Kentenich, "Trierer Gründungssage"; Haari-Oberg I., *Die Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage vom 10. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (Bern: 1994). Moreover: Knaus H., *Vor Rom stand Trier. Die Trierer Gründungssage* (Trier: 1948); Zenz E., *Das legendäre Gründungsalter der Stadt Trier*, Trier-Texte 1 (Trier: 1983); Clemens L., "Zum Umgang mit der Antike im hochmittelalterlichen Trier", in Anton – Haverkamp, *Trier im Mittelalter*, vol. 11, 167–202; Bönnen G., "Formen und Funktionen der Trierer Geschichtsschreibung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts", ibidem 203–238, here 231–234; Binsfels W., "Trierer Archäologie von 1500 bis 1800", in Gesellschaft für Nützliche Forschungen zu Trier (ed.), *Antiquitates Trevirenses. Festschrift zur 200-Jahr-Feier der Gesellschaft für Nützliche Forschungen zu Trier*, Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch 40 (Trier: 2000) 25–30; Clemens L., *Tempore Romanorum constructa. Zur Nutzung und Wahrnehmung antiker Überreste nördlich der Alpen während des Mittelalters*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 50 (Stuttgart: 2003) 322–333. Also, many papers on the historiography of the Renaissance in general treat the foundation legend of Trier: Gotthelf F., *Das deutsche Altertum in den Anschauungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte 8 (Berlin: 1900) 5–7. Ferguson W.F., *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston: 1948) 33–37; Borchardt F.L., *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth* (Baltimore – London: 1971) 43–44 and passim; Krapf L., *Germanenmythus und Reichsideologie. Frühhumanistische Rezeptionsweisen der taciteischen "Germania"*, Studien zur deutschen Literatur 59 (Tübingen: 1979) 61–67; Wood C.S., *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: 2008) 26–29.

10 Kentenich, "Trierer Gründungssage" 196–197. Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 19–20.

founded the city which he called after his own name *Treberis* This was in the seventh year of Abraham, 1300 years before the foundation of Rome (753 BC). From Trier Trebeta subjugated vast areas of Gaul and founded other towns. In the ruins of these cities inscriptions were said to have been found, which stated that the supremacy of Trier was recognized. Altogether, it was claimed that Trier was the capital of all Europe, and that it was not the Romans who founded Trier, but that they had incorporated in their empire the city that had come into being long before, in the times of Abraham.

During the course of the Middle Ages, many chronicles were composed. They paraphrased the Trebeta legend, especially as it was recorded in the *Gesta Treverorum* (1101). Afterwards, the founding legend was taken over into other chronicles, especially into the famous *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus* by Otto of Freising, which contrasts Jerusalem and Babel, the heavenly and the earthly kingdoms, but also contains much valuable information about the history of its own time (1143–1146).[11] Finally, the legend spread internationally. At the end of the twelfth century, Godefridus of Viterbo, who was temporarily employed in the service of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, quotes it in his chronicle that was much used up to the middle of the sixteenth century.[12] The variations introduced by the chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have the following overall content: they specify that Trebeta after he had established Trier, founded Cologne and Mainz, the residences of the two other German ecclesiastical electors, as well as Strasbourg, Worms, and Basel. The origins of the construction of the city of Trier fluctuated. The *Gesta Treverorum* indicate that Hero, the son of Trebeta, began to build the city after inhabitants had already settled there. Anyway, around the year 1200 Trier was called the 'second Babylon in the Occident'.[13]

Sometimes the foundation of Trier was connected with the legend of Troy. Godfrey of Viterbo reports that Trebeta had first established Troy, and afterwards had founded Trier as the capital of 'Alamania'.[14] In his *Memoriale de prerogativa Imperii Romani* (ca. 1281), the Cologne canonist Alexander of Roes writes about the escape of Trojan heroes into the West: while Aeneas settled in Rome, his brother named Priamus came to the city of Trier, which had existed since Abraham's time.[15] There, Priamus's followers married German women and learned the German language from them. The result of this was that

11 Kentenich, "Trierer Gründungssage" 194–195.

12 Godefridus of Viterbo, *Pantheon, sive universitatis libri, qui chronici appellantur* (Basel, Iacobi Parci: 1559) 106–107.

13 Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 63.

14 Idem 57–58.

15 Idem 70, 125.

Germans and the Italians must be brothers. The treatise is a pamphlet for the transfer of the universal supremacy from the Roman Empire to the medieval Empire. It is directed against the competition of the new French dominion, and against the claim of the popes to stand above the emperor. In a 1460 treatise on German national law, the story of the Trojan procession to Rome and Trier was resumed.[16]

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, doubts about the founding legend were loud, and gradually more and more humanists rejected the story. Beatus Rhenanus wrote, around 1531, ironically:

> Quae de Trebeta Augustae Trevirorum conditore et de eius vetustate quidam afferunt, ut Taciti verbis utar, neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est. Scio hoc inesse Chronicis monachalibus et multa licent vetustati, in quam inquirere sane nephas iudicatur.
>
> What some people say about Trebeta, the founder of Augusta Trevirorum, and its old age, to use the words of Tacitus, I neither want to support by arguments nor deny. I know that this legend is found in monks' chronicles – and much is permitted to the old days, in which to enquire would be a blasphemy.[17]

However, German writers often repeated the founding legend during the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.[18] Even great pioneers of humanism, such as Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who afterwards became Pope Pius II, adopted it.[19] The reason why Cusanus was fond of the legend may have been that he was a native of the Trier region. Incidentally, his great library, which is still preserved in the St Nicolas hospital in Cusa (founded by Cusanus) gave access to writings of ancient authors in the Trier area. Enea was so determined to show the importance of Trier so much that he also included in his *Germania* the legend that St Peter had sent the first bishop to Trier. Obviously, there were political reasons for his acceptance of the founding legend of Trier; however, it is still amazing: The aim of Enea's treatise was to

16 Idem 123–124.

17 Beatus Rhenanus, *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres* (*1531*), ed. and trans. F. Mundt, Frühe Neuzeit 127 (Tübingen: 2008) 392.

18 Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 76–164. Borchardt, *German Antiquity*.

19 Nicholas of Cusa, *Concordantia catholica*. written in Basel 1431–1433; Piccolomini Enea Silvio, *Germania*, ed. A. Schmidt (Cologne – Graz: 1962) 51; Borchardt, *German Antiquity* 43–44, 53–55. Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 120–123.

contrast the primitive culture of pagan Germany, as Tacitus describes it, where the Germans lived in huts scattered in forests, with the flourishing country at the beginning of the Renaissance, which had made progress towards civilization, culture, and prosperity thanks to Christianity and the Roman Church. The foundation of Trier, with its magnificent monuments, 1300 years earlier than the one of Rome does not fit well with this view of history. Nicholas of Cusa and Enea Silvio Piccolomini brought the legend to Italy. Widespread works, such as the *World Chronicle* of Hartmann Schedel (1493) and the *Cosmography* of Sebastian Münster (1544), spread it internationally.[20] The legend also entered into French and Italian writings.[21]

In Trier, the founding legend was presented on special occasions. At the Reichstag held in Trier in 1512, the Holy Robe was first exhibited, and simultaneously the corpse of St Eucharius was discovered. On this occasion, Johann Enen, professor at the University of Trier, which was founded in 1473, wrote an account of Trier's history and relics. There he repeats the legend of the Babylonian foundation, relying on the *Gesta Treverorum*.[22] When Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Commendone visited Trier as a papal nuncio in 1562, he got to know the foundation legend and the story of the city's particular position in the Roman Empire, with the conclusion that Trier was the capital of the entire province of Belgica Gallia.[23] This should certainly be reminiscent of the archbishop's demands in church politics.

As many cities, Trier managed to gradually obtain economical and juridical self-determination Trier was well on its way to attaining imperial immediacy. The archbishops had opposed it since the early sixteenth century.[24] They

20 Schedel Hartmann, *Das buch der Cronicken und gedechtnus wirdigern geschichten* (Nuremberg, Anton Koberger: 1493), fol. 23 r. Münster Sebastian, *Cosmographia* (Basel, Henrich Petri: 1546) 75. Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 140–144. Joachimsen P., *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus* (Leipzig: 1910) 87–91, 189–194.

21 Foresti Jacobo, *Supplementum cronicarum* (Brescia, Boninus de Boninis: 1485) 103. Lemaire de Belges Jean, *Les illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye* (written 1511–1513), in *Œuvres* II, ed. J. Stecher (Leuven: 1882) 288–289. Corrozet Gilles – Champier Symphorien, *Le Catalogue des antiques érections des villes et cités, fleuves et fontaines, assises ès troys Gaules, c'est assavoir Celticque, Belgicque et Aquitaine* (Paris, Estienne Groulleau: 1551), fols. 14 v–15 v (first ed. 1531).

22 Enen Johann, *Medulla Gestorum Treverensium* (Metz, Caspar Hochfeder: 1514) I.4.

23 Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken 2, 2: Abt. 2, 1560–1572, ed. Wandruszka A. (Tübingen: 1953) 145–150. Wandruszka A., "Kurtrier vor vier Jahrhunderten. Ein italienischer Reisebericht aus den Jahren 1561/62", *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 9 (1969) 129–138.

24 Kentenich, "Trierer Gründungssage" 206–207; Burgard F., "Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Stadtgemeinde und Erzbischof (1307–1500)", in Anton – Haverkamp, *Trier im Mittelalter* 295–398.



FIGURE 20.5 Anonymous artist, *Trebeta as legendary founder of cities* (1559). Painting, destroyed during World War II
IMAGE © G. KENTENICH 1925

succeeded in removing Trier from the Imperial Register (the list of the Imperial Estates) and refused to confirm the old treaties with the citizens. The citizens protested against the removal. They tried twice to defend their rights before the Imperial Court (1560, 1580). In 1571 they presented the lawyer Wilhelm Kyriander as their attorney. In order to justify the right of the imperial immediacy, he wrote the *Annales sive commentarii de origine et statu antiquissimae civitatis Augustae Treverorum*. A central argument for him was the founding legend.

In 1559 the citizens commissioned a painting for an administration house which presented Trebeta with the cities he had founded. On the painting, there are several inscriptions [Fig. 20.5].[25] One of them has the following verses:

25 The picture was destroyed in the World War II; there remains a modified version of it, dated 1684. Kentenich, "Trierer Gründungssage" 210.

Vor Christus Geburt Trier, die alte Stat,
Zway dusent acht und nuinzig Jar gebuit wart,
Drey dusent hundert syben und sybenzig Jar
Nach Anfang der Welt ist angefangen sunder far
Dusent drey hundert Jar vor Rom
Wardt uffgericht Trier, die edle Kron.

Two thousand and ninety-eight years before the birth of Christ,
Trier, the ancient city, was built.
Three thousand one hundred seventy-seven years
After the beginning of the world safely,
One thousand three hundred years before Rome,
Trier, the noble crown, was erected.

The other inscription bundles the founding legend of the city and ends with the words:

Den sy auch behielt
Gueten Schirm und Frid
Nach der Statt und Rom Sitt.
Der sy sich gleichet an Ars und Regiment,
so das sy darnach wart genent
der ander Steten ein Bloem,
das ander und dis zweith Rom.

For she also remained
Well in safety and peace
According to the custom of the city and Rome,
To which she is equal concerning art and government,
Wherefore she was called
A flower among the cities
And another and a second Rome.

The citizens lost the processor case. The archbishop then suppressed Kyriander's writing as much as possible; however, John I, Count Palatine and Duke of Zweibrücken had it printed during a quarrel with the archbishop in 1603.[26] It was republished three more times up to 1629. In 1626 new annals

26 Kyriander Wilhelm, *Annales sive commentarii de origine et statu antiquissimae civitatis Augustae Treverorum* (Zweibrücken, Kaspar Wittel: 1603) 20–24.

of Trier, written by the Jesuit Christoph Brouwer on behalf of the archbishop, were published. There, the founding legend was consigned to the realms of fantasy. However, in 1670 another Jesuit, Jacob Masen, quickly corrected and revised the work in such a way that the founding legend was again fully confirmed.[27] Both Kyriander and Masen justify their confirmation of the founding legend not by means of new historical documents, but by listing at length all the post-classical authors who had confirmed it, underlining especially the contributions of the humanists, who were known to be critical. This method is actually typical of the Middle Ages and has been criticized by humanist historians since the beginning of the Renaissance.

In 1683, the master of the baker's office and secretary of the cathedral Johann Wilhelm Polch had the so-called Red House erected as the site of representation for the citizens on the main market place of Trier. He placed the following proud inscription on the facade as an opposition to the disasters which the wars of Louis XIV had brought upon the country [Fig. 20.6]:[28]

> ANTE ROMAM TREVIRIS STETIT ANNIS MILLE TRECENTIS.
> PERSTET ET AETERNA PACE FRVATVR. AMEN.
>
> Trier existed thousand and three hundred years before Rome.
> May it continue to exist and enjoy eternal peace. Amen.

The Renaissance writers who questioned the legend of Trebeta's founding of Trier have not always replaced it with versions that today's scholars might consider appropriate. Jacob Wimpfeling, one of the fathers of humanism in Germany, was looking among ancient authors for evidence of the city's prehistory. This method was generally appropriate for the new humanist historiography; less appropriate was the idiosyncratic strategy to create himself the evidence he desired. Thus, he managed to interpret Ammianus Marcellinus in the way that Trier originated about two thousand years before Christ, and to confirm the old age of the Germans by means of etymological speculation: Wimpfeling argued that the Romans called the Rhinelanders 'Germani', which

27 Brouwer Christoph – Masen Jacob, *Antiquitatum et annalium Trevirensium libri XXV duobus tomis comprehensi*, vol. I (Liège, Joh. Mathias Hovius: 1670–1671) 6–7.

28 Kramer J., "1300 Jahre vor Rom stand Trier. Die Inschrift am Roten Haus und ihr geistesgeschichtlicher Hintergrund", in Bagola B. – Kramer J. (eds.), *Mosel, Maas, Mississippi. Kontakte zwischen Romania und Germania in Westeuropa und Nordamerika*, Romania occidentalis 31 (Veitshöchheim: 2005) 65–77, here 65.



FIGURE 20.6
The "Red House" ("Rotes Haus"), Trier, Market place (1684)
IMAGE © KONRAD OTTENHEYM

is the same Latin word as that for 'brothers', or 'fraternal' because they felt that the Germani bore a resemblance to themselves.[29]

Many early avant-gardists augmented the legends about Trier even further and spread new ones. Confederate patriots supported the young legend that Solothurn and Zurich had been founded shortly after the foundation of Trier by a brother or another relative of Trebeta.[30] Some humanists came up with newly invented information, e.g. that Julius Caesar was born in Trier, or that Alexander the Great was German.[31] The prominent historian Johannes Aventinus discovered that Trebeta did not really originate from the Orient but was German, because his father, the Assyrian King Ninus, was in fact German.[32]

29 Borchardt, *German Antiquity* 99–103. Borst A., *Der Turmbau von Babel. Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*), vol. III, 1 (Munich: 1995) 1055.

30 Esp. Glareanus (1488–1563) and Franz Haffner (1609–1671); Amiet, *Die Gründungssage*.

31 Borchardt, *German Antiquity* 83, 117; Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 159, 181–182.

32 Borst, *Turmbau von Babel*, vol. III, 1, 1059.

It turned out that to a large extent the Germans had actually dominated human culture. The name of their language, 'Alleman', means 'all men' or 'all people'. This proves that until the fall of the Tower of Babel all people spoke German or just 'Alleman'. This circumstance led to the insight that Adam and Noah had been Germans.[33] Such reflections were confirmed until well into the seventeenth century by the discovery of particular features of the German language, as were its similarity to Hebrew and even to primordial sounds.[34]

The Germans learned the most fundamental new knowledge from Italy, the source of humanism. This relates to the chronicle of the primordial history of mankind which the Babylonian priest Berosus wrote during the first half of the third century BC in the Greek language, and of which only quotations from Flavius Josephus were thus far known. In 1498 Annio da Viterbo published a fake version of the chronicle with a scholarly commentary. Most Western scholars fell upon it enthusiastically and based their historiographical accounts on it.[35] Thus, some Italian towns, such as Verona, also got the chance to date their origins back to Babylonian times and even earlier. The pseudo-Berosus is recorded in the legends of the Trebeta painting of 1559, too.

In the pseudo-Berosus the German and French humanists found especially that the hero Tuisco, whom the Germans according to Tacitus worshipped as a god, was a son of Noah and came from the east of the Rhineland, where he settled and became the progenitor of the people named after him, the 'Teutsche'.[36] This Tuisco was also called Tuscano and gave the Tuscans or Etruscans their name. Therefore, even in the nineteenth century some Germans who loved Italy still felt how closely the 'Teutschen' were spiritually related to the Tuscans.[37]

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33 Borchardt, *German Antiquity* 117; Borst, *Turmbau von Babel*, vol. III, 1, 1051. Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 158; Eco U., *Die Suche nach der vollkommenen Sprache* (Munich: 1994) 108–111.

34 Eco, *Suche nach der vollkommenen Sprache* 108–111.

35 Weiss R., "Traccia di una biografia di Annio da Viterbo", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 5 (1962) 425–441; Stephens W., *Giants in Those Days: Folklore, Ancient History and Nationalism* (Lincoln, NE: 1989) 98–138; Grafton A., *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2007); Bizzocchi R., *Genealogie incredibili. Scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna* (Bologna: 2009).

36 Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung* 95, 161–163; Borchardt, *German Antiquity* 89, 114, 137; Borst, *Turmbau von Babel*, vol. III, 1, 975–977, 1056–1059; Lemaire de Belges, *Les illustrations de Gaule* 286.

37 Tiede M., "Klenzes Versuch einer Wiederherstellung des toskanischen Tempels", in Wünsche R. – von Buttlar A. (eds.), *Ein griechischer Traum. Leo von Klenze – der Archäologe*, exh. cat., Glyptothek (Munich: 1985) 227–245, spec. 230.

3 Written Evidence for the Founding Legend of Trier

The earliest source for Trier as a dependency of Babylon dates back to the tenth century. It is the transcription of a poem in verse on Trebeta without comment.[38] It reads:

> Nini Semiramis, quae tanto coniuge felix,
> Plurima possedit, sed plura prioribus addit,
> Non contenta suis nec totis finibus orbis.
> Expulit a patrio privignum Trebeta regno,
> Profugus insignem nostram qui condidit urbem.
> Treberis huic nomen dans ob factoris amorem,
> Quae caput Europae cognoscitur anteritate.
> Filius huius Ero patris haec epigrammata pono,
> Cuius ad inferias hic cum Iove Mars tenet aras.
> Sidere concordi pax est, non dissocianti.

> Semiramis, Ninus's wife who was lucky to have such a great husband,
> Owned an enormous number of possessions, but added to them even many more,
> Because she was satisfied, neither with her own possessions nor with the whole world.
> She expelled her stepson Trebeta from his father's realm,
> Who, a refugee, founded our eminent town.
> He gave her the name Treberis, inspired by the love of the builder for his creation,
> A town that is generally recognized as Europe's capital, because she is older than the others.
> I, Ero, son of this father (Trebeta), dedicate these epigrams to him,
> Whose grave Mars holds, together with Jupiter.
> Peace emerges when the stars are in concordance, not when they are discordant.

38 Inserted by a different hand in the chronicle of Regino of Prüm dating from the tenth century (last two verses: eleventh century), Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Ministerialbibliothek, Min. 109 Cf. Kentenich, "Trierer Gründungssage" 195–196; Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 17–18.

The idea that Trier was acknowledged as the capital of Europe indicates the sense of the early dating of its foundation: from the outset the primordial origins were supposed to emphasize the primacy of Trier.

The *Hystoria Treverorum*, as evidence of the old age of Trier, says that the ancient ruins 'until today' ('huc usque') bear inscriptions with the 'laws of the people of Trier' ('iura Treverorum'). The following accounts of the founding legend of Trier quote the poem and paraphrase the aspect of the primacy of Trier The *Gesta Treverorum* (1101) are the first to comment that Hero put an inscription on the grave of his father Trebeta with the wording of the poem, The tomb was located on Mons Iuranus, today's Petersberg, which is to the east of the city of Trier and on which there is still a Roman burial mound, called Franzensknüppchen. According to the *Vita Sancti Willibrordi* (written by the Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach in 1104), this grave inscription of Trebeta had been found recently ('moderno tempore'); Ekkehard of Aura (died after 1125) writes in his 'World chronicle' that the epitaph, carved in stone, had been found in his time by pilgrims while they were exploring the burial mound in search of treasures: 'Unde etiam ad haec tempora parvum repertum fuit ibi in lapide sculptum hoc epitaphium' ('Where recently, cut into a stone, this short grave inscription was found').[39] Thus, proof had emerged that Trier's founding legend corresponds to historical truth. The way in which this proof came about is an open question: are the statements based on deliberate fakes or on erroneous decipherings of inscriptions or sloppy interpretations of writings born of the wish to prove the early foundation of Trier?[40]

The critical minds of the Renaissance no longer trusted medieval data; the unmasking of the 'Constantine donation' as a forgery is a well-known example of this. Nevertheless, at the same time it was a widespread practice to create false documents. As we have seen, through his fake of the writings of Berosus, Annio da Viterbo provided Trier as many other cities with a wonderful instrument to confirm its historal legend. The authenticity of the Trebeta epitaph was rarely questioned in the Renaissance. On the contrary, it was used to prove the old age of Trier in the legal dispute that the citizens conducted against their archbishop's claim to power.

The humanists often repeated the founding text, and they sometimes presented it as if it were a new discovery: Hartmann Schedel took over from

39 Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon universale ad a. 1106*, ed. G. Waitz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores VI* (Hannover: 1844) 36, quoted from Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 46–47; cf. Kentenich, "Trierer Gründungssage" 199.

40 Leonardy J., *Die angeblichen Trierischen Inschriften-Fälschungen älterer und neuerer Zeit* (Trier: 1867) 12–14, 24–31.

medieval chronicles the statement that the inscription was 'found recently', without qualifying it as a quotation from an old report.[41] Jean Lemaire de Belges pretends that in his time (ca. 1500) a great stone was found bearing the same verses.[42] Thus, the poem appears as a telling example of the 'innovative' epigraphy of the Renaissance.

The German writer Daniel Specklin had heard that a Chaldean inscription reflecting the founding legend of Trier was found in a subterranean vault in 1519.[43] In 1562, when the representatives of Trier presented their founding legend to the pontifical nuncio, they assured him that the stone tablet that attested it was found in the year 1200 on the summit of Mount Uranus, and could now be seen in the church of St Paulin.[44]

4 The Ancient Monuments in Trier as Evidence of the Founding Legend

The second piece of evidence for the foundation of Trier in the days of Abraham was deduced from the ancient monuments of the city. In an allusion to the sentence recently shaped by Hildebert of Lavardin – 'Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet' – the Chronicle of Otto of Freising writes about Trier: 'Quae, quanta qualisque fuerit, ex ipsa ruina sui liquido probari poterit' ('Who, how great and what it was like, can clearly be demonstrated by her ruins').[45] Already the *Hystoria Treverorum* (written around 1050–1060) reports which monuments Trebeta had erected in Trier. Its account is much more detailed than the founding legend though it is based on it: according to it, Trebeta set

41 Schedel, *Buch der Cronicken*, fol. 23 r. Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 140–144.

42 Lemaire de Belges, *Les illustrations de Gaule* 289. The differences from the version quoted above are only slight: '[…] Expulit e [instead of 'a'] patrio privignum Trebeta regno /Insignem, profugus [instead of 'profugus insignem'] nostram qui condidit urbem'. Lemaire's version of the poem ends here.

43 Specklin Daniel, *Les collectanées de Daniel Specklin, chronique Strasbourgeoise du seizième siècle*, ed. R. Reuss, Fragments des anciennes chroniques d'Alsace 2 (Straßburg: 1890) 23–24.

44 Wandruszka, *Kurtrier* 133. Unfortunately, it is no longer possible to check whether the inscription was visible, because during the campaigns of conquest by Louis XIV, French troops destroyed the church of St Paulin. Heyen F.-J., *Das Stift St. Paulin vor Trier*, Germania sacra N.F. 6 (Berlin – New York: 1972).

45 Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. G. Pertz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores XX* (Hannover: 1868) 135, quoted from Kentenich, "Trierer Gründungssage" 195.

up a port and surrounded the city with a wall that had city gates in all four directions: Porta Alba, Porta Media, the Port Gate, and Porta Nigra. In addition, many buildings arose to adorn and strengthen the city, such as a magnificent temple and an arena. The *Hystoria Treverorum* specially emphasizes the city fortifications. In this respect, the account is reminiscent of the description of Heavenly Jerusalem in the *Revelation of John*, which also treats the city walls most intensively,[46] or of the many medieval images of cities that show only the walls. Also, the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* begin with the description of the city walls. Perhaps the splendour of the city gates of Trier also contributed to the concentration on the city walls. Again and again it is repeated in the Chronicle that everything described in it did rise long before the founding of Rome, and that long before the founding of Rome much of the social order, the legal relations, and the rites had been established similarly to how they were later established in Rome. In this sense, Trier was referred to as the 'second Rome'.

The later chronicles mostly repeat the account of the *Hystoria Treverorum* more or less literally. They put special emphasis on the Porta Nigra because the other three city gates had disappeared [Figs. 20.2–3]. However, they are more precise in listing the buildings founded by Trebeta in the city: Palatia, temples, thermal baths, theatres, aqueduct, capitol. Many chronicles, especially that of Johann Enen, date the buildings only vaguely as having been founded after Trebeta or after his son Hero. But in general what was more prevalent was what the writer Jean d'Outremeuse of Liège said in 1399 about the founding of Trier by Trebeta: 'Et celle fut li promier [sic] edifiement qui fut fais en l'isle d'Europ, excepteit Ytaile'.[47] The restriction 'with the exception of Italy' is due to the fact that Jean d'Outremeuse already assumes that Rome had been founded by one of the sons of Noah.

After Otto of Freising has pointed out that the ruins testify to the former splendour of Trier, he presents for the first time the Basilica as a Babylonian building. He argues that to that day it had retained so much strength that no enemy was ever able to destroy it. No enemy could destroy it by any means, because it was made of fired bricks 'in the manner of the walls of Babylon' ('ad instar Babylonici muri'[48]) [Fig. 20.2]. Various sources – the Bible, Isidore

46 *Apocalypse* 21; cf. also *Isaiah* 54:11–12.

47 Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly Myreur des histoires* I, ed. A. Borgnet (Brussels: 1864) 13. Cf. Kramer J., "Jean d'Outremeuse und die Trierer Gündungssage", *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 41 (2001) 109–120, and Haari-Oberg, *Wirkungsgeschichte der Trierer Gründungssage* 91.

48 Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia* 135, quoted from Kentenich, "Trierer Gründungssage" 195.

of Seville, Orosius, Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, and other ancient writers – offer the information that the walls of Babylon were made of bricks.[49]

Previously, the Chronicles of Trier had already mentioned the special construction technique of some of the ancient monuments. This is a peculiarity which is not common in other reports on historical monuments. The *Hystoria Treverorum* states that the Porta Nigra is 'made of cubic stones which are joined together not with mortar, but with iron by a wonderful art'.[50] The *Gesta Treverorum* beyond repeating this information, point out that the bridge over the Moselle was built using the same technique.[51] According to Herodotus and Diodorus,[52] the bridge of Babylon over the Euphrates was built in the same manner with iron clips. The later accounts of the early history of Trier repeat the information about the construction technique of the ancient monuments in Trier. They do not point to the parallel between the construction technique of the bridge over the Moselle and that of the bridge over the Euphrates, but originally this peculiarity was certainly considered as a confirmation of the idea that the monuments of Trier had been built by the Babylonians just as the construction technique with bricks similar to that used for the walls of Babylon was supposed to testify to the old age of the basilica.

The Renaissance authors who took over the founding legend usually saw no problems with the dating of the Trier antiquities back to Babylonian times. Actually, not even the Italians in the Renaissance could distinguish between Roman and Romanesque styles. If the Babylonian origin of the monuments in Trier was denied, it was only for historical reasons. Jean Lemaire de Belges, for example, took over from Annio da Viterbo's forgery of Berosus the information that the Trojans had occupied Belgica Gallia and had completely destroyed

49 *Genesis* 11:1–3; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XV, 4; Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* II, 6; Herodotus, *History* I, 178–188; Diodorus Siculus, *Universal History* II, 7–10. Cf. Unger E., *Babylon. Die Heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier* (Berlin – Leipzig: 1931) 324–335.

50 'Crevit itaque civitas illa regia […] habens publicas portas, quatuor mundi climatibus obpositas, quarum prima, quae ad septentrionem respicit, ex lapidibus quadratis non cemento, sed ferro mirabili arte compaginatis constructa, Nigra porta vel Martis nomen accepit […]'. *Hystoria Treverorum*, ed. G. Waitz, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores VIII* (1948) 145 ('This imperial town [or: town of a king] became bigger […]. It had city gates in all four wind directions. The first of them, in the north, is construed from cubes which are joined together not with mortar, but with iron by a wonderful art').

51 'ex quadris lapidibus cum turribus magnis portam extruxerunt […], cujus lapides non cemento, sed ferro conglutinabantur et plumbo', and '[…] super Mosellam ex magnis lapidibus, ferro plumboque compactis, pontem construxere […]'. *Gesta Treverorum*, cap. 4, 5.

52 Unger, *Babylon*, loc. cit.

the city of Trier.[53] Thus, according to 'Berosus's' version, neither the Porta Nigra nor any other existing monument of Trier could stem from Babylonian times. In an analogue way, some Renaissance historians denied the generally accepted fiction that the Florentine Baptistery was Roman, with the argument that old writings recorded the complete destruction of ancient Florence by Germanic invaders, without trying to underline their doubts using a comparison with the nowadays obvious similarity of the Romanesque facade of San Miniato al Monte.[54]

5 Dating the Trier Monuments to the Babylonian Era, and General Ideas of Primeval Architecture

The presentation of quite well-preserved Babylonian buildings, even grand ones, in the foundation legend of Trier differs from the legends of the primeval foundations of other cities. In other places, only Roman monuments were known. The knowledge of earlier architecture was most vague. In fact, only the Egyptian pyramids were known. After the early fifteenth century, hardly anyone had seen the classical buildings in Greece; the few later visitors to Athens thought the buildings there were Roman; the archaic temples in southern Italy were consistently ignored.[55] There was hardly anything known to be preserved in Italy. Actually most of Etruscan architecture to which the writings the ancient authors relate, was too primitive to be preserved in later ages.

Notwithstanding the fact that the thesis of the Babylonian origin of the buildings in Trier is generally rejected today, it is appropriate for a historian to put it within the framework of the conceptions of the historical development of architecture that prevailed in the Renaissance. Against the background of the report in Tacitus's *Germania* on the old Germans living in wooden huts widely scattered in forests, the question arises as to whether the early dating of the ancient monuments in Trier has always been nonsensical, and whether it should have already been recognized in the Renaissance that the buildings were in fact of Roman origin.

53 Lemaire de Belges, *Les illustrations de Gaule* 291.

54 Straehle G., *Die Marstempelthese – Dante, Villani, Boccaccio, Vasari, Borghini. Die Geschichte vom Ursprung der Florentiner Taufkirche in der Literatur des 13. bis 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: 2001).

55 Günther H. 'Begegnung mit dem Fremden. Die Auseinandersetzung mit griechischer Architektur von der Renaissance bis zum Klassizismus', in Baumstark R. (ed.), *Das neue Hellas: Griechen und Bayern zur Zeit Ludwigs I* (Munich: 1999) 149–170.

Various ancient writings, the Bible, and some travelogues deal with Egyptian and Babylonian architecture.[56] They provided some knowledge of the pyramids and labyrinths of Egypt; they also offered some description of the appearance of the whole city of Babylon and its huge monuments, which were built using complex construction techniques, especially the wide city walls with their many towers and gates, the bridge over the Euphrates, the hanging gardens of Semiramis over large vaults, and the gigantic tower of Babel, which extended to the sky and consisted of eight superimposed towers with a square ground plan, and which had an outside staircase that ran around the building to the top. Isaiah[57] had prophesied that God would thoroughly destroy Babylon, and travellers confirmed that the city lay in ruins, but the foundations of the tower and the bridge over the Euphrates were preserved. Pliny the Elder considered the pyramids to be a foolish ostentation of wealth, and the labyrinths of the Egyptians, Mycenaeans, and Etruscans as an expression of exaggerated prodigality.[58] The Tower of Babel is disparaged in the Bible as being the epitome of arrogance. Instead, many ancient authors admired the old architecture of Greece. Vitruvius' detailed report on the origins of columns and their design is a decisive source for its ornamentation. This led most theorists of the Italian Renaissance to conclude that, in the early periods of the Egyptians and Babylonians, colossal edifices were emerging, but that it were the Greeks that first had invented artful architecture by inventing the columns and that the Romans combined art with magnificence.[59] Today, this view usually still enters our mind when we consider the idea of the development of architecture that prevailed in the Renaissance.

In reality, however, that was just one point of view, and this view is and was questionable for two reasons: firstly, as written sources attest, the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians had already built columns, and secondly, the Bible describes the Temple of Solomon in detail, reporting that it also had columns, and that it was proportioned as superbly as if God himself had designed it [Fig. 20.7]. Therefore, in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance Solomon's Temple was regarded as the epitome of perfect architecture.[60]

During the Middle Ages, a different version of architectural development had already been created in France, in the orders of stonemasons.[61] According

56 For Babylon: Unger, *Babylon* 324–342.

57 *Isaiah* 13:19–22; 14:22.

58 Plinius, *Naturalis historia* XXXVI, 74–75, and 84.

59 Alberti Leon Battista, *De re aedificatoria* VI, 3, ed. G. Orlandi (Milano: 1966) 450–457.

60 Günther H., "Die Salomonische Säulenordnung. Eine unkonventionelle Erfindung und ihre historischen Umstände", *RIHA Journal* (January 2011).

61 Ibidem.



FIGURE 20.7
Virgil Solis, *The Temple of Solomon*, from: Luther Bible, *Das ist die gantze Heylige Schrifft* [...] (1588)
IMAGE © EVANGELISCHE BIBLIOTHEK DES KIRCHENKREISES DORTMUND

to this version, the art of architecture had reached its first climax with the Tower of Babel. From Babylon the art had spread to Assyria and then to Egypt. When Abraham went from Chaldea to Egypt, he took it with him. Later, when the children of Israel stayed in Egypt, they picked up the art of architecture there, and they finally applied it after their arrival in the Promised Land. Thus, Solomon built the temple in Jerusalem with the knowledge handed down from the Babylonians and Egyptians to the Jews. The art Solomon taught the stonemasons then spread to the West. Indeed, in the medieval version of the development of architecture, it is not God who determined the design of Solomon's Temple, but the tradition of architecture received by the Egyptians from the Babylonians. This version, or variants of it, spread during the Renaissance also to Germany, the Netherlands, France, Spain, and England; even in Italy it was occasionally recorded.[62] Solomon's Temple also was prominent in commentaries on architecture: In the Middle Ages, as well as in the Renaissance, the highest praise for buildings was often presented in the form of a rhetorical comparison with the Temple. Luca Pacioli had a reconstruction of its portal put printed in front of his treatise on the orders of columns (1509).

As in the Renaissance theoretical interest was particularly concentrated on columns, architectural history was then amended by the observation that columns had already been in place in Solomon's temple. The Corinthia, which according to Vitruvius was the most recently created order, was instead said

62 Here I supplement the works indicated by Günther, "Salomonische Säulenordnung", for the divulgation of the medieval version of the development of architecture in Europe: Coecke van Aelst Pieter, *Die Inventie der colomnen* (Antwerp, Coecke van Aelst: 1539), "Preface to the reader", first page. Shute John, *The first and chief groundes of architecture* (London, Thomas Marshe: 1563), fol. 2 r.

to have already been inserted into Solomon's temple; the representatives of this direction of architectural history rejected Vitruvius' story of the invention of the Corinthia. The medieval account of the development of architecture sometimes was mentioned in relation to the the legend of the Babylonian foundation of Trier, or viceversa, the founding legend of Trier was mentioned in connection with version of architectural history.[63] Consequently, if the art of architecture as it was invented in Babylon spread over time to the Hebrews and then to the West, the similarity of the Porta Nigra with Roman architecture, if it was perceived, did not necessarily contradict a dating of the building to Babylonian times.

In order to see how Babylonian architecture was imagined, we may consult the Renaissance illustrations of Babylon.[64] In short, the result of such research suggests that there were no clear and specific ideas. The illustrations are either reduced to architectural symbols, such as a wall ring, large gates, etc.; or they are completely fantastic; or they essentially reflect contemporary cities, with tall towers, steep roofs and gables, Gothic shapes, etc. Even the most important depiction of the topic in Italy, namely one of the frescoes at the Campo Santo in Pisa painted by Benozzo Gozzoli between 1469 and 1485, portrays only buildings that could then be seen in Italy – Roman ancient, medieval, and modern ones. Giorgio Vasari praised the 'grandissima invenzione' without complaining about the borrowings from local architecture (1568).[65] The woodcut of ancient Trier in Schedel's *World Chronicle* conceives Abraham's era as a mixture of medieval German towns and contemporary Florence [Fig. 20.8], while that of Babylon, following directly afterwards, shows a completely fantastic medieval German town [Fig. 20.9].

The result is more specific when we concentrate on the portrayal of individual Babylonian buildings, especially on the many depictions of the Tower of Babel which originated during the Renaissance in the Low Countries, a region neighbouring Trier [Fig. 20.10]. The Tower of Babel is a typical motive of Dutch painting. Maarten van Heemskerck, who had intensively studied Roman architecture, often depicted the early buildings in Chaldea or Jerusalem in the engravings of the *The Disasters of the Jewish Nation* (*Clades*, 1569), following the model of Roman architecture. Contrary to the description in the Bible, he

63 Kyriander, *Annales* 20–21. Coecke van Aelst, *Inventie der colomnen* loc. cit. Shute, *First and chief groundes*, fol. 1 r.

64 Minkowski H., *Vermutungen über den Turm zu Babel* (Freren: 1991). Wegener U.B., *Die Faszination des Maßlosen. Der Turmbau zu Babel von Pieter Bruegel bis Athanasius Kircher* (Hildesheim: 1995).

65 Vasari Giorgio, "Bonozzi Gozzoli. Pittore fiorentino", in idem, *Le opere*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence: 1906) vol. III, 45–53, here 48–49.

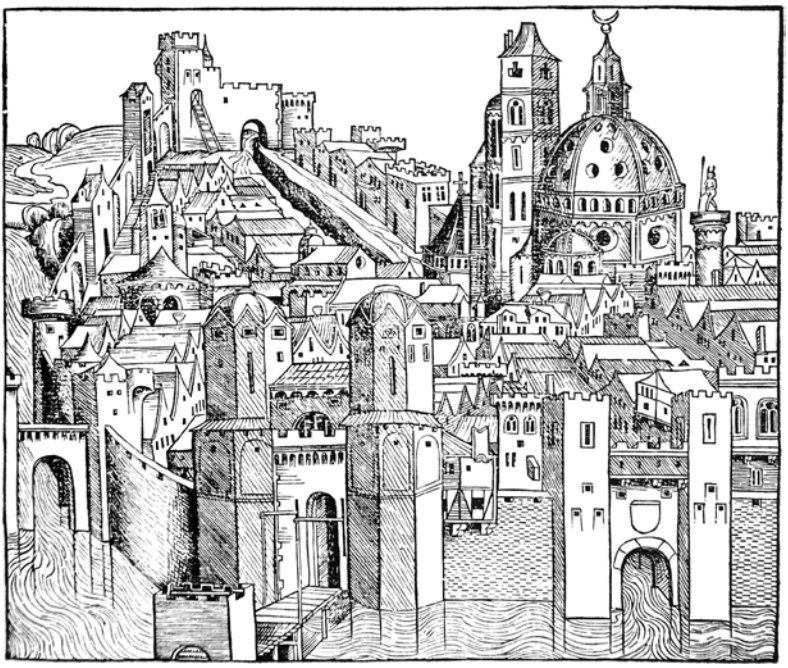


FIGURE 20.8 Trebeta's Trier, from: Hartmann Schedel, *Das buch der Croniken* (Nuremberg: 1493)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

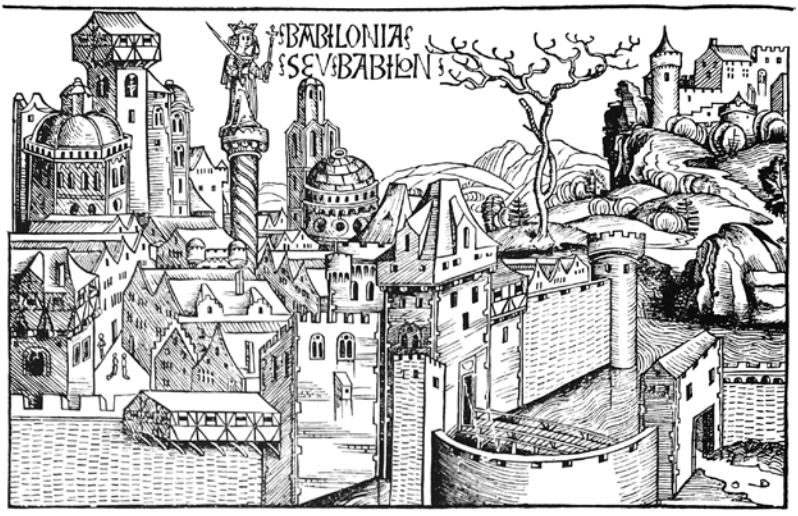


FIGURE 20.9 Babylon, from: Hartmann Schedel, *Das buch der Croniken* (Nuremberg: 1493)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

gave to the temple of Jerusalem the form of a rotunda that is reminiscent of the Pantheon. However, the Tower of Babel he represents as a modern reconstruction: on a square floor plan; with several floors on top of each other, which become smaller and smaller as the height increases; without articulation; and with double ramps, each leading from one floor to the next.[66] Hendrick van Cleve III and Marten van Valckenborch painted the tower with a similar ground floor.[67] It seems as if these depictions echo accounts of the building's relics, but perhaps they were just continuing the medieval tradition of representing towers as superimposed cubes which become smaller and smaller with increasing height. Hendrick van Cleve III and others sometimes set a round tower on top of a ground floor with a square plan. However, since the time of Pieter Brueghel the Elder until ca. 1700, the Tower of Babel had usually been depicted in a conical shape on a round base, without regard to the reports in the classical authors, even if the steps described by Herodotus as surrounding the building on the outside are taken into account.

In contrast to Heemskerck, most of the paintings represent the Tower of Babel with an architectural articulation, and this articulation is largely orientated towards Roman architecture; occasionally are Gothic elements inserted, maybe just to signify that the architecture of the Tower was still primitive.[68] Often the walls are opened by arcades, and between the arcades are half-columns or pilasters similar to the external walls of Roman arenas and theatres. The hanging gardens of Semiramis were usually depicted in a similar way. In an engraving by Cornelis Anthonisz. (1547) and in a painting by Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1563), the representations of the Tower of Babel are clearly oriented towards the Colosseum [Fig. 20.10].[69]

Sometimes the articulation is coarser, with simple arcades, similar to the inner circular walls of arenas that have become visible because the outer walls have been destroyed, as in the case of the Colosseum, or it is like a substructure, such as those of the Fortuna Sanctuary, which extends across a steep slope in Palestrina. The double-aisled ramps portrayed by Heemskerck are also present in Palestrina. Often the tower is not painted as being entirely made of bricks, as the Bible and Herodotus indicate, but as in Roman architecture, with only the interior constructed using bricks and the exterior clad in limestone. Sometimes, besides the construction of the tower, bricklayers are depicted, but more often, especially in medieval representations, stonemasons appear

66 Minkowski, *Turm zu Babel*, nos. 171–172.

67 Idem, no. 225–226, 328, 333.

68 For example, Maerten van Valkenborch, Minkowski, *Turm zu Babel*, no. 343.

69 Idem, no. 169, 210.



FIGURE 20.10 Pieter Brueghel the Elder, *The Tower of Babel* (1563). Oil on panel, 114 × 155 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
IMAGE © VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM

at work. All in all, the overview of the depiction of the Tower of Babel indicates that the ideas of Babylonian architecture were strongly influenced by Roman architecture. The ancient Roman style of an alleged Babylonian building – for example, the Porta Nigra – matched perfectly these ideas.

Finally, at least briefly I remind the reader that in other places too buildings were dated back to much earlier periods than they actually were, without any arguments or justification other than patriotism or falsified documents. Prominent examples of this are the medieval Florentine Baptistery, which was identified as a temple of Mars dating from the Roman Republic; the medieval church of S. Giacomo di Rialto, which was presented as the monument of the foundation of Venice in 421; and the Arena of Verona, which formally was dated in the era of Augustus and since the middle of the sixteenth century was said to have been built much earlier in the Roman Republic in the style of the old Etruscans (see chapter 3 in this volume). On the other hand, not only Babylon but also other very old cities could be portrayed in the manner of contemporary ones. This is demonstrated, for example, on Albrecht Altdorfer's painting *The Battle of Alexander* though it takes into account the ancient reports on the skythed chariots of Darius. Sebastian Münster still portrays the famous

Artemis Temple of Ephesus like a Gothic church. In many fifteenth-century Italian paintings which depict the deeds of the heroes from the period of the Roman Republic, great monuments from the imperial era appear, although humanists would have well known that that they were constructed later, that such magnificence in general did not exist in the times of the Roman Republic and that the heroic deeds depicted in the paintings were actually rooted in the spirit of simplicity and modesty, as being in contrast to imperial grandeur. A painter with a humanist education, such as Andrea Mantegna, even depicted in the *Triumph of Caesar* Roman buildings as ruins, although it was known that they were built only later, during the times of the Roman emperors.

6 Conclusion

The story of Trier's Babylonian foundation gives us an unusually good opportunity to observe how a historical legend arose, how it developed, how scholars responded to it, on what chronological ideas the explanations were based, and how the legend was used in political or social discourse. There is evidence that from the very outset the legend corresponded to the desire to give one's home town an old age, and thus a special political importance. Often the legend was simply an expression of love for one's fatherland, but time and again it was also used in a more specific sense, as a means of pursuing political goals, as well by archbishops against their ecclesiastical competitors, or by citizens or foreign rulers against the archbishops. The legend could even serve as an argument in a legal process.

It is not clear how exactly the legend of the foundation of Trier came into being. Throughout Europe many fantastic founding legends circulated, but in view of Trier's outstanding position outside Italy as one of the metropolises of the Roman Empire, it is strange that the chroniclers took refuge in such a vague fiction, and even occasionally marginalized the impressive historical reality. On the other hand, it was part of the legend to present concrete evidence of its truth, as in a legal case. These credentials were created either on the basis of deliberate fakes, on the erroneous decipherings of inscriptions, or on sloppy interpretations of classical texts. The ancient monuments were also taken as evidence of the truth of the legend. They were identified as Babylonian, because – as was so often the case – a preconceived idea replaced reality, On the other hand, it is remarkable how precisely the reference to Babylon was underpinned as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the observation of peculiarities of building techniques on the monuments.

The advent of modern science with the inductive method, which characterizes the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times, is only weakly reflected in the behaviour of humanists towards the legend. Mostly they bowed to political or social conditions. Some recognized the legend as a fiction, but already in the Middle Ages there were occasionally doubts about the legend being fact most of the humanists continued to support and even strengthened the legend. In that case, the most important argument was the appeal to the legend's old tradition and to the authorities that had sustained it. There were also rhetorical tricks to create new evidence. All that was needed was to repeat old reports of the discovery of testimonies without highlighting that they were quotations and thus it looked as if scholars had opened up concrete new evidence, following the guidelines of the modern inductive method.

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PART 5

Poland and Sweden



CHAPTER 21

History and Architecture in Pursuit of a Gothic Heritage

Kristoffer Neville

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Gothicism, or a self-identification with the ancient Gothic people, was a deeply important phenomenon. This drew on fairly diffuse medieval traditions, but took concrete form in a series of historical works produced in the sixteenth century, most specifically a chronicle by Johannes Magnus, which was complemented by a more anecdotal history produced by his brother, Olaus.[1] The brothers were Catholic exiles living in Rome, and although they produced their works there for an Italian audience, the impact of their books was greatest in Northern Europe, where new editions soon appeared for an eager audience. Johannes Magnus's text, which became the fundamental modern basis for all subsequent iterations of the idea, traces the Goths, generation by generation, from the sons of Noah to modern rulers – the kings of Sweden, in his case, although other authors produced variants that traced these Gothic ur-ancestors to other princes.[2] This offered an unsurpassable antiquity to one's ancestry, and with it tremendous prestige.

The ancient lineage was enhanced by the Goths' great feats: their defeat of the Romans in the fifth century gave them an unmatched reputation for strength and power that was presumed to be still present in their descendants, if latent. King Gustaf II Adolf of Sweden's exploits in the 1630s against the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperors – who claimed a direct lineal descent from the ancient Roman emperors (and also, remarkably, from the Goths) – were

1 Magnus Johannes, *De omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus* (Rome, Ioannes Maria de Viottis: 1554); Magnus Olaus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Rome, Ioannes Maria de Viottis: 1555), trans. as *Description of the Northern Peoples* by P. Fisher and H. Higgens, 3 vols. (London: 1996–1998). See Johannesson K., *The Renaissance of the Goths in Sixteenth-Century Sweden. Johannes and Olaus Magnus as Politicians and Historians*, trans. J. Larson (Berkeley – Los Angeles: 1991); Santini C. (ed.), *I fratelli Giovanni e Olao Magno. Opera e cultura tra due mondi* (Rome: 1999).

2 del Castillo Julian, *Historia de los reyes godos que vinieron dela Scitia de Europa, contra el Imperio Romano, y a España: y la succession dellos hasta el Catholico y potentissimo don Philippe segundo Rey de España* (Burgos, Philippe de Iunta: 1582).

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often compared to the late-antique Gothic defeat of the Romans.[3] Although this narrative was essentially imagined, it carried great value, and played a role comparable to the resurrection of the ancient Batavians in the Netherlands, the Sarmatians in Poland and Hungary, and other comparable origin myths that were fundamental to the standing of these lands and of their ruling elite.[4]

The Gothic discourse was vibrant in part because it took a deeply polemical edge. The heritage was shared and contested by groups across a wide geographical area, including some with longstanding animosities. Sweden and Denmark were hereditary rivals and enemies, but both claimed descent from the Gothic tribes. Spain, which also claimed Gothic origins, was not a regional rival of the Scandinavian kingdoms, but was separated by confession and the deep divisions stirred by the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Many historians also associated places in and around the Holy Roman Empire with Gothic origins. The debates were about both lineage and geography, which frequently became entwined. The disputes were not so much about which group or land could claim descent from the Goths, but rather about which was most directly descendent, or which land was the original, and thus most ancient, home of the Goths.[5]

Although it was hardly alone in claiming this heritage, the Swedish court was particularly inventive and aggressive in its historical arguments that the kingdom was the homeland of the Goths, and its kings their most direct descendants. As a newly rich military power, it used this material to create a long and important history for itself that otherwise was conspicuously lacking.

Demonstrating this history was a challenge, however. Both the early sources and the modern literature are largely concerned with text. Architecture is marginal in this historical discourse, and has remained largely absent in the modern literature on the topic. Nonetheless, many publications concerned with Gothicism give some attention to the historical study of buildings, and these passages play a substantial role in demonstrating aspects of the Gothic narrative that were not easily proven through texts. The elaboration of this introduced an early and unfamiliar strand of writing on architectural history that expands our idea of the scope and methods of the early literature

3 Zellhuber A., *Der gotische Weg in der deutschen Krieg. Gustav Adolf und der schwedische Gotizismus* (Augsburg: 2002).

4 For a recent introduction with further references, see Geary P., "Europe of Nations or the Nation of Europe: Origin Myths Past and Present", *Revista Lusófona de Estudos Culturais / Lusophone Journal of Cultural Studies* 1 (2013) 36–49, and the essays in this volume.

5 Schmidt-Voges I., *De antiqua claritate et clara antiquitate Gothorum. Gotizismus als Identitätsmodell im frühneuzeitlichen Schweden* (Frankfurt: 2004); Neville K., "Gothicism and Early Modern Historical Ethnography", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70 (2009) 213–234, both with references to earlier literature.

on architecture. These publications are very different from the more familiar column books, biographies of builders, and technical manuals that make up much of the early literature on architecture. They are closer to the antiquarian tradition of Giovanni Pietro Bellori and others, but the arguments are freighted with an ideological presentation of history that is most familiar in the publications of Giovanni Battista Piranesi from the middle of the eighteenth century.[6] Piranesi's often tortured polemics over the origins and development of ancient architecture are an appropriate reference here, for in his arguments from around 1700 we find an equally revisionist interpretation of history, based in part on architectural history.

1 History and Architecture

The essential source for the Gothicist arguments was Jordanes's *Getica*, compiled in the sixth century AD. This was based on a longer, lost work by Cassiodorus, a Roman consul and minister under the Gothic king Theodoric. Along with the works of Tacitus, Pliny, and other ancient writers, it was parsed for any shred of information it might yield on the ancient north.[7] All of these ancient authorities were complemented by medieval writers, such as Saxo Grammaticus, who in the decades around 1200 wrote a chronicle of the Danish kings.[8]

There were efforts to pursue other sources and methods as well. Among these were antiquarian studies focusing on the material legacy of these peoples. In 1689–1694, the Swedish crown sent Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld on a long journey around the Mediterranean to search for evidence or relics of the

6 Bell J. and Willette T. (eds.), *Art History in the Age of Bellori. Scholarship and Cultural Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge – New York: 2002); Kantor-Kazovsky L., *Piranesi as Interpreter of Roman Architecture and the Origins of his Intellectual World* (Florence: 2006).

7 *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, trans. C.C. Mierow (Princeton: 1915). See *inter alia* Goffart W., *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton: 1988) 3–111; Søby Christensen A., *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the History of the Goths. Studies in a Migration Myth* (Copenhagen: 2002). For the reception of Tacitus in the north, see Schellhase K.C., *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought* (Chicago: 1976) 50–65; Krebs C.B., *Negotiatio Germaniae: Tacitus' Germania und Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Giannantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis und Heinrich Bebel* (Göttingen: 2005).

8 Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, 2 vols, ed. J. Olrik and H. Ræder (Copenhagen: 1931–1957); *Saxo Grammaticus: The History of the Danes, Books I–IX*, ed. H.E. Davidson, trans. P. Fisher (Cambridge: 1996). See Skovgaard-Petersen K., *Historiography at the Court of Christian IV. Studies in the Latin Histories of Denmark by Johannes Pontanus and Johannes Meursius* (Copenhagen: 2002).

Goths. His efforts were only partially successful. He returned with many new publications on the subject, but few archival or antiquarian discoveries.[9]

More routinely, there were excavations and reconstructions of local monuments. Rune stones were studied especially closely, and were valued both for their inscriptions and as objects. The stones were regarded as tangible evidence of a lost antiquity for which there were few other relics, and their inscriptions were the subject of endless fascination. Unlike Egyptian hieroglyphics, they could be read, but they were nonetheless approached by many as a kind of northern hieroglyph.[10]

In middle of the seventeenth century, the Danish doctor and collector, Olaus Worm, produced an important treatise on runes that remained the standard work for two centuries.[11] His text was a major feat of scholarship, but, like other antiquarian projects, it was closely bound up both with state prerogatives and national rivalries. It was made possible in part by a royal decree of 1622 that all bishops and pastors in Denmark should report runic inscriptions in their parishes to Worm.[12] He identified them as a Gothic legacy, and more specifically as Danish. All comparable material from outside the united kingdom of Denmark-Norway is excluded. Somewhat later, a similar project was to collect and publish the rune stones found in Sweden. They were to be illustrated on a unified scale, thus recognizing the value not only of the inscriptions, but of the stones themselves. This unrealized project was to some degree superseded by a larger effort to document ancient and modern Sweden, published in 1715 as *Suecia antiqua et hodierna.* For this project, too, provincial priests were asked

9 Jacobowsky C.V., *J.G. Sparwenfeld: bidrag till ett biografi* (Stockholm: 1932) 79–237.

10 Bach-Nielsen C., "The Runes: Hieroglyphs of the North", in Strasser G.F – Wade M.R. (eds.), *Die Domänen des Emblems. Außenliterarische Anwendung der Emblematik* (Wiesbaden: 2004) 157–172; Rix R.W., "Runes and Roman: Germanic Literacy and the Significance of Runic Writing", *Textual Cultures* 6 (2011) 114–144; Håkansson H., "Alchemy of the Ancient Goths. Johannes Bureus' Search for the Lost Wisdom of the Scandinavia", *Early Science and Medicine* 17 (2012) 500–522.

11 Worm Olaus, *Runir seu Danica literatura antiquissima vulgo Gothica dicta* (Copenhagen, Melchior Martzan: 1636); idem, *Danicorum monumentorum libri sex* (Copenhagen, Joachim Moltke: 1643). See also the introduction to runic text by the Swedish antiquarian, Verelius Olaus, *Manuductio compendiosa ad runographiam Scandicam antiquam, recte intelligendam* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1675). Jørgensen E., *Historieforskning og historieskrivning i Danmark indtil aar 1800*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen: 1960) 122–127; Malm M., *Minervas äpple. Om diktsyn, tolkning och bildspråk inom nordisk göticism* (Stockholm: 1996) 35–42. For Worm more generally, see Schepelern H.D., *Museum Wormianum. Dets forudsætninger og tilblivelse* (Aarhus: 1971).

12 The reports are collected in Jørgensen F. (ed.), *Præsteindberetninger til Ole Worm*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: 1970–1974).

to report antiquities in their parishes to the book's producers.[13] It was never intended that all of the submitted material should be published, but the effect was nonetheless to produce a comprehensive inventory of the kingdom's material heritage.

Architecture was less central to the Gothic debates than other kinds of historical study for some practical reasons. Most obviously, there were fewer old buildings to present than could be found in Rome, Ravenna, or other ancient cities, and none of these bore the evident antiquity and antiquarian value of rune stones or other archaeological finds. Most Swedish towns are not especially old. Stockholm was established in the thirteenth century, and became the permanent seat of government early in the seventeenth century.[14] Some other towns in the kingdom are older, but few could plausibly be considered antique. Nor were local ancient buildings as physically and aesthetically impressive as the Pantheon, the Baths of Caracalla, or other ancient Roman structures.

Nonetheless, architecture as a source and evidence of a glorious local antiquity played an important role in the Gothicist discourse, and Uppsala stands at the centre of this. A group of impressive burial mounds gives testimony to a much older settlement near the modern city, and were featured prominently in historical publications. Excavations at Old Uppsala, near the modern city, have long yielded finds now dated from the third to the tenth centuries. Although early modern archaeological interpretations often yielded ideologically coloured results that confirmed longstanding assumptions about the Gothic antiquity of the kingdom, the finds nonetheless provided unambiguous physical evidence of an early society in the kingdom that otherwise was largely lacking. These were explained primarily through later texts, such as Adam of Bremen's eleventh-century chronicle of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, which then included much of Scandinavia.[15] These mounds are immediately next to the church at Old Uppsala, which is the fulcrum of all of the historical interpretations examined here [Fig. 21.1]. Modern consensus holds that it was built in the twelfth century.[16] However, already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the visible seams in the fabric of the structure made it evident that it had endured a long history and had been reshaped numerous times.

13 Vennberg E., "Verkets historia", in Vennberg E. (ed.), *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* (Stockholm: 1924; repr. 1983) 5.

14 Hall T., with a contribution by Rörby M., *Stockholm. The Making of a Metropolis* (London: 2009).

15 Adam of Bremen, *gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. G. Waitz (Hannover: 1876) 174, trans. as *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen* by F.J. Tschan (New York: 1959), lib. IV, cap. 26–30 (English p. 207–210).

16 Carlsson R., Göthberg H., Dahlbäck G., Lovén C., and Bengtsson H., *Uppsala domkyrka II: Domkyrkan i Gamla Uppsala. Nuvarande domkyrkans omgivningar* (Uppsala: 2010).



FIGURE 21.1 Church at Old Uppsala (twelfth century with later changes)
IMAGE © GABRIEL NEVILLE

This essay introduces a diverse group of published works that integrate the history of architecture – specifically, the temple/church at Old Uppsala – into the Gothicist discourse. The histories of Johannes and Olaus Magnus were fundamental for the tradition. They took a scattered medieval tradition and crafted from it a tradition strong enough to serve as the basis of a state ideology. Johannes Magnus's book in particular became an authoritative text on the subject, and was frequently cited by later historians in the kingdom and elsewhere. Both take up the church, albeit in fairly marginal ways. *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* (Ancient and Modern Sweden, 1715), a fairly well known topographical survey of the kingdom, was conceived with a similar goal to shape perceptions of the Swedish state. It is a collection of mostly large-format prints of urban views, individual structures, and some other materials that have been popular with collectors for three centuries. Olaus Verelius's edition of the Hervarar saga is known primarily in literary circles, but contains an important architectural component. Finally, Olaus Rudbeck's famous – even notorious – *Atlantica* (1675–1702) presents a wildly revisionist history that places Sweden, and specifically Old Uppsala, at the centre of classical antiquity, employing a wide range of methods, including a detailed historical study of the church on the site.

2 The Magnus Brothers and Uppsala

Uppsala and its church take an early and central position in the Gothic literature already in the writings of the Magnus brothers. Johannes Magnus's book is structured as a genealogical chronicle, but he works other elements into this. Thus, very early in Book I, he introduces Uppsala. In his telling, Ubbo, the fourth Gothic king, around 246 years after the great flood and in the years before Abraham, established the city of Uppsala, meaning Ubbo's Hall. This soon became the seat both of the kings and of the high priests (*Gothorum Pontificibus*).[17] Soon thereafter, Magnus returns to Uppsala, departing from the genealogical structure to present the temple and its gods: Thor, Odin, and Frigga. He emphasizes the powers and significance of each, presenting them to his presumed Italian audience in terms of approximate Greco-Roman counterparts. Although he includes a woodcut of the church, he does not describe it or explain its curious content, which would surely have caused wonder among its viewers [Fig. 21.2].

This Johannes left for his brother. Olaus Magnus's book, published a year later, in 1555, is a loosely organized presentation of the kingdom and its traditions.[18] It is episodic, but more capable of accommodating architecture and other materials than Johannes's chronicle. To a degree, there is a pendent quality to the two books, and Olaus in particular refers to the work of his brother. In this case, however, the linkage between the two is particularly strong, for both published the same woodcut, which serves as an anchor for their quite



FIGURE 21.2
Ancient Temple at Old Uppsala. Woodcut illustration from: Johannes Magnus, *De omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (Rome, Joannes Maria de Viottis: 1554), book I, 29
IMAGE © THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA

17 Magnus Johannes, *De omnibus Gothorum* [...] *regibus* 29–31.

18 See Johannesson, *Renaissance of the Goths*; Gillgren P., *Vasarenässansen. Konst och identitet i 1500-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: 2009) 153–185.

different comments. (This implies a degree of intentionality, since one must have delivered the woodblock to the other.)

Where Johannes spoke only about the gods worshipped within the temple, Olaus wrote about the structure itself.

> Templum igitur [...] nobilissimum a tempore Nini prope fluvium Sala erat, ubi hodie Upsala Sueonum, ac Gothorum Primatialis, et Archiepiscopalis sedes est. Quod adeo magnifico apparatu constructum venerabatur, ut nihil in eius parietibus, laquearis aut columnis, nisi auro splendidum videretur. Tectum praeterea totum auro fulgebat: a quo aurea catena dependens totum templum ad moenia, domusque fastigia cinxisse memoratur. Quo factum erat, ut templum in ampla planitie situm admirando sui fulgore venerandam religionis maiestatem accessuris ingeneraret. Astabat eius foribus arbor ingens ignoti generis, patulis diffusa ramis, aestate et hyeme iuxta virens [...] Eratque fons huic templo propinquus, qui scaturiit in locum sacrificiorum, de quo mox infra dicetur. Et haec sufficiant exteris nationibus de tali ritu Gothorum nonnihil vanitatis intellexisse.
>
> A temple [...], famous since the time of Ninus, stood by the River Sala, where today the seat of the primate and archbishop of the Swedes and Götar lies. This they so revered, erected as it was in rich magnificence, that you could have seen no part of its inner walls, panelled ceilings, or pillars that did not glitter with gold. The whole roof, moreover, shone with gold, and it is recorded that a golden chain hung down from it to encircle the whole temple including the outer walls and tops of the building. Hence it came about that the temple, situated on a wide plain, with its shining splendour implanted in any persons approaching it an awesome sense of religious grandeur. At its doors stood a huge tree of unknown species, with wide-spreading branches, and leaves green in summer and winter alike [...] Close to the temple there was a spring that gushed out into the sacrificial area, of which I shall soon say more below. Let this be enough to enable foreign nations to understand something of the falsity of such rites among the Goths.[19]

This description accounts for many of the otherwise baffling elements in the woodcut, in particular the two chains wrapped around the structure and the

19 Magnus Olaus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, III, cap. 6 (Latin: p. 104, English: vol. I, p. 156).

man peeking out from the well at lower right. Although Olaus does not reveal his sources, most of these details are derived from Adam of Bremen's chronicle.[20]

Olaus's description of a golden temple in a natural theater is striking. But he, too, is ultimately concerned with pagan ritual, as the closing sentence of the passage quoted above suggests. He does not develop his description into a full analysis of the structure or use it as historical evidence. Rather, he moves on to discuss rituals among other ancient peoples to show that such heathen practices were universal, and not in any way particular to the Gothic people.

3 Suecia antiqua et hodierna

Suecia antiqua is a compilation of 353 printed images presenting the kingdom of Sweden by region.[21] Erik Dahlbergh, a fortifications engineer, conceived the project and drove it until his death in 1703. It was begun in 1661 as an individual initiative, but fell increasingly under the sponsorship and control of the state. Thus, in 1664 the crown agreed to finance the work, and it became ever more intertwined with state prerogatives and Gothic ideology.[22] Already in 1661 the court historiographer, Johannes Loccenius, was commissioned to provide an accompanying text. He left a substantial fragment at his death in 1677. After an extended delay, responsibility for the text fell to the State Board of Antiquities, a government body dedicated to finding, preserving, and publishing materials related to the kingdom's history.[23] One of the fundamental goals of the Board of Antiquities was the promotion of a Gothic heritage. Several authors prepared

20 Adam of Bremen, *Gesta* IV, cap. 26–30 (English p. 207–210).

21 Dahlbergh Erik, *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* (Stockholm, n.p.: 1715). See Vennberg, "Verkets historia" 1–122; Bring S., "Sueciaverket och dess Text", *Lychnos* (1937) 1–67; Magnusson B., *Att illustrera fäderneslandet: en studie i Erik Dahlberghs verksamhet som tecknare* (Uppsala: 1986); idem, "Sweden Illustrated: Erik Dahlbergh's 'Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna' as a Manifestation of Imperial Ambition", in Ellenius A. (ed.), *Baroque Dreams: Art and Vision in Sweden in the Era of Greatness* (Uppsala: 2003) 32–59; Neville K., "*Suecia antiqua et hodierna.* The Life of a Topographical Viewbook in the Eighteenth Century", *Print Quarterly* 30 (2013) 395–408; Magnusson B. and Nordin J., *Drömmen om stormakten. Erik Dahlberghs Sverige* (Stockholm: 2015). High-quality scans of the plates, as well as surviving proofs and drawings, can now be found online at suecia.kb.se.

22 For *Suecia antiqua* and Gothic ideology, see Frick J., "Erik Dahlbergh och den götiska utopin i Suecia antiqua et hodierna", *Karolinska förbundets årsbok* (2009) 192–242; Neville K., "The Land of the Goths and Vandals. The Visual Presentation of Gothicism at the Swedish Court, 1550–1700", *Renaissance Studies* 27 (2013) 395–408.

23 For the Board of Antiquities, see Schück H., *Kgl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien: dess förhistoria och historia*, 8 vols. (Stockholm: 1932–1944); Norris M., *A Pilgrimage*

drafts, all of which incorporated the Gothic argument in some form. None was completed, however, and the volume was eventually published without a text.[24]

Suecia antiqua et hodierna is an historical topography with a heavy emphasis on architectural and city views. In its final form, it lacks the balance of past and present implied in the title. The modern component of the work dominates to a degree that could not have been anticipated. In 1661, there were relatively few contemporary structures impressive enough to merit inclusion. Work on *Suecia antiqua* coincided with a building boom in the kingdom, however, and many new palaces and churches were built, providing new material for the book. A number of noble patrons wrote to Dahlbergh, often rather imperiously, to ensure that their new residences were presented prominently in the topography, frequently in suites of prints.[25]

The antique component of *Suecia antiqua* is thus substantially more marginal than was likely intended. Nonetheless, we find a number of images of different kinds of antiquarian materials: a battered statue presented as an idol of Thor; rune stones; ancient ritual sites; the runic, Gothic, and Latin alphabets in a comparative chart; medieval coins; and so on [Fig. 21.3].[26] Gothic and Norse narratives were conflated, so that Thor and other Norse gods were perceived as part of the Gothic heritage, which was in turn confirmed through objects such as pagan votive figures.

Architecture is the primary means through which the achievements of modern Sweden are demonstrated, but it is marginal in the presentation of the kingdom's antiquity. Although a number of medieval churches are included, these are often presented either in the context of town views or of the monuments housed within them, rather than as monuments in themselves. Even when they are the primary subject of the print, the inscriptions give little indication that the older churches carried any substantial historical significance.

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to the Past. Johannes Bureus and the Rise of Swedish Antiquarian Scholarship, 1600–1650 (Lund: 2016).

24 The various drafts of the text for *Suecia antiqua* are preserved in the Royal Library in Stockholm. See Vennberg, "Verkets historia" 1–144; Bring, "Sueciaverket och dess text" 1–67; Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten* 137–147, 195–223.

25 For instance, Dowager Queen Hedwig Eleonora wrote to Dahlbergh in 1668 about the inclusion of her 'newly begun house', Drottningholm Palace. See Vennberg, "Verkets historia" 28–29.

26 The runic alphabet is presented as an older version of the Gothic alphabet used in the Bible translation of Wulfila, kept from 1669 in Uppsala University Library, and published in two separate editions in 1665 (by Franciscus Junius) and 1671 (by Georg Stiernhielm). For the manuscript's importance in the seventeenth century, see McKeown S., "Recovering the Codex Argenteus: Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl and Wulfila's Gothic Bible", *Lychnos* (2005) 9–28.



FIGURE 21.3
Thor. Etching from Erik Dahlbergh, *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* (Stockholm, n.p.: 1715)
IMAGE © THE ROYAL LIBRARY, STOCKHOLM

With few exceptions, medieval churches seem not to have been of special interest to the producers of the book.

The exception to this is the church at Old Uppsala. Although it is now generally regarded as a twelfth-century building structurally comparable to scores of others scattered around the region, it was then widely regarded as an ancient structure and central to the early history of the kingdom. Accordingly, it plays a unique and central role in *Suecia antiqua* [Fig. 21.4]. The print brings together a view of the Christian church as it could be seen in the seventeenth century – emphasizing its masonry seams – with an imaginative view of it in antiquity, thus bringing together in a coherent continuity the ancient and the modern.

Adam of Bremen describes the site in this way:

> Illa gens templum habet, quod Ubsola dicitur, non longe positum ab Sictona civitate. [...] In hoc templo, quod totum ex auro paratum est, statuas trium deorum veneratur populus, ita ut potentissimus eorum Thor in medio solium habeat triclinio; hinc et inde locum possident Wodan et Fricco.
>
> That folk has a very famous temple called Uppsala, situated not far from the city of Sigtuna. [...] In this temple, entirely decked out in gold, the people worship the statues of three gods in such wise that the mightiest

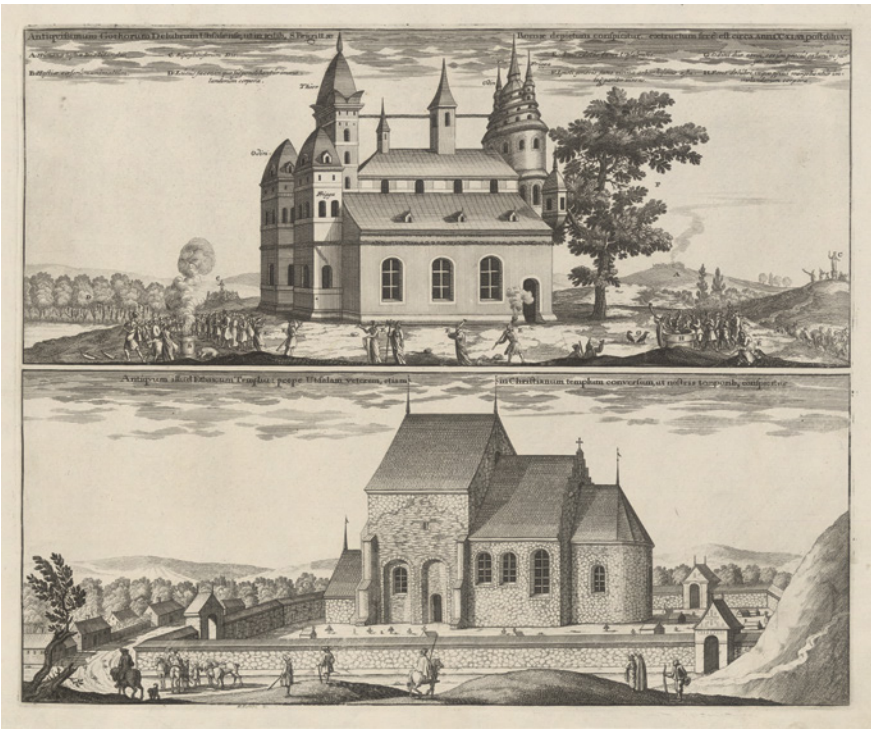


FIGURE 21.4 Ancient temple and church at Old Uppsala. Etching from Erik Dahlbergh, *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* (Stockholm, n.p.: 1715)
IMAGE © THE ROYAL LIBRARY, STOCKHOLM

> of them, Thor, occupies a seat in the middle of the chamber; Wotan [Odin] and Frikko [Frigga] have places on either side.

Early textual additions, which were passed on as authoritative, state:

> Prope illud templum est arbor maxima late ramos extendens, semper viridis in hieme et aestate; cuius illa generis sit, nemo scit. Ibi etiam est fons, ubi sacrificia paganorum solent exerceri et homo vivus immergi [...] Catena aurea templum illud circumdat pendens supra domus fastigia, lateque rutilans advenientibus, eo quod ipsum delubrum in planitie situm montes in circuitu habeat positos ad instar theatri.
>
> Near this temple stands a very large tree with wide-spreading branches, always green winter and summer. What kind it is nobody knows. There is also a spring at which the pagans are accustomed to make their sacrifices,

> and into it to plunge a live man [...] A golden chain goes round the temple. It hangs over the gable of the building and sends its glitter far off to those who approach, because the shrine stands on level ground with mountains all about it like a theater.[27]

Adam's text was thus the source for many of the elements in the image in *Suecia antiqua*, as it had been for the woodcut in the Magnus brothers' books. The group of three towers, identified by inscriptions with the Norse gods Odin (represented indirectly by the two ravens beneath the tree), Thor, and Frigga, provides a way to show through the structure of the building the gods worshipped within. In the foreground we find a group of pagan priests wearing long, flowing gowns and bearing horns. In the middle ground to the right and the left we see idol worship, and in the foreground and extreme distance scenes of human and animal sacrifice, detailed elsewhere in Adam's description. The image of a man dropped in a well, seen at lower right, the tree near the temple, and the great golden chain encircling the building, visible both above the first-floor windows and stretching between the two highest towers are also based on Adam's description. However, they are derived more directly from the print published by the Magnus brothers.

Adam of Bremen's description is both precise and laconic. Some aspects of it, such as the statement that it was 'entirely made of gold', and the enthusiastic elaboration of this by Olaus Magnus, were not easily shown in a black-and-white print. In this context, the golden chain becomes something of a stand-in for the overall richness of the building. Likewise, the description of Thor as the main dedicatory god likely explains the description of the fragmentary figure – presumably actually a mutilated medieval figure of a saint – as Thor, despite the apparent lack of any justification for this identification [Fig. 21.3]. The inscription on the print states that it came from the temple of Uppsala, and could then be seen in the cathedral in Uppsala.

The reconstruction of the temple at Old Uppsala stands apart from virtually all other architectural views in *Suecia antiqua* in its extensive and detailed historical inscriptions.[28] These identify each of the elements noted above, with the exception of the golden chain. A more prominent inscription describes the structure as the Gothic temple in Uppsala. When we take into account the towers dedicated to Norse gods, the conflation of the Gothic and the Norse found throughout the literature is brought to the fore. The note that the structure

27 Adam of Bremen, *Gesta* IV, cap. 26 and schol. 134–135 (Latin p. 174, English p. 207).

28 Only the print of the medieval Linköping Cathedral, which includes a short history of the building, is comparable.

was built 'about the year 246 after the flood' gives it a precise historical placement based on the authority of Johannes Magnus. Perhaps more importantly, this brings both the Gothic and the Norse historical visions into a Biblical framework.

The presentation of the church at Old Uppsala occupies an important place in *Suecia antiqua* illustrating the history of a crucial ritual site. However, it exists more or less in isolation in the work. Other prints refer to Gothic remains of various kinds, but these more often present individual objects or sites associated with Gothic battles or worship. Even without the accompanying text, the reconstruction and the inscriptions present a kind of architectural development illustrating a cultural continuity between the ancient and modern site, and the ancient and modern people who occupy it. It comes closer than almost any other plate to bringing together the ancient and the modern promised in the title of the work.

The presentation of Old Uppsala in *Suecia antiqua* was entirely in keeping with the Gothicist discourse, and complemented by other plates showing related materials, such as the earthen mounds near the church and other ancient objects. However, the church is nearly lost among the scores of plates of more contemporary palaces and churches, and only a knowledgeable and perceptive viewer could place it within the larger historical narratives informing it. This was largely accidental, however. In contrast to the intentions of the producers, the book is essentially non-textual. The only explanatory texts are in the form of inscriptions. The various fragmentary manuscripts make clear that the Gothic theme would have been fully developed in the textual component of the book.

4 Olaus Verelius and Old Uppsala

The essentially visual presentation in *Suecia antiqua* finds a counterpoint in the presentation of the church by Olaus Verelius (1618–1682). This comes in a literary context, in his publication of the Icelandic epic *Hervarar Saga.* Like other editions of early texts published by historians in Stockholm and Uppsala, this *editio princeps* is heavily annotated, not least in order to emphasize its role as evidence of the Gothic past.[29] Verelius was part of the Uppsala circle of antiquarians and a member of the State Board of Antiquities, which embraced as part of its mission the identification and publication of texts relevant to

29 Verelius Olaus, *Hervarar saga på Gammal Götska med Olai Vereli uttolkning och notis* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1672).

the history of the kingdom. It is in his commentary that we find an historical analysis of the church at Old Uppsala.

Verelius's notes on the church are also informed by a more local dispute with another Uppsala academic, Johannes Schefferus, on the site and identification of the ancient temple described by Adam of Bremen. Schefferus argued that the building was lost long ago, and had stood on the site of the cathedral in (modern) Uppsala.[30] Verelius identified it with the church at Old Uppsala, which informs his exposition of the historical significance of the site. This builds in part on Adam of Bremen's description of the temple with altars dedicated to Thor, Odin, and Frigga, juxtaposed with an extended description by Ericus Olai, a fifteenth-century Swedish chronicler, placing it next to a group of earthen mounds, which indeed stand next to the church in Old Uppsala.[31]

Quite typically of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historians, this begins with an etymological explanation of the name and a topographical description of the region and its history.[32] This culminates in a presentation of the church itself, illustrated – uniquely in the book – with two large woodcuts [Figs. 21.5, 21.6].[33] The first shows the church in plan and view in its seventeenth-century form, with obviously disjunctive elements. The captions emphasize this, and divide the church's construction history into two distinct periods: the ancient building (*aedificium vetus Ethnicum*), comprising the older square stone structure, and the church of the Christian population (*templum Christianorum*), which Verelius identifies as the choir and the apse added on to the earlier structure. It further indicates adjustments made in the context of the addition of the Christian structure (the expanded opening on the wall facing the expansion). The scale under the plan suggests that Verelius has measured the structure, and thus carried out a substantial on-site investigation of the building. This brief architectural history is summarized in the main text as well.[34]

The historical survey outlined in Verelius's first woodcut enables the reconstruction of the original form of the structure presented in the second. Here

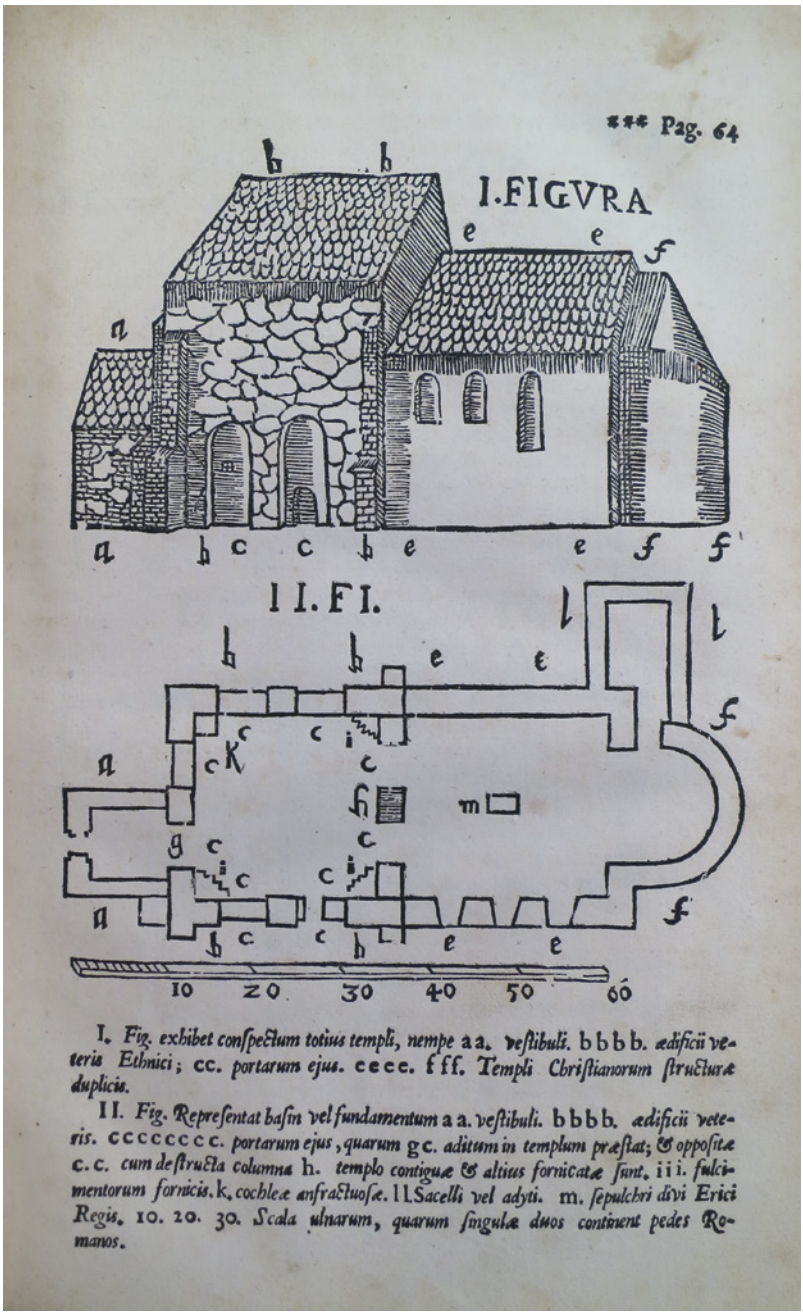
30 Schefferus Johannes, *Upsalia, cujus occasione plurima in religione, sacris, festis,* [...] *explicantur* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1666). See generally Ellenius A., "Johannes Schefferus and Swedish Antiquity", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957) 59–74.

31 Verelius, *Hervarar saga*, 62–66. This is presented and contextualized by Jackson Williams K., *The Antiquary: John Aubrey's Historical Scholarship* (Oxford: 2016) 37–39. Cf. Olai Ericus, *Chronica regni Gothorum*, 2 vols., ed. E. Heuman and J. Öberg (Stockholm: 1993–1995).

32 For the significance of etymologies in early modern antiquarianism, see Vine A., *In Defiance of Time. Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: 2010) 51–79.

33 There are four other woodcuts in the book. Three show rune stones, and one shows a group of runic characters.

34 Verelius, *Hervarar saga* 64.



I. *Fig. exhibet conſpectum totius templi, nempe* aa. *veſtibuli.* bbbb. *ædificii veteris Ethnici;* cc. *portarum ejus.* cccc. fff. *Templi Chriſtianorum ſtructuræ duplicis.*

II. *Fig. Repreſentat baſin vel fundamentum* aa. *veſtibuli.* bbbb. *ædificii veteris.* cccccccc. *portarum ejus, quarum* gc. *aditum in templum præſtat; & oppoſitæ* c. c. *cum deſtructa columna* h. *templo contiguæ & altius fornicatæ ſunt.* iii. *fulcimentorum fornicis.* k. *cochleæ anfractuoſæ.* ll. *Sacelli vel adyti.* m. *ſepulchri divi Erici Regis.* 10. 20. 30. *Scala ulnarum, quarum ſingulæ duos continent pedes Romanos.*

FIGURE 21.5 Seventeenth-century church at Old Uppsala. Woodcut from Olaus Verelius, *Hervarar saga på Gammal Götska med Olai Vereli uttolkning och notis* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1672)

IMAGE © THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA

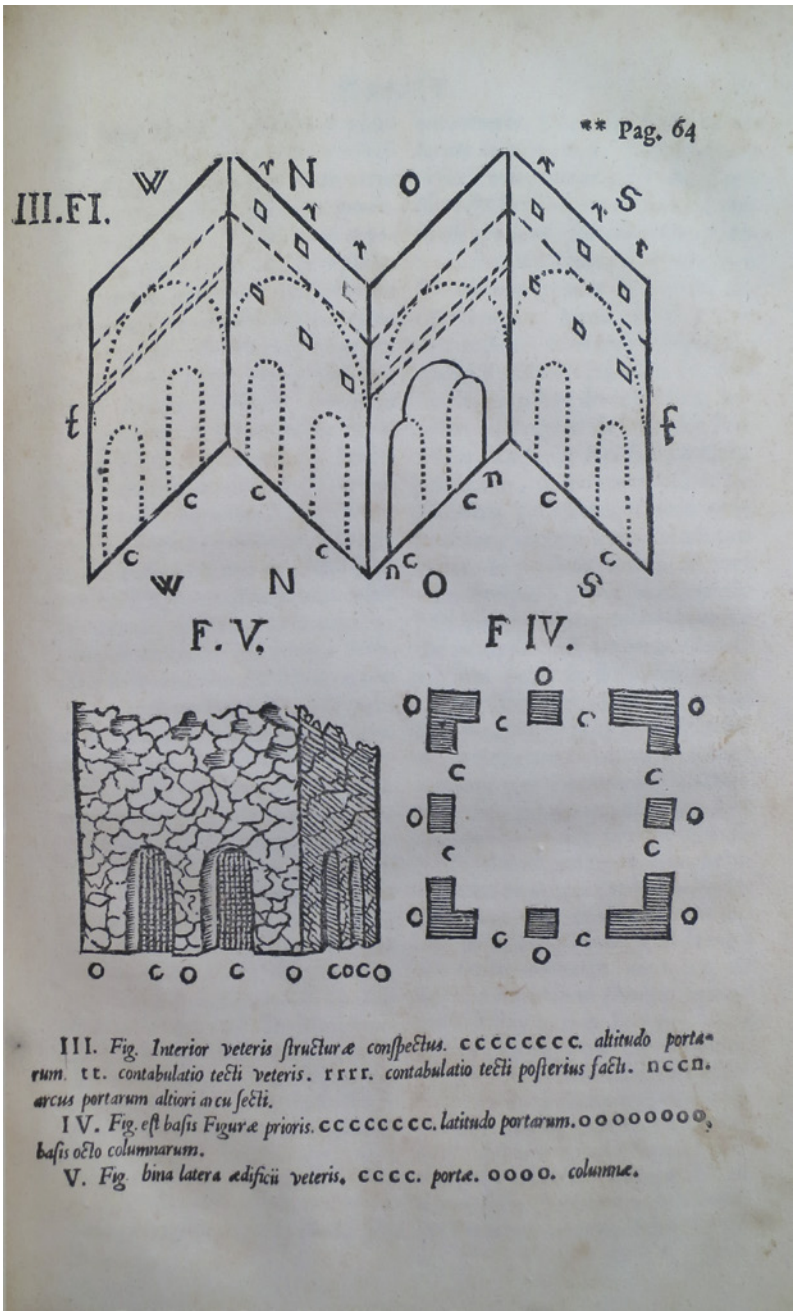


FIGURE 21.6 Ancient temple at Old Uppsala. Woodcut from Olaus Verelius, *Hervarar saga på Gammal Götska med Olai Vereli uttolkning och notis* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1672)
IMAGE © THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA

we encounter the structure shorn of all later accretions. Once again we find a plan and a view, now accompanied by an innovative, early worm's eye view. Unlike the other views, this does not indicate the mass of the building, and the portals and other structural features are only summarily indicated. The walls have been unfolded like a screen to show all four elevations in their original configuration, all at ninety-degree angles to one another. This allows him to show the original vaulting and other elements that otherwise are generally lost in these reconstructions.

Verelius's discussion of the temple is largely oriented to his concern to link the saga to a locally specific version of the Gothic narrative. Nonetheless, he shows a comparative eye in a passing – but fairly specific – Roman comparison, noting that the height, 'broad columns' (*latis columnis*; i.e., piers) and rounded arches all recall the temple of Janus in Rome.[35] Although the comparison is not developed or exploited further, it introduces a concrete point of reference within the canonical classical world, and places it within a larger architectural tradition than does *Suecia antiqua.*

5 Olaus Rudbeck and Old Uppsala

Verelius does not develop all of his observations, and they are subordinated to the text that is the focus of the book. Nonetheless, they were enormously important, for his discussion and his methods contain many of the seeds for the crucial discussion of the church in the massive and conceptually extraordinary *Atlantica* of the Uppsala professor Olaus Rudbeck (1630–1702).

Rudbeck was the most remarkable polymath in Sweden in the seventeenth century.[36] In 1652, he presented his discoveries on the human lymph system to Queen Christina and her court. This led to a stipend to spend the following academic year in Leiden, where he pursued anatomical studies. The year in Leiden may also have awoken a deep interest in botany. He later established a botanical garden for the university in Uppsala, and undertook an extensive study of Nordic flora. He published only the first part of this before losing his materials in the Uppsala city fire of 1702, the year of his death.[37]

Certainly, the academic studies he pursued in Leiden were of great interest, but he was almost equally impressed by the architecture that he found in the

35 Verelius, *Hervarar saga* 64.

36 Eriksson G., *Rudbeck 1630–1702: liv, lärdom, dröm i barockens Sverige* (Stockholm: 2002).

37 Rudbeck Olaus, *Campus elysius* (Uppsala, n.p.: 1701–1702).

Netherlands. These various interests came together in a group of structures that Rudbeck designed for the university. He built an anatomical theatre atop the main university building in Uppsala in 1662–63. This was derived in large part from the anatomical theatre in Leiden, which builds to some extent on Roman theatre design. The octagonal form with large clerestory windows may be derived from the *Marekerk* in the same city, built by Arent van 's-Gravesande in 1639–1649.[38] He also designed a suite of buildings for the new university gardens.[39] More generally, he established and oversaw an architectural program within the university that brought together theoretical and practical training, with all instruction in the vernacular. In the course of four decades, it produced students who pursued careers in various technical building careers. This recalls the *Duytsche Mathematique* program established in Leiden by Simon Stevin at the turn of the seventeenth century. Rudbeck pointed rather obliquely to Stevin's initiative when he cited Frans van Schooten the Younger, who held a post in the *Duytsche Mathematique* at midcentury, as his immediate model in the endeavour.[40]

Rudbeck's other driving interest was ancient history, studied through a combination of a text-based, philological method and an antiquarian approach, which also took account of architecture. This is on full display in his *Atlantica*, published in three volumes in 1675–1702.[41] Rudbeck naturally explains that Sweden was the homeland of the Goths, following the official line of Swedish history writing for over a century. Rudbeck pushes this logic further than any other writer, however. He argues that the kingdom was also identical with the island of the Hyperboreans, Scythia, Atlantis, and many other places described in ancient texts.

These identifications of Sweden with many ancient lands allowed Rudbeck to trace nearly everything of historical significance to earlier roots in the kingdom. Thus, he presents a series of philological mutations as the basis for an argument that the Egyptian and Greco-Roman gods are derived from earlier

38 Lindahl G., *Universitetsmiljö: byggnader och konstverk vid Uppsala universitet* (Uppsala: 1957) 50–64.

39 Eriksson, *Rudbeck* 198–207.

40 Dahl P., *Svensk ingenjörskonst under stormaktstiden. Olof Rudbecks tekniska undervisning och praktiska verksamhet* (Uppsala: 1995).

41 Rudbeck Olaus, *Atland eller Manheim* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1675–1702; repr. ed. Axel Nelson, Uppsala: 1937–1939). All citations are from the Nelson edition. For commentary on the text, see Eriksson G., *The Atlantic Vision. Olaus Rudbeck and Baroque Science* (Canton, Mass.: 1994); idem, *Rudbeck*, 257–496. For the legacy of Plato's legend, see Vidal-Naquet P., *The Atlantis Story. A Short History of Plato's Myth* (Exeter: 2007).

ones in his homeland.[42] Likewise, he argues that the Greek alphabet was derived from the runic one.[43]

The church at Old Uppsala appears several times in *Atlantica*. Like Verelius, he identified it as the temple described by Adam of Bremen, drawing on both textual and material evidence. He pushes further, however, and also identifies it as the main Temple of Poseidon on Atlantis, described by Plato very briefly in the *Timaeus*, and at greater length in the fragmentary *Critias*.[44] This architectural identification serves as the basis for two larger arguments. The first is a broad claim, central to the thesis of the book, that Plato's Atlantis was never lost, but is properly identified as Sweden. This view is supported by complementary arguments based on many other kinds of historical evidence. The second argument is that the structure in Old Uppsala represents a starting point for the development of classical architecture, which spread and developed from Sweden to ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome.

Rudbeck's justification for this is long and complex, and weaves together many different kinds of historical argument. One strand of this develops an essentially antiquarian argument, based on study of the fabric of the church in Old Uppsala. The heart of this is his reconstruction of the original form of the temple. Like Verelius, he derives from the standing structure an earlier form that was square in plan, with two arched openings on each side [Fig. 21.7]. Each side had a high pitched roof, which was subsequently altered and the masonry extended upward to support the current form. Rudbeck shows the adjustments and resulting masonry seams in a second woodcut. These are also visible in the plate from *Suecia antiqua*.

Rudbeck's reconstructed original form serves as the basis for an extensive analysis that places the building within a Greco-Roman history of architecture. This is based in part on a rather free reading of Vitruvius's descriptions of temple types, and in part on descriptive comparisons.[45] A temple may be partially enclosed, we are told, or an open hall. Using an associative philological argument common throughout *Atlantica*, in which similarities in words within or among languages become evidence of historical ties, Rudbeck points out that in Swedish, an 'open hall' is an 'öppen sal'. This is a near-homophone

42 Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim*, vol. II, 449–595.

43 Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim*, vol. I, 524–542.

44 Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, ed. A.E. Taylor (London: 2012), 120; Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen* 207; Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim*, vol. I, 156–165.

45 Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim*, vol. I, 157–161. Rudbeck cites Vitruvius I,2 and IV,7, neither of which supports his claims. Temple types are discussed in Vitruvius III and IV, though without clear justification for Rudbeck's arguments.

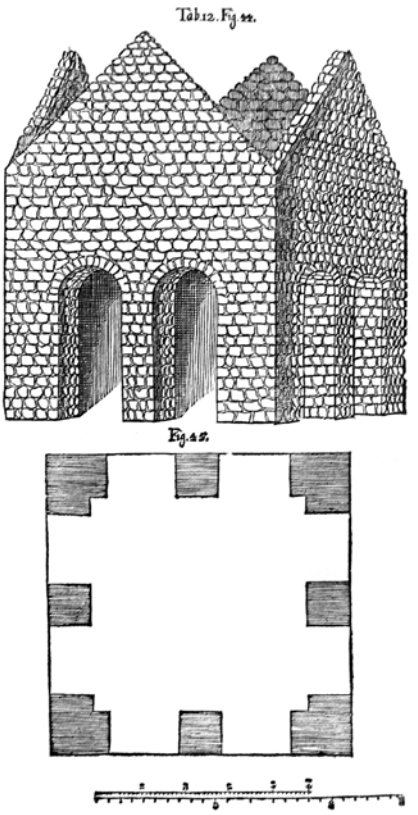


FIGURE 21.7
Olaus Rudbeck, Ancient temple at Old Uppsala. Woodcut from: Olaus Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1675–1702) IMAGE © REPR. ED. AXEL NELSON (UPPSALA: 1937–1939), IMAGE VOLUME, PLATE 12

of 'Uppsala', and he links the two.[46] This forms the basis for an argument that the ancient temple in Old Uppsala was originally open, and was walled up in later changes.[47]

Verelius had casually mentioned the Temple of Janus as a point of comparison, without further comment and seemingly without drawing any great significance from it. Rudbeck refers to that temple among others to place the church at Old Uppsala within standard typologies of ancient architecture; it represents four-sided structures with interior chambers. Among the open, round structures he includes temples of Mars, Vesta, and Juno. Among the open, four-sided types he cites the temple of Apollo by the Circus Maximus and that of Jupiter Ammon in Verona.[48] A full list of sources accompanies all

46 Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim*, vol. I, 155, 157.

47 Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim*, vol. I, 157–165.

48 An arch of Jupiter Ammon in Verona is well known, most especially through Andrea Palladio's drawings of it. However, the early modern antiquarian literature mentions a

of these references. Many of these are early modern antiquarian publications of various kinds, particularly those containing architectural reconstructions or the base evidence for these, such as coins and medals. Like many contemporary antiquarians, he reproduces ancient coins with images of architecture on the reverse as evidence [Fig. 21.8]. Many of the coins he cites are in fact copied from this antiquarian literature – most often earlier literature from the sixteenth century – indicating that his approach is to some degree an elaboration of it.[49]

Although Rudbeck draws on the fabric of the building and many of the same texts used by other writers, he reconstructs the original building in a rather different form than did the producers of *Suecia antiqua*, for instance. The essentially comparative antiquarian approach outlined above established the building within the Greco-Roman tradition to Rudbeck's satisfaction. However, to demonstrate that it was in fact the Temple of Poseidon on Atlantis, and thus very ancient even in Plato's time, he needed a more precise argument. One aspect of this is an essentially topographical argument, in which he surveys the landscape around Uppsala and matches it to the details given in the Critias dialog.[50] To some degree, this method also worked for the building itself. He accounts for the dimensions given by Plato, and introduces various sources to show that the materials and decorative richness matched. Thus, for instance, he cites Plato's description of the temple on Atlantis:

> Salens yttre delar eller wäggiar bedrogo de öfwer med Silfwer, förutan de öfwerst kiediorna (listerna) hwilka woro med gull bedragne. In uti war Taket beprydt med Elfwenbeen, Gull, Silfwer, och Koppar utarbetat, men wäggiarna, pelarna och golfwet war alt med Koppar öfwerdragit.[51]
>
> The room's [salens] outer parts or walls were covered with silver, except for the uppermost chains (moldings), which were gilded. Inside the

temple of Jupiter Ammon in the city as well. See e.g., Biancolini Giovanni Battista, *Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona* vol. 1 (Verona, Alessandro Scolari: 1749) 104.

49 Rudbeck cites many authors, but often in a fragmentary form and without indicating the title or the place or year of publication, making it difficult to verify his use of sources. Nonetheless, in this context he frequently cites the publications of Guillaume du Choul (1496–1560), Hubert Goltzius (1526–1583), and Onofrio Panvino (1529–1568), among others.

50 See Neville K., "Antiquarianism without Antiques. Topographical Evidence and the Formation of the Past", in Roling B. (ed.), *Boreas Arising from the East. Antiquarianism and Orientalism in Art and Scholarship around the Baltic Sea* (Berlin: In press).

51 Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim* vol. 1, 163–164.

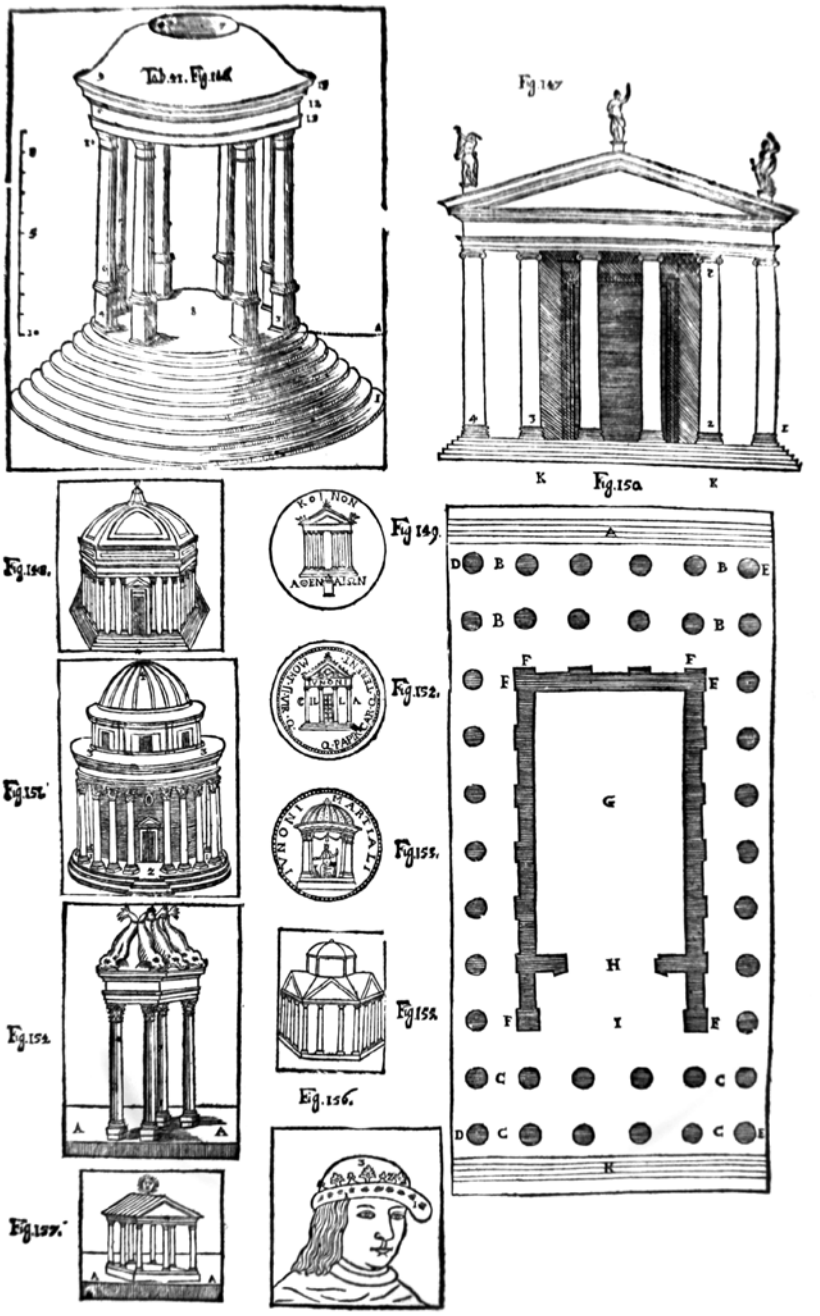


FIGURE 21.8 Olaus Rudbeck. Ancient temples. Woodcut from: Olaus Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim* (Uppsala, Henricus Curio: 1675–1702)
IMAGE © REPR. ED. AXEL NELSON (UPPSALA: 1937–1939), IMAGE VOLUME, PLATE 41

> ceiling was ornamented with worked ivory, gold, silver and copper, but the walls, pillars and floor were all covered in copper.

Rudbeck juxtaposes this with the description in the Edda of a temple built of silver and Adam of Bremen's description of the church of gold, and supplements these authorities with the later arguments of Johannes Magnus and Olaus Worm. The disparities between gold and silver, among many other problems that were bound to arise, are neither concealed nor explained. However, Rudbeck labours somewhat more subtly to produce other evidence unifying these descriptions. Thus, Plato's description of the golden external elements – usually translated as 'pediments' or 'pinnacles' – are given by Rudbeck as 'chains' (*kiediorna*). This corresponds well with Adam of Bremen's description of an enormous gold chain encircling the structure, but is difficult to reconcile with a classical temple. Evidently recognizing that this was likely to confuse the reader, he added 'moldings' or 'stringcourses' (*listerna*) in parentheses. Elsewhere, he used the same term variously to refer to architraves, friezes, and cornices, all standard components of classical architecture.[52]

The obviously rustic quality of the church did not pose a problem in Rudbeck's analysis. Nor did the lack of columns or other elements typical of ancient building. Indeed, he does not present the standing church as a particularly monumental structure. Rather, he embraces the unrefined quality of the materials and workmanship, which becomes evidence of the building's tremendous antiquity: it was so ancient that it represented a still-imperfect stage of architecture that was later refined and developed by the Greeks and Romans.

> Plato säger och att denne ypna Saal war något plumpt bygder effter wår art: hwilket intet skal falla någon underligit, emedan uthi den första tiiden straxt effter Floden, man då intet wiste här eller mång annorstädes af att bränna Tegel eller hugga Steen, utan Gråsteen togs sådan han fans, och antingen utan Leer eller med Leer och Sand bands tilsammans. Hwar igenom ey möjeligit war att några zirater med Gråstenar giöra, utan hwad sedermera hafwer kunnat skedt med fodring utan på aff Timber och Bräden, och der utan på Gull och Silfwer, hwilket lät sig wäl giöra. Sådan des enfaldige skapnadt seer man uti den 44 Fig.: 12 Tafl. [Fig. 21.7] efter sådan grofheet som Plato dhen beskrifwer. Hwilket är och ett stort skiäl till des ålder. Ty alle Lärde erkienna sådana wärck af ju större ålder wara, ju enfaldigare och af gröfre ämbne dhe äro bygde; sannerlig hade dhen

52 Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim* vol. 1, 157, 162, gives further comments.

> tiid Bygningskonsten warit i dhet tillståndh som hon war i Salomons, eller de Grekers och Romarers tiid, wisserligen hade dhe så wäl beflitat sig att få en Byggmästare, som efter de fremmandes art hade bygdt dem ett Tempel [...].[53]

> Plato says also that that open hall was rather coarsely built in our manner. No one should find this curious, for in the earliest time after the flood, one did not know here or in many other places how to bake bricks or cut stone. Rather, granite was taken where it was found, and joined either without clay or with clay and sand. Through this method, it was impossible to make ornament in granite. But it could then have happened that the exterior was trimmed with timber and boards and covered with gold and silver, which was done. Such a simple creation is seen in fig. 44 of the 12th plate [Fig. 21.7], with such coarseness as Plato describes. Which is also great evidence of its age. For all learned people recognize works to be of greater age, the simpler and of coarser materials they are built. Indeed, if the art of building had been at the state that it was in the time of Solomon, or in the time of the Greeks and Romans, certainly they would have exerted themselves to get an architect who would have built them a temple in the manner of the foreigners [...].

This approach fits Plato's description of the temple on Atlantis as having a 'strange barbaric appearance', but it also supports the thesis that Greco-Roman antiquity was derived from Gothic culture. Accordingly, we should also read these visual comparisons in an order that we are unaccustomed to. Although the Greco-Roman types justify and support Rudbeck's argument, as an historical development, we are to understand them to develop *from* the temple at Old Uppsala. This passage also reveals an unexpectedly subtle historical logic, in which different places and cultures took architectural leadership at different times. It was only in earliest antiquity that Swedish-Gothic-Atlantean architecture could be influential in the Mediterranean. At any other moment, the formal impulses would have moved the other direction, as was evident in the basically classical nature of Rudbeck's own designs and the many contemporary buildings in *Suecia antiqua.*

Rudbeck's play on 'Uppsala' and 'öppen sal' itself serves as evidence of the antiquity of the place and the temple, and of its importance for classical culture in the Mediterranean. Observing that the word 'sala' (room) is standard

53 Rudbeck, *Atland eller Manheim*, vol. 1, 163.

in Italian architectural terminology but not found in Vitruvius, he supposes that it was introduced to Italy by the Goths, who reached Rome after Vitruvius wrote. In this way, the far north provided not only the forms of classical architecture, but also part of the accompanying terminology.

Rudbeck's conclusions are exceptionally tendentious, even within the context of the partisan debates over the Goths and other lineages. Yet, many of his points are largely consistent with other arguments about the Goths. The date '246 after the flood', given by Johannes Magnus and in the view of the church in *Suecia antiqua*, must also place it before or at least in the early stages of ancient building. (Here, however, there is no claim that the building was a forerunner of Roman architecture.) This is complicated by the multiple chronological systems in play. Rudbeck shifts constantly from Year of the World (*Anno Mundi*), to Year of the Lord (*Anno Domini*; AD), to Post-Flood. These markers are predicated on a biblical scheme of history, but the events he describes, and the objects and buildings he associates with them, are drawn from Greco-Roman and Nordic myth and history. All were equally valid, and had to be reconciled and consolidated within one vision of world history.[54]

Even within the context of seventeenth-century history writing, Rudbeck's arguments are extreme in many respects, and his findings generated wildly different responses. In 1674, before the first volume of *Atlantica* was published, Lorenzo Magalotti, a Florentine dignitary visiting Sweden, dismissed his theories about the significance of the church at Old Uppsala.[55] Leibniz read the book with interest, but was nonetheless quite critical.[56] Although hardly recognized, however, a strand of Rudbeckian thought thrived throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century.[57]

Although his results were deeply polemical and his conclusions essentially unique, Rudbeck's methods were not unusual. His conflation of various traditions and peoples was common, although he was perhaps unique in the extent to which he did so. His basically philological approach of exploring the relations and mutations of place names, of relating passages from ancient authors to locally observable topography, and so on, were the same ones employed by virtually every other writer on the topic. Likewise, his reliance on ancient texts, the traditional purview of academic historians, in conjunction

54 For an introduction to the problem of chronology and its representation, see Rosenberg D. and Grafton A., *Cartographies of Time: A History of the Timeline* (Princeton: 2010).

55 Magalotti Lorenzo, *Sverige under år 1674* ed. C.M. Stenbock (Stockholm: 1912) 68.

56 Eriksson, *Rudbeck* 427–430.

57 See the forthcoming extended studies by Bernd Roling and Bernhard Schirg.

with antiquarian materials, was comparable to contemporary developments in historical methodology elsewhere.[58]

6 Conclusion

Pointing to ancient buildings and ruins as evidence of earlier grandeur was hardly a new. It was articulated already in the fourteenth century, when Petrarch bemoaned Rome's decay. It was conveniently formulated in the aphorism 'Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet' ('as Rome once was, its ruins demonstrate'), which gained currency by the 1530s, when Maarten van Heemskerck wrote it on his drawing of the Septizodium of Septimius Severus (ca. 1533–1535) and Sebastiano Serlio included it on the title page of his Third Book of Architecture (1540).

Heemskerck's and Serlio's interests in the Roman ruins were primarily architectural, to unlock the secrets of the ancients and exploit them in modern projects. Both Dahlbergh and Rudbeck shared these interests, but for the latter, especially, they were secondary to his larger thesis. He sought architectural evidence to prove an essentially imaginary history, and one so fabulous that it must be understood as a kind of poetic vision. His history of architecture, and material evidence more generally, is fundamentally embedded in a more comprehensive historical method that adopts any available evidence in a larger argument that cannot easily be encompassed within conventional understandings of antiquarianism. This informs his analysis of architecture, so that it is adapted to linguistic or other evidence. For instance, his argument that the church at Old Uppsala was the Temple of Poseidon on Atlantis, and thus the starting point for classical architecture, is to some extent complementary to his arguments that the Runic alphabet gave rise to the Greek, and that the Gothic/Norse gods were transformed into the Greco-Roman gods. His suggestion that the Goths introduced the word 'sala' to Italy brings these strands together in a linguistic-architectural unity emblematic of his work. Although architecture is less central to his study, Verelius's notes on the church at Old Uppsala are likewise embedded within a literary/linguistic context.

This fusion of different strands of textual and material evidence was both typical of seventeenth-century scholarship and radically modern. It was typical of contemporary encyclopedic scholarship in that it presumes a nearly

58 Momigliano A., "Ancient History and the Antiquarian", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950) 285–315; Haskell F., *History and its Images. Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven – London: 1993).

universal knowledge, and encompasses many different areas that would eventually become separate fields of inquiry, such as linguistics, the history of architecture, archaeology, and geography, among others.[59] It was very progressive in that Rudbeck, Verelius, and the State Board of Antiquities were all eager to bring together text and object on equal terms in pursuit of a larger historical narrative decades before scholars elsewhere.[60] This approach has also been recognized in Piranesi's writing and publishing, with a similar polemical quality. His employment of a huge range of historical evidence has been identified as the locus of his novelty.[61] However, Rudbeck's historical scope and essentially universal methodology were unmatched, before or since.

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59 See *inter alia* Kelley D.R. (ed.), *History and the Disciplines. The Reclassification of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Rochester, NY: 1997).

60 Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian" identifies Bianchini Francesco, *La Istoria Universale provata con monumenti e figurata con simboli degli antichi* (Rome, Antonio de Rossi: 1697), as the first book to argue specifically against the use of textual evidence alone.

61 Monferini A., "Le 'Antichità Romane', fulcro della vizione archaeologica del Piranesi", in Resch R. (ed.), *Piranesi. Antichità Romane. Vedute di Roma* (Milan: 2000) 19–20.

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CHAPTER 22

Early Modern Conceptualizations of Medieval History and Their Impact on Residential Architecture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Barbara Arciszewska

One of the key foundations of Sarmatism (a class discourse which constructed the identity of the Polish-Lithuanian elites as descendants of the ancient tribe of Sarmatians)[1] was the cult of the past – the past of the family and the past of the nation understood as the nobility (*szlachta*), the only class with civic rights. The development of this specific attitude hinged on the role of medieval history as the most immediate source of prestige and legitimacy.[2] Unlike antiquity, which in the territories of the Commonwealth produced very little material remains, the Middle Ages were a much more tangible era to the understanding of the early modern Poles, especially through evocative medieval buildings. Yet, as I will demonstrate below, while the Middle Ages did

1 Cynarski S., "Sarmatyzm – ideologia i styl życia", in Tazbir J. (ed.), *Polska XVII wieku. Państwo-społeczeństwo-kultura* (Warsaw: 1977) 220–243; Maciejewski J., "Sarmatyzm jako formacja kulturowa. (Geneza i główne cechy wyodrębniające)", *Teksty. Teoria literatury – Krytyka – Interpretacja* 16 (1974) 13–42; cf. Tomkiewicz W., "Przełom renesansowy w świadomości ówczesnego społeczeństwa polskiego", in Jaroszewski T. (ed.), *Renesans. Sztuka i ideologia* (Warsaw: 1976) 9–17, here 12–13. On class and gender issues, see Arciszewska B., "The royal residence in Wilanów and gender constructions in early modern Poland", in Frommel S. (ed.), *Homme bâtisseur, femme bâtisseuse: traditions et stratégies dans le monde occidental et oriental* (Paris: Editions Picard, 2013) 137–150.

2 For a discussion of attitudes to the Middle Ages in the early modern period, see Jurkowlaniec G., *Epoka nowożytna wobec średniowiecza. Pamiątki przeszłości, cudowne wizerunki, dzieła sztuki* (Wrocław: 2008) 39–46; Dobrowolski K., *Studia nad kulturą naukową w Polsce do schyłku XVI stulecia* (Warsaw: 1933) 66; Herbst S., "Początki historycznego widzenia rzeczywistości w nauce i sztuce polskiego Odrodzenia", in *Odrodzenie w Polsce*, vol. II (Warsaw: 1956) 372–397; cf. Gębarowicz M., *Początki malarstwa historycznego w Polsce* (Wrocław: 1981) 37–38; and Kruszelnicki Z., *Historyzm i kult przeszłości w sztuce pomorskiej XVI–XVIII wieku* (Warsaw 1984) 40–42, 62–78. See also Żukowska J., "Tradycjonalizm kultury polskiego baroku", *Słupskie Studia Historyczne* 11 (2004) 57–66.

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not function in early modern Polish historiography as a distinct period,[3] the architecture of the Commonwealth was much more susceptible to medieval building traditions than evinced by textual sources. To address this complex intermeshing of discourses which developed around the question of the medieval past in early modern Poland (with a particular focus on residential architecture), my argument will be divided into three parts – the attitudes to the period we call the 'Middle Ages', the attitudes to medieval architecture, and the impact of both on early modern Polish residences.

1 The Attitudes to the Middle Ages

As has been shown in numerous studies, the Middle Ages were not perceived in the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as being a separate historical period.[4] Janusz Tazbir, for instance, has demonstrated that the difference between this past era and the present one was not distinctive enough for the Polish elites.[5] The dominant cyclical (rather than linear) conception of time, rooted in repeated agricultural tasks fundamental to the Polish economy, tended to elide the growing distance between today and the past.[6] Time was conceived instead in terms of continuity of blood lines and stability of family

3 Śnieżko D., "Swojskie i obce w kronice uniwersalnej (przykład Marcina Bielskiego)", *Teksty Drugie* 79 (2003) 23–40 here 27–29.

4 The term itself was popularized by a professor at the University of Halle, Christoph Cellarius (Keller, 1638–1707), in his *Historia universalis breviter ac perspicue exposita, in antiquam et medii aevi ac novam divisa, cum notis perpetuis* (Jena, Joachim Bielkius: 1702–1704). Concerning scholarly constructions of the term, see Kosseleck R., "Moderne Sozialgeschichte und historische Zeiten", in Rossi P. (ed.), *Theorie der modernen Geschichtsschreibung* (Frankfurt: 1987) 173–190; cf. Moser D.R., "Mittelalter als Wissenschaftskonstruktion und Fiktion der Moderne", in Segl P. (ed.), *Mittelalter und Moderne. Entdeckung und Rekonstruktion der mittelalterlichen Welt* (Sigmaringen: 1997) 223–227.

5 Tazbir J., "Czas w kulturze staropolskiej", in Tazbir J. (ed.), *Studia nad kulturą staropolską* (Krakow: 2001), 176–196, here 184–192; idem, "Wizje przyszłości w kulturze staropolskiej", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 20 (1982) 107–141, here 107–108, 117–118, 127–129; idem, "Polski renesans wobec przeszłości", in Libera Z. – Żurowski M. (eds.), *Jan Kochanowski i kultura Odrodzenia. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Uniwersytet Warszawski w dniach 19 do 21 marca 1981 roku w Warszawie* (Warsaw: 1985) 31–47; see also Sierżęga P., "Litwa w sarmackiej myśli historycznej doby Oświecenia", *Rocznik Lubuski* 35, 10 (2009) 51–67, here 51–54; and Kwiatkowski S., "O kształtowaniu obrazu epoki średniowiecza," in Skibiński P. – Przeszowska A. (eds.), *Spojrzenie w przeszłość* (Warsaw: 2007) 135–153, here 135–143.

6 Bogucka M., *The Lost World of the Sarmatians, Custom as the Regulator of Polish Social Life in Early Modern Times* (Warsaw: 1996) 7–15; eadem, "Uwagi o postrzeganiu czasu w Rzeczpospolitej szlacheckiej XVI–XVII wieku", in Cackowski Z. – Wojczakowski J. (eds.), *Stosunek do czasu w różnych strukturach kulturowych* (Warsaw: 1987) 347–373.

ties, underscoring the importance of ancestry and tradition.[7] Symptomatic of this idea was a fairly lax attitude to the medieval past that was demonstrated by the otherwise distinguished historian Marcin Kromer (1512–1589), who used to dismiss complexities of medieval history with a casual 'let's drop the issues of very distant past'.[8] The impressive intellectual legacy of the later Middle Ages, including historical research, therefore remained largely unpublished and little known.[9] It has been shown that among sources used by Polish authors in the early modern period, the most popular was the Bible, followed by ancient authorities, with almost no references to medieval historiography.[10] The antique writers enjoyed such esteem that their authority legitimized any intellectual endeavour.[11] Łukasz Górnicki (1527–1603), for instance, while discussing 'liberty', the core value of the *szlachta*, in his *Dialogue* between the Pole and the Italian that was supposedly recorded during the election of Sigismund III in 1587, does not refer to the medieval tradition of noble privileges which secured

7 Augustyniak U., "Moja wizja epoki – jak ją interpretować (klucze interpretacyjne)", in zespół MHP (Muzeum Historii Polski/ Museum of Polish History) (ed.), *Spojrzenie w przeszłość* (Warsaw: 2007) 336–351, here 338–339; Szacki J., *Tradycja. Przegląd problematyki* (Warsaw: 1971) 25–29. On the importance of genealogy in contemporary constructions of history, see Bardach J., "Uwagi o 'rodowym' ustroju społeczeństwa i prawie bliższości w Polsce średniowiecznej", *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 4 (1952) 407–458. Kiersnowski R., "Tworzywo historyczne polskich legend herbowych", *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* 13, 2 (1995) 11–25. Kuczyński S., *Polskie herby ziemskie. Geneza, treści, funkcje* (Warsaw: 1993). See also Samsonowicz H., *O historii "prawdziwej"* (Gdańsk: 1997) 135, 151.

8 '[…] sprawy odległe niechaj leżą odłogiem […]', cf. Kromer Marcin, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX* (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1555) 109, 115, 121, 151, 161, and passim. For details, see Finkel L., "Marcin Kromer, Historyk Polski XVI wieku. Rozbiór krytyczny", *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności* 16 (1883) 47; and Barycz H., *Szlakami dziejopisarstwa staropolskiego. Studia nad historiografią w. XVI–XVIII* (Wrocław: 1981) 72–123.

9 The important chronicle by Jan Długosz (1415–1480), for instance, was published in part only in 1614 (in full in 1711 in Leipzig), but it was not translated into Polish until 1867–1870, see Wyrozumski J., "55 lat pracy nad krytyczną reedycją dziejów Polski Jana Długosza", *Nauka* 2 (2006) 157.

10 Krzysztofik M., "Recepcja Biblii w literaturze staropolskiej – przegląd problematyki", in: *Signa Temporis. Rocznik Teologiczno-Humanistyczny* 11 (2006) 7–26; Wichowa M., "Refleksje o przemijaniu i o pamięci przeszłości. Staropolski dialog z tradycją antyczną (na podstawie Nowych Aten Benedykta Chmielowskiego)", *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Litteraria Rossica*, Special Issue (2015) 67–78.

11 Partyka J., "Tradycja antyczna jako argument w polemice z wrogami Rzeczpospolitej", *Forum Artis Rhetoricae* 3 (2011) 27–36; Tazbir J., *Myśl polska w nowożytnej kulturze europejskiej* (Warsaw: 1986) 75–76.

these freedoms, but rather to Athens and Sparta as points of reference.[12] It has to be remembered as well that Sarmatian identity was a product of territorial expansion and political rights received by the *szlachta* under the Jagiellonians (1386–1596); thus returning to the Piast era (ca. 960–1370) (despite perennial calls to choose "a Piast" during the royal elections) was deemed of little consequence for the realities of the Commonwealth.[13]

For reasons given above, the attitudes to a medieval past can be ascertained on the basis of scattered comments, in which the vaguely defined 'old times' are generally seen as a counterpoint to the present, albeit without clear distinctions.[14] The focus was, understandably, on the heroic past, important for self-definition of the *szlachta*. The example of medieval knights, cast as paragons of military virtue, was vital for the error-prone political class of the contemporary Commonwealth, as was suggested by Szymon Starowolski (1585–1650), 'the Polish Lipsius'.[15] Medieval heroes in Starowolski's *Sarmatiae Bellatores* of 1631 fight, plunder, demolish, and destroy *with fire and sword* (the favourite phrase of this historian), and only rarely do they build something in their domains.[16] This is obviously in line with the stories from old chronicles focusing on wars, plagues, famines, and other calamities. Middle Ages were therefore associated with hardships, yet at the same time they were linked to high moral standards and religiosity, which had since been lost.[17]

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12 Górnicki Łukasz, *O elekcyi, wolności, prawie i obyczajach polskich: rozmowa Polaka z Włochem* (Krakow, U dziedziców Jakuba Siebeneychera: 1616), fol. <A4 r>.

13 Węcowski P., "Jagiellonowie wobec możnowładztwa w XIV–XVI wieku", in Mrozowski P. – Tyszka P. – Węcowski P. (eds.), *Europa Jagiellonica 1386–1572. Sztuka, kultura i polityka w Europie Środkowej za panowania Jagiellonów* (Warsaw: 2015) 83–96; Rybak P., *Zjazd szlachty w Stężycy (maj-czerwiec 1575) na tle drugiego bezkrólewia* (Warsaw: 2002) 141–143; cf. Chrościcki J., *Sztuka i polityka. Funkcje propagandowe sztuki w epoce Wazów 1587–1668* (Warsaw: 1983) 46–48.

14 Christianity and Western cultural orientation were seen in the Commonwealth as a lasting legacy of the Middle Ages, creating a sense of continuity with the past, see Bogucka M., "Between the West and the East: The Outline of the Polish Cultural Identity Formation Till the End of the 18th Century", in Grathoff R. – Kłoskowska A. (eds.), *The Neighbourhood of Cultures* (Warsaw: 1994) 53–61.

15 Bielak F., "Działalność naukowa Szymona Starowolskiego", *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej* 1 (1957) 219–220.

16 Starowolski S., *Sarmatiae Bellatores* (Cologne, Henricus Crithius: 1631) 21–23, 53–56. The aim of the work was to counter international opinions questioning the military prowess of Poles (such as T. Lansius' *Consultatio de principatu inter provincias Europae* of 1613), cf. Starnawski J., "Szymon Starowolski, Wojownicy sarmaccy", *Literary Studies in Poland* 3 (1979) 182. For a similar narrative referring to the exploits of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, see Dowgird Samuel, *Genealogia albo krótkie opisanie wielkich książąt litewskich i ich wielkich a mężnych spraw woiennych* (Lubcz, Piotr Blastus Kmita: 1626) n.p.

17 The olden days were universally praised for the selfless courage, bellicose (but devoid of cruelty) spirit, and civic attitudes of medieval nobility, while the contemporary *szlachta*

To prevent further moral erosion, three complementary aspects of medieval history were repeatedly used by early modern authors as didactic tools to aid in the formation of male noble identity. The *topoi* of a perfect knight and a selfless state official were complemented by another pattern of conduct rooted in the feudal past, that of a landlord engaged in the cultivation of his estate.[18] So the chivalric and civic ideals were complemented by the agrarian lifestyle model.[19] Ponętowski's edition of Crescenzi's *Book of rural benefits* (1571) opens with a preamble extolling these complementary lifestyles rooted in medieval tradition.[20] The tales of warring knights, diligently tending to their estates (and the common good) in times of peace established a benchmark of acceptable behaviour, a code of conduct imposed on successive generations. The imitation of the noble deeds of one's ancestors offered a guaranteed way to remain on the path to virtue and social recognition. While Bartosz Paprocki (1543–1614) in his influential armorial *Seat of Virtue* (*Gniazdo Cnoty*) of 1578 reiterated the importance of one's lineage by showing repeated rows of indistinct forefather figures,[21] Wacław Kunicki (1580–1653) in *The Image of the Polish Nobleman* of 1615 underscored the importance of medieval roots, 'from the Slavonic princes'.[22] Yet he defined this medieval past in the broadest of terms – 'long ago', 'under the first Kings of Poland', or 'in the distant past' – showing no real grasp of time.[23]

The situation is different with Marcin Bielski's *Chronicle* (1597), in which the text and especially the illustrations suggest a distinction between the

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was accused of only caring about private interests; see, for instance, Starowolski Szymon, *Votum o naprawie Rzeczypospolitey* (Kraków, Maciej Jędrzejowczyk: 1625), fols. 3–5; cf. Partyka, "Tradycja antyczna" 33.

18 Kurdybacha Ł., *Staropolski ideał wychowawczy* (Lviv: 1938) 15–19; Ossowska M., *Ethos rycerski i jego odmiany* (Warsaw: 1973) 15–22; cf. Kotowicz-Borowy I., "Znaczenie tradycji etosu szlacheckiego w poczuciu tożsamości grupowej i narodowej na dawnych pograniczach Rzeczypospolitej", *Pogranicze. Studia społeczne* 19 (2012) 33–59, here 34–43; Tazbir J., "Wzorce osobowe szlachty polskiej w XVII wieku", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 83, 4 (1976) 784–797.

19 Witkowska A., *Sławianie my lubim sielanki* (Warsaw: 1972) 86–87; Tazbir, "Wzorce" 789.

20 de' Crescenzi Pietro, *O pomnożeniu y rozkrzewieniu wszelakich pożytków ksiąg dwoienaście*, ed. J. Ponętowski, trans. A. Trzecieski (Krakow, Stanislaus Scharffenberger: 1571) n.p. (dedication to Senator Jan Krzysztoporski, 1518–1585, the Wieluń castellan).

21 Paprocki B., *Gniazdo Cnoty zkąd herby rycerstwa sławnego* (Krakow, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk: 1578) 15–20, 28–31, and passim.

22 'od … przezacnych Przodków, to iest właśnie od Xsiążąt Słowiańskich', Kunicki W., *Obraz szlachcica polskiego* (Krakow, Jacob Siebeneycher: 1615), fol. 3.

23 Kunicki, *Obraz*, <fol. 14 v>, <fol. 22>, fol. 22 v. The past is broadly defined as the period of 'our forefathers' ('czasy ojców naszyych'). There are mentions of the legendary rulers 'Kołodziej z Kruszwice' (fol. 36) and King Lech <fol. 39 v>, as well as 'Kazimierz Król' (Casimir the Great) <fol. 22>.

legendary antiquity and the more recent, and thus historical, Middle Ages.[24] The images show the earliest legendary rulers of Poland (such as Popiel)[25] in vaguely antique garb, among buildings of both ancient and medieval provenance.[26] Mieszko I (d. 992),[27] the first Christian ruler, is shown among exotic splendour with a cross-staff which evidently acts to chase away the lurking demons. Bolesław Chrobry (967–1025)[28] wears ancient armour and is seated under a Roman tent, while Kazimierz I (1016–1058)[29] is shown against a classical domed rotunda.[30] These purely imaginary portraits are replaced by more historical renditions in those instances where some material evidence was available.[31] Władysław Łokietek (1261–1333),[32] for instance, was shown on a Gothic bench and the inscription running around the figure might have been based on the royal seal.[33] There were also, of course, the royal tombs in the Wawel Cathedral to refer to.[34] Similar sources were also used to depict subsequent rulers, as is evident in images of Casimir the Great (1310–1370)[35] and Louis of Anjou (1326–1382).[36] Władysław Jagiełło (d. 1434) [Fig. 22.1] is seated

24 Bielski M., *Kronika polska*, ed. J. Bielski (Krakow, Jacob Siebeneycher: 1597). This was the updated edition of the universal chronicle first published in 1551 (further editions in 1554 and 1564); see Chrzanowski I., *Marcin Bielski. Studyum historyczno-literackie* (Lvov: 1926) 14–25, for details.

25 Bielski, *Kronika* 40.

26 On Bielski's interpretation of ancient and medieval pasts, see Śnieżko D., "Jak Marcin Bielski przerabiał z dobrego na lepsze", in Wiśniewska L. (ed.), *Tożsamość i rozdwojenie. Rekonesans* (Bydgoszcz: 2002) 211–220. Regarding the series of woodcuts in Bielski's *Chronicle*, see Miodońska B., "Władca i państwo w krakowskim drzeworycie książkowym XVI w.", in Jaroszewski, *Renesans* 45–96.

27 Bielski, *Kronika* 50.

28 Idem 56.

29 Idem 72.

30 On iconographic sources of the illustrations, see Chojecka E., "Drzeworyty Kroniki Marcina Bielskiego i zaginione gobeliny Anny Jagiellonki. Ze studiów nad związkami artystycznymi Krakowa i Brzegu w XVI wieku", *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej* 7 (1970) 59 f.; Bernasikowa M., "Sprawa arrasów w rozprawie Ewy Chojeckiej 'Drzeworyty Kroniki Joachima Bielskiego i zaginione gobeliny Anny Jagiellonki'", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 34 (1972) 301–304.

31 Miodońska, "Władca i państwo" 78, points to official royal seals as the primary iconographic source for Bielski's *Chronicle* images. See also Piech Z., *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów* (Krakow: 1993) 148–150.

32 Bielski, *Kronika* 209.

33 Piekosiński F., *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich. Doba Piastowska* (Krakow: 1899) 189, Fig. 209.

34 Mrozowski P., *Polskie nagrobki gotyckie* (Warsaw: 1994) 25, 72–80, 82–89, 96–100.

35 Bielski, *Kronika* 271; Dobrowolski T., "Geneza *nagrobka* Kazimierza Wielkiego w katedrze na Wawelu", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 37 (1975) 197–212; cf. Mrozowski, *Polskie nagrobki* 177–178.

36 Bielski, *Kronika* 386.



FIGURE 22.1 Representation of Władysław Jagiełło. From: Marcin Bielski, *Kronika polska* (ed. Joachim Bielski) (Cracow: 1597) 271
IMAGE © AUTHOR

under a Gothic baldachin against a profusion of finials and traceries, just as he was represented on his great seal,[37] while Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (1427–1492) [Fig. 22.2] is shown under a distinct *baldacchino*, with conspicuous ogival arches (not dissimilar to the ones decorating his tomb in the Wawel Cathedral).[38] Clearly, a connection between these rulers and the significant objects associated with them, displaying Gothic forms, was recognized and demonstrated here, as material evidence helped to draw a distinction between legendary and historical pasts.

2 Attitudes to Medieval Architecture

Although numerous great castles bore powerful witness to the aspirations of the late Piast monarchy, the attitudes toward medieval architecture were ambiguous.[39] As far as many early modern commentators were concerned, the distant past was generally short on decent buildings because of the Sarmatian legacy.[40] Contemporary historians, often attempting to drum up morale among the *szlachta* for yet another war, were keen to emphasize that the true Sarmatians did not need more than a tent over their heads, perhaps invoking the story from Tacitus, who claimed that the Sarmatians had no fixed abodes and lived in their saddles.[41] Marcin Bielski's *Chronicle* proclaims that the

37 Bielski, *Kronika* 386; see Piech Z., *Monety, pieczęcie i herby w systemie symboli władzy Jagiellonów* (Warsaw: 2003) 46–48. Jaworski R., "Władca idealny w świetle alegorycznego opisu pieczęci majestatowej Władysława Jagiełły", in Pysiak J. – Piedniądz-Skrzypczak A. – Pauka M.-R. (eds.), *Monarchia w średniowieczu – podstawy ideowe, władza nad ludźmi, władza nad terytorium. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi* (Warsaw – Krakow: 2002) 321–333. See also Grzęda M., "Wizerunek Władysława Jagiełły na nagrobku w Katedrze na Wawelu", *Folia Historiae Artium* (new series) 13 (2015) 71–72.

38 Skubiszewska M., "Program ikonograficzny nagrobka Kazimierza Jagiellończyka w katedrze wawelskiej", *Studia do dziejów Wawelu* 4 (1978) 117–214; Mrozowski, *Polskie nagrobki* 181–183; Węcowski P., "Pieczęć majestatowa Kazimierza Jagellończyka. Datacja oraz próba wyjaśnienia, dlaczego król przestał jej używać", *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 49 (2011) 97–116.

39 Guerquin B., *Zamki w Polsce* (Warsaw: 1984) 7–8, 13–16.

40 These early modern stories have been corroborated by recent archaeological research on the Slavic (not Sarmatian) tribes which suggests that the 'surprising poverty of Slavic material culture' in the early Middle Ages was related to the nomadic way of life of the Slavs at the time; see Buko A., *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Poland, Discoveries, Hypotheses, Interpretations* (Leiden: 2008) 64–72, here 71.

41 Sarmatians were for Tacitus a nomadic tribe, without permanent settlements, and thus without knowledge of building; see Tacitus, *Germania*, chapter 46: 'Sarmatae live in waggons and on horseback' ('Sarmatis […] in plaustro equoque viventibus'; ed. Henry Furneaux (Oxford: 1900); trans. A.J. Church – W. Brodribb as *Germany and Its Tribes*, New York: 1942).



FIGURE 22.2 Representation of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. From: Marcin Bielski, *Kronika polska* (ed. Joachim Bielski), (Cracow: 1597) 386
IMAGE © AUTHOR

ancestors of the Polish nobility 'lived under their tents, not in their homes',[42] and Paprocki declares that 'we are not noble because of the beauty of our houses'[43] – both authors seemingly upholding this "traditional" contempt of building. Yet Starowolski, in *Votum on the reform of the Commonwealth* (1625), remarks on the decline of these old attitudes and derides contemporary youth, who do not want to camp in the field, finding it 'better in the chamber, because it is heated all the time'.[44]

If the early Poles were supposed to have been content with simple abodes (if not tents), most authors agreed that the primitive forms of medieval building were replaced by new, monumental masonry architecture (especially fortifications and castles) [Fig. 22.3] under Casimir the Great, the ruler also recognized as the first law-giver.[45] His reign was therefore cast as a watershed in Polish history – both solid architecture and written laws (seen together as foundations of the state) had their roots in his reign in the latter half of the fourteenth century.[46] Yet the significance of this episode in history was not entirely unquestionable. Górnicki in his *Dialogue* embarks on a discussion of the role of Casimir the Great in the celebrated architectural revolution.[47] He claims (rather provocatively) that this fundamental turn in Polish history was not the accomplishment of the last Piast, who is said to have 'found Poland in wood and left it in stone', but rather the work of the 'Germans', who had settled in Poland

42 '[…] więcey pod namioty a niż doma mieszkali […]', Bielski, *Kronika*, fol. 2 v. Sarmatians were not inclined to build; they were '*niebudowni*', according to Bielski, *Kronika* 3. For a definition of this term in early modern Polish see *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, ed. M.R. Mayenowa, vol. XVII (Wrocław: 1987) 151.

43 'Nie zacnością kształtownych domów my zacnymi […]', Bartosz Paprocki, *Gniazdo cnoty zkąd herby rycerstwa sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, fol. <6 v>.

44 '[…] lepiey w izdebce, bo w niey palą aż do znoju […]', Starowolski, *Votum*, fol. <9 v>.

45 According to Górnicki, both written laws and masonry architecture were introduced under Casimir the Great, Górnicki, *O elekcyi, wolności*, fol. <S2 v>.

46 Górnicki, *O elekcyi, wolności*, fol. <S2v >. On the role of Casimir the Great in the architectural 'revolution', see Crossley P., *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Casimir the Great: Church Architecture in Lesser Poland 1320–1380* (Krakow: 1985) 10–11. The list of Casimir the Great's foundations is based on a fourteenth-century chronicle by Janko of Czarnków, supplemented decades later by Jan Długosz, see Bieniak J., "Jan (Janek) z Czarnkowa. Niedokończona kronika polska z XIV wieku", *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 47 (2009) 109–142; cf. Skodlarski J., "Kazimierz Wielki jako reformator i człowiek", *Annales. Etyka w życiu gospodarczym* 11, 1 (2008) 65–75. On Casimir the Great as a reformer of the state, see Wyrozumski J., *Kazimierz Wielki* (Wrocław: 2004) 188–200.

47 For a recent reassessment, see Kajzer L., "Czy historycy architektury powinni badać zamki? Uwagi na marginesie pracy Piotra A. Zaniewskiego 'Zamki Kazimierza Wielkiego'", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 61, 4 (2013) 632–633; cf. Zaniewski P., *Zamki Kazimierza Wielkiego* (Kraków: ARCO 2012) 57–78.



FIGURE 22.3 Dębno Castle
IMAGE © JOHN CIESLIK-BRIDGEN

at the time.[48] Moreover, Górnicki seems to be aware of at least one important Polish patron of architecture prior to Casimir, one 'famous and celebrated Dunin of the Łabeć arms',[49] a reference to Piotr Włostowic (ca. 1080–1153), the founder of several important buildings in today's Wrocław.[50] According to Górnicki, Włostowic was responsible for erecting scores of ashlar churches,[51] but (he adds) this was not a great accomplishment for such a large kingdom. It was the Germans, then, who turned Poland from timber to masonry, not King Casimir. To this audacious dictum (voiced in the dialogue by the Italian), the Polish interlocutor dryly responds: 'I do not know what are these cities and these walls good for', because, he argues, the Lacedaemonians had no walls at all, entrusting the safety of their state to the strength of their warriors.[52]

48 'A od tych Niemców za króla Kazimierza Wielkiego mury w Polszcze nastały […] Niemcy dopiero w Polszcze mury rozmnożyli […]', Górnicki, *O elekcyi, wolności*, fol. <S2 v>.

49 '[…] on sławny y zacny Dunin herbu Łabeć […]', Górnicki, *O elekcyi, wolności*, fol. <S2 v>.

50 Świechowski Z., "Fundacje Piotra Włostowica", in Rozpędowski J. (ed.), *Architektura Wrocławia*, vol. 3 (Wrocław: 1997) 9–21; Skwierczyński K., "Imitatio regni. Adelige Stiftungen im Polen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts", in Mühle E. (ed.), *Monarchische und adelige Sakralstiftungen im mittelalterlichen Polen* (Berlin: 2013) 190–191.

51 'kilka abo kilkadziesiąt z ciosanego kamienia kościołów zmurował […]', Górnicki, *O elekcyi, wolności*, fol. <S2 v>.

52 'Y tego niewiem, co nam po tych miastach, abo po murach.' Górnicki, *O elekcyi, wolności*, fol. <S2 v>.

This dialogue exposes some deeply held convictions at the heart of Polish early modern attitudes toward the ancient and medieval past. The *topos* of the Commonwealth sufficiently defended by the courage and skill of its warriors (and thus not needing fortifications, castles, or even cities) was repeated by numerous writers.[53] By the late sixteenth century common knowledge was that the very term 'Polacy' (Poles) came from the fact that these people met their enemies in the open field (*pole*) to fight them, and for this reason did not need castles or fortifications (as explained by Paprocki).[54] So the name of the Polish Kingdom and the nation itself was supposedly derived from a concept antithetical to architecture. *Pole*, a field, was the opposite of a building, just as nature is antithetical to culture. Starowolski in his *Sarmatiae Bellatores* alludes to this idea and gives the *vitae* of Casimir the Great a somewhat wry twist while praising him for taking the fortified castle of Kościan.[55] The defenders were too confident of their keep, Starowolski claims, but Casimir proved that courage was more important than walls and fortifications – ironically, of course, because the king is said to have spent his lifetime building precisely such fortified castles. Here the Polish *topos* returns to interrogate one of the myths of Polish medieval history.

For Górnicki, this precarious defence strategy relying solely on resilience of the armed men was unwise at best. In his dialogue, the Italian protagonist alleges that because of the old chivalric tradition Poles do not know how to live in peace, or how to live well. The witty Italian (an alter ego of Górnicki himself) points out that (unlike Poles) 'all the people in the world with a sane

53 See, for instance, Kunicki, *Obraz*, fol. 29, or an anonymous work attributed to Feliks Kryski (1562–1618), *Philopolites, to iest miłośnik oyczyzny, albo o powinności dobrego obywatela* […] (Krakow, Maciej Wirzbięta: 1688), fol. 23. On the history of fortifications in Poland, see Dybaś B., *Fortece Rzeczypospolitej. Studium z dziejów budowy fortyfikacji stałych w państwie polsko-litewskim w XVII wieku* (Toruń: 1998); Adamczyk J.L., *Fortyfikacje stałe na polskim przedmurzu od połowy XV do końca XVII wieku* (Kielce: 2004); Pilarczyk Z., *Fortyfikacje stałe na ziemiach koronnych Rzeczypospolitej w XVII wieku* (Poznań: 1997); cf. Miłobędzki A., "Budownictwo militarne miast polskich w okresie nowożytnym", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 26, 1 (1978) 29–30; and Majewski W. – Teodorczyk J., "Wojsko", in Wyczański A. (ed.), *Polska w epoce Odrodzenia: państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura* (Warsaw: 1970) 184–196.

54 Paprocki Bartosz, *Ogrod Krolewsky, w którem o początku Cesarzów Rzymskich, Arcyxiążąt Rakuskich, Królów Polskich* […] (Prague, u Daniela Siedlczańskiego: 1599) 317; the cliché of Poles fighting in the open field persisted throughout the early modern period, see Kunicki, *Obraz*, fol. 29; Chmielowski B., *Nowe Ateny albo Akademia wszelkiey scyencyi pełna*, vol. 1 (Lvov: 1746) 295–296.

55 Starowolski S., *Wojownicy Sarmaccy*, trans. and ed. J. Starnawski (Warsaw: 1979) 143–144.

mind (including the "Affricans") want the cities and the castles'.[56] He then asks, rather impertinently, if Poles (who shun architecture) want to return to the wild, like the animals, to roam the forests and the bogs.[57] If not, they should build more, especially in the borderlands, where new cities and castles would offer better protection against repeated Tatar incursions.[58]

A similar recommendation is articulated by Starowolski. He says that old Poles, when drunk, like to boast that (like their forefathers) they do not need walls, ramparts, or castles, because the best defence of the country is the chests of the Polish nobility. Alas, he continues, contemporary Sarmatians are not as fit as their ancestors, and should therefore build sufficient defences instead of measly henhouses – *kurniki*.[59] Starowolski further develops his vision of the Middle Ages as the era of civic virtue that should inspire his contemporaries in a poem dedicated to *Private Interest* (1649).[60] According to the author, particularisms rule in the seventeenth-century Commonwealth, as opposed to the spirit of public good that was dominant in the Middle Ages. Medieval architecture is cast here as the embodiment of this chivalric public-minded ethos of the past, whereas the contemporary *szlachta*, which only pays attention to its own business, is accused of investing in private houses.[61] Starowolski writes of the old times: 'Look at the fortified castles, at the cities, and how many masonry monasteries can you count? How many well-founded convents, how many bishoprics, abbeys well endowed?'[62] These public buildings are no longer needed, argues the author, in the country now governed by private wants. For Starowolski, this social change means a shift away from medieval *public* edifices towards a domination of *private* residences: 'I, [the author adopts here the persona of the Private Interest] do not know how to build for the public, I only know how to construct private buildings. It is because of me that the old

56 '[…] kiedyby miasta nie były potrzebne, tedyby się w nich Niemcy, Włosi, Francuzowie, Hiszpani, Turcy, Persowie, Affrykani nie kochali […] Co na świecie ludzi iest które sprawuie rozum, wszyscy miasta, zamki mieć chcą.' Górnicki, *O elekcyi, wolności*, fol. <S3 r>.

57 'Czy znowu się wrócić Polacy chcecie do onego żywota zwierzęcego, gdy ludzie rozproszeni po lesiech, po błotach mieszkali […]', Górnicki, *O elekcyi, wolności*, fol. <S3 r>.

58 Górnicki, *O elekcyi, wolności*, fol. <S3 v>.

59 Starowolski, *Votum*, fol. <12 v >.

60 Starowolski S., *Prywat Polską kiervie* (Krakow, Łukasz Kupisz: 1649).

61 This is, naturally, a *topos* taken from Pliny's *Natural History* (great art serves the public good, while art intended for private consumption is corrupt); see Barkan L., *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: 1999) 68–71.

62 'Ile obronnych Zamków, ile Miast widzicie, / Y ile murowanych Klasztorów liczycie./ Ile macie Klasztorów dobrze fundowanych, Ile Biskupstw y Opactw tak hoynie nadanych'. Starowolski, *Prywat*, fol. <A4 r>.

castles are falling apart, while private palaces and manors are being erected'.[63] Medieval edifices thus waste away: 'fortifications are falling, city walls are rotting, old towers are falling down, there are holes everywhere. Where are the castellated manors, apart from the old ones built by Casimir the Great, and celebrated in Poland until today? […] Towns, castles, villages are consumed by the waters of the Vistula'.[64] Medieval architecture, shown to have served public good, therefore becomes the epitome of old moral order, destroyed by the new, corrupt spirit of individualism and private gain.

The symbolic importance of ancestral castles comes across very strongly in Kunicki's *The Image of the Polish Nobleman*. In a description of the paradigmatic nobleman, treating each part of the body in turn, the head comes first. There, we are told, virtue should preside. Significantly, she is represented in the text as occupying 'a castle', surrounded by her courtiers (justice, patience, liberality, etc).[65] It is clear that there is a direct relationship between the castle and noble virtue as such – this is one of the associations (popularized in numerous sources) which partly explain the longevity of castellated architecture in Poland.[66]

Contrary to those interested in the symbolic significance of medieval architecture, others attempted to address critically some practical aspects of medieval building. Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503–1572), leading a campaign to improve the ailing Commonwealth, noted that 'Taking care of building […] according to our custom is delegated to officials whose duties concern other affairs'.[67] He postulated that this reliance on non-professionals, a sign of a traditional disdain of building, should be changed to make Polish architecture sounder.[68] With the same objective in mind, Frycz also lobbied for a more

63 'Bo ia dóbr pospolitych budować nie umiem/ Na prywatnych się tylko budynkach rozumiem./ Z mey przyczyny stare się Zamki obalaią/ Prywatne zaś Pałace i Dwory powstaią.' Starowolski, *Prywat*, fol.<A4 v>.

64 'Fortece upadaią, Miejskie gniją mury/ Dawne walą się baszty, zewsząd widać dziury./ Coć mi tu za kasztele, oprócz osad dawnych/ Od Wielkiego Kaźmirza dotąd w Polszcze sławnych/ Nowo nic nie stawiają […] Miasta, Zamki, Osady w Wisłę powpadały […]' Starowolski, *Prywat*, <fol. A4 v>.

65 Kunicki, *Obraz*, fol. <10r >. Each of the selected parts of the body was associated with a different value (the head with virtue, eyes with *Timor Dei* and chastity; ears with faith and obedience, nose with prudence, and tongue with veracity).

66 Miłobędzki A., "Pałac i zamek 'renesansowy'", in Jaroszewski, *Renesans* 411–420, here 416–418; cf. Jakimowicz T., *Dwór murowany w Polsce w wieku XVI* (*wieża – kamienica – kasztel*) (Warsaw: 1979) 27–29.

67 'Doglądanie gmachów […] wedle naszego zwyczaiu bywa poruczone tym Urzędnikom, którzy do czego inszego postanowieni są', Frycz-Modrzewski A., *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej księgi czwore* (Łosk: 1577), fol. 35.

68 Frycz-Modrzewski A., *O poprawie*, fol. 35.

decisive shift towards fireproof masonry architecture, as he castigated the medieval tradition of building in timber.[69] He claimed that because of frequent fires, most houses in Poland lasted no more than 30 years, and as a remedy for this situation he proposed to his compatriots either to build out of stone or to drink less! In the West, he explained, the fires are less frequent because the people 'do not enjoy drunkenness as much'.[70] Medieval building practice and traditional habits both had to be abandoned on the path to national improvement.

3 Architecture

While Polish early modern historians might have had problems locating the material remains of Sarmatian antiquity, the omnipresent medieval monuments (described simply as *staroświeckie*) did not attract much scholarly attention.[71] Although the earliest Piast dynasty foundations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were scarce (most of them perished because they were constructed of timber), the great medieval churches and castles of the later Middle Ages, especially those constructed under Casimir the Great (1310–1370), provided a vital (albeit often unacknowledged) point of reference. Ecclesiastical architecture of the Middle Ages remained a powerful source of inspiration throughout the early modern period, a situation compounded by

69 Frycz-Modrzewski, *O poprawie*, fol. 35 v.

70 '[…] w onych krainach […] abo ludzie z kamienia domy buduią, abo się pijaństwem nie bawią. Ale u nas gdzie mało nie wszytko budowanie drzewiane y bardzo mało iest ludzi, którziby trzeźwość miłowali, dziwna rzecz czemu tak wielka około gaszenia ognia niedbałość […]', Frycz-Modrzewski, *O poprawie*, fol. 35 v.

71 See, for instance, Starowolski S., *Opisanie Krolestwa Polskiego za czasow Zygmunta III* (Vilnius, w Drukarni J.K.M. y Rzeczypospolitey XX. Scholarum Piarum: 1765) 13–14, 29, or the Latin edition: Starowolski S., *Simonis Starovolsci Polonia nunc denuo recognita et aucta* (Wolfenbüttel, Conradi Bunonis: 1656) 8–9. Starowolski's texts are typical of the period in repeatedly using term *staroświecki*, 'old-fashioned' (or 'fabrica antiqua' in Latin), with reference to medieval buildings, whereas contemporary structures are described as those 'in modern fashion' ('nową architekturą wystawione' or 'recentiori architectura extructa'); see also idem, *Dwor Cesarza tvreckiego i rezydencja jego w Konstantynopolu* (Krakow, Franciszek Cezary: 1646) 3. For a discussion of Starowolski's architectural terminology, see Piskadło A. (ed.), *Szymon Starowolski. Polska albo opisanie Położenia królestwa polskiego* (Gdańsk: 2000) 28–32. On antiquarian interest in medieval architecture, see Frycz J., *Restauracja i konserwacja zabytków architektury w Polsce w latach. 1795–1918* (Warsaw: 1975) 17–24; Guerquin, *Zamki* 7–8; and Jurkowlaniec, *Epoka nowożytna* 71–72.

the inherent conservatism of contemporary building trades.[72] The impact of medieval secular buildings, however, of which castles were the prime example, is more difficult to assess.[73] The relative proliferation of medieval castles in the Commonwealth (undermining the Sarmatian *topos* of their uselessness) was a result of a relaxation of the law which had restricted the construction of fortified structures to the royalty and highest office-holders.[74] By the late fourteenth century anyone with sufficient means could have built a fortified pile as the status symbol, starting with local overlords and high clergy (Iłża), down to the wealthiest knights (Smoleń).[75] Still, the construction of the castle entailed such an enormous financial burden that no more than 5 per cent of

72 Miłobędzki A., "Późnogotyckie typy sakralne w architekturze ziem polskich", in Białoskórski H. (ed.), *Późny Gotyk. Studia nad sztuką przełomu średniowiecza i czasów nowych* (Warsaw: 1965) 111–112.

73 Miłobędzki A., "Tradycja średniowieczna w polskiej rezydencji nowożytnej", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 24 (1979) 339–342; idem, *Architektura polska XVII wieku* (Warsaw: 1980) 69; cf. Komorowski W., "Nowatorstwo i tradycjonalizm w architekturze mieszkalnej Krakowa późnego średniowiecza i wczesnej nowożytności. Zarys problematyki", *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie* 25 (2009) 19–27. A full discussion of Polish medieval secular architecture would exceed the limits of this paper. The literature on the subject is vast, even when restricted to residential architecture alone. For an overview of the field and further reading, see Świechowski Z., *Architektura romańska w Polsce* (Warsaw: 2000) 13–30; Grzybkowski A., *Gotycka architektura murowana w Polsce* (Warsaw: 2014) 75–83, 131–140, 157–160, 185–196, 256–265; Krassowski W., "Budownictwo i architektura w warunkach rozkwitu wielkiej własności ziemskiej (XIII w.–trzecia ćwierć XIV w.)", in Krassowski W., *Dzieje budownictwa i architektury na ziemiach Polski*, 4 vols. (Warsaw: 1990), and idem, "Budownictwo i architektura w warunkach społeczeństwa stanowego (czwarta ćwierć *XIV–XV* w.)", in Krassowski, *Dzieje budownictwa* 63, 280–281.

74 The earliest extant permission for a private castle is dated 1252, Kajzer, L., "Uwagi wstępne", in Bocheńska A. – Mrozowski P. (eds.), *Początki murowanych zamków w Polsce do połowy XIV w.* (Warsaw: 2017) 13. Under Casimir the Great, permissions were very rare, but the law was relaxed in the last decades of the fourteenth century; see Miłobędzki A., "Architektura Królestwa Polskiego w XV wieku", in Skubiszewski P. (ed.), *Sztuka i ideologia XV wieku* (Warsaw: 1978) 461–477; cf. Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany* 28; Kajzer, "Czy historycy" 634. See also Olszacki T – Lasek P., "Zanim powstała Rzeczpospolita – zamki Królestwa Polskiego w dobie późnego średniowiecza", КРАЯЗНАЎЧЬЯ ЗАПІСКІ 8 (2012) 66–73.

75 Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany* 28. The estimated cost of one cubic metre of the wall in the late fourteenth century was 11–25 groszy (i.e. 50 grams of silver); see Szymczak J., "Koszty murowanego budownictwa obronnego w Polsce do XVI wieku", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 36, 2 (1988) 233–275; idem, "Zamki i pieniądze w średniowiecznej Polsce", in Antoniewicz M. (ed.), *Zamki i przestrzeń społeczna w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej* (Warsaw: 2002) 13–23. See also Lasek P., "Zamki elity monarchii Andegawenów po obu stronach Karpat. Próba wstępnej charakterystyki kastellologicznej", in *Zamki w Karpatach* (Krosno: 2014) 27–44, esp. 41; and Kołodziejski S., "Początki zamków w ziemi krakowskiej", in Bocheńska – Mrozowski, *Początki murowanych* 52.

the Polish elite could have afforded the expense.[76] It is estimated that the number of castles built in the second half of the fourteenth century was around 80.[77] In line with the functional diversity of these structures, no single formal type of the castle developed at that time.[78] However, by the late Middle Ages the four-wing complex with a corner tower (octagonal or round) dominated in terms of spatial arrangement.[79] The buildings also varied according to localization (topography) and material used: brick in the northern regions of Poland and stone in the south, with more regular forms adopted in brick castles, less regular in those executed in stone.[80]

In the early modern period, medieval models (associated with prestige) remained critical to both large feudal seats and smaller houses of the local gentry.[81] Residences of the fifteenth century provide evidence of a survival of

76 The estimate provided by Kurtyka J., "Posiadłość, dziedziczność i prestiż. Badania nad późnośredniowieczną i wczesnonowożytną wielką własnością możnowładczą w Polsce XIV–XVII wieku", *Roczniki Historyczne* 65 (1999) 189; cf. Lasek P., *Turris fortissima nomen Domini. Murowane wieże mieszkalne w Królestwie Polskim od 1300 r. do połowy XVI w.* (Warsaw: 2013) 282–283.

77 Guerquin, *Zamki* 49. Out of this number, approximately 75 per cent were royal foundations; see Olszacki T., "Rezydencje królewskie prowincji Małopolskiej w XIV wieku – możliwości interpretacji", in *Architektura. Czasopismo Techniczne* 108, 23 (2011) 287–289; cf. Kajzer, "Czy historycy" 634–635. The number of private castles that existed in Poland around 1500 is estimated at around 70; see Miłobędzki, "Architektura Królestwa" 463–464, and idem, "Budownictwo militarne" 30.

78 Guerquin, *Zamki* 26–32; Olszacki, "Rezydencje królewskie" 287–289; Olszacki and Lasek, "Zanim powstała" 67. On the diverse functions of medieval castles tied to the demands of itinerant monarchy, see Kajzer L., "Kastellologa uwagi nad itinerariami królewskimi", *Światowit* 1, 42 (1999) 94–98. On the early modern residences, see Jakimowicz T., "Rezydencja w Polsce w wieku XVI. Stan i potrzeby badań", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki: teoria i historia* 24, 4 (1979) 311–337.

79 Guerquin, *Zamki* 32–38. Concerning the spatial development of contemporary castle complexes, see Olszacki and Lasek, "Zanim powstała" 71–72. The octagonal tower (a feature inspired, perhaps, by the Teutonic Knights' architecture) has been suggested as the distinguishing mark of Casimir the Great's castles, see Zaniewski, *Zamki* 136–140; cf. Kajzer, "Czy historycy" 638.

80 Guerquin, *Zamki* 19–23, 33–34. On the importance of regularity in castle design for the royal image, see Skibiński S., "Jeszcze raz w kwestii genezy regularnego zamku krzyżackiego", in Arszyński M. (ed.), *Sztuka Prus XIII–XVIII wieku* (Toruń: 1994) 27–36. In addition to the dominant multi-wing arrangement, another type, with two residential piles placed across the courtyard, entered through a gate tower, was introduced in the late fourteenth century; see Miłobędzki, "Tradycja średniowieczna" 342–343; cf. Grzybkowski A., "Zamek w Rawie Mazowieckiej. Zagadnienie fundacji i genezy", *Kwartalnik Architektury I Urbanistyki: teoria i historia* 24, 3 (1979) 216.

81 Horbacz T. – Lechowicz Z., "Jeszcze o siedzibie rycersko-szlacheckiej w Polsce", *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archaeologica* 5 (1984) 95–96, 103–106; Lasek, *Turris fortissima* 176–186; Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany* 27–28. The issue of changes caused by military

the four-wing castle type, now with more regular inner courtyards and communication galleries along the wings [Fig. 22.3] (Dębno (ca. 1470–1480),[82] Oporów 1434–1449),[83] as well as with features that played a role that was more decorative than defensive, such as towers or prominent buttresses.[84] Displays of decorative sculpture, including heraldic imagery (especially around oriel windows), complemented the image of the ancestral seat.[85] This type of residence was still popular in the first half of the sixteenth century (the castle in Mokrsko built ca. 1515–1532;[86] or that in Szydłowiec [Fig. 22.4], rebuilt between 1509 and 1532).[87] At the same time, some large medieval residences were modernized, gaining formal features rooted in the past to enhance their antiquated appearance. Ciechanów Castle (ca. 1380–1430) [Fig. 22.5], for instance, was rebuilt after 1549 for Bona Sforza, in a way which underscored its medieval characteristics, such as the towers, which were heightened, contrary to contemporary

developments in the early modern period is discussed by Guerquin, *Zamki* 57–58. On castles as status symbols in the early modern period, see Olejnik K., "Zamek w strukturach politycznych i militarnych państwa szlacheckiego", in Antoniewicz, *Zamki i przestrzeń* 216–227.

82 Lasek, *Turris fortissima* 171, 176; Chrzanowski T. – Kornecki M., *Sztuka Ziemi Krakowskiej* (Krakow: 1982) 76–78; Dębno was was built for Crown Chancellor Jakub Dębiński (1427–1490); see Guerquin, *Zamki* 141–143.

83 Oporów was a residence of Władysław Oporowski (1395–1453), archbishop of Gniezno, primate of Poland, and deputy chancellor; see Gąsiorowski A., "Oporowski Władysław", *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 24 (Wrocław: 1979) 142–144. On Oporów Castle, see Bocheński Z., "Dwór obronny arcybiskupa Władysława Oporowskiego (zm. 1453) w Oporowie pod Kutnem", *Biuletyn Historji Sztuki i Kultury: kwartalnik wydawany przez Zakład Architektury Polskiej i Historji Sztuki Politechniki Warszawskiej* 3 (1933) 127–131; Lasek, *Turris fortissima* 153–154.

84 Guerquin, *Zamki* 56; Lasek, *Turris fortissima* 236.

85 Gryglewski P., "Przestrzeń, fundator, budowla. Struktura regionalna w badaniach nad rekonstrukcją krajobrazu architektonicznego", *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Sociologica* 37 (2011) 77, 79–80; Kuczyński S.K., "Człowiek wobec świata herbów", in Michałowski R. (ed.), *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, (Warsaw: 1997) 332; Lasek, *Turris fortissima* 245–252.

86 Concerning castle in Mokrsko, built for Crown Marshall Piotr Kmita (1477–1553), see Miłobędzki A., "Zamek w Mokrsku Górnym i niektóre problemy małopolskiej architektury XV i XVI wieku", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 21 (1959) 222–233.

87 For Szydłowiec, constructed for Stanisław Szydłowiecki (1405–1494), Crown Court Marshal, see Puget W., "Z dziejów zamku w Szydłowcu", *Rocznik Muzeum Świętokrzyskiego* 4 (1967) 261–302; Brykowska M., "Fundacje Szydłowieckich – między gotykiem a renesansem", in Iwańczak W. – Kubicki R. (eds.), *Fundacje kanclerza Krzysztofa Szydłowieckiego. Z dziejów budownictwa rezydencjonalno-obronnego na terenie dawnego województwa sandomierskiego* (Kielce – Ćmielów: 2011) 29–48.



FIGURE 22.4 Szydłowiec Castle
IMAGE © VISUAL ARCHIVE, INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW



FIGURE 22.5 Ciechanów Castle
IMAGE © VISUAL ARCHIVE, INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW



FIGURE 22.6 Ogrodzieniec Castle
IMAGE © ŁUKASZ ŚMIGASIEWICZ

military requirements,[88] while the old residential quarters were expanded, providing more comfort.

It has been noted that pseudo-feudal residences in the sixteenth century were generally erected by upwardly mobile office holders or high clergy, not the really old aristocracy.[89] The invented past was, of course, a means of legitimation (as in the visual equivalents of the genealogies penned by Paprocki). The best examples are Ogrodzieniec [Fig. 22.6], rebuilt for the Boner family (merchants, royal bankers, and salt mine managers);[90] Bodzentyn for Franciszek

88 In the sixteenth century most towers were lowered because of exposure to artillery fire; see Guerquin, *Zamki* 58. Similar modernization (enhancing the towers) was undertaken for Bona Sforza in Czersk Castle, see Kunkel R., "Typologia średniowiecznych zamków książęcych i możnowładczych na Mazowszu", *Kronika Zamkowa* 53–54 (2007) 211–212, 213–214, 221.

89 Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany* 23–26; Bogucka M., "Miasto i mieszczanin w społeczeństwie Polski nowożytnej (XVI–XVIII wiek)", *Czasy nowożytne* 22 (2009) 38–39; Miłobędzki, "Pałac i zamek" 413–415; Guerquin, *Zamki* 59; cf. Jakimowicz T., "Dom pański jako ma być postawion'", in Jaroszewski, *Renesans* 423; Wyrobisz A., "Architektura w służbie społecznej i politycznej w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku", in Bania Z. (ed.), *Podług Nieba i zwyczaju polskiego. Studia z historii architektury, sztuki i kultury ofiarowane Adamowi Miłobędzkiemu* (Warsaw: 1988) 524–525.

90 Regarding the Boner family, see Ptaśnik J., "Bonerowie", *Rocznik Krakowski* 7 (1905) 1–134; Hanik M., *Trzy pokolenia z rodziny Bonerów* (Krakow: 1985) passim; Kaussler E., *Ein Pfälzer in Polen. Die Landauer Boner und ihre Weißenburger Freunde* (Neustadt/Weinstraße: 1974)



FIGURE 22.7
Drzewica Castle
IMAGE © JAROSŁAW KRUK

Krasiński (1525–1577), the secretary of King Sigismund Augustus and the bishop of Krakow;[91] or Drzewica (1527–1535) [Fig. 22.7], for Maciej Drzewicki (1467–1535), the crown chancellor, archbishop of Gniezno, and primate of Poland.[92] Lesser gentry, meanwhile, around 1500 adopted in their residences a number of

passim. The Boners were involved in the construction of Wawel Castle, as well as the main state fortress, the castle of Kamieniec Podolski; see Mossakowski S., *Rezydencja królewska na Wawelu w czasach Zygmunta Starego. Program użytkowy i ceremonialny* (Warsaw: 2013) 113–122; Torbus T., "Architektura siedzib Zygmunta Starego jako wyraz dbałości o wizerunek dynastii", in Mrozowski – Tyszka – Węcowski, *Europa Jagiellonica 1386–1572* 188–189.

91 On the founder, see Nitecki P., *Biskupi kościoła w Polsce w latach 965–1999. Słownik biograficzny* (Warsaw: 2000) 225–226; regarding the castle, see Brykowska M., "Zamek/pałac biskupów krakowskich w Bodzentynie Przemiany zespołu i architektury w okresie XIV–XVIII wieku", in Kajzer L. (ed.), *Siedziby biskupów krakowskich na terenie dawnego województwa sandomierskiego* (Kielce: 1997) 41–55.

92 Regarding the patron, see Rybus H., "Prymas Maciej Drzewiecki: zarys biografii (1467–1535)", *Studia Theologica Varsaviensia* 2 (1964) 79–308. On the castle, see Guerquin B., "Zamek w Drzewicy", *Teka Konserwatorska* 1 (1952) 5–17.



FIGURE 22.8 Royal Castle in Piotrków
IMAGE © JERZY STRZELECKI

spatial solutions refining medieval pattern of the residential tower.[93] Its roots, deep in the medieval donjons and their diverse derivations, were updated in line with the expectations of the early modern owners.[94] The royal castle in Piotrków [Fig. 22.8] provided the point of reference for these seats of varied functional and formal arrangements.[95] They have been divided into proper

93 See Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany* 22–43; for a more recent discussion, see Lasek, *Turris fortissima* 191–198; idem, "Zagadnienie tzw. dworów wieżowych. Przyczynek do badań nad późnośredniowiecznym budownictwem obronno-rezydencjonalnym", in Czyż A.S. (ed.), *Architektura znaczeń. Studia ofiarowane prof. Zbigniewowi Bani w 65 rocznicę urodzin i w 40-lecie pracy dydaktycznej* (Warsaw: 2011) 30–39.

94 Lasek P., "Nowa moda czy kontynuacja? Murowane wieże mieszkalne w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie średniowiecza i epoki nowożytnej", in Rolska-Boruch I. (ed.), *Studia nad sztuką Renesansu i Baroku. Programy ideowe w przedsięwzięciach artystycznych w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Lublin: 2010) 499–508; idem, "Obronno-mieszkalne czy mieszkalno-obronne? Cechy mieszkalne, reprezentacyjne i obronne rezydencji wieżowych elity feudalnej Królestwa Polskiego", in Badowska K. – Wasiak W. – Łuczak P. (eds.), *Broń i wojna w dziejach człowieka* (Łódź: 2009) 167–176.

95 On Piotrków Castle, see Jakimowicz T., "Turris Pyothrkoviensis – pałac Zygmunta I", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 17 (1972) 21–38; Rutkowski H., "Zamek w Piotrkowie",



FIGURE 22.9 Residential tower in Rzemień
IMAGE © KROTON

towers (*wieże*) (Szamotuły, Wojciechów, and Rzemień [Fig. 22.9]); two-storey tower houses (*kamienice*) (Jeżów and Jakubowice); and *castelli* (*kasztele*), perhaps of Hungarian provenance[96] (Szymbark ca. 1550–1600 [Fig. 22.10] and Pabianice 1565–1571).[97] The symbolic value of the tower, which had since the Middle Ages been nearly synonymous with a ruler's seat (needed for representation) is unquestionable, but in the Polish context this model also had some practical advantages: a simple pile on a compact plan was cheap, and its fortified character was useful (just in case).[98] The popularity of this medieval house

Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki 3, 2 (1958) 155–176. Part of the royal Wawel Castle – the Kurza Noga – was also a tower residence; see Fischinger A., "Czym była kurza noga w zamku królewskim na Wawelu", *Rocznik Krakowski* 55 (1989) 76–87; cf. Ratajczak T., "Podróże władcy i architektura. Przebudowa królewskich rezydencji za panowania Zygmunta Starego", *Artium Quaestiones* 17 (2006) 5–37, here 12.

96 For details, see Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany* 141–149.

97 For details, see Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany* 91 ff.; cf. Lasek, "Zagadnienie tzw. dworów wieżowych" 30–33.

98 Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany* 69–71; Lasek, *Turris fortissima* 277–281; Meyer W., "Die Burg als repräsentatives Statussymbol. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des mittelalterlichen Burgenbaus", *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 33 (1976) 175–179; cf. Jakimowicz T., "'Sibi et posteritate'. Treści ideowe rezydencji feudalnej w Polsce



FIGURE 22.10 *Kasztel* in Szymbark
IMAGE © MAREK ARCISZEWSKI

type ends around 1580, when the compact house of Italian origin, as in Książ Wielki, replaces this older type.[99]

Not all sixteenth-century residences, however, implemented this new compact model. Many, for reasons shown above, utilized the time-sanctioned four-wing arrangement, replacing old towers with *bastei* towers, which responded in form to the dangers of artillery fire, and which also often received new forms of crenellations in the form of the so-called Polish attic.[100] Among numerous

XVI–XIX w.", in Opaliński E. – Wiślicz T. (eds.), *Rezydencje w średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych* (Warsaw: 2001) 252–267.

99 Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska* 69–70, 72–73; cf. idem, "Zamek w Pińczowie za Myszkowskich. U początków nowożytnej rezydencji w Polsce", in Białostocki J. (ed.) *Sarmatia artistica. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Władysława Tomkiewicza* (Warsaw: 1968) 35–42.

100 Bogdanowski J., "Z badań nad zależnościami pomiędzy zastosowaniem broni palnej i architekturą małopolskich zamków obronnych (XV–XVI w.)", *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie* 11 (1967) 839 f.; Lasek P., "Wieża i basteja. Z badań nad wpływem broni palnej na architekturę obronno-rezydencjonalną Królestwa Polskiego w XVI–XVI w.", *Studia i Materiały Archeologiczne. Interdyscyplinarne badania założeń rezydencjonalnych i obronnych* 2 (2013) 158–175; on the Polish attics, see Arciszewska B.,

examples is Krasiczyn (ca. 1550–1620), planned around an ample rectangular court.[101] The emphasis here was on genealogy and class pride, with four corner towers given names reflecting the Sarmatian view of Polish society, with the Divine tower containing the chapel, complemented by the Papal, Royal, and Noble towers.[102] A similar layout was used in Ossolin where, rather late, in 1633, the ambitious Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński (1595–1650) built a castle to legitimize his spectacular rise in the ranks.[103] Having received the princely title from the pope and the emperor in the very same year (1633), Ossoliński embarked on a building campaign with an aim to construct a residence 'in the old-fashioned' (read: medieval) way, built 'practically for eternity'[104] (alas, the castle was blown up in 1816 by subsequent owners).[105] The castellated architecture clearly served to back the claim to a higher social position.

Krzysztof Ossoliński (1587–1645), the older half-brother of Jerzy and from 1638 the Sandomierz *woivode*, also chose to demonstrate his social ascent by erecting a residence that still stands as a great testimony to the attraction of medieval, chivalric architecture – Castle Krzyżtopór in Ujazd.[106] Ossoliński,

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"The 'Polish roof' and 'the Polish attic' in architectural history of early modern Poland", in Chatenet M. – Gady A (eds.), *Toits d'Europe, Formes, structures, décors, identités, usages du toit à l'âge moderne* (*XV^e^, XVI^e^, XVII^e^ siècles*) (Paris: 2016) 153–172.

101 The Krasiczyn residence was expanded for Stanisław Krasicki (1540–1602) and his son Marcin Krasicki (1574–1631); see Frazik J., "Zamek w Krasiczynie", *Zeszyty naukowe Politechnika Krakowska* 12 (1968) 156–180; Zlat M., "Zamek w Krasiczynie", *Studia Renesansowe* 3 (1963) 5–149; Proksa M., "Zamki w Południowo-wschodniej Polsce w świetle badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych i źródeł pisanych", *Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 7–8 (1994) 12–13; Guerquin, *Zamki* 183–184.

102 Świechowski Z. – Świechowska E. – Zlat M., *Sztuka polska: Renesans i Manieryzm* (Warsaw: 2004) 270; Kozakiewiczowie H. and S., *Renesans w Polsce* (Warsaw: 1976) 203–204.

103 For Ossoliński's biography, see Bohomolec F., *Życie J. Ossolińskiego, Kanclerza Wielkiego Koronnego, lubelskiego, lubomelskiego, lubaczowskiego, bohusławskiego, brodnickiego, ryckiego, derpskiego, adzielskiego, stanisławowskiego i bydgoskiego, starosty* (Leipzig: 1838); and Ossoliński J., *Pamiętniki*, ed. W. Czapliński (Warsaw: 1976).

104 '[…] z staroświecka murów grubo, prawie na wieczność murowany […]', from an entry in a 1755 inventory, after Sobieszczański F.M., *Wiadomości historyczne o sztukach pięknych w dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw, S. Orgelbrand: 1849) 161–162. On one of the gates of Ossolin (according to the same 1755 inventory) there was a marble plaque with a Latin inscription commemorating the founding of the House in 1380; Sobieszczański, *Wiadomości* 161.

105 On Krzysztof and Jerzy Ossoliński and their patronage, see Chrościcki, *Sztuka i polityka* 114–118; Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska* 207–216. The imperial and papal honours were, significantly, annulled by the Polish *sejm* in 1638; Bohomolec, *Życie* 257 and 303. On Ossolin Castle, see Guerquin, *Zamki* 245–246.

106 For the most recent comprehensive analysis of the Krzyżtopór residence, see Kuls T., *Krzyżtopór* (Warsaw: 2014).

who was a well-educated and well-travelled man,[107] most likely provided a design of his own invention.[108] Often compared to Caprarola, the seat was in fact an apex of a long tradition of Polish castles, a *palazzo in fortezza* set within a system of novel bastion fortifications.[109] Although they are not as effective as they may seem, Ossoliński (who saw combat against the Turks in 1612 and financed a detachment of *husaria* cavalry) might have treated the defensive function as important, hence the gigantic scale and impressive fortifications exploiting the opportune location and a natural source of water within the walls. His residence, however, had all the hallmarks of modernity, even luxury, which was at odds with its consciously pseudo-medieval programme, driven by the obsessive theme of a family past seen as a vital part of more universal history, indeed cosmic in its scope (hence 4 towers, 12 halls, 52 chambers, and 365 windows).[110] The heraldic note is present right at the entrance [Fig. 22.11], with the armorial Cross (*Krzyż*) and Axe (*Topór*) referring to the family coat of arms.[111] At the centre of the programme was the amazing gallery of ancestors [Fig. 22.12], allies, and exempla of noble ethics, elucidated by suitable mottoes and epigrams. The images were not executed *al fresco*, but must have been painted on cloth or wood and mounted on the elevation of the courtyard, whereas the verses were executed in fresh plaster.[112] The rationale for this gallery was a feudal concept of status derived from blood (as seen in Paprocki), the sense of self-importance provoked by the enormous success of Krzysztof's younger half-brother, Jerzy, as well as prestige of Krzysztof's wife's family, the Firlejs, who had a number of extravagant residences in eastern Poland, including Janowiec [Fig. 22.13], an imposing rendition of a medieval castle.[113]

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107 Broniarczyk M., "Wykształcenie świeckich senatorów w Koronie za Władysława IV", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 119 (2012) 263–264.

108 Cf. Meyer N., "Krzyżtopór – der Herrscher als Festung. Eine anthropomorphe Deutung der Residenz des Krzysztof Ossoliński in Ujazd", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 55 (1993) 467–481.

109 Fabiański M., "O genezie architektury pałacu Krzyżtopór w Ujeździe i jego dekoracji", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 58 (1996) 269–278; Mossakowski S., "Krzyżtopór a Caprarola", in Mossakowski S. (ed.), *Orbis Polonus. Studia z historii sztuki XVII–XVIII wieku* (Warsaw: 2002) 25–30. On fortifications, see Guerquin, *Zamki* 314–316. The building was roughly completed in 1644, a year before the founder's death (1645). It became a wedding gift to Ossoliński's only son, Krzysztof Baldwin, during a ceremony attended by King Władysław IV.

110 Chrościcki, *Sztuka i polityka* 117–118.

111 The Axe (Topór) is the Ossolińskis' crest, while the Cross refers to 'Dębno', Ossoliński's mother's coat of arms. There was reportedly a now missing inscription next to the gate: 'The Cross is the defence, the Cross is the support, the Children, of our Axe' ('Krzyż obrona, krzyż podpora, Dziatki naszego Topora'); see Kuls, *Krzyżtopór* 18.

112 Kuls, *Krzyżtopór* 44–49.

113 See Jusiak P., "Elementy prestiżu społecznego w działalności rodziny Firlejów w XVI wieku", *Socium* 8 (2008) 45–55, here 47–51. The founder of the family fortune, Piotr



FIGURE 22.11 Castle Krzyżtopór in Ujazd
IMAGE © VISUAL ARCHIVE, INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW



FIGURE 22.12 The gate house of Castle Krzyżtopór in Ujazd
IMAGE © MAREK ARCISZEWSKI



FIGURE 22.13 Firlej Castle in Janowiec
IMAGE © SEMU

The foolhardy tendency to build castles continued, however, ruining many fortunes – notable examples are Zbaraż, for Krzysztof Zbaraski (built in the 1620s),[114] or Wiśnicz Nowy (1615–1621) and Łańcut (1629–1641), for Stanisław Lubomirski[115] – so much so that by the 1650s, the anonymous author of the *Brief Study of the Construction of Manor Houses* felt compelled to address the issue.[116] He advised strongly against the construction of castles as being costly,

Firlej, started with transforming the family manor in Dąbrowica into a castle; see Rolska-Boruch I., *'Domy Pańskie' na Lubelszczyźnie od późnego gotyku do wczesnego baroku* (Lublin: 2003) 117–119. On Janowiec, see Kurzątkowska A., *Mecenat artystyczny Firlejów* (*1526–1626*), Dissertation (Warsaw: 1963) 70–71; Rolska-Boruch, *Domy Pańskie* 128–129. Supryn M., *Archeologia zamku w Janowcu* (Kazimierz Dolny: 2008) 50–73.

114 Arciszewska B., "Vicenzo Scamozzi and modernization of architecture in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth", in Barbieri F. – Avagnina M.E. – Sanvito P. (eds.), *Vincenzo Scamozzi Teoretico Europeo* (Vicenza: 2016) 235–239.

115 Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska* 169–174; cf. Andrzejewski A. – Kajzer L., "Modernizations of Medieval Castles and the Problem of 'palazzo in fortezza' in Great Poland in the 15th–17th Centuries", in Caune A. – Ose I. (eds.), *Castella Maris Baltici* (Riga: 2007) 9–18; Kajzer L., "Z problematyki badań założeń typu *palazzo in fortezza* w Polsce", in Czyż, *Architektura znaczeń* 66–67; On the early modern modernizations of medieval castles, see Wasik B., "Zamki pokrzyżackie w województwie chełmińskim w czasach Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów", *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie* 41 (2015) 20–35, 31–32. Castellated architecture continued to be an inspiration as late as the eighteenth century, especially in the eastern borderlands (e.g. Ołyka of the Radziwiłł family, Korzec of the Czartoryski, Warkowicze of the Ledóchowski); see Kowalczyk J., "Rezydencje późnobarokowe na Wołyniu", *Przegląd Wschodni* 4 (1997) 25–73; cf. Miłobędzki A., "Architektoniczna tradycja średniowiecza w krajobrazie kulturowym Polski XVI–XVIII w. Sześć propozycji problemowych", in *Symbolae Historiae Artium. Studia z historii sztuki Lechowi Kalinowskiemu dedykowane* (Warsaw: 1986) 369–379.

116 *Krótka Nauka Budownicza Dworów Pałaców Zamków podług Nieba y zwyczaiu Polskiego*, (Krakow: 1659); cf. Miłobędzki A. (ed.), *Krótka Nauka Budownicza Dworów Pałaców Zamków podług Nieba y zwyczaiu Polskiego* (Wrocław: 1957).

being unpractical, and not fulfilling defensive objectives, but most of all, as being ill-suited to the Polish custom![117] In the end, he uses *à rebours* the argument deployed by the earlier authors, that it is the warriors, not the walls, that are the true defence, and the army to guard a castle can only be mounted by the wealthiest lords. Still, the Polish patrons were obviously moved more by the rhetoric of some Sarmatian historians and their admiration for medieval virtues than by the sensible advice of building professionals and theoreticians.

The evidence presented above seems to suggest that the attitudes to a medieval past and medieval architecture among the elites of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (as far as these opinions can be reconstructed) were embedded in a number of distinct, and often contradictory, discourses. For the majority of the nobles, the sense of the past was literally incorporated in the figures and deeds of the ancestors. One's family history and the narratives construed around the accomplishments of one's forefathers were used to inspire the subsequent generations of the *szlachta* in their contribution to the repeated cycle of life. The awareness of the historical significance of the 'middle ages' was thus a rare phenonomenon among contemporary Poles, who were also much more at ease with classical antiquity than their own past, mainly due to texts which formed the backbone of early modern education. Lacking comparable written sources concerning the local 'dark ages', Poles had to rely on the available material evidence to grasp it. Late medival architecture seemed to offer a perfect instrument of such inquiry, as it offered a spectacular corroboration for claims of greatness of the nation and verified the might of each aristocractic clan. Not surprisingly, the castle, as a building type largely defined in the second half of the fourteenth century under Casimir the Great, remained a powerful sign of the past and provided an important point of reference for early modern patrons. Yet there was a tension between the discourse of appreciation of medieval monuments and the chivalric values they embodied and one of the aspects of the ideology of Sarmatism, which gradually gained ground in the Commonwealth after the end of the Jagiellonian monarchy. Sarmatism, with its cult of an ancient nomadic tribe of Sarmatians as putative ancestors of the *szlachta*, served to devalue the role of architecture in construction of national/class identity. Ancient Sarmatians did not build houses and met their enemies in the open field – hence Poles, as their descendants, were persuaded by many contemporary thinkers to disregard the role of residences or fortifications. The quest for social status embodied by the traditional form of a castle, however, proved unrelenting in the Commonwealth throughout the early

117 *Krótka Nauka Budownicza* (1957 ed.) 16–18.

modern period, with those lacking the aristocratic pedigree particularly eager to employ medieval forms as a means of legitimization.

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PART 6

Britain, Scotland, and Ireland

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CHAPTER 23

Writing about Romano-British Architecture in the Late Seventeenth Century

Matthew Walker

In* the preface to his 1707 reissue of his *Account of Architects and Architecture*, the English writer John Evelyn made the following observation:

> Those who are a little Conversant in the *Saxon* Writers, clearly discovered by what they find Innovated, or now grown Obsolete, that we have lost more than we have gain'd; and as to *Terms* of useful *Arts* in particular, forgotten and lost a World of most apt and proper Expressions which our Forefathers made use of, without being Oblig'd to other *Nations*.[1]

The context for these remarks was Evelyn's attempts to educate English readers in the Vitruvian architectural lexicon; the language of classical architecture that had, Evelyn thought, once been known about in Britain during the Roman occupation and, apparently, in the years of Saxon rule that followed, but had been largely 'forgotten' during the later Middle Ages.

Evelyn's characterisation of the development of British architectural understanding was, then, a narrative that began with a golden age of Roman rule followed by a period of relative Saxon enlightenment in which Roman knowledge was, to some degree, retained. This was then superseded by a Dark Age of the Gothic, presumably coinciding with what we now call the High and Late Middle Ages in Britain. The English, said Evelyn, had now 'lost more than we

* This chapter, on late seventeenth-century intellectual writing on Romano-British architectural remains, builds on research recently published in my book *Architects and Intellectual Culture in Post-Restoration England* (Oxford: 2017). The discussion of Martin Lister in this chapter repeats some of the material in the book, though here it is reconsidered within the context of writing specifically about Britain.

1 Evelyn John, "An Account of Architects and Architecture", in Fréart de Chambray Roland, *A parallel of the antient architecture with the modern*, trans. J. Evelyn, 2nd ed. (London, D. Brown et al.: 1707) *preface*.

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have gain'd' and were 'Oblig'd' to rely on editions of Vitruvius produced by 'other Nations' of Europe in order to resurrect that forgotten culture.[2]

Inherent in this narrative of loss was the assumption that the Roman period was as much of an arcadia in Britain as it had been in the Mediterranean. This was common for the period, particularly in writing about architecture, where the recent introduction of classical architectural form in Britain was generally seen as a revival of the superior types of buildings that had been built in England and lowland Scotland between the invasion of AD 43 and the collapse of Roman rule in the Fifth Century. In the text that followed this preface, it was clear that Evelyn saw himself as an active participant in this re-discovery of Roman architectural culture in Britain and it is important to stress that late seventeenth-century intellectuals did not see the recent introduction of Roman architecture as a moment of novel conception, rather it was seen as being as much of a rebirth as it had been in Quattrocento Italy. The result of this renascent intellectual formulation was that the late seventeenth century witnessed the development of a serious antiquarian project dedicated to the investigation of Romano-British buildings.[3] This, crucially, was methodologically different from the treatment of the architectural legacy of Roman Britain in earlier chorographic texts such as William Camden's *Britannia*.[4] As I will ultimately argue in this chapter, this shift, from a chorographic treatment to an antiquarian one, was marked by a disavowal of the local nature of Romano-British ruins in favour of placing them within a broader context of the Roman Empire as a whole.

But the casting, and subsequent scholarly investigation of the Roman period in England as being one of high built culture, when Britain, as an imperial province, participated in a Europe-wide flourishing of architecture was problematic. This was for the reason that there was next to no evidence for it. The Romans had not left any substantial ruins in their wake. As we shall see, Roman buildings that did survive were heavily damaged fragments and/or rather utilitarian military structures. So, English writers interested in the

2 Evelyn had just cited Walther Hermann Ryff's 1548 German translation and Claude Perrault's 1673 French translation of *De architectura* as examples of European scholarship on Roman architecture.

3 For general accounts of writing on Roman Britain in the early modern period see: Hingley R., *The Recovery of Roman Britain 1586–1906, a Colony so Fertile* (Oxford: 2008), and Sweet R., *Antiquaries, the Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Hambledon – London: 2004).

4 As Anne M. Myers has shown, description of historical architecture, whether Roman or otherwise, in chorographic writing from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, tended to prioritise social and familial stories over architectural description; cf. Myers A.M., *Literature and Architecture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, MD: 2013), chapter 1.

fabric of British antiquity had very little to go on. For example, when suggesting to the '*Home-Traveller*' which buildings they might want to study to get an idea of the 'ancient manner' of architecture Evelyn was forced to recommend recent works by Christopher Wren and Inigo Jones rather than anything actually ancient.[5] Architects keen to emulate the architecture of ancient Rome had next to nothing in the way of local source material to integrate into their designs. If Italian authors could claim the Pantheon as their greatest ancient survival and French authors the Maison Carrée, the British had to settle for long but largely ruined walls.[6]

This paucity of surviving structures did not stop antiquarians and architects from trying to write about and understand the architectural legacy of the Roman period in Britain though. In some cases their attempts smack of desperation. This might be one possible context for the most famous (or infamous) piece of writing on Romano-British architecture produced in the seventeenth century: Inigo Jones's posthumously published *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly called Stone-Heng*, in which he argued that Stonehenge was a Roman Temple. This was an argument that was widely rejected in the period and, as Caroline van Eck has convincingly argued, was probably the result of Royal pressure rather than individual scholarly conviction on Jones's part.[7] Nonetheless, the text demonstrates a desire by both British authorities and scholars to establish actual built evidence of the Roman period in Britain that went beyond the mundane and fragmentary and, instead, had a claim to both monumentality and architectural refinement. Indeed, Jones saw Stonehenge as being simply too good to have been built by anyone else but the Romans. The ancient native Britons, said Jones, had such 'small experience […] in knowledge of what ever *Arts*, much lesse of building, with like elegancy and proportion, such goodly works as *Stoneheng*'.[8] Instead, Jones argued, it was 'of as beautifull *Proportions*, as elegant in *Order*, and as stately in *Aspect*, as any'[9] of the ancient monuments of Italy, which, he reminded his readers, he had seen first-hand.

5 Specifically, Evelyn recommended Banqueting House by Jones and Wren's St. Paul's Cathedral, the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford, Trinity College Library in Cambridge, and Greenwich Hospital; cf. Evelyn, "Account" 10.

6 In fairness to early modern British writers, there was a rich literary and scholarly body of work on Hadrian's Wall that began as early as the sixteenth century. See Hingley, *Recovery of Roman Britain* 85–156.

7 Eck C. van, *Inigo Jones on Stonehenge: Architectural Representation, Memory and Narrative* (Amsterdam: 2009).

8 Jones Inigo, *The most notable Antiquity of Great Britain vulgarly called Stone-Heng on Salisbury Plain* (London, James Flesher for Daniel Pakeman: 1655) 2.

9 Ibidem 1.

By the late seventeenth century, Jones's theory was largely discredited. Stonehenge did not, of course, resemble any ancient Roman temple. Instead English writers decided that they had to make do with the structures that survived from Roman Britain that they could conclusively prove to have been built under the ancient empire, even if none of those ruins were in any way as substantial as the great monument on Salisbury Plain. So, the antiquarian culture of the post-Restoration period saw a number of attempts to analyse rather smaller and less impressive survivals from the Roman occupation. For the rest of this chapter, I will explore a sample of these texts and, in particular, emphasise the consciously erudite approach that these authors took in their investigation of Roman Britain. Ultimately I will argue that by frequent recourse to textual authority, these authors were able to position the rather unimpressive built fabric of Roman Britain within European-wide debates about ancient architecture that were normally focused on much more substantial architectural survivals.

Take, for example, a 1702 account of the Roman fort of Burgodunum in the village of Adel near Leeds written by the Yorkshire based antiquarian Ralph Thoresby.[10] This was published, like so many accounts of Romano-British antiquities, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, the journal of the Royal Society. The *Transactions* was the principal forum for the sharing of antiquarian material in late the seventeenth and early eighteenth century and most writing about Romano-British architecture can be found in its pages.[11] Thoresby's account was fairly typical of antiquarian material in the journal in that it used textual sources to attempt to explain the material evidence of Britain's Roman past. The remains of the fort at Adel consisted of foundations only, but that did not stop Thoresby citing numerous authors in his account of the structure. For example, he used the inscriptions found on the site alongside William Camden's *Britannia* to propose that the fort dated from the Severan era and he consulted a manuscript copy of William Leland's 'Itinerary' to locate the Roman military road that the settlement once sat upon. Thoresby also argued that the small millstones that he had found on the site were evidence of the presence of slave quarters in the fort (they were used in the ancient practice of restraining slaves

10 Thoresby Ralph, "A Letter from Mr Thoresby, F.R.S. to the Publisher, concerning the Vestigia of a Roman Town lately discovered near Leedes in Yorkshire", *Philosophical Transactions* 23, 282 (1702) 1285–1289.

11 For antiquarian material in the Philosophical Transactions see Hunter M.C.W., "The Royal Society and the Origins of British Archaeology", in idem (ed.), *Science and the Shape of Orthodoxy: Intellectual Change in Late Seventeenth-Century Britain* (Woodbridge: 1995) 181–200; and, specifically relating to architecture: Walker M. *Architects and Intellectual Culture in Post-Restoration England* (Oxford: 2017), chapter 3.

by tying them to stones). In doing so he cited Scripture (*Exodus* 11, 5; *Judges* 16, 21 and *Matthew* 18, 6), as well as the writings of two English scholars: the early seventeenth-century clergyman Thomas Gataker, and the contemporaneous Oxford-based Classicist and Anglo-Saxonist Edward Thwaites.[12] But Thoresby's use of such sources is still rather provincial and focussed exclusively on the site itself. For a more consciously European approach to the analysis of Roman Britain we must go elsewhere.

Christopher Wren's *Notes on Roman antiquities in London* are amongst the more important writings on the subject in the late Seventeenth Century, although they were actually written by his son – based on either notes by, or conservations with, his father. They were published in *Parentalia* in 1750 and record discoveries made by Wren during the rebuilding of the Cathedral and parish churches in the City after the Great Fire.[13] Like Thoresby, Wren made frequent use of documentary sources, ancient, medieval or modern, to further understand the various remains of Roman roads and structures that were unearthed in the years following 1666. For example, he began the *Notes* by citing Lucan and Tacitus (in a historical context rather than in an architectural one). Later in the text he cited other sources in connection with the so-called *London Stone*. This was a block of limestone, probably dating to the Roman occupation and surviving today [Fig. 23.1].[14] Through its unremarkable and fragmentary nature it is rather typical of surviving architecture from British antiquity. But that did not stop the antiquarians in Wren's time from placing this lump of masonry within no less a context than that of the *Forum Romanum*:

> *London-stone*, as generaly suppos'd, was a Pillar, in the Manner of the *Milliarium Aureum*, at Rome, from whence the Account of their Miles began; but the Surveyor was of Opinion, by Reason of the large Foundation, it was rather some more considerable Monument in the *Forum*; for in the adjoining Ground on the South Side [...] were discovered some *tessellated* Pavements, and other extensive Remains of Roman Workmanship, and Buildings.[15]

12 The texts were Gataker's 1657 annotations on *Isaiah* and Thwaites's 1698 edition of the Old English Heptateuch; cf. Thoresby, "A Letter" 1287.

13 They have now been transcribed and published in Soo L., *Wren's "Tracts" on Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge: 1998) 22–30.

14 For the London Stone in general see Clark J., "London Stone: Stone of Brutus or Fetish Stone – Making the Myth", *Folklore* 121, 1 (2010) 38–60.

15 Soo, *Wren's Tracts* 26.



FIGURE 23.1
The London Stone (currently on display in the Museum of London)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

By rejecting the 'generaly' accepted hypothesis, Wren (or his son, following the opinion of 'the Surveyor') by no means makes the object less spectacular. Quite on the contrary, as an explanatory footnote to his own theory makes clear:

> Probably this might in some degree, have imitated the *Milliarium Aureum* at *Constantinople*, which was not in the Form of a Pillar, as at *Rome*, but an eminent Building, for under its Roof (according to *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*) stood the Statues of *Constantine* and *Helena; Trajan*; an equestrian statue of *Hadrian*; a Statue of *Fortune*, and many other Figures and Decorations.[16]

Assuming these were the thoughts of Wren, he had used textual sources to argue that the London Stone was once a very substantial structure in the same way that the architectural fragment in Constantinople, known as the Milion, had once been part of a much larger building. Wren refered to two Byzantine authorities: Georgius Cedrenus, whose eleventh-century *Compendium Historiarum* contained an account of the ruins of the forum in Constantinople; and the *Souda*, a tenth-century encyclopaedia of the ancient world. So, Wren had used the Roman remains of London to engage with European scholarship and to draw parallels between English archaeological survivals and more substantial ruins on the continent. But again, Wren's notes on the Roman antiquities of London have their limits. They were not published in his lifetime and they are not particularly substantial. For more impressive feats of scholarship on the remains of Roman Britain, we must go elsewhere.

16 Ibidem.

Interest in Britain's Roman buildings was not limited to England. North of the border there was much antiquarian activity focused on the remains of the ancient empire that had tentatively occupied the southern parts of Lowland Scotland. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the Edinburgh-based physician, geographer, and antiquarian Robert Sibbald was the principal investigator of this material.[17] His 1707 *Historical inquiries concerning the Roman monuments and antiquities in the north-part of Britain called Scotland* represented the summation of many year's research on the subject. Sibbald's text was enormously erudite and, in it, he made repeated reference to ancient, medieval and modern authors. The ancient sources he used tended to be, firstly, historical works and, secondly, those relating directly to Britain. So, he cited Tacitus's *Agricola* and the *Augustan History* (on the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus), above all other ancient writers. He also made repeated use of Ptolemy when discussing the locations of Roman settlements and, to a lesser extent, cited later writers from the Anglo-Saxon period (principally Bede and Nennius) when appropriate.[18] The use of these sources reflects the fact that Sibbald's text was, principally, historical. On the whole he used the ruins as a means to an end: namely for establishing the nature of Roman rule in the far north of England and lowland Scotland rather than examining its architectural legacy with any degree of focus. There was, however, one section of the work dedicated to a single building and, in this, Sibbald shifted both his approach and the terms of his textual reference. This was his discussion of the single most substantial survival of the Roman period in Scotland. This was the structure that gave its name to the central Lowlands town of Stenhousmuir, a round, domed object with an oculus in its apex that was, by Sibbald's day, known as Arthur's O'on (or oven), presumably due to its passing resemblance to a klin.[19] It was probably a Roman temple or triumphal

17 For Sibbald, and his architectural interests in particular see Walker M., "Architecture, Improvement and the 'New Science' in Early Modern Scotland", *Architectural Heritage* 23, 1 (2012) 41–55.

18 For example, Sibbald referred to Bede in the context of the ancient city of Guidi described by the Anglo-Saxon writer in his *Ecclesiastical History*, and both Bede and Nennius in the context of the revolt of Carausius (third century AD); cf. Sibbald Robert, *Historical inquiries concerning the Roman monuments and antiquities in the north-part of Britain called Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1707) 16, 20–21.

19 For archaeological research on Arthur's O'on see: Steer K.A., "Arthur's O'On: A Lost Shrine of Roman Britain", *Archaeological Journal* 115, 1 (1958) 99–110; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Stirlingshire, an Inventory of the Ancient Monuments* (Edinburgh: 1963) 117–118; Lewis M.J.T., *Temples in Roman Britain* (Cambridge: 1966) 78–79.

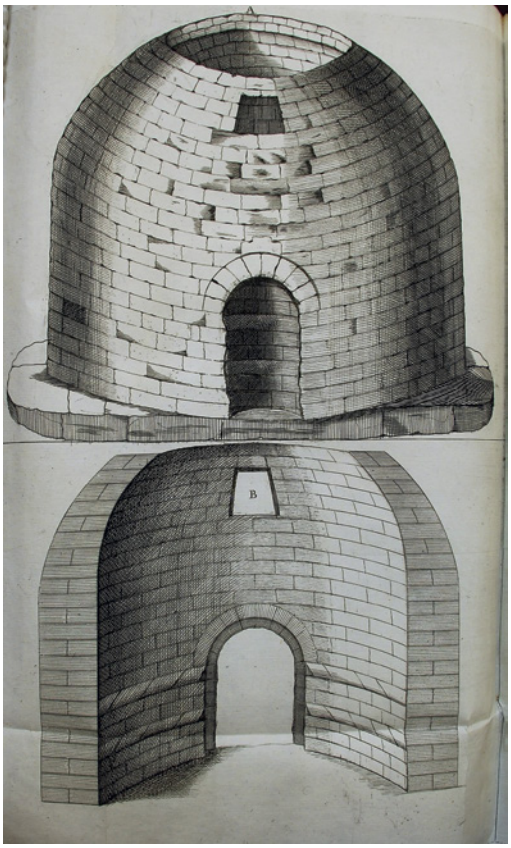


FIGURE 23.2
Arthur's O'on, from: Robert Gordon, *Itinerarium septentrionale: or, A journey thro' most of the counties of Scotland* (London: 1726)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

monument (a *tropaeum*) from the Antonine period.[20] It was demolished in the eighteenth century but numerous illustrations of it exist [Fig. 23.2].[21]

Sibbald began his discussion of the building by quoting Hector Boece's 1527 *Scotorum historia*, in which it was argued that the structure was a Roman temple.[22] And then he turned to another recent writer, Henry Sinclair, who

20 Sibbald's text had a very rudimentary illustration of the O'on, but I show here a later, much more informative eighteenth-century illustration from Gordon Robert, *Itinerarium septentrionale: or, A journey thro' most of the counties of Scotland* (London: 1726), plate 4.

21 For the demolition, by a local landowner, and the subsequent antiquarian reaction see Brown I.G., "'Gothicism, ignorance and a bad taste': the destruction of Arthur's O'on", *Antiquity* 48 (1974) 283–287. The O'on was the subject of some scholarly attention in the twentieth century, but it remains an under-researched building. The circumstances of its demolition would certainly be worthy of future investigation.

22 Sibbald, *Historical inquiries* 43.

had written a manuscript account of Arthur's O'on in the 1560s.[23] Sinclair had also been of the opinion that it was a temple dating from the Roman period. Additionally, both Boece and Sinclair had reported seeing an altar in it, but this had been removed by Sibbald's time. Sibbald himself was convinced that it was a Roman structure, for the same reasons that Jones had claimed Roman provenance for Stonehenge: namely, that it was too good to be by the ancient Britons. Their temples, said Sibbald, 'were only Stones set in Circles', whereas this kind of structure was 'far beyond the Art of the *Britains* in these times'.[24]

Sibbald then set out to prove, conclusively, that it was a Roman temple and to do so he turned not to a local or historical source, but to the greatest of all authorities on Roman temple construction: Vitruvius. He began, logically, with the discussion of round temples in the fourth book of *De architectura*, via the commentary of the sixteenth-century French humanist Guillaume Philandrier:

> *Philander* in his Notes upon the 7th Chap. of *Vitruvius*' fourth Book, furnishes us with a convincing Argument that it was a Temple thus, *Templorum quanquam alia sexangula, alia multorum angulorum, caeli naturam imitati veteres, imprimis rotundis sunt delectati* [although some temples had six or more angles, the ancients, imitating the nature of the sky, were particularly delighted in round temples].[25]

Sibbald then applied Philandrier's Vitruvian gloss to the O'on, noting that 'The round Figure is the most perfect, which commendeth this: and the Elegancy and Magnificence of this Work, appeareth in the agreeable Pulchritude of it'. So, Sibbald, following Philandrier, saw the structure's perfectly round and (apparently) beautiful shape as evidence of its Roman origin. He then cut out the French middleman and went straight to the original text of *De architectura*, picking out a passage from chapter two of the first book to, firstly, confirm this

23 Sibbald had found Sinclair's account in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh, on a loose sheet inserted into in an abbreviated manuscript transcription of the *Scotichronicon*, a medieval account of the history of Scotland: Sibbald, *Historical inquiries*. The manuscript has subsequently been transcribed and published by Turnbull W.B., *Extracta e variis cronicis Scocie: from the ancient manuscript in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: 1842).

24 Sibbald, *Historical inquiries* 42–43, 45.

25 Sibbald, *Historical inquiries* 45. The passage from Philandrier that Sibbald quotes is: Philandrier Guillaume, *In decem libros M. Vitruvii Pollionis de architectura annotationes* (Rome, Giovanni Andrea Dossena: 1544) 143. Philandrier's commentary included this observation in his commentary on chapter seven, as Sibbald observed, rather than chapter eight, where it can be found in Vitruvius's original text.

provenance, secondly, to explain the aperture at the apex of the O'on's dome, and, thirdly, to ascribe a deity to the temple:

> The opening in the top, likewise proveth it to be a Temple; for as *Vitruvius* sheweth, the *Decor est emendatus operis aspectus, probatis rebus compositi cum auctoritate*, and the first part of this *perficitur statione, quae Graece* Θεματίσμος *dicitur cum* Iovi, *Fulguri, et Caelo et Soli et Lunae, aedificia sub divo, hypaethraque constituuntur, horum enim deorum, et species et effectus in aperto mundo atque lucenti praesentes vidimus*. It is very like that this Temple was dedicated to *Caelus*, a Deity of the *Romans*, for it is situated in a Plain, and is open to the Air, and uncovered, is of a Circular Figure [...].[26]

Thus Sibbald was able to use Vitruvius to prove, as he saw it, that the O'on was a hypaethral Roman temple dedicated to Caelus on account of its situation and the oculus that left it open to the elements.[27] He then turned to issues of dating and patronage and after refuting, firstly, Camden's claim that the O'on was built by Agricola and, secondly, Nennius's attribution of it to Carausius, he used Cassius Dio and Herodian's accounts of Septimius Severus's building programs in the north of Britain to argue that it has been that emperor who had erected Arthur's O'on during the time he spent in the county between 208 and his death in York in 211.[28] Sibbald then, somewhat audaciously, claimed that the structure was a conscious emulation of the Pantheon in Rome on account of the fact that, according to the *Historia Augusta*, Septimius Severus had also repaired that famous temple and would thus, Sibbald reasoned, want to build a similar shaped monument in Britain. After all, said Sibbald, 'It agrees with the *Pantheum* in this, that the Roof, even of this here, hath no Pillar to support it, and that tho it be a Vault, it hath no Key-Stone, or Navil Stone to bind it in the middle, but in place of that, a round Hole in the middle, being open as the *Pantheum* in the Top'.[29] It is difficult to fault Sibbald's logic at least.

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26 Sibbald, *Historical inquiries* 45. The passage in Vitruvius is 1, 2, 5 and reads in translation: 'Appropriateness consists in the perfect appearance of a work composed using the correct elements in accordance with precedence. This is achieved by following a rule, *thematismos* in Greek, or a custom or nature. One follows a rule when roofless buildings open to the sky [*hypaethra*] are built to Jupiter, Creator of Lightning, Caelus and the Sun and Moon: for the appearances and manifestations of these deities are visible to us in the sky when it is clear and bright'. Trans. R. Schofield *On Architecture* (London: 2009).

27 In fact, the aperture was probably the result of damage to the building rather than part of the original design: Royal Commission, *Stirlingshire* 119.

28 Sibbald, *Historical inquiries* 46.

29 Ibidem.

Even if his positing of a direct link between the Pantheon and Arthur's O'on seems a little far-fetched, it nonetheless served the same purpose as Sibbald's use of Philandrier and Vitruvius earlier in the account: to demonstrate to his readers that the buildings of Roman Britain, no matter how ruined or unimpressive, could be understood and located within the context of the ancient empire as a whole, rather than just viewed as local curiosities or as historical evidence of Roman military and political activity. He used the fact that the O'on, in form, resembled buildings that were described by Vitruvius and analysed by Philandrier to place it, intellectually, in the same bracket as the greatest of all Roman architectural survivals.

Of all the late seventeenth-century interpreters of Romano-British architecture, none were as thorough and committed as the York antiquarian and physician Martin Lister. In 1683 he published an account of the largest surviving Roman ruin in his native city, the Multangular Tower: a ten-sided fortification of Roman masonry and brickwork with a layer of medieval stonework above [Fig. 23.3].[30] It was originally part of the considerable fortifications around the Roman town of Eboracum.[31] Again, this was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. It had been Lister himself who had correctly identified the lower sections of the structure as Roman and he also supplied an illustration of the ruin, which was subsequently engraved by John Savage and published in the journal [Fig. 23.4].[32] As he set out in the account and emphasised in the illustration, Lister recognised that there were two different stages of building work and that the top half of the structure was 'modern' and, therefore 'imperfect'. He then gave a basic description of the tower with an emphasis on the materials and construction. In doing so he turned, like Sibbald, to Vitruvius:

> But the out-side, towards the River, is most worth taking notice of, it is faced with a very small *Saxum quadratum* [square stone] of about 4 inches thick, and laid in levels like our modern Brick-work: This sort of building *Vitruvius* (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 8.) calls after the Greeks, *Isodomum, cum omnia Choria aequa crassitudine fuerint structa*; but the length of the stones is

30 Lister Martin, "Some Observations upon the *Ruins* of a *Roman* Wall and *Multangular-Tower* at *York*", *Philosophical Transactions* 13, 149 (1683) 238–242.

31 For modern archaeological analysis of the tower see: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, Volume 1, Eburacum, Roman York* (Leicester, HMSO: 1962) 13–14.

32 For a fuller account of Lister's exploration of the Multangular Tower see Walker, *Architects and Intellectual Culture* 107–119. Here I contextualise Lister's account within antiquarian writing on Roman Britain rather than within intellectual architectural writing more generally.



FIGURE 23.3 The Multangular Tower, York
IMAGE © AUTHOR



FIGURE 23.4 John Savage, Illustration of the Multangular Tower, York. From Martin Lister, "Some Observations upon the *Ruins* of a *Roman* Wall and *Multangular-Tower* at *York*", *Philosophical Transactions* 13, 149 (1683)
IMAGE © AUTHOR

> not observed, but are as they fell out in hewing: From the foundation 20 courses of this small squared stone are laid, and over them 5 courses of Roman Brick; these Bricks are laid some length waies, and some end-waies in the wall, and were called *lateres Diatoni*: After these 5 courses of Brick, other 22 courses of small square stone (as before described) are laid [...].[33]

Thus, Lister identified the technique used in the construction of the tower from the pages of the Roman author. He noted that the height (though not the length) of the stones was uniform and, therefore, corresponded to Vitruvius's definition of isodomic masonry construction.[34] Lister also highlighted the strip of brickwork that divided the masonry roughly halfway up the Roman section of the tower, which was, again, described in the pages of *de Architectura*. This feature interested him and he went further in analysing it. In the process, though, he departed from the structure itself and initiated a discussion – informed by Vitruvius – of Roman brickwork in general:

> The reason of this order of Brick-work intermixt with stone, the same *Vitruvius* gives, and in this particular the Romans after his time, and upon his admonition, and recommendation (in all probability) did imitate the Greeks, '*longitudines Coriorum* (saies he) *alternis coagmentis in crassitudinem instruentes*: And a little further, *interponunt singulos perpetua crassitudine utraque parte Frontatos* (*lateres*) *quos Diatonos appellant, qui maxime religando confirmant parietum soliditatem*: These Bricks were to be as *Throughs*, or as it were so many new Foundations to that which was to be superstructed; and to bind the Two sides together firmly, for the wall it self is only faced with small square stone, and the middle thereof filled with Morter and Peble; *frontibus serviunt* (saies the same Author) *et medio farciunt*; which *Vitruvius* discommends in the Romans of his time, and therefore the later Romans (the builders of our wall) did as I said, correct this Error, and imitate the Greeks.[35]

33 Lister, "Some Observations" 238.

34 Vitruvius's description of isodomic construction, that Lister quoted, is from *De architectura* II, 8, 6 and reads: 'A wall is called isodomum when all the courses are equal in height'.

35 Lister, "Some Observations" 239. The lines from Vitruvius are from Book II, 8, 7 and read respectively: '[the Greeks] lay the stones horizontally and set alternate stones lengthwise into the thickness of the wall' and 'they insert single stones through the whole thickness of the wall with faces at either end, called διατονοι [*diatonoi*; cross-pieces, through-pieces], and these, binding the walls together powerfully reinforce their stability'. The lines 'frontibus serviunt' ('concentrate only on the vertical outer faces') and 'medio farciunt'

Here, he used the tower as evidence to point to a broader chronology of developments in ancient masonry and brickwork techniques. The tower, noted Lister, employed a construction technique used by the Greeks and approved of by Vitruvius, whereby alternate stones (or in this case bricks) were inserted lengthwise into walls to reinforce the superstructure. This technique was not widely used amongst the builders of Vitruvius's time (to the disapproval of the Roman author) and Lister, aware that the Multangular tower post-dated the writing of *de Architectura* by at least 300 years, was able to conclude that the builders of the structure (and Roman builders in general) had improved their methods according to Vitruvius's prescription in the intervening centuries. His concern with the Multangular Tower in this passage was to place it within a broader architectural movement in the ancient world rather than attempt to understand it at a local level. It represented a test case for an exploration of Vitruvian theory and the subsequent development of that theory in the period after *de Architectura*.

In fact, Lister's Multangular Tower account does not really provide, at any point, a lengthy or locally contextualised discussion of the building itself. Unlike Sibbald, he seemed uninterested in the historical or political context of the tower and, at no point in his account, did he attempt to place it within the usual catalogue of visiting emperors, internecine imperial conflict, and Pict-bashing that represented the staple Romano-British diet for seventeenth-century antiquarians. Instead, Lister had ambitions that were much broader, culturally: he wanted to use the Multangular Tower as a starting point for a discussion of the nature of Roman architectural technique, and specifically that relating to brickwork.[36]

So, his analysis of the tower's brickwork quickly turned into a much more general discussion of the reasons why brick construction was discouraged in Rome in spite of Roman architects' overall preference for it over stonework (according to Vitruvius). This was 'a thing not of choice, but necessity' noted Lister. And he gave a précis of the Roman author's explanation 'at large' for 'why the Romans suffered not brick buildings to be made within the Citty of *Rome*'. The reason, Lister ascertained, was that:

('and fill up the space between') that Lister referenced are from the same passage of text and refer to a technique of building (condemned by Vitruvius) whereby upright facing stones are placed in front of rubble and mortar behind.

36 English antiquarian interest in Roman bricks was widespread in this period, see Harris O.D., "John Leland and the 'Briton Brykes'", *The Antiquaries Journal* 87 (2007) 346–356.

> The Law (sais he [i.e. Vitruvius]) suffers not a wall to be made to the street-ward (for so give me leave to interpret *communi loco*) above a foot and a half thick, and partition walls the same, least they should take up too much roome. Now brick walls of a foot and a half thick [...] cannot bear up above one Story; but in so vast and Majestick a City (as old *Rome*) there ought to be innumerable habitations, therefore when a plain Area, or building of one Story could not receive such a multitude to dwell in the City, therefore the thing it self did compel them to it [i.e. use masonry construction].[37]

Here, Lister, paraphrasing the eighth chapter of Vitruvius's second book, departed entirely from the Multangular Tower and again concerned himself with much broader questions of ancient architectural history.

Following this he returned, briefly, to the York ruin, but only to use it as a catalyst for another lengthy discussion of broader Roman architectural matters, this time concerning a discrepancy in ancient accounts of the standard measurements of Roman bricks. Lister began this discussion by giving the measurements of the bricks in the Multangular Tower and was able to establish with the help of a modern text (John Greaves's 1647 *A Discourse of the Romane Foot*), that they were roughly one and half Roman feet long and a foot wide:

> Those Bricks are about seventeenth Inches of our measure long, and about eleven Inches broad, and two Inches and half thick. This (having caused several of them to be carefully measured) I give in round numbers, and do find them to agree very well with the notion of the *Roman* foot, which the learned Antiquary *Greaves* has left us; *viz*. of its being about half an Inch less than ours; they seem to have shrunk in the bakeing, more in the breadth then in the length; which is but reasonable, because of its easier yeilding that way [...].[38]

These measurements, Lister then observed, were consistent with the account of Roman brick sizes in Pliny's *Natural History*, as well as in other Roman ruins that he had observed. They were, however, inconsistent with the account of

37 Lister, "Some Observations" 239–240. The passage of Vitruvius that Lister précised was Book II, 8, 16–18.

38 Lister, "Some Observations" 240. Greaves had calculated the Roman foot using a plethora of ancient sources and then compared to the contemporary English foot: Greaves John, *A Discourse of the Romane Foot and the Denarius: From whence, as from two principles; The Measures and Weights used by the Ancients, may be deduced* (London, William Lee: 1647) 40.

Roman brick sizes in the text of Vitruvius that he was using, which was the 1567 Latin edition of Daniele Barbaro:[39]

> Now that this was properly the *Roman* Brick we have the Testimony of *Vitruvius*, and *Pliny*: of *Vitruvius*, '*fiunt Laterum tria genera, unum quod Graece Didoron appellatur quo nostri utuntur* etc.'; And of *Pliny, genera eorum tria; Didoron, quo utimur, longum sesqui pede, latum pede*.[40]

The Vitruvius passage Lister quotes continues in Barbaro's edition: 'longum pede, latum semipede', 'a foot long, half a foot wide' – which is a clear contradiction to the measures as described by Pliny and as seen in reality.

> But we are to note, that the Coppy of *Vitruvius*; where it describes the measures of the Didoron is vicious; and is to be corrected by *Pliny*, and, had not *Vitruvius*'s Commentatour been more a friend to his Author than to truth, he had not perswaded the contrary, for the Bricks themselves do demonstrate at this day, *Pliny*'s measures to be right, and not those of *Vitruvius*, as they are extant; which makes me much wonder at the confidence of *Daniel Barbarus* affirming the Bricks now to be found, are all according to *Vitruvius* and not *Pliny*'s measures; for all that I have yet seen with us in *England* are of *Pliny*'s measures as at *Leister* in the *Roman* Ruine there, called the *Jews Wall*; at St. *Albans*, as I remember, and here with us at *York*.

For Lister, therefore, the evidence was stacked up against the Barbaro edition. Pliny's account, all of Lister's observations of the Multangular Tower, as well as his knowledge of the Jewry Wall in Leicester and the Roman ruins in St. Albans, pointed to an error in the Italian edition. This came in spite of Barbaro's claim that he had checked the measurements in his manuscript of Vitruvius against surviving Roman ruins in Italy.[41] Lister, however, was not

39 Vitruvius, *De Architectura libri decem, cum commentariis Danielis Barbari*, ed. Daniele Barbaro (Venice, F. De Franceschi – J. Criegher: 1567) 53.

40 Lister, "Some Observations" 240–241. The Vitruvius passage (II, 3, 3), which Lister quotes via Barbaro, reads in translation: 'Now, three kinds of bricks are produced. The first, called the Lydian [Didoron in Barbaro] in Greek, is the one our people use'. The text of Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis historia* XXXV, 49) reads in translation: 'Three kinds of bricks are made: the *didoron*, the one we use, one foot and a half a foot long and a foot wide'.

41 Although Barbaro frequently used archaeological evidence in his commentaries on Vitruvius, much of his knowledge of the ancient ruins had come from his collaborator and illustrator Palladio, as he admitted; see Cellauro L., "Palladio e le illustrazioni delle edizioni del 1556 e del 1567 di Vitruvio", *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte* 22 (1998) 57–128.

finished in his critique. As far as the York antiquarian was concerned, the decisive blow was provided by Vitruvius himself who, later in the treatise (including in the Barbaro edition) appeared to contradict the passage: 'And to go no farther for Arguments' wrote Lister, 'than this very Chapter of *Vitruvius*, the *Diplinthii Parietes* in *Rome* were against law, and the single Brick Wall was onely allowed as Standard, *viz*, a foot and half thick Wall, or one *Roman* Brick a length, as was above noted'.[42] Lister here was again referring to the passage in Chapter 8,17 of Book II of *de Architectura* which read: 'Leges publicae non patiuntur maiores crassitudines quam sesquipedales constitui loco communi' or 'Public laws forbid that walls thicker than a foot and a half should be built on public land'.[43] Lister surmised that if a wall with the width of single standard brick was a foot and a half wide then that was the standard size of a Roman brick. Those were the measurements given in his copy of Pliny rather than in the earlier passage of the Barbaro Vitruvius.

Starting with the ruins and, with the help of other sources, both documentary and archaeological, Lister had managed to establish that there was something amiss with the Barbaro edition of Vitruvius. The Italian editor gave the measurement of the standard Roman brick as a foot long and a half a foot wide, all other sources available to Lister suggested that these measurements should be wider by half in each dimension. Lister was then able to demonstrate that the original Roman author was not to blame. To do this, he returned to Pliny:

> *Pliny* lived sometime after *Vitruvius*, and being a professed Transcriber, and as it appears from this very place, having taken the whole business of Brick almost *verbatim* out of him and not differing in any one thing in the whole Chapter, but in this, or the measure of the *Didoron*. And the Bricks demonstrating the truth of that difference, it is reasonable we should make *Vitruvius*'s *longum pede latum semipede*, a fault of *Vitruvius* Coppyers.[44]

Assuming, therefore, that Pliny had copied, accurately, a true version of Vitruvius's text, then that original also gave the bricks sizes as one and half Roman feet long and a foot wide. As Barbaro had been aware of the discrepancy between Vitruvius and Pliny – he had acknowledged as much in his

42 Lister, "Some Observations" 241.

43 The original text here comes from the Vitruvius manuscript in the British Library (BL Harley MS 2767); see Vitruvius, *On Architecture, edited from the Harleian Manuscript 2767 and translated in English* [...], trans. F. Granger, vol. I (London: 1931) 126. The translation is from Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 55.

44 Lister, "Some Observations" 241.

commentary on the Latin text – Lister realised that the mistake did not lie with the Italian editor either: he was only guilty of repeating the error and attempting to corroborate it with erroneous observations of Roman ruins.[45] Instead, Lister guessed that Barbaro had used a deficient manuscript of the ancient source and that ultimate blame lay at the feet of a medieval copyist.

As it transpires, Lister was right. In most manuscripts of Vitruvius the line in question reads: 'longum sesquipede, latum pede' ('a foot and a half long and a foot wide'), which were the measurements recorded by Pliny and were, indeed, the standard length and width of Roman bricks. The eighth-century manuscript of Vitruvius in the British Library, perhaps the oldest transcription of the text, does not contain the discrepancy.[46] Thus, Lister was able to confidently censure the original transcriber of Barbaro's Vitruvius manuscript for mistranscription and Barbaro himself for using seemingly false archaeological evidence to compound the mistake. Lister's method had been to make a series of objective analyses of key ancient texts and combine those with archaeological observations. It had resulted in him resolving a problem that he had identified in the wider community's knowledge of ancient architecture and, in particular, in the pages of its most valued surviving source on that subject.

What are we make of all this? Well, what is immediately striking is that Lister does not, at any point, provide a lengthy discussion of the Multangular Tower itself. After a brief description of the structure on the first page, He made no further attempt to understand it at a local level. Instead the rest of publication is given over to a discussion of Roman construction techniques in general and their treatment in Vitruvius in particular. Evidently, the analysis of a newly found ancient structure was an appropriate moment to start a debate about the textuary history of *De architectur*a. This was because, for Lister, there was an accordant relationship between any Roman building and the one surviving textual source on ancient architecture. Even though Lister would have been aware that the Multangular Tower lay on the very margins of the Roman Empire, and must have been built at least a hundred years after Vitruvius's death, it was part of the same architectural culture as Vitruvius and should, by rights, correspond to the text. That architectural culture was perceived of as a homogeneous one, whose very homogeneity was insured by Vitruvian doctrine – Vitruvius being the paradigmatic Roman architect and theorist. Any inconsistencies in the text – and any inconsistencies between the text and surviving examples of ancient architecture – had to be, and in this case were, the fault of subsequent transcribers and translators. But his account also demonstrates that Lister saw

45 Vitruvius, *De Architectura* (ed. Barbaro) 53–54.
46 Vitruvius, *On Architecture* (trans. Granger) 36.

the Tower as being able to play a role in European debates about architecture that were normally reserved for the temples and basilicas of Italy and Southern France. He did this by using it to directly confront one of the most respected European interpreters of ancient architecture: Barbaro. And, again, Lister was able to use his erudition to achieve this, using Vitruvius, Pliny, and Greaves in his challenging of the Italian edition. This was typical of his approach to Roman antiquities of the North East and in other writings on the subject Lister frequently cited textual authority both ancient and modern.[47] It was, in fact, one of the most prominent attributes of his scholarship.

So, the inadequacy of Britain's Roman ruins did not stop British writers trying to use them to engage with and, (in Lister's case) challenge, better-resourced European writers on the subject. But what is also striking about the accounts that I have looked at is that none of them (not even Jones's writings on Stonehenge) attempted to cast these ruins as being uniquely British in any way. Instead, they repeatedly emphasised their similarity to continental Roman buildings and saw them as being very much part of the perceived uniform architectural culture of the Roman world. This meant that these texts seem to lack any overtly nationalist, or proto-nationalist claims for the architecture of Roman Britain. At no point did Thoresby, Wren, Sibbald, or Lister claim that any of these buildings were more importantly structurally or stylistically than any Roman ruin on the continent. Instead, I think that these writers used the remains of Roman Britain to make a claim for the independence and quality of British scholarship rather than its ruins. It was certainly felt in this period that British authors were underrepresented within wider European discourses concerning ancient architecture, but that they had, in theory, much to offer in that arena. This much is confirmed by another British writer on architecture, Joseph Moxon, who produced a series of English editions of Vignola in the 1650s, 60s, and 70s. In the preface to the 1673 third edition of his translation Moxon wrote that:

> there being few Nations of any note, that have not his [Vignola's] works translated into their own Language: onely we here in *England* (I know not whether it be through carelesness in Artists, or else covetousness) mind not those things which make other Countries (that have nothing else to boast of) so famous amongst their Neighbours. Certain I am that *England*

47 See for example his account of a Roman altar: Lister Martin, "An Account of a Roman Monument found in the Bishoprick of Durham, and of some Roman Antiquities at York", *Philosophical Transactions* 13, 145 (1683) 70–74. See Walker, *Architects and Intellectual Culture* 108–109.

> breeds as good wits as other Lands do, and would they but shew themselves more forward in commendable Studies, would doubtless share with them in their Praises.[48]

Although these remarks were somewhat focussed on the act of translating Vignola, Moxon made clear his belief that the British (or English) were perfectly capable of engaging with European scholarship on architecture and could match the achievements of writers from countries that, in Moxon's view, had nothing else going for them. As a result there is a degree of quasi-nationalism in Moxon's remarks: he was proud of the 'wits' that English writers possessed and he made claims for the superiority of English scholarly identity. The English, argued Moxon, had it in their nature to become the best interpreters of built form in Europe.

In many respects, Sibbald's exploration of Arthur's O'on and Lister's analysis of the Multangular Tower took up Moxon's challenge. They used these apparently unprepossessing buildings not to argue for the importance of the architectural legacy of Roman England or Scotland, but to showcase contemporary British antiquarianism and to demonstrate that British scholars could play a leading role in the debates about ancient architecture that were such a feature of European scholarship at the time. In this instance, scholarly erudition, rather than architectural style, was the measure of national identity.

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CHAPTER 24

Preserving the Nation's Zeal: Church Buildings and English Christian History in Stuart England

Anne-Françoise Morel

1 Introduction

Henry VIII's break with the Roman Catholic Church not only created the National Church of England but left this newly established state Church with a historical vacuum. While the dissolution of monasteries and the iconoclastic 'cleansing' of churches took place in the first decades after 1534 and later during the Civil War, the establishment of a Church with firm English roots remained uncertain until the end of the seventeenth century. This situation had consequences for church architecture reaching well beyond iconoclasm. As the study of sermons preached upon the occasion of the consecration of churches during the Stuart period has demonstrated, the status, function, and architecture of the church building were heavily debated.[1] After Henry VIII's break with Rome church historians started to rewrite the history of Christianity in England. But one had to wait until the seventeenth century for the discussion on the architecture of the church building as a dignified and monumental expression of the English Church. Only then did architects and theologians dig into antiquarian studies in order to define the status of and reflect upon the architecture of church buildings in the Church of England. The roots of the Church of England were established in biblical history, early Christianity, and England's Anglo-Saxon and medieval past, three major sets of referents which would also be materialized in various church-building projects, not least in the official church-building campaign of 1711.

Biblical and early Christian history played a fundamental role in establishing the historical lineage of the Church of England as stretching back to the very wellspring of Christianity. These references were part of a common set of referents shared by all Christian churches, reformed or not, and hence they

1 Morel A.-F., *Glorious Temples or Babylonic Whores: The Architecture of Church Buildings in England 1603–1736 according to Consecration Sermons*, PhD dissertation (Ghent University: 2011).

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played a crucial role in (Counter-)Reformation historiography.[2] Contrary to the early Christian and biblical referents, the Anglo-Saxon and medieval referents are genuinely English, a characteristic which was of crucial importance in the creation and legitimation of the Church of England as a national Church under royal supremacy, but which was equally problematic due to its associations with 'monkish popery'.

In this article I will demonstrate how patrons and architects intentionally engaged with historical and theological debates on church buildings in order to conceptualize their idea of the 'Anglican' church building and to translate these concepts into architecture. For this study I will use sermons, antiquarian tracts, and English church history. These writings gradually developed as an alternative to the classical – most often Italian and thus Roman Catholic – architectural treatises on the topic of church building. They informed patrons and architects and ultimately led to the development of theories and design practices on 'good' Anglican church buildings over the course of the seventeenth century.

2 The *Edification* of the Church of England

Between 1679 and 1715, Richard Burnet published *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, for many years the classic tale of the history of the Church of England. The first volume, published in 1679, charts the start of the Reformation under the reign of Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) almost 150 years earlier. Central to Burnet's text is the historical legitimation of the English Reformation, namely the legacy and restoration of the pure primitive Church. Against the background of this argument, it is the frontispiece of the book which retains my interest for the present study.

The frontispiece, designed by Robert White [Fig. 24.1], portrays the 'architects' of the English Reformation: Henry VIII and Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556). Behind Henry VIII and Cranmer there are two church buildings. The building closest to the monarch, which is being torn down, represents the superstition of the Roman Church, while the other building behind Cranmer represents true religion and the Reformed Church of England, which is in full construction. Hence the new building also materializes the Covenant established between the English nation and God.

2 Delbeke M. – Morel A.-F., "Metaphors in Action: Early Modern Church Buildings as Spaces of Knowledge", *Architectural History* 53, 10 (2010) 99–122.



FIGURE 24.1 Robert White, Henry VIII and Thomas Cranmer. Frontispiece engraving to Richard Burnet, *A History of the English Reformation* [...] (London: 1679)
IMAGE © LONDON, NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

The use of an architectural metaphor in the frontispiece of a book devoted to English Church history is not unusual. It was normal for seventeenth-century authors to design their title pages as a visual statement of the argument of their book. The English antiquary William Dugdale (1605–1686), who was influential in medieval studies, also used explicit architectural references for the title page of his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, a book describing the history of religious institutions and buildings in England [Fig. 24.2]. Central is the theme of the sanctity of religious endowments, illustrated on the left plinth by a medieval king making an act of donation to an abbey and at the top left an abbey, possibly Glastonbury. According to medieval and early modern Christian history, Glastonbury was founded in the first century by Joseph of Arimathea. The site not only functioned as an expression of the piety of the early Church but even more so as proof of the early Christian roots of the Church of England. At the bottom right stands Henry VIII reneging on his predecessors' vows and piety at the Dissolution of the monasteries.[3]

Regardless of the political and religious context in which they were printed (the first one during the Restoration and the second one 30 years before, during the Commonwealth), both frontispieces seem to link the history and the establishment of the Church of England to the buildings of this Church: the first one is referring to Burnet's church history, the second to Dugdale's Monasticon. In other words, they recognize the monumental value of architecture. As Caroline van Eck has demonstrated in her analysis of Henry Wotton's *The Elements of Architecture* (1624) and Christopher Wren's *Notes on architecture* of 1670, there was a strong sense of the monumental value of architecture in seventeenth-century England, probably enforced not only by the international circulation of architectural treatises, but even more so by the iconoclastic waves of the sixteenth-century Reformation and the Civil War: Monuments represented by conjuring up images and emotions stored in memory.[4]

As the above-mentioned title pages and the examples used in this article will make clear, this monumental value was closely related to the development of a discourse on the history of church architecture in England. Contrary to what the iconoclastic movements and the earliest guidelines on church architecture might induce, both the historical value and the monumental value played a very important role in the development of the church-building practice in

3 Parry G., *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: 1995) 231–233.

4 Eck C. van, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2007) 96.



FIGURE 24.2 Wenceslaus Hollar, "The sanctity of the religious endowments". From: William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* [...] (London, Richard Hodgkinson: 1655–1673)
IMAGE © GHENT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Stuart England, eventually culminating in the Commission for the Building of Fifty New Churches, launched in 1711 by Queen Anne.

The study of the history of Christianity played an important role from the earliest years of the Reformation in the Church of England, but it was not until the seventeenth century that it was used in debates on church architecture. Looking at the official guidelines of the State Church – leaving aside the extreme iconoclastic decisions taken during the Civil War and the Interregnum – the subject of 'reformed' church architecture was only explicitly addressed in the *Second Book of Homilies*, published under Elizabeth I, with a particular emphasis on ornamentation and image worship instead of on the building itself. The two homilies related to the fabric and decoration of the place of worship are entitled *For repayring and keeping cleane, and comely adorning of Churches* and *Against perill of Idolatrie, and superfluous decking of Churches*. Their major concern is that the churches be cleansed and purged from 'superstition, hypocrisie, false worship, false doctrine, and insatiable covetousnesse', from the expressions of 'worldly and vaine religion, in phantasticall adorning and decking'.[5] The 'house of GOD, which wee commonly call the Church', must be 'sufficiently repayred in all places, and [...] honourably adorned and garnished',[6] 'with places convenient to sit in, with the Pulpit for the preacher, with the Lords table, for the ministration of his holy supper, with the Font to Christen in'.[7] Ornaments are considered as being contrary to purity and sincerity.

These texts were written during the Elizabethan Settlement and consequently are based on the fundamental sixteenth-century concepts of the dichotomy between true and false religion: There was a clear attempt to distinguish the humility, simplicity, purity, and order of the godly from the pride, pomp, circumstance, chaos, and worldly desires of the ungodly.[8] The question remained as to how to define and express in architecture what good, true, and pure would be without falling into the extremes of idolatry, iconoclasm, and

5 Jewel John, "Against Perill of Idolatrie, and Superfluous Decking of Churches" and "For Repayring and Keeping Cleane, and comely adorning of Churches" in Jewel John (ed.), *The Second Tome of Homilies* [...] *Set Out by the Authority of the Late Queens Majestie: and to be Read in Every Parish Church Agreeablie* (London, John Bill: 1623) 11–76 and 77–81, here 80.

6 Jewel, "For Repayring and Keeping Cleane" 77.

7 Ibidem 80.

8 Davies C., *A Religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester: 2002) 22–25.

heresy, a delicate exercise which would be of great concern for all forthcoming church-building activity in the seventeenth century.[9]

3 Building the True and Primitive Church

Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626) – Church of England clergyman and divine scholar – defined the sources of the Church of England in a sermon preached before James I. They included Scripture and the first six centuries of Christianity:[10]

> One canon of Scripture which we refer to God, two Testaments, three Creeds, the first four Councils, five centuries and the succession of the Fathers in these centuries, three centuries before Constantine, two centuries after Constantine, draw the rule of our religion.[11]

Hence, the first texts in seventeenth-century England to deal with the subject of the church building constantly refer to the Bible and to Christian traditions, especially the first two centuries after Christ until time of Constantine the Great. The leading topographical and typological themes are the Tabernacle, the Temple, public worship under primitive Christianity, and the magnificent churches of Constantine. The primacy of Scripture and the early Fathers was fundamental in the establishment of the Church of England and remained an absolute authority.[12] Most of these texts were religious pamphlets, theological tracts, and sermons published in the 1630s, in the midst of the religious reforms conducted by Archbishop William Laud (1573–1645), who strove for a highly ceremonial and ritualistic form of worship, which resulted in ornamental

9 It is commonly assumed that almost no church-building activity took place under the reign of Elizabeth. Hence Bishop King's commission to Anthony Munday to write a continuation of Stow's *Survey of London*. It was the bishop's aim to give an overview of the revival in church refurbishment in the capital in order to serve as answer to the Roman Catholic attacks. Merritt J.F., "Puritans, Laudians, and the Phenomenon of Church-Building in Jacobean London", *The Historical Journal* 41, 4 (1998) 938–939.

10 During James I's reign Andrewes became bishop, a position which would give him a leading role in the Church and make him a model in the decades to come. James I never made him archbishop because of Andrewes' ceremonialist preferences.

11 Andrewes Lancelot, quoted in: Quantin J.L., "The Fathers in Seventeenth Century Anglican Theology", in Backus I. (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, 2 vols. (Leiden: 1997), vol. 2, 989.

12 Morel, *Glorious Temples* chapter 2; Delbeke – Morel, "Metaphors in Action" 99–122.

church architecture based upon tradition.[13] Whether they were written by Laudian partisans or opponents, their sources, references, and topics are the same. The authors discuss the apostolic foundation of the church building, the rituals surrounding the building, and its status, as well as practical concerns regarding the liturgical space, the decoration of churches, and the placement of church furniture, within a historical sequence of biblical, early Christian, and sometimes Anglo-Saxon traditions. The organization of the liturgical space excepted, the architecture of the church building is never discussed, and attention to the building's style does not seem to have been maintained. The most important concern was to ground the church building in the religious and liturgical practices of the 'true' Church.[14]

The Bible and early Christian tradition were a powerful source for thought about architecture, not only because of the descriptions of Solomon's Temple and Constantine's churches, but even more so because of the conflicting images these models presented about the moral value of the act of building. Magnificent church buildings, as expressed in Solomon's Temple or Constantine's churches, were approved as a way of praising God, but they were also rejected as an unjustified indulgence in materialism and luxury, most often exemplified by Herod's reconstruction of the original Temple.[15] At the consecration of the parish church in Flixton (1630), the Calvinist Brinsley condemned the richness of Herod's Temple as a work of Satan which diverted worshippers' thoughts by means of external beauty:

> That the eyes of the Jewes be dazled with this outward pompe and glory they might looke no further, but that their thoughts might hereby be wholly taken off from looking for, or longing after the promised Messias.

13 On Laud and church building, see Fincham K. – Tyacke N., *Altars Restored: the Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700* (Oxford: 2007); Parry G., *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Woodbridge: 2006).

14 Major texts are: Pocklington John, *Altare Christianum: Or, the Dead Vicars Plea: Wherein the Vicar of Gr. being dead, yet speaketh, and pleadeth out of antiquity, against him that hath broken downe his Altar* (London, Richard Badger: 1637); Mede Joseph, *Churches, That Is, Appropriate Places for Christian Worship. Both in, and Ever since the Apostles Times* (London, M.F. for John Clark: 1638); R.T., *De Templis, a Treatise of Temples, Wherein is discovered the ancient manner of building, consecrating and adorning of churches* (London, R[ichard] Bishop: 1638); and Robartes Foulke, *Gods Holy House and Service, According to the Primitive and Most Christian Forme* (London, Thomas Cotes: 1639).

15 van Eck C., *British Architectural Theory 1540–1750: An Anthology of Texts* (Aldershot: 2003) 104–105; Morel, *Glorious Temples*.

> And if so, then was this cost bestowed upon this last Temple, rather a profanation then an adorning of it.[16]

For other churchmen, the Temple and churches built by Constantine were commonly used as examples for stately and magnificent architecture, built in accordance with God and during periods when religion was still pure and exemplary.

Hence, religious history and controversy gradually forced churchmen to establish the underlying principles of ecclesiastical architecture not in terms of style but in terms of the particular status of the building as a built testimony to the Church of England and its long-standing uncorrupted Christian tradition. This initially resulted in what one could call the first treatise on church architecture in England – R.T.'s *De Templis* – and would be of tremendous importance for the church-building activity of the Restoration Church.

R.T.'s *De Templis. A Treatise of Temples. Wherein is discovered the Ancient manner of Building, Consecrating and Adorning of Churches* was anonymously published in 1638 for the praise of the restauration campaign of St Paul's Cathedral by Inigo Jones as well as in defence of the Laudian policy. Referring to biblical and Christian tradition since ancient times, the author pays a lot of attention to the necessity of building churches and providing them with sufficient ornamentation in order to express both the piety of the devotee as well as God's magnificence. He also discusses the liturgical origins of the different forms of ground plans used in churches over time, with reference to the Bible (Temple of Solomon), the Church Fathers, and the canonist and liturgical writer Durandus (ca. 1230–1296), who offered a symbolical and liturgical interpretation of the church building in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (1286). In his last chapter, *A decent forme of building and adorning a Church*, R.T. combines the lessons from the historical examples with the liturgical requirements of the (Laudian) Church of England. He prefers a basilical plan to a central one. Although the latter might be more convenient for hearing sermons, the longitudinal plan enhances the

> Majesty and the reverence of the Place. […] And the man who enters the West doore from farre beholding the Altar where he seriously intends to

16 Brinsley John, *The Glorie of the Latter Temple Greater Then of the Former. Opened in a sermon preached at the consecration or restitution of the parish church of Flixton* […] *11. March. 1630* (London, for Robert Bird: 1631) 12.

> offer his devotions to his God and Saviour, shall find his devout soule, more rapt with divine awe and reverence, more inflamed with pure and holy zeale, in the delay and late approach unto it, than if at first he had entered upon it.[17]

Pillars are required to separate the nave from the aisles, and according to the building tradition of the primitive Christians, chancel screens should separate the quire from the body of the church

> The Chancell being divided from the Church by grates of wood, curiously carved, or of iron, or brasse cast into comly works, is not onely very gracefull, but according to the lawes and orders of building observed by the primitive Christians.[18]

Referring to the same primitive Christians, R.T. is in favour of a crypt underneath the quire. Regarding the architecture of the church building R.T. does not refer to historical sources, as according to him the architecture and the style of the building are only subject to the fashions of time: 'The externall forme, of which wee intend to speak, depending almost wholly on the fancie of the Architect, has ever been various, and uncertaine'.[19] This does not, however, mean that the architecture of the church building is of no importance. On the contrary, *De Templis* is a – for that time very exceptional – exposition of the ways in which the architecture of the church building can direct the religious experience and how the architecture adds to the building's character.[20]

> For Parish Churches, and private Chappels, it were very meet that they should be built after the manner of Cathedrals, as neere as with convenience they may. When there are no Iles adjoyning to the body of the Church, Pilasters wrought into the wall, with well framed Capitals, would adde much beauty to the fabrique, and much strength to the wals, between which would bee convenient spaces to beautifie the Church, with some excellent paintings of Sacred stories, which may strike into the beholder, religious, and devout Meditations. Over the Capitals according to the common rules of Architecture, must run an Architrave freeze, and Coronis, which every work-man knowes how to adorne with leaves

17 R.T., *De Templis* 190–191.
18 R.T., *De Templis* 193.
19 R.T., *De Templis* 38–39.
20 van Eck, *British Architectural Theory* 123.

> and flowers, etc. according to the order of building [...]. The roof if it be vaulted, is more agreable to antiquitie, than if flat, it makes the voyce more audible; you may adorn it with an azure colour, and gilded starts and then as in figure, so in colour it resembles the Hemisphear of the Heavens; which perhaps gave occasion to S. Chrysost: to cal the Church ὀυρανὸν ἐπίγειον, an earthly heaven.[21]

Regardless of historical models, and in compliance with Inigo Jones' recent intervention at St Paul's Cathedral, R.T. favours classical architecture.[22]

4 Tracing the Anglo-Saxon Roots of a Zealous Nation

R.T. does, however, use a particular English form of religious architecture, in casu the preaching cross, to establish a historical connection between early Christianity and church building in England and the earliest biblical traditions found in the Old Testament. R.T. roots the erection of preaching crosses in a Saxon building practice, which was itself based on the Old Testament's figure of the holy pillar.

> It is reported of our own Ancestors the old Saxons, that they used to have publique praiers under a Crosse, erected in the open fields, which place and structure was to them a Temple [...] We read also how the holy Patriarch Iacob, erected the stone on which he had slept, for a Temple [...].[23]

By using this reference, R.T. brings in another set of historical referents, namely the English early Christian tradition or the Anglo-Saxon tradition, in the discourse on church building. Anglo-Saxon references had been used since the Reformation in order to refute papal authority in the establishment of Christianity in England. However, it was only in the seventeenth century – through the successive re-editions of William Camden's *Brittania* (1586–1607), Richard Vestegan's study *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* (1605), and most importantly James Ussher's *A Discourse of the Religion*

21 R.T., *De Templis* 194–195, 198.

22 *De Templis* is dedicated to Sir John Pindar, who contributed the enormous sum of £10,000 towards the rebuilding of St Paul's Cathedral. See: http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/s/sir-paul-pindars-house/, accessed on 27 February 2017.

23 R.T., *De Templis* 34–35.

anciently professed by the Irish and the British (1626) – that Anglo-Saxon antiquity forged ahead in ecclesiastical history. All of the authors concluded that for all their initial barbarism, the Saxons had been the people who had contributed most decisively to the formation of the English identity by means of language, religion, and, last but not least, the establishment of a comprehensive network of churches and monasteries by the end of the eighth century.[24] The conviction existed that the planting of the Church in England occurred in apostolic times and that its primitive force and independent constitution had continued uninterruptedly from Romano-British to Saxon times. Hence, in 1638, the same year as the publication of R.T.'s *De Templis*, the antiquarian Sir Henry Spelman established the first Anglo-Saxon lectureship at the University of Cambridge for the study of 'domestic antiquities touching our church'.

This driving force in establishing the historical roots of an English Church based on both international and genuine English referents was abruptly changed during the Civil War and Interregnum. Church history and Saxon antiquity no longer served as an argument in theological debates regarding the origins and the traditions of the Church of England, but instead became fundamental for the safeguarding of the English Church as antiquarian studies started to play an important role in maintaining the Church's position within English society. The antiquarians – who admittedly had often been sympathetic to the Laudian policy, as their care for the material well-being of the Church and its traditions inclined them towards being sympathetic to Laud's efforts to heighten the sacredness of the Church and to dignify and embellish the church as a place of worship – linked the moral and architectural decline of the English nation in the 1640s and 1650s. For the antiquarians, the churches and their monuments, regardless of the period in which they were built, were the visible testimony to the nation's Christian history and zeal. Hence William Dugdale, to give one of the most famous examples, undertook his study on St Paul's Cathedral (1655) incited by the demolitions of the Civil War. The Puritan party deemed ornaments, images, stained-glass windows, and monuments to be trappings of popery. Even cathedrals themselves, as the seats of the hated bishops, came under threat. These records of stone, glass, and brass were the working stock of the antiquarians, and they were imminently threatened with destruction.[25] Through his antiquarian work Dugdale hoped to preserve a testimony to the religious monuments, so that future generations could

24 Parry, *The Trophies of Time* 37.

25 Parry, *The Trophies of Time* 221.

retrieve not only an architectural description of the Old St Paul's, but even more so the religious zeal of the nation from before the Civil War![26]

For all the attention he paid to St Paul's and the other English cathedral churches, Dugdale never mentions any architectural detail in his texts. The monumental quality (monumental as referring to both the commemorative function and the imposing character of the architecture) of the church buildings was, however, present in the rich illustrations accompanying the text. These illustrations gained importance in the re-editions after the Restoration. For instance, a new edition of Dugdale's history was reprinted in 1664 with engravings by Daniel King and Wenceslaus Hollar. Of particular interest are Hollar's etchings of the interior of what Dugdale calls the '*Stupenduous Basilica*' [Fig. 24.3]. These etchings do not show all the statues, altars, liturgical utensils, etc., that would have adorned the interior until the 1640s, but instead depict vast empty spaces. This monumental vastness of the cathedral space evoked awe and religious majesty rather than the earlier ambivalence towards the general desolation of monastic and ecclesiastical ruins as residues of the former Roman Catholic idolatry. Dugdale's case was no exception.[27] The antiquarian discourse showed a historical interest and a religious concern, emphasizing how the church building had been part and parcel of (medieval) piety and devotion to the glory of God and the English nation since the earliest establishment of Christianity in England. Indeed, for many early antiquarians, the building of churches remained primarily an act of piety and devotion instead of an act of architecture. Central in their texts was the monumental quality of the church building as a testimony to God's presence upon earth and as a monument of the zeal of the Godly elect nation of England. Deliberately masking and suppressing the desolate state of some of the depicted churches as scars of iconoclastic cleansing and purging, the etchings mostly strived towards a rehabilitation of the church building as a monument for the National Church of England.

The only antiquarian warning against the 'rehabilitation' of medieval church buildings was Thomas Fuller (1608–1661), a churchman with a mild Calvinist view. As a reaction to both the destruction of the Civil War and the views expressed by his fellow antiquarians, Fuller warned against the dangers of nostalgia facing medieval ruins. According to Fuller, the antiquary must be cautious

26 Dugdale William, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London from Its Foundation Untill These Times: Extracted out of originall charters, records, leiger books, and other manuscripts: beautified with sundry prospects of the church, figures of tombes and monuments* (London, Thomas Warren: 1658).

27 Parry, *The Trophies of Time* 240.

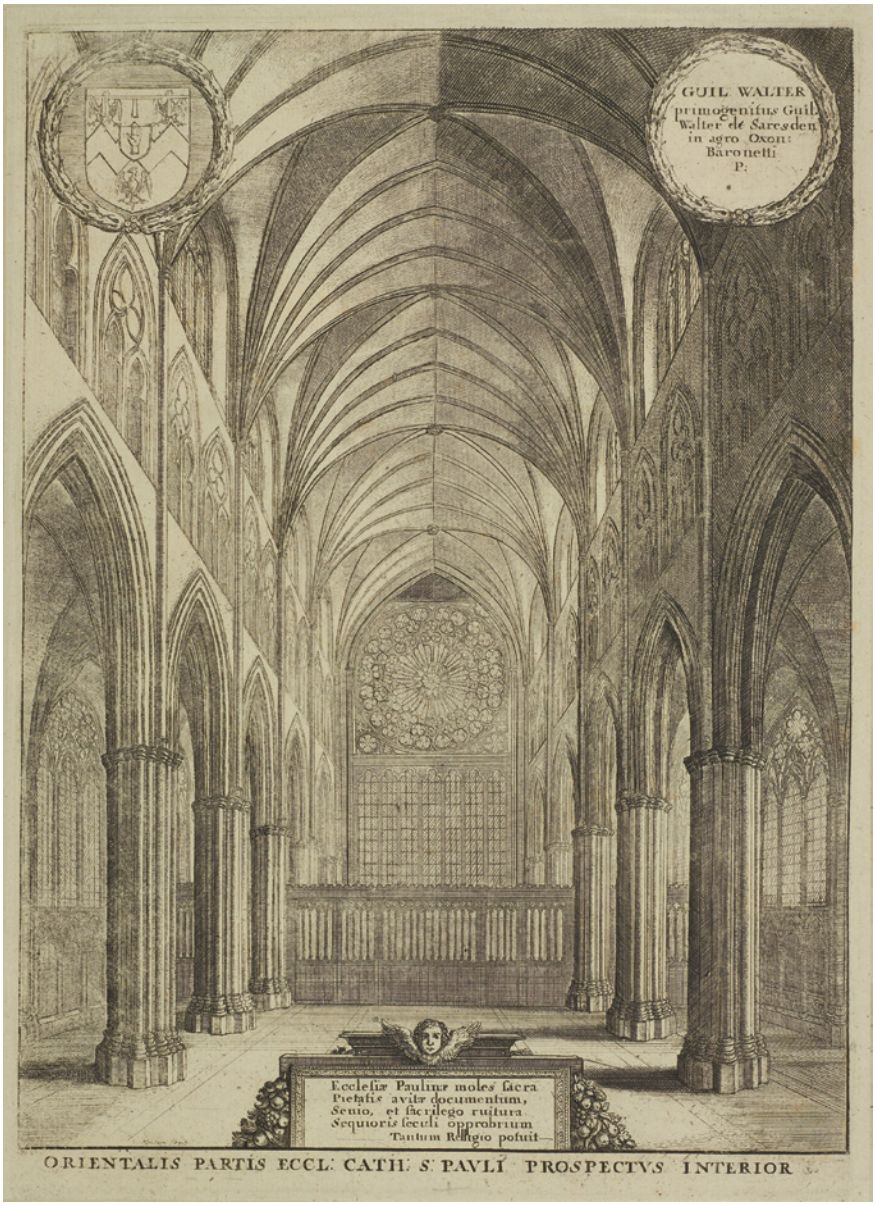


FIGURE 24.3 Wenceslaus Hollar, "Interior view of St Paul's Cathedral's east end, with coat of arms and description in medallions at top". From: William Dugdale, *The History of St Pauls Cathedral in London* (London, Thomas Warren: 1658)
IMAGE © LONDON, METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES, MAIN PRINT COLLECTION

not to develop any sympathy with the Church of the Middle Ages through the contemplation of monastic ruins. These ruins should rather remind him of the decay of the monks' religious life. However, his view remained an exception within the antiquarian movement.

5 (Re)building the Monuments of the Church of England: High Church Antiquarianism

Whether it was driven by a preservationist and royalist attitude facing iconoclasm and war damage, or the profound will to trace the roots of the Church of England, the Anglo-Saxon and antiquarian movements showed an increasing interest in the medieval architecture of English churches and monasteries, as these buildings often testified to a continual lineage from Saxon foundations through to the recent past. Most antiquarians no longer viewed monasteries as places of ignorance and superstition but as centres of piety and learning. Their buildings became material testimonies of a complex social apparatus based upon highly evolved administrative systems as well as the product of a devotional movement that had no parallel in the Reformed world. Their destruction was felt as a void, which nothing had filled.[28]

The first to trace this historical lineage and evolution of Christian tradition in the architecture of a church building was William Somner (1598–1669).

> He lov'd much, and much frequented the Cathedral service; where after his devotions were paid, he had a new zeal for the honour of the House, walking often in the Nave, and in the more recluse parts, not in that idle and inadvertent posture, nor with that common and trivial discourse, with which those open Temples are vulgarly profan'd: but with a curious and observant eye, to distinguish the age of the buildings […]. His visits within the City were to find out the Ancestors, rather than the present inhabitants; and to know the genealogie of houses, and walls, and dust […], the Saxon Monasteries and the Norman Churches.[29]

28 Parry, *The Trophies of Time* 10–11.

29 White Kenneth, "The Life of Mr. Somner", in Somner William, *A Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent* […] *to which is prefixt the Life of Mr. Somner* (Oxford, University Press: 1693) 1–118, here 9–10.

In his work on Canterbury, Somner traces the history of Canterbury from Saxon through medieval to contemporary times, thus establishing one historical lineage, testified in the architecture of the building.

Somner was one if not the most proficient Anglo-Saxonist of his time. His High Church antiquarianism was supportive of the Laudian movement and of the privileges of the Church and the clergy. In his work on Canterbury Cathedral, Somner explicitly links the uninterrupted Christian history of Canterbury from 'the conversion of the English to Christianitie, [when] the prime Episcopall See was fixed at Canterbury' until the present day by combining traditional antiquarian evidence, such as tithes, endowments, and charters with 'the historie of the Churches Fabrick', or the consecutive building campaigns of the cathedral.[30] By doing this he tries to work out the chronology of the building by references to stylistic change. For instance, quoting William of Malmesbury he states that most Saxon monasteries were built of wood, and that the Saxons were not able to raise arcades or arches in two or three tiers, a practice which was later introduced by the Normans. This practice of building arches or vaults of stone even left traces in the names of certain buildings, such as St Mary le Bow or Stratford le Bow.[31] The use of the architecture as a historical document or proof enables Somner to rectify some historical errors. Describing, for instance, St Michael's chapel, Somner is forced to conclude that this chapel was built much more recently than normally assumed:

> A Chapell indeed in name old. For Archbishop Langton in Hen. 3 dayes is storied to have been there intombed. But the work of the building of the modern Chapell will not beare that age. I am therefore perswaded that the old one was fain to be taken down, whilest the body and crosse Iles of the Church were in building, to give better way to that work [...].[32]

Thanks to the attention he pays to the architectural history of the church, each building campaign is linked to the renewal of dedications, charters, and gifts. Hence architecture, piety, and Christian history become intrinsically linked.[33] Furthermore, Somner's architectural analysis also allows him to understand the building's historical changes in terms of style and architectural effect,

30 Somner William, *The Antiquities of Canterbury, or, a Survey of That Ancient Citie, with the Suburbs, and Cathedrall: Containing Principally Matters of Antiquity in Them All: Collected Chiefly from Old Manuscripts, Lieger-Bookes, and Other Like Records, for the Most Part, Never as yet Printed* (London, J[ohn] L[egat]: 1640) 150.

31 Somner, *The Antiquities* 156–157, 168.

32 Somner, *The Antiquities* 168.

33 Somner, *The Antiquities* 158.

hence making him appreciative of the beauty of Canterbury's architecture: 'the chiefest glory both of the City and my present survey thereof'.[34]

Through their studies, antiquarians like Dugdale and Somner developed a particular sensitivity toward the history of church building and its architecture. Firstly, in their view the history, beauty, and number of churches built over the centuries in England were testimonies of a continuous demonstration of public zeal. The recovery of antiquities and their monumental quality reflected glory upon the nation's past and future identity and religion. Consequently, contrary to all the abuses which had taken place in the late medieval Church, the cathedrals and churches built in that period could still be considered a product of zeal. The medieval constructions were considered as part of a long-standing evolution in church architecture going back to the earliest Christian foundations in England.

Hence, when describing the ruins of the religious past and when confronted with the iconoclastic outbreaks of the Civil War, the antiquarians were driven by a sense of loss. The physical and institutional break with the past had the dangerous potential to permanently wipe out a whole section of religious life. History had to be rewritten to suit the profound reshaping of the Church, and the events of the present helped to heighten contemporary consciousness of historical change. The visible rupture with the past prompted a passionate urge to preserve, as well as to straighten out the sequence of history. In his posthumously published *The History of the Churches in England* (1712) the antiquarian Thomas Staveley (†1683) exemplifies this feeling with the case of Holy Trinity, Staunton Harold, rebuilt in 1653 by the local nobleman Robert Shirley. According to Staveley Holy Trinity was indeed a real bulwark of true (High Church) religion built during the Puritan Commonwealth.[35] In his account Staveley describes the Gothic architecture of the building dating from 1650 as 'compleat for the Workmanship; plentiful and honourable for the Furniture, Ornament and Endowment'.[36] He particularly praises Shirley as

34 Somner, *The Antiquities* 150.

35 Not only does Staveley give an overview of the earliest Christian foundations in England – as he states in his introduction to the reader, he especially attempts to draw a comparative chronology and analysis of Saxon and Norman architecture in an evolutionary perspective: 'An account of the Time and Manner of Building and Endowing these ancient and venerable structures: Where may be observed, the Difference between the Saxon and the Norman Architecture; and what vast Disproportion in Process of Time, appear'd between the First poor Church at Glastenbury, and our now Magnificent Cathedrals'. Quoted from Staveley Thomas, *The History of Churches in England, Wherein is shewn, The Time, Means and Manner of Founding, Building, and Endowing of Churches, Both Cathedral and Rural* (London, J. Downing: 1712) ii.

36 Staveley Thomas, *The History of Churches in England* 144–145.

'Heir and Ancestor of Hereditary Devotion and Loyalty' – corresponding to his perception of the building in the years after the Restoration, when Holy Trinity church was decorated by Shirley's son with a (Baroque!) inscription above the building's entrance: 'When all things sacred were throughout the Nation, were either Demolish'd or Profaned, Sir Robert Shirley Baronet founded this Church. Whose singular Praise it is, To have done the best things in the Worst Times, And Hoped them in the most Calamitous. The Righteous shall be had in everlasting Remembrance'.[37]

Hence, from the Restoration onwards, the Anglican Church considered church buildings as contributing to the glory of the nation, as the buildings acted as an expression of the nation's Christian state. Following the antiquarian tradition, national strength was represented as based on the state Church embodying unity and stability from early Christianity until well into the 17th and 18th centuries. Certainly, in the High Church model of the 1670s the years of the Civil War and the Commonwealth and the Puritan forces behind them were associated with schism and rebellion.[38]

The architectural models thus were still firmly rooted in tradition. The biblical and early Christian models continued to inspire many projects, including St Peter's Cornhill in London (1681). William Beveridge, clergyman and church historian, emphasized the liturgical importance of chancel screens in his 1681 opening sermon of the said parish church:

> Hence that place where this sacrament is administred, was always made and reputed the highest place in the Church. And therefore also, it was wont to be separated from the rest of the church by a Skreen of Network, in Latine *Cancelli*; and that so generally, that from thence the place its self is called the 'Chancel'. That this was anciently observed in the Building of all considerable Churches [...] within few centuries after the Apostles themselves, even in the days of Constantine the Great, as well as in all Ages since, I could easily demonstrate from the Records of those Times.[39]

37 National Trust, History of Staunton Harold Church, https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/staunton-harold-church/features/the-chapel-of-the-holy-trinity-at-staunton-harold, last view 3 January 2018. Inscription cited from Staveley, *The History of Churches* 144.

38 Quantin J.L., *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford: 2009) 285–290.

39 *A Sermon Concerning the Excellency and Usefulness of the Common-Prayer. By William Beveridge, D.D., Rector of St. Peter's Conhil, London, at the Opening of the said Parish-Church, the 27th of November, 1681. Now Lord Bishop of St. Asaph* (12th ed., London, H[enry] Hills: 1708) 18.

Under the antiquarian influence, some fervent High Church and royalist partisans even went so far as to present the 'Gothic' or traditional late medieval style as most appropriate for church buildings, since it was the result of an architectural evolution from the Anglo-Saxon past to the Middle Ages, with material testimonies still standing in the present day.

Even if this appreciation of the 'Gothic' was far from general – since a large body of Protestants in 1640s and 1650s still associated medieval architecture with monastic corruption and luxury – it would influence some new church-building projects.[40]

Browne Willis, author of *A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester*, [...] (1727), enthusiastically raised funds and conducted construction projects for several churches in his county. In 1704–1709, he restored St Mary's Bletchley to honour the memory of his parents. Characteristically for the ecclesiastical antiquarian thinking of the period, rather than lavishing money on 'Marble statues or fine Embellishments, whilst the other part of God's house in which they lay wanted both a Requisite Decency and convenience for His Worship',[41] he repaired the whole church instead. The pinnacle of this attitude, which would have pleased more than one High Church Anglican antiquarian, was reached with the complete rebuilding of St Martin's Church, Fenny Stratford [Fig. 24.4], between 1724 and 1730, which was done in memory of Willis' grandfather, the physician Thomas Willis. Here, Willis' love of architecture was combined with his antiquarian background and with a forthright rejection of religious nonconformity. Willis instructed the architect-builder Edward Wing (replaced by John Simmonds in 1728) to use the Gothic style, albeit of a kind that owed more to the medieval past than the playful 'gothick'

40 Parry points to the fact that this appraisal of monastic and medieval architecture was far from general. A large body of Protestant believers in 1640s and 1650s England held the opinion that medieval monasticism was a totally corrupt form of religious life, one marked by laziness and expressed, among other ways, in luxurious architecture. For them the monastic ruins were not a sad testimony to a breach in nation's zeal since early Christianity, but on the contrary 'the most visible reminder of the Reformation that had created modern England and that had given Protestant Englishmen their identity: they acted as markers that differentiated the old order from the new. The upholders of the new order, the Protestant gentry, did not want any formidable reminders of the Catholic past nor did they wish to have a printed record of titles to their estate before the Dissolution, for so many of them had benefited from that change'. See Parry, *The Trophies of Time* 227.

41 Bodl. Oxf., MS Willis 2, fol. 99, quoted from Dogett Nicholas, "Willis Browne (1682–1760) Antiquary", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (2009), doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29577.



FIGURE 24.4 St Martin's Church, Fenny Stratford (1724–1730), John Simmonds
IMAGE © HISTORIC ENGLAND ARCHIVE (NATIONAL HERITAGE, IMAGES OF ENGLAND. NICK JARVIS)

elements which were becoming typical of the churches of Hawksmoor and Vanbrugh at this time.[42]

Lord Digby, who sponsored the construction of the church of St Mary Magdalene in Sherbourne (1715) [Fig. 24.5], also favoured the Gothic design which was a continuation of the past, being an expression of the 'perfection of Beauty, [...] the Just glory of the Reformation'.[43] The church of St. Mary Madgalene is Castleton's earliest parish church. The foundation dates from the Norman period. In 1592 Sir Walter Raleigh built a new church on the present site. Finished in 1601, the pile was described as 'very ruinous' ca. 1700. In 1714 the 5th Lord of Digby, largely at his own expense, built the present church. As he told Alexander Pope, it features 'his own architecture':[44] a remarkable example of English Gothic, clearly visible in the windows with Y-tracery and nave arcade. The façade has three gables, typical of West Country Gothic churches, as well as the four-centred arches to the doorways.

42 Dogett, "Willis Browne".

43 Lacy James, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Consecration of a Church in the Parish of Castle-Ton near Sherborne, Dorset 1715* (London, W[illiam] Taylor: 1715) 16. Colvin H.M., *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840* (New Haven – London: 1995) 305.

44 Alexander Pope to Martha Blount, 22 June 1724 [?], in *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. G. Sherburn, vol. II (Oxford: 1956) 239; cf. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary* 304.



FIGURE 24.5 St Mary Magdalen's Church, Castleton Dorset (1715), William Digby
IMAGE © HISTORIC ENGLAND ARCHIVE (NATIONAL HERITAGE, IMAGES OF ENGLAND. ALEC HOWARD)

Nicholas Hawksmoor, the main architect of the queen's 1711 official church-building campaign, also was keen to use references to Gothic forms in his church buildings. In his youth, he had sketched a number of England's most important Gothic cathedrals and churches, including Bath Abbey and All Saints' Church in Northampton. His interest in the Gothic was further indulged during his career as an architect and by such publications as John Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693) and Androuet du Cerceau's *Livre d'Architecture*, of which he owned a copy. In a letter to Dean Wilcocks from 18 March 1735, he testified to his love of English cathedrals and the Gothic style. Hawksmoor considered the Gothic to be an authentic Christian style. It was the first real architecture of the Christian area, since the earliest Christians had first built with fragments of antiquity:

> After ages, whether Goths, Vandalls, Saracens or the Monks, afterwards, in Building Churches (no matter) partly out of necessity or partly humor. They made use of a different sort of Building with stones of less dimensions, and what they could easily transport or raise upon their fabricks, and sometimes patch'd up auckward Buildings, out of the Ruins of Old Magnificent Structures. This was what was afterwards calld Gothic. At first they built with large round pillars of five Diamr in height, and the Arches half round, wth Narrow Lights haveing half round heads, or



FIGURE 24.6
William Pearson, *View of St George in the East, Stepney, Nicholas Hawksmoor* (ca. 1815). Watercolour. London, Metropolitan Archives, Wakefield Collection
IMAGE © LONDON, METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES

> semicircular a top, and this is the most Antient style in the Gothick or Monastick manner, as they call'd it.[45]

This conception of the style was fundamental to his architectural practice, which commonly and easily entwined classical and Gothic forms, referring equally to the earliest Christian traditions. In his churches, such as St George-in-the-East [Fig. 24.6], or his design for All Souls College Oxford, Gothic towers, pinnacles, tracery, and arches are presented in a classical and symmetrical way, while classical columns, obelisks, etc., function as medieval pinnacles and turrets. His Stepney churches (St George-in-the-East, St Anne's Limehouse) evoke national Gothic church traditions with their spires, lanterns, and buttresses.

6 Conclusion

The Reformation left the Church of England in a historical vacuum, reflected in the desolate and ruinous state of its architecture. While the Puritan factions supported the religious conviction that church buildings had to be 'cleansed' of idolatry, their (overzealous) efforts also swept away the monumental testimonies to and history of the English nation's zeal. Hence, the debates on church

45 Nicholas Hawksmoor to Dean Wilcocks, 18 March 1735, in Vaughan H. (ed.), *Nicholas Hawksmoor. Rebuilding Ancient Wonders* (New Haven: 2002) 62.

building in England engaged with two issues. The first one was concerned with the church building as a dignified expression of religion situated between the extremes of iconoclastic parsimony and superstitious decorum. The second one was concerned with establishing the lineage between the Church of England and the earliest Christian settlements in England. While the first issue could be addressed in the traditional way of thinking about church architecture by means of biblical and early Christian referents, the second question necessitated the creation of a genuine English Christian tradition. The search for authenticity went hand in hand with a renewed interest for the national past, heritage, and roots. While the Saxon studies proved successful in the creation of an authentic early Christian tradition in England, they were much less useful in debates regarding church architecture, as none of their buildings survived. Nevertheless, under the impetus of the antiquarians – who were often Saxonists themselves – a genealogy of English Christianity was traced that ran from apostolic through Anglo-Saxon times to the years of the Reformation. Proof of this lineage was found in the history of religious foundations, long-standing traditions of tithes, and endowments linked to churches and cathedrals which still existed (albeit sometimes in a desolate or ruinous state). The church buildings through their monuments, glass windows, and inscriptions as well as through their evolution in architectural styles, were a visible testimony to the continuous zeal of the English. Hence, the antiquarians described the church buildings and their medieval architecture less in terms of the fallacy of idolatry than in terms of national piety and devotion. According to their descriptions church architecture was to be considered as a chronological evolution from Anglo-Saxon times through the Middle Ages and to the present day. Whereas idolatry had gradually crept in under 'popish' influences – which was at the time linked to later medieval architecture – the act of constructing monumental church buildings had remained an act of piety and devotion, while the iconoclastic movement of the Civil War was considered an attack on the national Church, resulting in sacrilege and schism. Even if this conviction was far from generally accepted, it certainly influenced the architectural decisions of supporters of a national Church based upon tradition. By means of architectural references to the recent past, they underlined the continuity of the English Christian tradition over the centuries to the present day, hence preserving the nation's zeal in times of danger of schism and heresy:

> Our Church cannot have more genuine Sons than those, who by research into the primitive state of things, can refute the impudence of those abroad, who pretend to Antiquity; and can expose the ignorance of those

at home, who affect Innovation. These Men can *stand in the ways, and see the old paths*, and are fit guides to those who are *but of yesterday, and know nothing.*[46]

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46 White, "Life of Mr. Somner" 14.

CHAPTER 25

'A Great Insight into Antiquity': Jacob Bryant and Jeremiah Milles and the Authenticity of the Poems of Thomas Rowley

Bernd Roling

1 Introduction

When in 1861 the Rostock scholar of German literature,[1] Karl Bartsch, published a study of Albrecht von Halberstadt, only a few lines of his author's original text, a medieval translation of Ovid, were available to him.[2] They had been included in the renaissance version of the text published in an early printed edition by Jörg Wickram in 1545.[3] Bartsch, however, wanted to offer not just the surviving lines but the whole of the medieval work, and so he decided to back-translate Wickram's entire text back into Middle High German. The result was a new medieval original, for which the label 'forgery' would certainly have been rejected by the editors. Yet what is astonishing is the ease with which new 'originals' could be created even in the mid-nineteenth century. The most famous 'new' medieval text of the eighteenth century was put into print by a very different scholar, Thomas Chatterton. In his day he was discussed and read with at least as much enthusiasm as an author who is far more familiar beyond Great Britain today, MacPherson's Ossian – and also suffered a similar fate.

Chatterton was the best known literary prodigy of his era, penning his first poetry at the age of eleven. The England of his day was gripped by enthusiasm for the first critical editions of Chaucer and Lydgate and was starting to take an interest in medieval literature and the Middle Ages in general, greeting all surviving relics of national history and culture with near-euphoric excitement,

1 The translations of this paper has been prepared by Orla Mulholland. For helpful discussions I'd like to thank Koen Ottenheyn, Stephan Hoppe and Dorothee Huff.

2 Bartsch K., *Albrecht von Halberstadt und Ovid im Mittelalter* (2 vols.) (Quedlinburg: 1861).

3 Wickram Jörg, *P. Ovidii Nasonis, deß aller sinnreichsten Poeten Metamorphosis* […] *Etwan durch den Wolgelerten M. Albrechten von Halberstat inn Reime weiß verteutscht / Jetz erstlich gebessert und mit Figuren der Fabeln gezirt / durch Georg Wickram zu Colmar.* […] *Epimythium* […] *Gerhardi Lorichii Hadamarii.* (Mainz, Ivo Schöffer: 1545).

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as exhibited not least by Chatterton's antagonist Horace Walpole.[4] In this atmosphere Chatterton bestowed upon England her most important late medieval poet, Thomas Rowley. A thorough knowledge of the relevant historical research literature, the works of William Lambarde and William Dugdale, and the use of the Middle English dictionaries available at the time, from Franciscus Junius to John Kersey, had enabled the precocious genius to produce a whole corpus of apparently Middle English poetry, which he attributed to his alter ego, the cleric Thomas Rowley. The latter, according to the supposed tradition, was a man of the early fifteenth century from Bristol, Chatterton's own home town, which had in the recent centuries become rich in the cotton and slave trades but which was put in the shade culturally by the prestige of older English towns like Canterbury or York. Chatterton himself did not live to see the success of his Middle English poems, nor the huge debate that arose over their forgery, the so-called 'Rowley controversy'. When the young poet met no success in Bristol, he had set off for London, where he again tried his luck as a poet, satirist and journalist, but this time under his own name. In the capital he ran into ever more serious financial difficulties, and the omens, too, had come thick and fast – in the churchyard of St Pancras he tripped and fell directly into an open grave –, and Chatterton put an end to his life with arsenic in a London garret at the age of just seventeen. For the nineteenth century he became the prototype of the unhappy romantic destroyed by the ignorance of the world around him.

Briefly the history of the composition and diffusion of the pseudo-medieval poems that Chatterton fabricated under the name of his medieval cleric Rowley, should be mentioned, before turning to the real topic of this study. Rowley's poems found not only opponents, who had raised doubts about their authenticity right from the start, but also defenders, above all two of the greatest English antiquaries of the period, Jacob Bryant and Jeremiah Milles, both of whom passionately maintained the poems' authenticity. For both these men what was decisive in the question of whether Rowley was the real author was not philological arguments, arguments that today seem entirely self-evident; rather, it was historical realia that would confirm the authority of the medieval poet. It was a past represented as perfectly and as persuasive as possible by Rowley. In this, both men were acting as typical representatives of their antiquarian guild, whose expert knowledge would assert its prestige by this

4 For a good survey of the rise of medieval studies in 18th century England see the excellent study of Matthews D., *The Making of Middle English, 1765–1910* (Minneapolis: 1999), there esp. 25–53, and see also on the 'construction' of a 'medieval world' in the 18th century idem, *Medievalism. A Critical History* (Cambridge: 2015) 165–181.

exercise. The strategies of argument that they deployed to support this ultimately hopeless cause is what I wish to trace in what follows.

2 Forging Poetry and Forging an English Past: The First Doubts on Rowley's Authenticity

Already in 1768 Chatterton had begun to launch the first texts by Rowley into the local press in Bristol.[5] Steadily more works were created, including above all a grand epic *The Battle of Hastings*, which treated the battle of the English and the Normans and a tragedy called *Aella* set during the English battles against the Danes. In addition there were smaller showpieces, such as the 'English Metamorphosis', set in early English history; three 'English Eclogues'; a 'Ballad of Charity'; and finally verses explicitly addressed to the English poet John Lydgate, supposed to be a contemporary of Rowley.[6] The genesis of these poems and their initial dissemination has by now been studied thoroughly, for example in the works of Eduard Meyerstein, Paul Baines, and especially the recent book by Daniel Cook, which was used here to great profit;[7] in German there is also a recent Chatterton biography by Jürgen Heizmann.[8] So

5 As first printing of Rowley the "Account of the ceremonies observed at the opening of the old bridge", in: *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* (1768), later quoted in Rowley Thomas, *Poems, supposed to have been written in Bristol by Thomas Rowley and others, in the Fifteenth Century: the greatest part now first published from the most authentic copies*, ed. by Thomas Tyrwhitt (London, Thomas Payne: 1777) VI.

6 Rowley, *Poems* (1777), there e.g. "The Battle of Hastings", 210–274, "The Tragedy of Aella", 76–172, the "English Eclogues", 1–18, or the "Ballad of Charity", 203–209.

7 As still most valuable biography of Chatterton see Meyerstein E.W.H., *A Life of Thomas Chatterton* (London: 1930), there on the Rowley poems 156–249, and see in addition Cook D., *Thomas Chatterton and Neglected Genius, 1760–1830* (London: 2013), passim, there esp. 35–128, Russett M., *Fictions and Fakes. Forging Romantic Authenticity, 1760–1845* (Cambridge: 2006) 50–69, Baines P., *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: 1999) 151–176, Lolla M.G., "'Truth Sacrificing to the Muses': The Rowley Controversy and the Genesis of the Romantic Chatterton", in: Groom N. (ed.), *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture* (Basingstoke: 1999) 151–172, Giovanelli L., *Falsi d'Autore. Percy, Macpherson, Chatterton* (Pisa: 2001) 222–242, Taylor D.S., *Thomas Chatterton's Art. Experiments in imagined History* (Princeton: 1978) 44–78, and Grafton A., *Forgers and Critics. Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: 1990) 50–59.

8 Heizmann J., *Chatterton oder Die Fälschung der Welt* (Heidelberg: 2009), there on the Rowley poems 124–150, and see also Hoefer N., *Chatterton oder der Mythos des ruinierten Poeten. Werk und Wirkung des englischen Dichters* (Köln: 2010), there on Rowley 82–97. For a survey of the reception of Rowley's poems in Germany see Guthke K.S., "The Rowley Myth in Eighteenth-Century Germany", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 51 (1957) 238–241.

far only Cook has given attention to the role of the antiquaries in the Rowley controversy.[9]

In Bristol, the city eulogised, which now finally had its own Shakespeare, Rowley's poems had been greeted with great enthusiasm.[10] Local worthies with an interest in history, such as George Symes Catcott and William Barrett had taken an interest in the Rowley manuscripts which Chatterton, in contrast to MacPherson, had promptly made available. William Barrett incorporated the figure of Rowley into his current history of Bristol, thus finally discovering the hitherto lacking principal witness to the city's medieval history.[11] Right from the start, as has been shown above all by Daniel Cook, the major journals of the period, above all the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *St James's Chronicle*, had also followed the publications of Rowley's work with critical interest.[12]

Doubts about the authenticity of the poems and their credibility had arisen very early. Already when Thomas Tyrwhitt published the first edition of the Rowley poems in 1777, he voiced cautious scepticism but nonetheless printed Chatterton's manuscripts without commentary and almost unaltered, including the explanations of vocabulary and glosses that had been added by the supposed discoverer and transcriber of the manuscripts, namely Chatterton himself.[13] Tyrwhitt had previously won attention as editor of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and in so doing had shown himself to be a knowledgeable scholar.[14] In the third printing of his edition Tyrwhitt added an appendix that directly linked the sensational discovery to the person of Chatterton as author.[15] On the basis of the pseudo-medieval language alone, Tyrwhitt now stressed, the poems could not possibly derive directly from the Middle Ages.[16] Serious doubts were then added by Thomas Warton, who from 1774, i.e. four years after

9 Cook, *Thomas Chatterton* 103–114.

10 For a colourful picture of Chatterton's Bristol see e.g. Barry J., "Chatterton, More and Bristol's Cultural Life in the 1760s", in: Heys A. (ed.), *From Gothic to Romantic: Thomas Chatterton's Bristol* (Bristol: 2005) 20–35.

11 Barrett William, *The history and antiquities of the city of Bristol, compiled from original records and authentic manuscripts, in public offices or private hands* (Bristol, William Pine: 1789), there e.g. 637–639.

12 Cook, *Thomas Chatterton* 55–68.

13 Rowley, *Poems* (1777), there esp. XI–XII.

14 *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, to which are added, an essay upon his language and versification; an introductory discourse; and notes*, ed. Thomas Tyrwhitt (5 vols.) (London, Thomas Payne: 1775–1778).

15 On Tyrwhitt's longtime interest in Rowley see already Powell L.F., "Thomas Tyrwhitt and the Rowley Poems", *Review of English Studies* 7 (1931) 314–326.

16 *Poems, supposed to have been written in Bristol by Thomas Rowley and others, in the Fifteenth Century: the third edition, to which is added an appendix, containing some observations upon the language of these poems, tending to prove, that they were written, not*

Chatterton's death, had begun to write the first extensive history of English poetry and had included Rowley in his chapter on the Middle Ages. According to Warton, the poet, who had died so young, had written the poems himself as a bid for attention and had then published them under an invented identity; tragedies and epics of the kind Rowley had composed were not written in the early fifteenth century, so they were necessarily anachronistic. The poems of Rowley therefore retained their undoubted class, Warton insisted, indeed their genius, but there was no way they were a product of the fifteenth century.[17]

3 The Antiquarian's Revenge: Hegemonical Knowledge as a Key to the Past

3.1 *Representing the Middle Ages: Jacob Bryant's Defence of Rowley*

Then in 1782 centre-stage was taken by two men who could be considered historians and antiquaries, but not philologists, Jacob Bryant and Jeremiah Milles. Jacob Bryant, a fellow in Kings College, Cambridge, was one of the most important antiquaries of his time and at that point had a long career behind him as mythographer and antiquarian researcher. His massive *New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology* had attempted over hundreds of pages to devise a general key to all mythologies, which in long chains of filiation aimed to trace *all* myths back to their Old Testament origins. Since the landing of the Ark, so ran Bryant's basic thesis, these elemental building blocks of all religions had been diffused among the nations and had been articulated in ever new adaptations of the same system.[18] Bryant's key to mythology, bristling with erudition, had been so successful that he followed it up with a whole series of linked works, right through to his own lexica.[19] Highly controversial, but no less well known, was Bryant's attempt to unmask all the traditions about Troy

by any ancient author, but entirely by Thomas Chatterton, ed. Thomas Tyrwhitt (London, Thomas Payne: 1778) 311–333.

17 Warton Thomas, *The History of English Poetry from the close of the eleventh to the commencement of the eighteenth century* (3 vols.) (London, James Dodsley: 1774–1781), vol. II, § 8, 139–164.

18 Bryant Jacob, *A New System, or An Analysis of Ancient Mythology* (3 vols.) (London, Thomas Payne: 1775–1776) (reprint New York: 1979), there on the basic concept vol. I, 1–3.

19 As parallel studies see Bryant Jacob: *Observations and Inquiries relating to various parts of Ancient History* (Cambridge, John Archdeacon: 1767), as lexicon of Bryant see Holwell William, *A mythological, etymological and historical dictionary, extracted from the Analysis of Ancient Mythology* (London, Charles Dilly: 1793). As critical response to Bryant's attempt see e.g. Richardson John, *A Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations* (Oxford, University Press: 1778), there Part II, c. 2, Section I–III, 318–412.

as mere speculation for which no historical basis could be shown at all.[20] Even his opponents had to acknowledge that hardly any antiquary could match the Cambridge don for erudition.

3.1.1 Philological Approaches

This overwhelming knowledge of historical detail by the antiquaries and their claim to have a superior right to pass judgement on the authenticity of Rowley's poems on the basis of this knowledge, rather than on the basis of any possible poetic criteria, moved Bryant to intervene in the debate, which by this time had really already been lost.[21] Bryant's arguments in favour of the authenticity of the poems respond to the doubts of Tyrwhitt and Warton, but above all they aim for a historical authentification of Rowley's poems. The prestige of the antiquarians' discipline meant they had to make its weight felt. For Bryant, it had to be demonstrated that at the age of 15 the young Chatterton could not possibly have composed the poems of Rowley, with their comprehensive, subtle medieval background and their positioning in cultural history, something that ought to be accessible only to the expert. Indeed, so Bryant maintained, Chatterton himself as editor had not even properly understood the poems in all their complexity, unlike Bryant and his fellow scholars. As I will show, Bryant here adopted a somewhat different strategy to defend them from that of his colleague Milles.

Bryant's approach to the text was twofold: he attempted, at least superficially, to set Rowley's language in its historical context but also to address what was his own real main interest, namely the explanation of historical realia. As regards Rowley's English idiom, the 'dialect', as Bryant called it, Bryant believed he could identify the language of the poems as a dialect of late medieval Somerset, comparable to the many other local idioms that England had brought forth in its history.[22] Rowley's language overflowed with Latinisms, as appropriate to the Ango-Norman origin of the work. Rowley wrote 'crine' instead of 'hair' or 'volande' instead of 'will', 'jintle' instead of 'gentle', like so many poets of the same provenience. Reference texts that could help set Rowley in his poetic context were Langland, Chaucer and of course Lydgate, who had all written at around the same time or a little earlier. In addition there was

20 Bryant Jacob, *Observations upon a treatise, entitled a Description of the plain of Troy, by Monsieur le Chevalier* (Eton, Maria Pote: 1795), and enlarged idem, *A dissertation concerning the War of Troy, and the expedition of the Grecians, as described by Homer* (London, n.p.: 1796 [?]).

21 Bryant Jacob, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley, in which the authenticity of those poems is ascertained* (London, Thomas Payne: 1781).

22 Ibidem 1–29.

the Virgil translation of Gavin Douglas, of importance above all on account of its classical reminiscences.[23] Special authority as a comparison, in Bryant's view, was held by the verse chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, which in content, too, was especially close to the historical poet Rowley. Like so many of the works of English historiography, it had been edited a few years previously by the great English antiquary Thomas Hearne and so was easily accessible.[24]

3.1.2 Antiquarian Knowledge and Folklore

That Bryant's hypotheses on the supposed medievalness of Rowley's language were built on sand needs no further demonstration. Of far greater interest for us are Bryant's attempts to demonstrate the additional historical value yielded by Rowley's poems. From a few simple phrases Bryant believed he could show that Chatterton had simply misunderstood his text. Rowley had selected the decidedly rare word 'goffyngely' to describe the rather pointless utterance of a character. Chatterton in his glossary had chosen the translation 'foolishly'. But in truth, so Bryant, the term stood for the 'meaningless' character of the words. The course of a certain river is described as 'bysmare', a phrase that Chatterton in the glossary to his own lines explained as 'curious'. Yet a glance at Bede would have shown that it rather corresponded to the Latin words *sonorus* and *horrendus*.[25] 'Grange', another word of Rowley's, was translated by Chatterton in his footnotes, as in later English, as 'landed estate', but in the poem's original context it should really mean 'barn', for it was derived from the Latin *granagrium*, the 'grain store'. Chatterton had no Latin, but Rowley certainly did.[26]

Other historical details of the poems revealed a close knowledge of the everyday life of the late Middle Ages in England that, so Bryant maintained, would have been available only to a person who lived in this period or, as one may infer, to someone like Bryant who had studied this past so intensively as to have achieved the same arcane level of knowledge. One of the two outstanding

23 Douglas' translation of the *Aeneid* was prepared in the year 1513. For a more recent edition of his text see e.g. Douglas Gavin, *The Aeneid*, ed. by G. Kendal (2 vols.) (London: 2011). As basic authority on the Old English language for Bryant see Hickes Georges, *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archaeologicus* (*Antiquae litteraturae septentrionalis libri duo* vol. I) (Oxford, University Press: 1705), vol. I, and idem, *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica, ex Hickesiano thesauro excerpta* (Oxford, University Press: 1711).

24 Hearne Thomas, *Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, to which is added, besides a glossary and other improvements, a continuation* (*by the author himself*) *of this chronicle from a ms. in the Cottonian Library* (Oxford, University Press: 1724).

25 Bryant, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley* 59–67.

26 Ibidem 35–38.

pieces in Rowley's work-catalogue had been the *Tragedy of Aella*, a 'Tragical Interlude'. It had depicted the heroic struggle of the eponymous Warden of Bristol, governor of the town, who had been betrayed by his wife following an intrigue in the struggle against the Danes; the work was set in the eleventh century. It did not escape Bryant either that this text necessarily gave rise to doubts.[27] A theatrical play composed in the late Middle Ages in the style of a classical tragedy treated a historical theme which, at the time the work was produced, was itself 300 years in the past? Were tragedies being written in England at all at this time? The medieval historians, William of Worcester and others, had reported bible dramas and morality plays on the English stages, but no tragedies.[28] Yet, as Bryant knew, Lydgate had told his readers of 'tragedies and comedies' that he claimed to have written, so why should there not also have been dramatic stagings of tragedies?[29]

Rowley's title figure, the brave Briton Aella, could be confirmed from Old Norse literature: Ragnar Lodbrog had fought a battle against a hero of this name in the early eleventh century. In 1016 there had in fact been, just as Rowley claimed, a peace deal with payments of Danegeld between the English and the Danes, for Simeon of Durham had reported such an agreement.[30] And the significance of Bristol in the high Middle Ages, from whose fortifications the hero of the drama had ridden out to battle against the Danes, could be traced to the relevant English historians, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon and Florence of Worcester.[31] Hence, Bryant stressed, the late medieval writer Rowley must have gained substantial knowledge of his home town's past, whereas the supposed creator of his poems, the youth Chatterton, could not have.[32] A look at the detail was enough for Bryant to confirm that the author of the tragedy must have been a medieval author and not a person of the eighteenth century.[33] The Danes, so it was said in Rowley, threw aside the 'Rafn', the 'raven', when they turned and fled at Bristol before the English troops. What had Rowley meant by that? Chatterton seemed not to have known, but Bryant

27 Ibidem 164–188.

28 William of Worcester, *Itineraries*, ed. J. Harvey (Oxford: 1969), there on Bristol 399–403.

29 Bale John, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant, Catalogus* (Basel, Johannes Oporinus: 1557), Centuria VIII, Ioannes Lydgate, 587, and see Lydgate John, *Troy Book*, ed. Henry Bergen (4 vols.) (London 1906–1935), vol. II, Book II, v. 860–926, pp. 169–171.

30 Simeon of Durham, *Historia regum*, in: *Opera omnia* (2 vols.), ed. T. Arnold (London: 1882–1885) (Reprint Nendeln: 1965), vol. II, § 128, 151–153.

31 As example see Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford: 1996), Liber X, c. 7, 712–713.

32 Bryant, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley* 198–204.

33 Ibidem 188–194.

is able to extract some sense from the strange word and thus explain to the dead poet the meaning of his own poem. The raven was the sacred animal of Odin. The fact that it, like the wolf or the dragon, was depicted on the standards and flags of the Vikings was confirmed by both the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *Orkneyinga Saga*.[34] So the Danes had simply dropped their standards when they turned their backs on England.

Yet Bryant had another trump up his sleeve and rises to real subtlety. In Rowley's second eclogue it was said of Richard the Lionheart, in a very laboured comparison, 'Kynge Rycharde, lyche a lyoncel of warre, / Inne sheenynge goulde, lyke feerie gronfers, dyghte'.[35] But what were these 'feerie gronfers', in which the armour of the English king seemed to shimmer in an almost frightening way? Chatterton in his glossary had proposed a simple meaning: 'meteors', i.e. in this case 'ground fires' or those small will-o'-the-wisps that shimmer just above the topsoil, which were in Latin called *ignis fatuus*.[36] Bryant was not satisfied with this statement by the supposed editor.[37] Earthquakes might have led to large underground fires in England, which could perhaps be attributed escaping gas. Similar earthquakes with massive subterranean fires, i.e. 'groundfires', had been recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 1032 and by Simeon of Durham for Derbyshire in 1048, while other comparable reports were found in John Brompton, Raphael Holinshed and Roger of Hoveden, all reliable English chroniclers.[38] These quakes with their 'groundfires' must have made a serious impression on the contemporary English populace. Why would they not also serve as a poetic point of reference for an author of the fifteenth century, in order to render his armoury of metaphors even more dazzling? Once again: Rowley had understood the subtle allusion, whereas Chatterton had not been able to decipher the poet's imagery in all its historical contours, for he had had no access to the world of the Middle Ages.

Other images, too, indicated the same thing for Bryant. Of an English female warrior to whom Rowley had given the beautiful name Kenewalcha, the poet had said in his epic on the Battle of Hastings that she was 'Majestic as

34 Thormod Torfaeus, *Orcades seu rerum Orcadensium Historiae libri tres* (Kopenhagen, Hög: 1697), Liber I, c. 10, 27.

35 Rowley, *Poems* (1777), Eclogue the second, 8–9.

36 Ibidem 9.

37 Bryant, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley* 206–210.

38 As examples see Simeon of Durham, *Historia regum* § 137, 164, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. D. Whitelock (London: 1961), anno 1032, 102, and see also in the ancient edition available to Bryant Twysden Roger, *Historiae anglicanae scriptores* (London, Jacob Flesher: 1652), there *Simeonis Dunelmensis Historia*, col. 184, and *Chronicon Johannis Bromton*, col. 939.

Hibernies Holie Wood, / Where sainctes and soules departed masses synge.'[39] The chain of epithets would hardly make sense, Bryant explained, unless one knew that such holy woods had in fact existed in Ireland right into the mid-eleventh century, not least in the vicinity of Dearmach, where Saint Columba had once founded a monastery.[40] The veneration of the leading Irish saint, Brigid, which, as Gerald of Wales had known, was linked to the cult of a holy fire, was also cited by Bryant in this connection.[41] Rowley must have still had knowledge of these traditions. The bold Kennewalcha had attracted other similes, too, in Rowley's Hastings epic: 'As the blue Bruton, rysinge from the wave, / Like sea-gods seeme in most majestic guise, / And rounde aboute the risynge waters lave, / And their longe hayre arounde their bodie flies, / Such majestie was in her porte displaid, / To be excelld bie none but Homer's martial maid.'[42] The 'blue Bruton'? The ancient Picts had rubbed their entire bodies with blue paint, as Caesar had recorded in his *Commentarii*, and as had also been reported by Herodian and other ancient authors. If one credited these historiographers, the ancient Celts had also all gone swimming together. Where could a young man like Chatterton have acquired the antiquarian expertise needed to draw such an elegant and specific image of the perfect woman?[43]

Bryant was able to give many other examples of his own erudition, the results of which he painstakingly ascribed to Rowley and so to Chatterton. The extravagant pointed shoes, the 'shoon-pykes', that Rowley had imagined his figures wearing, seem to have been unknown in the fifteenth century, but Bryant finds evidence of them.[44] The 'nyghte-mares' that haunt Aella are revealed as *incubi*, as they had been described in detail by medieval demonology.[45] A princely magician called Tynan, recorded by Rowley at the Battle of Hastings,

39 Rowley, *Poems* (1777), Battle of Hastings, 259.

40 Bryant, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley* 240–243.

41 Gerald of Wales, "Topographia hibernica", in: *Opera* (9 vols.), ed. J.S. Brewer – J.F. Dimock (London: 1861–1891) (reprint Nendeln: 1964), vol. V, Distinctio II, c. 35–36, 121–122, and c. 48, 131, and as contemporary authority for Bryant see Ware Jacob, *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus eius, disquisitiones, in quibus praeter ea quae de Hibernia antiqua explicantur, mores et consuetudines Hibernorum, tam veterum quam mediorum temporum, describuntur* (London, John Grismond: 1654), c. 4, Sectio I, 30–34, c. 17, Sectio 6, 96–97.

42 Rowley, *Poems* (1777), Battle of Hastings, 257.

43 Bryant, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley* 263–266.

44 Ibidem 292–294, see for laws against comparable shoes under the Reign of Edward the Fourth e.g. Stow John – Howes Edward, *Annales, or A Generall Chronicle of England* [...], *continued and augmented with matters foraigne and domestique, ancient and moderne, unto the end of the present yeere 1631* (London, Richard Meighen: 1631), anno 1463, 417.

45 Bryant, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley*, 290–291, see Rowley, *Poems* (1777), Ælla, 137.

could be given a fuller meaning by Bryant too. Matthew of Westminster and Geoffrey of Monmouth had called him *Tenancius*; he had been a legendary ruler of Cornwall, who had magically banished Caesar's ships.[46] Had Rowley in the fifteenth century not perhaps also learned of this figure through oral history, through the songs of the bards or other traditions, and had therefore given him a place in his poem? Bryant certainly regards it as plausible.[47] When King Harold before the English troops at the Battle of Hastings had declaimed 'Godde and Seyncte Cuthbert be the worde to daie', then, Bryant stresses, he had not only called upon the English national saint as patron in the war, but had also alluded to the vision that Alfred the Great had had before the decisive Battle of Assendure against the Danes.[48] Here too Cuthbert had appeared to the ruler and promised him a great victory. Aelred of Rievaulx, Simeon of Durham and William of Malmesbury had referred to this scene, and the learned cleric Rowley had woven it into his poem.[49]

Bryant moves on to the core of his own antiquarian work and indirectly also to his universal mythology when he tries to authenticate a distinctive term in Rowley's poems. Rowley repeatedly cites as a comparison a particular English festival, the 'Hogtide Festival', or 'Hoke-day'. Among other things one reads, 'As mastie dogs, at Hoc-tyde set to fyghte', or 'Browne as the nappy ale at Hoc-tyde game'.[50] What was this festival that appeared to have prompted such excessive practices? Older antiquaries such as William Lambarde or John Spelman had linked the festival to the massacre of the Danes for which King Ethelred the Unready had been responsible in 1002. However, the murder of the Danish overlords had occurred on November 13, according to Bryant, while 'Hoke-day' was celebrated in May; none of the older historians, neither Florence of Worcester nor Aelred of Rievaulx, linked the massacre of the Danes, of such fatal consequences to the English, with a festival, and nor did Rowley; indeed, the rest of history gave little reason to do so.[51] Evidently the late medieval scholar Rowley, in Bryant's fabulation, had still known the true content of the 'Hogtide' festival. It was even in his own time celebrated in various corners of

46 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae – The first variant version*, ed. N. Wright, Cambridge 1988, § 53, 46, and *Flores Historiarum* (3 vols.), ed. H.R. Luard (London: 1890), vol. I, 77.

47 Bryant, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley*, 285–287.

48 Rowley, *Poems* (1777), Battle of Hastings, 212.

49 Bryant, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley* 213–216, see for example William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum* (2 vols.), ed. T.D. Hardy (London: 1840) (reprint Vaduz: 1964), vol. I, Liber II, 180–181.

50 Rowley, *Poems* (1777), Battle of Hastings, 226, 258.

51 As an example see Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*, ed. B. Thorpe (2 vols.) (London: 1848–1849) (reprint Vaduz: 1964), vol. II, 155–156.

Oxfordshire. Its curious practices – women stopped men on the open road and demanded a toll to pass, the singing of obscene songs and other sexually connoted rituals – recalled the festival of Anna Perenna in ancient Rome, as it had once been described by Strabo or Ovid, and other celebrations of the pagan calendar that were held in spring in the temple of Aphrodite.[52] The festival was thus of an entirely different nature than the event that supposedly gave rise to it, and was part of the primordial traditions that had once upon a time reached the British Isles along with the druids.[53]

All these aspects of traditional medieval cosmic knowledge gave the lie, Bryant concluded, to the idea that the young whippersnapper Chatterton could have been responsible for the works of Rowley. No one four hundred years later could possess such an insight into the historical context that he would be able to incorporate such a collection of allusions into his poems. How callow, in contrast, Bryant continued, were the poems that Chatterton himself had produced, his 'African Eclogues' which had barely mastered the topography of Africa, or his treatises such as the 'Origin and Design of Sculpture' which are bursting with errors in the Greek terminology. Rowley would never have been guilty of such shortcomings.[54]

3.2 *Jeremiah Milles: Knowledge of the Classics and a Medieval Antiquity*

A second antiquary, Jeremiah Milles, who was Dean of Exeter and hold the position of the President of the Society of Antiquaries, took it upon himself in 1782 to demonstrate the authenticity of the Rowley poems. Milles, too, was a renowned medievalist, but his approach to Rowley's works was oriented rather towards literary scholarship.[55] Instead of, like Bryant, commenting on select passages historically, he offered the English public a new edition of Rowley's works, which he furnished with an extensive commentary in the footnotes. Of importance to Milles, too, was the gulf that clearly had to exist between Rowley's erudition and Chatterton's own level of specialist expertise. The latter, so Milles stubbornly maintained, knew neither Greek nor Latin, whereas the poems of Rowley were so full of classical references that they could never

52 As an example see P. Ovidius Naso, *Fastorum libri VI*, ed. E.H. Alton (Leipzig: 1978), Liber III, v. 523–660.

53 Bryant, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley* 295–304.

54 Ibidem, 465–468, see Chatterton Thomas, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (London, Fielding and Walker: 1778), Narva and Mored, 56–60, and The Death of Nicou, 61–65, and ibidem, On the Origin, Nature and Design of Sculpture, 142–148.

55 As a publication of Milles see e.g. Milles Jeremiah, *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Graecarum et Latinarum liber, accedit Numismatum Ptolemaeorum, Imperatorum, Augustarum, et Caesarum in Aegypto cusorum e Scriniis Britannicis catalogus* ([London], n. p.: 1752).

have been produced without a matching grounding in the classics. At another level, too, the contradiction was plain for all to see. Chatterton had been a slow learner, his first biographers had recorded, but Rowley must have possessed a magnificent store of learning. Rowley had been of deeply moral character, an earnest spirit of great righteousness, which was given voice in his poetry; Chatterton, to the contrary, had been a temperament full of feelings and sentiment, reckless and ultimately unstable, as his early death made clear, who was wholly lacking in the qualities needed to compose Rowley's sublime poetry. How dismal were the desperate letters, Milles insisted, that the young poet in his despair had sent to his mother from London, how trivial and vulgar his journalistic commissions, which seem to be governed only by the concerns of the day, when they are set alongside Rowley's poetry. Chatterton fell far short.[56]

An argument in favour of Rowley was his education and especially, Milles believed, his knowledge of Homer, which – despite the widely read English translation of Alexander Pope – Chatterton could never have acquired, apparently. Admittedly it was yet to be clarified how much Rowley could have read of Homer's text in the Middle Ages. Milles, too, knew that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had been known only indirectly in the fourteenth century, but the Troy Romances and Latin poems about Troy, such as those which Josephus Iscanus had presented in England, and not least the English adaptations by Chaucer and Lydgate, showed how familiar the English Middle Ages had been with this theme.[57] The whole of Rowley's Hastings poem, Milles insisted, must therefore be understood straightforwardly as an epic written in Homeric style. It is thus hardly surprising that Milles in his annotations manages to find page after page of allusions by Rowley to Homer and Virgil. Almost every battle scene and almost every martial detail depicted on the field of battle could be traced back to a classical model and reduced to its well-worn commonplaces. Rowley had

56 Milles Jeremiah, *Poems, supposed to have been written at Bristol in the fifteenth century by Thomas Rowley, Priest, with a commentary, in which the antiquity of them is considered, and defended* (London, Thomas Payne: 1782), Preliminary Dissertation, 1–23.

57 As examples see the contemporary edition Joseph of Exeter, *Daretis Phrygii historicorum omnium primi de bello Troiano libri sex, latino carmine a Josepho Exoniensi elegantissime redditi* (London, Thomas Helder: 1675), and on Chaucer see Tyrwhitt, *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, but also the later editions of Ritson Joseph, *Pieces of Ancient Poetry from authentic Manuscripts and old printed copies* (London, Thomas Egerton: 1791), and later idem, *Ancient English Metrical Romances* (3 vols.) (London: 1802). Both Lydgate and Chaucer had already been printed by the Caxton Press. For an impressive and wide-ranging survey on Troy-poetry in medieval and early modern England see Keller W., *Selves and Nations. The Troy Story from Sicily to England in the Middle Ages* (Heidelberg: 2008) 321–594.

created an epic that was just as strongly shaped by the classical spirit as were the other medieval reworkings of the matter of Troy.[58]

The same classical foundation, an *aemulatio* of antiquity, that was characteristic of Rowley's era could be demonstrated also for the other poems of the cleric from Bristol. Rowley's eclogues were the oldest bucolic poems in the English language and, though they were produced long before Dryden and Barclay, they breathed a similar Virgilian spirit, which here at last returned to the origins of pastoral. Men like Petrarch or Boccaccio had, to the contrary, used the eclogue at best as a vehicle for political points.[59] Rowley's 'Tragical Interlude' on the fate of the heroic Aella followed the prescriptions of classical tragedy and, therefore, as Bryant had already seen, had to be regarded as the first of its kind in England.[60] In its unity of action and the strictness with which the arc of the action tends towards the catastrophe it was committed to classical ideals and could not, as might otherwise seem obvious, have been inspired by Shakespeare's *Hamlet* or *Macbeth*. In its moralism, on the other hand, it still manifested the spirit of the medieval morality plays, such as had in fact long dominated the stages of England. Rowley, so Milles insisted, had thus written a work that still belonged to the Middle Ages but which at the same time had already managed to open the way to a new era.[61]

However, what should interest us primarily is how Milles succeeds in using antiquities as evidence for the authenticity of the poems. A scene from the *Tragedy of Aella* showed how the Danish king Magnus conducts a 'sword sacrifice', a ritual offering of his weapon of war before the battle. More naturally this rite would recall practices such as are found also in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, yet, as Milles added, in Rowley they were presented in a far less distasteful form. Customs such as this were indeed attested for the Danes, as Milles' colleague Joseph Strutt had just demonstrated, in Asser of Cherbury, the biographer of Alfred the Great: ergo, it was authentic.[62] The mourning ritual that one of the other characters in the 'Tragical Interlude', Birtha, had to complete after the death of Aella, namely the scattering of flowers on the grave and the

58 Milles, *Poems*, Preliminary Dissertation, 23–28, and see the Commentary, Battle of Hastings, 113–114, 122, 137.

59 Ibidem, Preliminary Dissertation, 29–30, and Commentary, The Eclogues, 389–390, 398–399.

60 For a good introduction into Rowley's/Chatterton's concept of tragedy see Taylor, *Thomas Chatterton's Art*, 114–142.

61 Milles, *Poems*, Commentary, The Tragedy of Ella, 159–164.

62 Ibidem, Commentary, The Tragedy of Ella, 227, and see Strutt Joseph, *Þorða Anzel-cýnnan, or, a compleat view of manners, customs, arms, habits, etc., of the inhabitants of England* [...], *with a short account of the Britons, during the government of the Romans* (3 vols.) (London, John Thane: 1774–1776), vol. I, 81.

conciliation of the spirits of the dead, had parallels in numerous comparable, equally well attested customs which the great antiquary John Brand had likewise collected for the late Middle Ages. From where could Chatterton have known all these things?[63] A short poem by Rowley, 'The English Metamorphosis' had drawn on a subject whose source the enthusiastic antiquary had been able to locate in an episode from the opening chapters of the *Historia regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, namely the death of the eldest son of the Brutus who, according to legend, had been the founder of Britain. His name was Locrine. How much detailed reading of the relevant literature would have been needed to adapt this material if the author had not himself lived in the Middle Ages?[64]

Milles managed to turn into the key witness for the authenticity of Rowley's poems a construction that was probably the best known of England's national monuments, Stonehenge. The *Battle of Hastings* included the following powerfully imagery about the warrior Herrewald: 'Herrewald, borne on Sarim's spreddyng plaine, / Where Thor's fam'd temple manie ages stoode; / Where Druids, auncient preests, dyd ryghtes ordaine, / And in the middle shed the victyms bloude; / Where auncient Bardie dyd their verses synge, / Of Caesar conquer'd, and his mighty hoste, / And how old Tynan, necromancing kynge, / Wreck'd all hys shyppyng on the Brittish coaste, / And made hym in his tatter'd barks to flie, / 'Till Tynan's dethe and opportunity. / To make it more renomed than before, / (I, tho a Saxon, yet the truthe will telle) / The Saxonnes steynd the place wyth Brittish gore, / Where nete but bloud of sacrifices felle.'[65] The figure of King Tynan mentioned here had been explained already by Bryant. But Milles steps up to offer a grander interpretation. Old Sarim was Stonehenge, the latter, however, had in reality been a temple of Thor, as Rowley had maintained. The Celts had worshipped this god as Taran or Taranus; his image had been a striking element in the history of northern European religion. Evidently Rowley had also known that the druids had honoured their gods at Stonehenge with sacred fires, which were lit above all in May. Similar rituals had been described by Celtophiles like William Borlase or John Toland; contemporary antiquaries like John Brand in his *Popular Antiquities* had been able to follow their traces in

63 Milles, *Poems*, Commentary, The Tragedy of Ella, 254, and see Brand John, *Observations on Popular Antiquities, including the whole of Mr. Bourne's Antiquitates vulgares* (Newcastle, Thomas Saint: 1777), c. 4, 39–41.

64 Milles, *Poems*, Commentary, The English Metamorphosis, 353–354, and see Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, §§ 23–25, 17–20.

65 Rowley, *Poems* (1777), Battle of Hastings, 224.

popular belief, Milles insists, far back into the Middle Ages.[66] Rowley had been familiar with these traditions.[67]

But, Milles continues, the English cleric had recalled a second tradition in his lines. Was Stonehenge also a grave monument for the Britons who had fallen to the Saxons? Geoffrey had reported the legend that the great magician Merlin had once magicked the stones of the megalith complex from Ireland to England in order to erect a grave monument for King Arthur. In Henry of Huntingdon, too, a reliable historian, there was talk of such a use of Stonehenge as grave precinct.[68] Although, Milles explained, there were now good grounds to raise doubts about this explanation, what was decisive was not the factual use made of the pagan sacred architecture, but that the oral tradition had arisen since the early Middle Ages and that Rowley had evidently known about it. How could the young Chatterton, the question once again arose, have managed in such a short time to acquire a knowledge of all these strands of tradition? How could someone who in his youth, during the period in which the poems were supposedly composed, had never been more than three miles from Bristol, according to Milles, how could he have gained this specialist knowledge? Rowley's poetry must thus have been composed in the late Middle Ages. They had been written by a clergyman who knew Latin, who had studied both the classics and the medieval chronicles, and who, on top of all that, was also familiar with the oral tradition of his time.[69]

4 Conclusion: Specialist Knowledge and its Hybris

There is indeed something tragic about the way so much effort was expended to confer medieval authority on a text that never had any. And it may have appeared to immediate contemporaries strange and also unjust that Bryant and Milles granted academic legitimacy to the work of an author who in his lifetime would surely have been very glad of recognition and, above all, some

66 Toland John, "Specimen of the Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning, containing an account of the Druids", *The Miscellanous Works of John Toland* (2 vols.) (London, John Whiston: 1747), here 67–69, Borlase William, *Observations on the Antiquities, historical and monumental, of the County of Cornwall, consisting of several essays on the first inhabitants, druid-superstition, customs and remains of the most remote antiquity, in Britain, and the British Isles* (Oxford, William Jackson: 1754), Book II, c. 1, 56–60, and see Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, 271–281.

67 Milles, *Poems*, Commentary, Battle of Hastings, 70–76.

68 Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, Epistula ad Warinum, c. 9, 580–581, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae*, §§ 128–132, 122–127.

69 Milles, *Poems*, Commentary, Battle of Hastings, 76–78.

money. The arguments that Bryant and Milles presented in defence of Rowley, so overloaded with sources and charged with status-consciousness, would not be the last of their kind. In the same year as Milles the classical philologists Rayner Hickford and John Fell presented a similar treatise,[70] a year later their colleague Thomas James Mathias published a follow-up work which gave his predecessors' arguments yet another airing.[71]

But in reality the battle was already done. Both Thomas Tyrwhitt and Thomas Warton, who had both identified Chatterton as the author of the poems right from the off, delivered a response to the antiquaries.[72] In his reply to Bryant Tyrwhitt was no longer prepared to spend much more time on the supposed historical realia. Not only was Rowley a figure not documented historically in any way, the idiom of his poems was, as Tyrwhitt demonstrated one more time in detail, simply not medieval English. As had been said from the start, their lines were drummed up from a patchwork of elements that their author, certainly with great poetic talent, had pieced together out of dictionaries, above all from the current Middle English dictionary of John Kersey, from which Chatterton had also taken his apparently mistaken explanations. But a weightier consideration was a simple argument which, as Tyrwhitt as first editor stresses, ought really to have ended the debate before it began. The manuscripts that Chatterton had presented and which neither Bryant nor Milles had ever inspected, were glaring forgeries, which with the best will in the world had nothing whatsoever to do with the Middle Ages. And there had never been any other textual witnesses.[73] Warton would further succeed in demonstrating that 'Rowley' had made thorough use of the works of Spenser, Dryden and Pope, which had evidently been of great help to the young Chatterton

70 Hickford Rayner – Fell John, *Observations on the Poems attributed to Rowley, tending to prove that they were really written by him and other ancient authors, to which are added remarks on the appendix of the editor of Rowley's poems* (London, Charles Bathhurst: [1782]).

71 Mathias Thomas James, *An essay on the evidence, external and internal, relating to the poems attributed to Thomas Rowley* (London, Thomas Becket: 1783). Also the Preface of the 1794 reedition of Rowley's poems was still commending Milles commentary, see Rowley Thomas, *Poems, supposed to have been written at Bristol, by Thomas Rowley, and Others* (Cambridge, Benjamin Flower: 1794) (Reprint Oxford: 1990), Preface, VI.

72 See also on Tyrwhitt's and Warton's responses to Bryant and Milles Cook, *Thomas Chatterton*, 122–124.

73 Tyrwhitt Thomas, *A vindication of the Appendix to the Poems, called Rowley's, in reply to the answers of the Dean of Exeter, Jacob Bryant, esquire, and a third anonymous writer, with some further observations upon those poems, and an examination of the evidence which has been produced in support of their authenticity* (London, Thomas Payne: 1782), there on the manuscripts esp. 116–128.

in the composition of his works. Rowley's, or Chatterton's, poems were thus troublingly modern.[74] These, now definitive, demonstrations of the falsifications would be followed up by other authors, including Edmund Malone, who jumped on the same bandwagon one more time,[75] and Percival Stockdale, who was able to pick apart Bryant and Milles in detail in his lectures in the 1780s.[76] There was even an Irishman, William Mason, who wrote a satire on Milles, adding an 'Epistelle to Doctoure Mylles' in Rowley-English,[77] and William Julius Mickle, who claimed satirically that he had found another comparable medieval poem, the 'The prophecy of Queen Emma'.[78]

Why would Bryant and Milles not concede that a highly gifted young man could have read the same secondary literary as themselves, such as, for example, the works of Joseph Strutt or William Borlase? From the desire to secure to an academic elite the authority to interpret its objects of study? Or from the same systematic blindness that a few decades previously had led a great philologist like Richard Bentley to 'improve' the works of Milton, because Milton himself, so Bentley believed, had not fully understood his own poetry? Both scholars, Bryant and Milles, thought themselves to be the only erudite interpreters of a past they had constructed by their own antiquarian knowledge, a past, perfectly fitting not only to a city like Bristol, neglected for such a long time, but also representing their own view of English medievalism. Bryant and Milles show above all that the apparatus of scholarship, in which the force of professorial hybris was prepared to grant only to oneself a right to access sources, instead of regarding them as being in the public domain, must almost

74 Warton Thomas, *An enquiry into the authenticity of the poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, in which the arguments of the Dean of Exeter, and Mr. Bryant, are examined* (London, James Dodsley: 1782), there esp. on the style of Rowley 9–33.

75 Malone Edmond, *Cursory observations on the poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, a priest of the fifteenth century, with some remarks on the commentaries on those poems, by the Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter, and Jacob Bryant, Esq., and a salutary proposal addressed to the friends of those gentlemen* (London, John Nichols: 1782).

76 Stockdale Percival, *Lectures on the truly eminent English Poets* (2 vols.) (London: 1807), there extensively on Chatterton vol. II, 145–537. And see in addition for a summary on the debate also Gregory George, *The Life of Thomas Chatterton, with criticism on his genius and writings, and a concise view of the controversy concerning Rowley's poems* (London, George Kearsley: 1789) 174–226.

77 Mason William, *An archaeological epistle to the Reverend and Worshipful Jeremiah Milles, D. D. dean of Exeter, president of the Society of antiquaries, and editor of a superb editions of the poems of Thomas Rowley, priest* (London, John Nichols: 1782) 16–21.

78 Mickle William Julius, *The prophecy of Queen Emma, an ancient ballad lately discovered, written by Johannes Turgotus, Prior of Durham, in the Reign of William Rufus, to which is added by the editor, an account of the discovery and hints towards a vindication of the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian and Rowley* (London, John Bew: 1782) 15–40.

inevitably end up looking ridiculous. Intelligence, they should have learned, is also found outside universities.

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Rowley Thomas, *Poems, supposed to have been written in Bristol by Thomas Rowley and others, in the Fifteenth Century: the greatest part now first published from the most authentic copies*, ed. by Thomas Tyrwhitt (London, Thomas Payne: 1777).

Idem, *Poems, supposed to have been written in Bristol by Thomas Rowley and others, in the Fifteenth Century: the third edition, to which is added an appendix, containing some observations upon the language of these poems, tending to prove, that they were written, not by any ancient author, but entirely by Thomas Chatterton*, ed. Thomas Tyrwhitt (London, Thomas Payne: 1778) Russett M., *Fictions and Fakes. Forging Romantic Authenticity, 1760–1845* (Cambridge: 2006).

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CHAPTER 26

Phoenician Ireland: Charles Vallancey (1725–1812) and the Oriental Roots of Celtic Culture

Bernd Roling

1 Introduction: Charles Vallancey and His Time

In the eighteenth century Ireland was not the centre of the world.[1] It was a land dominated and exploited by England, with a rural population who were regarded as barbarians at best by the gentlemen at home in the clubs and coffee houses of England's cities. For them, the native language of the Irish was no more than an incomprehensible squawking that needn't be accorded any further significance. Would it not, then, be a magnificent surprise, almost a humbling of Anglophile arrogance, if the Irish turned out to be the descendants of the ancient Chaldees, Phoenicians, Scythians and Indians, the crowning jewel in a chain of heroic acts reaching back into a prehistory, which was able to supersede any other chain of historical events? Would it not be a wonder if the Land of Saints and Scholars, with its ancient monuments, poetry and songs, were the final record of a primordial European people whose wisdom united the learning of the whole ancient East? The history of the early modern period is full of examples of national idealisation, of phantasmagoric constructions that raised one's own people to the skies.[2] In Ireland's case, in the late eighteenth century this eulogy would be sung by a man of whom one would perhaps have expected it least, namely a general in the British army, whose natural habitat was the aforementioned coffee houses. I will here present this scholar, Charles Vallancey, and his works: I will try to outline the basic elements of his decidedly idiosyncratic construction of history and in so doing set it in the wider context of the history of European antiquarianism, a field not short of eccentrics. A few examples, at least, will be given to illustrate Vallancey's intellectual world, working habits and method; in particular I wish to show that

1 The translations of this paper has been prepared by Orla Mulholland. For helpful discussions I'd like to thank Kristoffer Neville, Koen Ottenheyn, Dorothee Huff and Carmen d'Ambrosio.

2 As basic introductory study see Hobsbawn E.J., "Introduction. The Invention of Tradition", in: Hobsbawn E.J. – Ranger T. (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: 2012 [first ed. 1983]) 1–14.

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Vallancey's approach to Ireland was in spirit still beholden to an earlier era, the baroque, whose approach to antiquities will be of special interest to us here.

Charles Vallancey was born in 1725 in Westminster into a wealthy family of French Huguenot origin and had embarked on a military career at an early age. After a posting to Gibraltar, he was transferred to Ireland in the late 1760s, where he was commissioned by the crown to work as a military engineer. After 1770 he would rarely leave Ireland again. As a Royal Field Engineer his sphere of responsibilities primarily involved Ireland's waterways, to which he devoted monographs early in his career. Especially useful was his 1763 handbook, *A Treatise on Inland Navigation*, which summarised and commented upon older works on the topic.[3] Vallancey was also responsible for the city defences of Dublin, which proved to be very robust during the great Irish rising of 1798. His work was evidently valued very highly by the crown, for in 1803 he reached the position of general.

Perhaps it was his enthusiasm for technology and the continuous journeys through Ireland required by his work that led Vallancey to find there the great love of his life, namely Ireland herself. At the start of the 1770s he began to take an interest in the history of Ireland and its antiquities and he developed an unrivalled enthusiasm for the Irish language. Thus was launched a research project which over the next forty years – Vallancey lived in fine intellectual fettle to the age of 87 – would launch a veritable battery of publications. The goal was a wide-ranging documentation of the language, culture and antiquities of Ireland, with the aim of doing justice to their exceptional standing. In 1772 Vallancey had set up a commission to assist him in fieldwork and publications. The following years brought him memberships in various learned societies, including the Royal Society in London, though a chair of Irish in Dublin, which he had perhaps hoped for as the pinnacle of his scholarly life, eluded him. Outstanding among his numerous books, which were accompanied by a whole catalogue of essays, are the six volumes of the *Collectanea de rebus hibernicis*, which alone amount to almost 5000 pages; in addition he published seven large monographs, at an average of 500 pages each.[4]

3 Vallancey Charles, *A Treatise on Inland Navigation, or The Art of making Rivers navigable, of making Canals in all sorts of Soil, and of constructing Locks and Sluices* (Dublin, George and Alexander Ewing: 1763), and idem, *A report on the Grand Canal, or Southern Line* (Dublin, Timothy Dyton: 1771). In addition Vallancey published other treatises on the field work of an engineer, see idem, *A practical treatise on stone-cutting* (Dublin, Thomas Ewing: 1766), and idem., *The Art of tanning and currying leather, with an account of all the different processes made use of in Europe and Asia, for dying leather red and yellow* (Dublin, John Nourse: 1780).

4 *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* (6 vols.), ed. Charles Vallancey (Dublin, Luke White: 1786–1804).

To understand the English general's system, one must bear in mind some of the basic parameters of his vision of history. In 1723 the first English translation of Geoffrey Keating's seventeenth-century *History of Ireland* had been published.[5] Keating's history consisted in essence of a reworking of a high-medieval historiography, the *Leabhar Gabhála*, the 'Book of Invasions', the information in which was adopted almost completely by the Irish priest Keating.[6] Parts of the manuscript transmission of the 'Book of Invasions' itself would soon come into Vallancey's possession.[7] The *Leabhar Gabhála* was able to provide him with motifs which, while not unfamiliar from other medieval histories, offered an Irish variant on the Biblical Table of Nations which was intended to guarantee for Ireland the first rank in history as recounted in Scripture: After the Deluge the descendants of Noah, the heirs of Japheth and Magog who had set off for the west, had become the ancestors of the Europeans and had founded the people of the Scythians. This nation had migrated first to Egypt and then, in further contingents, to the Holy Land, to Crete and finally to Italy and Spain. As the *Scoti* the Scythians had then become the mother-people of the Irish. These descendants of Noah, so it was reported in the 'Book of Invasions', had reached Ireland in several different waves. A first band of them had made their way there via the Atlantic straight after the Flood; 300 years later a second contingent, which had come through Greece and Spain, had arrived under the leadership of the hero Panthólon; then, according to the *Leabhar Gabhála*, there followed the armies of Nemed, the Fir Bolg, the Tuatha Dé Danann, the clan to which most of the gods belonged, and finally the Mil Espan, the fabled Milesians, whose Spanish origin was evident already in their name and who would become the ancestors of the present-day Gaels.[8] Condensed versions of this narrative had already been included

5 Keating Geoffrey, *The general History of Ireland, containing a full and impartial account of the first inhabitants of that kingdom, with the Lives and Reigns of an hundred and seventy four succeeding monarchs of the Milesian Race* [...] (London, James Bettenham: 1723). Already 1713 an abridged version appeared, see Keating Godfrey, *History of Ireland*, translated by Dermod O'Connor (Dublin, Abraham Thiboust: 1713). As a bilingual edition see later Céitinn Seathrún – Keating Geoffrey, *Foras feasa ar Éirinn – The History of Ireland* (3 vols.), edited and translated by D. Comyn – P.S. Dineen (Dublin: 1902–1908).

6 As masterly study for the historical setting of Keating, his sources and his influences see Cunningham B., *The World of Geoffrey Keating. History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: 2000), there on his historical writing esp. 105–172, on his use of *Leabhar Gabhála* 136–139.

7 Cunningham, *Keating*, 198–199.

8 Lebor Gabála Érenn, ed. and translated by R.A.S. Macalister (5 vols.) (Dublin: 1938–1956), see there on the deluge, the dispersal of nations and the heirs of Noah e.g. vol. I, 16–167.

in other classical works of Irish historiography.[9] Keating had in essence reproduced this history, making the Scythians and the oriental-biblical origin of the Irish had become the key theme of his history.

When Vallancey came across Keating's work, he saw no reason to question its reliability or to regard its medieval authorities with distrust. Previous Irish historians had not done so, either.[10] For Vallancey, however, it was of central importance that it was possible to bring the information in Keating into harmony with 17th and 18th century oriental studies, both with the long-flourishing study of Semitic, but also with the still novel study of Indian languages. Ever since the monumental *Kanaan et Phaleg*, the *Geographia sacra* of the Huguenot Samuel Bochart, the search had been on for the oriental roots of Europe, as well as for an ethnographic legitimation of the Biblical Table of Nations; this had been found above all in a people, the Phoenicians, whose influence, Bochart believed, could be identified throughout Europe.[11] According to Bochart, a scholar in the service of Queen Christina, the Phoenicians had become the key bearers of civilisation.[12] Profiting from the new field of Oriental Studies promoted in England by Edward Pococke, John Selden and Thomas Hyde, in Germany by Johann Heinrich Hottinger and in the Netherlands by Jacob Golius and Albert Schultens,[13] philo-semites like Edward Dickinson and Zachary Bogan[14] and, after them, the very much better known Pierre

9 Cunningham B., *The Annals of the Four Masters. Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: 2010) 78–80.

10 As example before Vallancey: MacCurtin Hugh, *A brief discourse in vindication of the antiquity of Ireland* (Dublin, Stephen Powell: 1717), there on the biblical and Scythian prehistory of Ireland, according to Keating pp. 1–31, and one century earlier MacFhirbishg Dubhaltach, *Chronicon Scotorum*, ed. W.M. Hennessy (London: 1866) 1–15.

11 For a good introduction into Bochart's antiquarian geography and its influence see Shalev Z., *Sacred Words and Worlds. Geography, Religion and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden: 2012), here on the role of the Phoenicians esp. 141–205.

12 Bochart Samuel, *Geographia sacra cuius pars prior Phaleg de dispersione gentium et terrarum divisione facta in aedificatione turris Babel, pars posterior Chanaan de coloniis et sermone Phoenicium agit* (2 vols.) (Frankfurt, Johannes David Zunner: 1681 [first ed. 1646]), there vol. 2, Liber I –II, 361–864.

13 On Edward Pococke's key role in the history of Islamic studies see e.g. Holt P.M., "The Study of Arabic Historians in Seventeenth Century England: The Background and the Work of Edward Pococke", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19 (1957) 444–455, and Toomer G.J., *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: 1996) 116–147, 155–166, 271–279, on Selden in special the exhausting study of Toomer G.J., *John Selden. A life in scholarship* (2 vols.) (Oxford: 2009) passim, on Hottinger Loop J., *Johann Heinrich Hottinger. Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: 2013) passim.

14 Bogan Zachary, *Homerus ἑβραίζων, sive Comparatio Homeri cum Scriptoribus Sacris quoad normam loquendi, subnectitur Hesiodus ὁμηρίζων*, (Oxford, Henry Hall: 1658).

Huet had begun to trace Greek mythology back to its oriental or biblical substrate. In England already in the seventeenth century scholars like Edward Dickinson, Thomas Smith and Aylett Sammes had been open to investigating even the caste of druids and elements of Celtic religion for possible Oriental foundations.[15] In the eighteenth century this undertaking was superseded by far larger projects and much more ambitious syntheses: these tried to generate grand genealogies of knowledge and chains of filiation that would show that this east-west transfer of knowledge occurred back in the obscure eras of prehistory; or else they worked to devise grand keys to mythology that would reduce all mythologemes and all cultures to a common matrix. The first of these two goals was pursued in monumental and controversial works such as the histories of astronomy and science by Jean Sylvain Bailly, who had relocated the origin of all erudition to the northern regions,[16] and by Pierre d'Ancarville and Antoine Goguet; on the other hand, Antoine Court de Gébelin's *Monde primitif* and Jacob Bryant's *Ancient Mythology* were committed to the latter aim.[17] With almost every one of these works the claims to exhaustiveness and the universal erudition of the authors had grown exponentially.[18]

15 Smith Thomas, *Syntagma de Druidum moribus ac institutis, in quo miscellanea quaedam sacro-profana inseruntur* (London, Thomas Roycroft: 1664) cap. 6, 69–82; Dickinson Edmund, *Delphi phoenicizantes sive Tractatus in quo Graecos, quicquid apud Delphos celebre erat,* [...] *e Josuae historia, scriptisque sacris effinxisse, rationibus haud inconcinnis ostenditur* (Frankfurt, Johann Conrad Emmerich: 1669) Appendix, 32–40, Sammes Aylett, *Britannia antiqua illustrata, or the Antiquities of Ancient Britain, derived from the Phoenicians* (London, Thomas Roycroft: 1676) cap. 5–6, 38–73.

16 In between his many books see esp. Bailly Jean-Sylvain, *Histoire de l'astronomie ancienne depuis son origine jusqu'a l'établissement de l'ecole d'Alexandrie* (Paris, Debure: 1775), and in German idem, Geschichte der Sternkunde des Alterthums bis auf die Errichtung der Schule zu Alexandrien (2 vols.) (Leipzig, Engelbert Benjami Schwickert: 1777), and see against Bailly e.g. Rabaut de Saint-Etienne Jean-Paul, *Lettres à Monsieur Bailly sur l'histoire primitive de la Grèce* (Paris, Debure: 1787), there esp. Lettre IV, 206–259.

17 Court de Gébelin Antoine, *Monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne* (9 vols.) (Paris, Antoine-Chrétien Boudet: 1776–1783), and Bryant Jacob, *A New System, or An Analysis of Ancient Mythology* (3 vols.) (London, Thomas Payne: 1775–1776) (reprint New York: 1979).

18 For a still useful and masterly survey of 18th century antiquarianism, regarding mythology see e.g. Manuel F., *The Eighteenth Century confronts the Gods* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1959) passim. For an exhaustive survey of the English antiquarianism in the 18th century see Sweet R., *Antiquaries. The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: 2004) passim, there see on Vallancey 143–146, and Heringman N., *Sciences of Antiquity. Romantic Antiquarianism, Natural History and Knowledge Work* (Oxford: 2013) 221–308, for the 17th century see in addition Hanson C.A., *The English Virtuoso. Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago: 2009) 126–156.

The whole movement had reached a new level of sophistication through a second factor, which was crucial for Vallancey, namely the study of India and Iran. The advances of the British Empire had already enabled figures such as Alexander Dow, John Holwell, thanks to missionaries such as Paulinus a Bartholomae and his *Systema brahmanicum* Antonio Giorgi and his writings on Tibet, to produce an enormous expansion in European knowledge of India and Tibet. This situation changed fundamentally again with William Jones' *Asiatic Researches* and the work of Charles Wilkins, Francis Wilford, William Ouseley and Thomas Maurice, men who were themselves certainly prepared to indulge in wild speculations. Sanskrit literature had arrived in Europe.[19] In addition to these advances in the study of India, the interior of Asia had been opened up for European study by Russian colonisation, the work of the Petersburg academy and figures such as Philipp von Strahlenberg and Peter Simon Pallas;[20] as a result, the Finno-Ugric and Mongolian languages of Central Asia met with almost the same level of interest. That all wisdom and learning, all mythology and religion, had reached the Mediterranean area from the east, and that their essential foundation lay in Indian models of the cosmos, was henceforth not in doubt.

The English general in Dublin made it his life's work to harmonise these barely manageable and at times deeply contradictory master-narratives, whose approaches belonged in part to the seventeenth century, in part to the eighteenth. At the same time, it was also his goal to read them with Ireland in mind, as the most dazzling jewel of human history, and to cite them like a set of scholarly annotations to Keating's essentially pre-modern history of Ireland. The result was a monumental, rambling and overflowing narrative which no one to date has made a serious attempt to reconstruct. Aside from the articles and the magnificient dissertation of Clare O'Halloran,[21] which devotes a

19 The research on 18th century English Indology has grown, see e.g. the good introduction of App U., *The Birth of Orientalism* (Philadelphia: 2010) passim; Teltscher K., *India inscribed. European and British Writings on India, 1600–1800* (New Dehli: 1999) passim, and the classical studies of Schwab R., *The Oriental Renaissance. Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680–1880* (New York: 1984); and Windisch E., *Geschichte der Sanskritphilologie und Indischen Altertumskunde* (Strasbourg: 1917) passim.

20 Tabbert von Strahlenberg Philipp Johann, *Das Nord – und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia* (Stockholm, self-published: 1730) (reprint Szeged: 1975). On Strahlenberg's importance for Oriental and Finno-Ugrian Studies in general see Novlyanskaya M.G., Филипп Иоганн Страленберг. Его работы по исследованию Сибири [*Philipp Johann Strahlenberg. His Works on the Exploration of Siberia*] (Moscow: 1966), there 25–91.

21 O'Halloran C., *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations. Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c. 1750–1800* (Cork: 2004) 41–56, eadem, "An English Orientalist in Ireland: Charles Vallancey (1726–1812)", in: Lerssen J.Th. – van der Weel A.H. – Westerweel B. (eds.),

chapter to Vallancey, the wideranging and erudite book of Joseph Lennon on 'Irish orientalism',[22] and an insightful study of Joseph Lerssen,[23] the only research literature is a 2009 Irish-language work of popular science.[24] One reason for this relative neglect may be the fact that Vallancey's work covers thousands of pages. Furthermore, while Vallancey was a euphoric enthusiast for his subject, he was not a great prose stylist, nor, unfortunately, an especially systematic thinker; he often stays in the memory through repetition rather than internal coherence. While the Irish valued him, and perhaps still do, his reputation outside the country was dubious, though he did succeed in getting his theses published as papers in well-known scholarly journals.[25] William Jones, who was Vallancey's great role model all his life, wrote him a few lines in recognition of his achievements. In a letter to one of his friends, admittedly, Jones said of him that one should pick up his works and then skim them rapidly, for thus they were funny; alternatively, one could read them right through, in which case they were very boring.[26] However, Vallancey's project in Ireland

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Forging in the Smithy. National Identity and Representation in Anglo-Irish Literary History (Amsterdam: 1995) 161–174, and eadem, "Negotiating Progress and Degeneracy: Irish Antiquaries and the Discovery of the 'Folk', 1770–1844", in: Baycroft T. – Hopkin D. (eds.), *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: 2012) 193–206, here 198–199.

22 Lennon J.A., *Irish Orientalism. A Literary and Intellectual History* (Syracuse, NY: 2004), there on Vallancey 88–102, and in addition the article idem, "Antiquarianism and abduction: Charles Vallancey as Harbinger of Indo-European Linguistics", *The European Legacy* 10 (2005) 5–20.

23 Leerssen J.Th., "On the Edge of Europe: Ireland in Search of Oriental Roots, 1650–1850", *Comparative criticism* 8 (1986) 91–112, there on Vallancey 99–103.

24 Ó Bréartúin M., *Charles Vallancey 1725–1812. Gineárál, Innealtóir agus 'Scoláire Gaeilge'* (*Charles Vallancey 1725–1812. General, Engineer and 'Celtic Scholar'*) (Tigh Bhride: 2009), there a survey of Vallancey's antiquarian writings 39–85.

25 As example see Vallancey Charles, "Memoir of the Language, Manners and Customs of an Anglo-Saxon Colony Settled in the Baronies of Forth and Bargie, in the County of Wexford, Ireland, in 1167, 1168 and 1169", *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 2 (1788) 19–41, idem, "On the Silver Medal Lately Dug up in the Park of Dungannon, County of Tyrone, the Seat of the Right Honorable Lord Welles", *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 2 (1788) 69–73, or as even more striking example see idem, "Observations on the American Inscription", *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts, relating to Antiquity* 8 (1787) 302–306, commenting on Lort Michael, "Account of an antient Inscription in North America", ibidem 290–301. Using an undecipherable inscription at the 'Dighton rock' at Taunton River close to Boston, Vallancey demonstrated that America was settled by Irishmen in the past.

26 Jones William, *The Letters*, ed. G. Cannon (2 vols.) (Oxford: 1970), on Vallancey No. 467 (to Earl Spencer) (1. September 1787), vol. 2, 768–769. On Jones and Vallacey see Lennon, "Antiquarianism and abduction", 12–16.

was by some distance the most ambitious at the end of the eighteenth century and, in its way, perhaps also the most successful.

2 Language Doesn't Lie: Irish as a Linguistic Key to a Glorious Past

Vallancey's key insight was stated by him in 1772 in his first publication, a treatise on the antiquity of the Irish language.[27] Here already Vallancey revealed the method to which he would remain committed. Myths could be matched to each other, languages could be grouped in long family trees and in lines of filiation, in order to work back step by step to their archaic substance. The artefacts and historic monuments of the five ancient provinces of Ireland had to be viewed in the context of these quasi-religious hypotheses and philological arguments and so seen in the right light: this would reveal their true nature. In parallel, it was also possible for the traditional knowledge of the long chain of cultural transfers which had arrived in Ireland to be put into the right – namely oriental – setting. As if through an archaic, emerald-tinted, magnifying glass, one could look at Ireland and see back into a thousand-year-old prehistory, the key to which, as Keating had made clear, was to be found in the Scythians, Indians, Phoenicians and the Bible.

In the comedy *Poenulus* by Plautus, one of the main characters, the eponymous Carthaginian Hanno, is allowed to speak in his native language, which at first sight looks like an incomprehensible cant but which Plautus then translates into Latin.[28] The question of which language Hanno had used when supposedly speaking Punic had been the subject of much debate. Since Bochart, scholars had been sure that Plautus had given voice to a phonetically written variant of Phoenician, perhaps with some additional elements from a Berber language like Libyan.[29] Subsequently some of his editors had attempted to interpret the Latin and Punic textual variants, in some cases with the help of parallels from Maltese, another Semitic language.[30] Vallancey, too, offered a

27 Vallancey Charles, *An Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, being a Collation of the Irish with the Punic Language, with a Preface, proving Ireland to be the Thule of the Ancients* (Dublin, Samuel. Powell: 1772). The text was reprinted 1807, 1818, and 1822 and was obviously quite popular.

28 For modern edition see Plautus, *Comoediae*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, vol. II, Oxford 1953, Poenulus, Actus V, Scena 1, verses 930–954.

29 Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, vol. 2, Liber II, cap. 6, 800–805.

30 As example Gronovius Johann Friedrich, *Plauti Comoediae* (Cornelius Hackius: 1669), Poenulus, verses 893–895. On the relationship between Maltese and Punic see Maius Johannes Heinrich, *Specimen linguae Punicae in hodierna Melitensium superstitis* (Marburg, Philipp Casimir Müller: 1718) passim.

detailed commented translation of the much cited passage,[31] and also an answer to the question of which language Hanno had spoken when sojourning in Rome, namely Irish.[32] No European language was closer to the Phoenician origins and no surviving language reflected more fully the primordial basis of all languages, the language spoken by the Japhetites immediately after the building of the Tower of Babel, so he insisted in 1772. The Phoenicians had colonised Ireland in archaic prehistory: When their explorers had searched for Thule, Vallancey affirmed, they had come to Ireland; the word *Thule* was identical to the Irish word *thua*, which meant simply 'north'. Had there not recently been found on the coast of Essex an inscription dedicated to Hercules of Tyre? Had not Keating and the 'Book of Invasions' reported the new arrivals from the south, whose outstanding skills had been trade, shipbuilding and knowledge of the stars?[33] A mere glance at the gods worshipped by the Phoenicians and Irish, Vallancey continued, was enough to show how revealing the parallels were. Baal, the god of the Phoenicians, corresponded to the Irish Bel; the first of May, Beal-tine had been a festival of the light god Baal.[34] The name of Aesculap, whom the Phoenicians had worshipped on a cliff, could be traced to the Irish words *aisa* and *scealp*, the 'cliff'. The moon goddess Ceres, who, as could be read in Strabo and others, had had a similar significance among the Phoenicians, owed her name to the word *ce* for 'cloud' and *re* for 'moon'; she was, at the same time, the 'queen of the night' worshipped by the Israelites, the *regina coelestis* of whom the prophet Jeremiah had spoken. Did not the women of Ireland even today bake cakes for St Brigid of Kildare, just as the women of Israel had once upon a time done for Jeremiah's 'queen of heaven'?[35] Vallancey himself may not have quite grasped that there was a certain logic to identifying the colonised and oppressed Irish people with the Carthaginians, given that British imperialism sought its role models in ancient Rome: it was almost natural to project Ireland's situation onto Rome's eternal opponent, Carthage, and so to ennoble Ireland's marginalisation.[36]

What reading of history emerged from this striking identity of the Irish and the Phoenicians? In almost all his works, Vallancey programmatically repeats

31 See here esp. O'Halloran, "An English Orientalist in Ireland", 162–164.

32 Vallancey, *An Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language* (1772) 31–59.

33 Ibidem 1–6.

34 Ibidem. 19–20.

35 Ibidem. 21–23.

36 See on this point O'Halloran, "An English Orientalist in Ireland", 164–166, Lerssen, "On the edge of Europe", 100–102, and already Vance N., "Celts, Carthaginians and Constitutions: Anglo-Irish Literary Relations", 1780–1820, *Irish Historical Studies* 22 (1981) 216–238, here 224–226.

his model of a Biblical-Irish history in all his prefaces as well as at strategic points in various individual treatises, in order to set the new findings in the right context:[37] The Ark had come to rest in Armenia, as had been shown already by Bochart. After the Deluge the first descendants of Noah, whom Vallancey calls *Mago-Scythae* or just *Coti*, had at first stayed in Armenia for a long period, and had then migrated to the Euphrates region, where they had mingled with the Chaldaeans, scholars of the stars, and on into the Holy Land. In Canaan they had allied with the Dadanites (Dedanim), and together with them formed the people of the Phoenicians and founded the first great city, Tyre. The subsequent stops in the travels of the mother-people of the Irish had at first led them eastwards to Iran and then India, where in the form of Brahmans they were able to gather up yet more knowledge, and from there onwards to Siberia, China and Japan. In possession of the secret knowledge of the Chaldees, of Indo-Aryan mythology and of Indian philosophy in its many branches (of which, however, Europeans of the late eighteenth century had at best only a vague notion), and also able to draw on the nautical-mercantile abilities of the Phoenicians, the nation of the Phoenicio-Scythians had then finally turned westwards, first to Crete and Greece, then to Italy (primarily to its Alpine north, where their echo could be detected most clearly in the Wallis region, Vallancey believed), and then finally, after an excursion to Spain and North Africa, at last – long, long before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons and the settlement of England – to Ireland, where they had been able to preserve in its purest form the heritage they had gathered over a thousand years. It is hardly by chance that one gets the impression of a caravan of peoples which, at every stop, had been able to load more cultural capital onto their donkeys' backs.

Vallancey's evidence, which was designed to confirm this basic framework and bring it to life, is presented on three levels which cannot be separated from each other, namely language, mythology and finally the actual archaeological remains. At the same time, Vallancey was aware that there were competing models, not least in England, which did not grant to the Irish or Scytho-Celts primacy and a primordial-constitutive role among all western peoples, or which proposed alternative hierarchies. The most striking alternative model was Gothicism, popular above all in Scandinavia, with Danish and North-German variants, which had inscribed not the Goths but the *Cimbri* via Magog

37 A good summary is given e.g. in Vallancey Charles, *An Essay towards illustrating the Ancient History of the Britannic Isles, containing an explanation of the Names Belgae, Scythae, Celtae, Brittanni, Albanich, Eirinnich, Caledonii, Siluri, etc., intended as a Preface to a Work, entitled A Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland* (London, J. Nichols: 1786), and idem, *A Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland* (Dublin, Luke White: 1786) Introduction 1–62, there esp. 8–12, 22–26, 29–32.

and Gomer into scriptural history. Gothicist models were represented in the English baroque above all by Sheringham and Langhorne;[38] contemporaries of Vallancey like John Pinkerton had been able to popularise similar models in the wake of the Ossian debates in Scotland.[39] Vallancey was of course familiar with these theses.[40] Jean-Sylvain Bailly, whom too Vallancey had read with enthusiasm, had proposed a similar kind of approach, but with a Siberian Atlantis.[41] But Vallancey stressed, that the North had been uninhabited before the Scytho-Irish Iranians found their way there from India: all their beautiful theoretical structures had by then already been developed long before, in India. Would the Gothicists themselves not concede that, as reported in the *Edda*, no military leader had found the way to Sweden before Odin at around the time of Christ? Even the name of this ruler of the Æsir, the great war-leader and principal god of the *Edda*, was derived not from *Adonai*, the Hebrew name of God, as had been claimed, but from the Irish word *adon*, a word for 'war-leader'.[42] So the Nordic heroes, too, had, in their essence, originally been part of the Irish people and, according to Vallancey, Scandinavia was populated by its first inhabitants hundreds of years after Ireland.

Arguments like these show that, for Vallancey, comparative analysis of language, the mere identity of words within certain semantic fields, was the key element on which to base all ethnographic determinations. All languages were traced back to Hebrew as the ultimate and elementary substrate, to which Phoenician and Arabic were very close. If the Irish had been of equal standing to the Israelites from the very beginning, then, as we have already seen, it ought to be possible to match up Irish with both Phoenician and the much more accessible Hebrew. Yet the ur-Scythians themselves, over the long course of their formation, must have left their own mark on the relevant languages. 'Language doesn't lie' was one of Vallancey's favourite slogans. His own

38 Sheringham Robert, *De Anglorum gentis origine disceptatio* (Cambridge, John Hayes: 1670) cap. 3, 45–63, and Langhorne Daniel, *Elenchus antiquitatum Albionensium Britannorum, Scotorum, Danorum, Anglosaxonum* (London, Benjamin Tooke: 1675) there esp. 336–341.

39 Pinkerton John, *A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths, being an Introduction into the Ancient and Modern History of Europe* (London, John Nichols: 1787) Part I, cap. 2–3, 15–41.

40 On Vallancey's reaction to Pinkerton and the related debates see also O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations*, 57–60.

41 Bailly Jean-Sylvain, *Lettres sur l'Atlantide de Platon et sur l'ancienne histoire de l'Asie, pour faire servir de suite aux Lettres sur l'origine des Sciences* (London, Peter Elemesly: 1779) passim.

42 Vallancey Charles, *An Essay on the Primitive Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, proving from History, Language, and Mythology, that they were Persians or Indo-Scythae, composed of Scythians, Chaldaeans, and Indians* (Dublin: 1807) cap. 4, 77–83.

grammar of the Irish language, of Ibero-Celtic as he called it, a work reprinted into the nineteenth century, begins with a eulogy of the Irish language, knowledge of which could provide a key to almost all other languages and, Vallancey stressed, really ought to be indispensable, especially, for orientalists.[43] It was on this claim that Vallancey thereafter attempted to make good, for the Scythians had reached the furthest regions of the earth. Their language had parallels not only in Ancient Italic, in Oscan, but, as Vallancey is able to show using recent reports from various regions, also in the speech of the Algonkin Indians in Canada, the language of the Berbers in the Niger region, but also the even more exotic languages in the Ural region and beyond, such as Kalmyk and Yakut. The fact that there were tribes among the Tungus or Ostyaks called Kelatec or Kuellen was evidence enough that the proto-Celts had reached these territories.[44]

2.1 *The Irish Inheriting Phoenicia, India, Kanaan and Greece: Vallancey's Great Synthesis*

In 1802 Vallancey brought out a prospect of a whole dictionary of Irish, designed throughout as an etymological dictionary. This work, too, has a long introduction which takes its starting point from the arguments of Vallancey's colleague and, in a sense, kindred spirit, the Sanskritist Francis Wilford.[45] Wilford believed he could demonstrate that Britain and Ireland had been mentioned in the Puranas, the cosmological writings of India; *suvarna*, the Sanskrit word for 'gold', corresponded to *Hibernia*, the name of Ireland, and even the name of St Patrick had not been unknown to the ancient Indian writers.[46] Vallancey gratefully adopted Wilford's suggestions and, building on them, he provided an Irish equivalent for almost *every* term in Sanskrit. In passing, as it were, he also shows how the fleur-de-lis, the lily standard of the French, could have had its model not only in the Arabian victory sceptre, the *shar al-az*, and in the sign of the Indian elephant god Ganesha, but also in the first letters of the old Irish

43 Vallancey Charles, *A Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic, or Irish Language, to which is prefixed an Essay on the Celtic Language, shewing the Importance of the Iberno-Celtic or Irish Dialect, to Students in History, Antiquity, and the Greek and Roman Classics* (Dublin, Robert Marchbank: 1782) (first 1773) 1–4.

44 Ebd. 4–14, 33–35.

45 Vallancey Charles, *Prospectus of a Dictionary of the Language of the Aire Coti, or, Ancient Irish, compared with the Language of the Cuti, or Ancient Persians, with the Hindostanee, the Arabic, and Chaldean Languages* (Dublin: 1802) 2–29.

46 Wilford Francis, "An Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West with other Essays connected with that Work", *Asiatick Researches* 8 (1805), 245–368, 10 (1811), 27–157, 11 (1812), 11–152. On Wilford's influence on Vallancey see also O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations*, 50–51.

line-script, the ogham alphabet.[47] Vallancey's dictionary is thus not a simple reference work, but is enriched by continuous references not only to Sanskrit and Persian, some of which were indeed fully justified, but also to Hebrew, Arabic and Coptic-Egyptian. Separate treatises gave Vallancey the further option of incorporating even Japanese and Chinese into his nation.[48]

Perhaps the most important instrument used by Vallancey was the analysis of semantic fields. He deployed long commentaries on rubrics that collected terms linked by content to show that the great achievements of the Phoenicians, their most striking qualities – trade and navigation –, had left traces throughout the Irish language. The words for tin or glasswork, examples of which had been collected by men such as John Smith in his *Galic Antiquities* and William Stukeley, had Semitic analogies or were wholly identical and had spread from Ireland to all other European languages, as was demonstrated by the term *gliunn* for glass;[49] the same applied to milk products, units of measurement and almost all available terms fom the sphere of trade, and even for the names of months and terms for time. The latter in Irish, as Vallancey again demonstrated at deadly length, had even more significant parallels to Egyptian. Already in the Ural region the Scythians had mastered wool and linen production, as was known from Herodotus; for Vallancey, the story of the Argonauts, at the heart of which, after all, is the Golden Fleece, must therefore be read as in essence the report of an economic ouster: the Greeks had occupied Scythian Colchis, one of the stops on the long journey of the Irish, in order to take possession of the export goods of the Irish; this had caused the Scythians to migrate onwards into the west.[50]

There was a similarly archaic dimension to script, which in Ireland was represented by the ogham alphabet, an alphabetic script often written vertically, primarily on standing stones. As we may expect, Vallancey managed to incorporate the peculiarities of this type of script, too, into his system: The parallels were only too clear between the Ogham alphabet and the Old Persian Cuneiform in Persepolis, which had just been discovered; its relation

47 Vallancey, *A Prospectus of a Dictionary*, 32–36, and idem, *Rroof* [*sic*] *of the Ancient History of Ireland* (Dublin, Daniel Graisberry: 1797) 8–24.

48 Vallancey Charles, "The Chinese Language collated with the Irish", *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* 3 (1786), 127–160, and idem, "The Japanese Language collated with the Irish", ibidem 161–189.

49 Vallancey, *A Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic* 107–109, idem, *An Essay towards illustrating the Ancient History*, 20–25, and see Smith John, *Galic Antiquities, consisting of a History of the Druids, particulary of those of Caledonia, a Dissertation on the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, and a Collection of Ancient Poems* (Edinburgh, Charles Elliot: 1780) 113–114.

50 Vallancey, *An Essay on the Primitive Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland*, cap. 5, 86–136.

to the Orient, too, was thus too strong to ignore. Its letters were like twigs that could be set in ever new formations.[51] The scriptural Tree of Knowledge and of Paradise had been the eternal symbol of knowledge and its branches were manifested in the strokes that shaped the old Irish script. It was the same tree, so Vallancey continued creatively, which had formed the *sefirot*, the divine attributes of the Kabbalah, and their tree-structure, and, as was known from Athanasius Kircher, the tree that in the myths of the Egyptians had been reconstructed out of the fragments of the dismembered Osiris – the symbol of the universal transfer of knowledge. Every Arabic and Hebrew term for an individual scholarly discipline, the 'branches' of this universal knowledge, whether it be dialectic, grammar or rhetoric, must therefore have an almost identical-sounding phonetic equivalent in Irish.[52]

This gives us an idea of just how far Vallancey was prepared to push his systematic approach. At the heart of the language must stand not only seafaring and trade but also, of course, religion and its objects, a sphere that, as might be expected, had been wholly in the hands of the caste of druids. Their transcultural context could be identified primarily in an astral cult, as had been shown to Vallancey's satisfaction by Bryant, D'Ancarville and Gerhard Voss in his *Theologia gentilis*.[53] Vallancey believed this had been founded by the Chaldaeans, but he was able to detect it also in its branches spread throughout Europe. By incorporating the Phoenicians into this astral religion, he succeeded in elevating it into a veritable universal matrix of all religions. Against this background every fragment of Irish folk custom even of Vallancey's own times became charged with near-universal significance and was raised in dignity. Already in his grammar Vallancey had shown that astronomy, the domain of the Chaldaeans, must also have been one of the core disciplines of the Irish.

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51 Vallancey Charles, "Observations on the Alphabet of the Pagan Irish and of the Age in which Finn and Ossian Lived", *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts, Relating to Antiquity* 7 (1785) 276–285, idem, "The Ogham Writings of the ancient Irish explained", *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* 5 (1790) 5–104, idem, "An Essay on the Ogham tree Alphabet of the ancient Irish", *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* 6 (1804), 157–195, 219–236, idem, *An Essay towards illustrating the Ancient History of the Britannic Isles*, 56–62, and idem, *An Essay on the Primitive Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland*, cap. 7, 149–159, idem, *A Vindication of the Antient History of Ireland*, 75–78, and see also Ó Bréartúin, *Charles Vallancey*, 50–55.

52 Vallancey, Charles, "The Tree, the Symbol of Knowledge, of Numerals and of Literary Characters", *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* 5 (1790), 105–146.

53 Bryant, *A New System*, vol. 1, 235–282, or e.g. Dupuis Charles François, *Origine de tous les cultes ou religion universelle* (4 vols.) (Paris, Henri Agasse: 1794–1795), vol. 1, Preface, XI–XIII, and Vossius Gerardus, *De theologia gentili et physiologia christiana, sive de origine ac progressu Idolatriae* (Amsterdam, Johan Blaeu: 1668), lib. 1, cap. 35, 131–136. On Bryant's influence on Vallancey see also O'Halloran, *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations* 47–48.

Had men of the early Middle Ages such as Virgil of Salzburg and Dungalus Reclusus not been famed for their astronomical knowledge and even earned the hostility of the Curia?[54] Was it not true, as Vallancey is able to show by a further analysis of a semantic field, that the ancient Indian Rishi had never doubted that the world was round? Again Vallancey can demonstrate via a comment on the Book of Job that the text of Scripture and its colourful Hebrew terms can be made comprehensible by reference to the Irish language. The otherwise baffling Hebrew terms for the Pleiades and the constellation of Scorpio could be explained via their Irish parallels.[55]

But the Irish-Phoenician-Indian synthesis went even further than that. Thomas Maurice and John Barrett had already shown that most of the terms in the zodiac and the other constellations went back to very old, oriental traditions and must be among the oldest terms in human history.[56] Vallancey demonstrates, further, that the Arabic word for a constellation, *anwa*, is of Irish origin and corresponds to the word-sequence *ain-bhi*, meaning 'approaching rain'. Apollonius had maintained in his *Argonautica* that the Greeks had sailed to Colchis before the constellations got their names. So where would the stars have been classified, if not in Scythia? Why would a constellation be called the Great Bear, when in Egypt, the apparent home of the zodiac, there are no bears? How would the Greeks have acquired a constellation called Argo when the main star of this constellation, Canopus, cannot even be seen from Greece?[57] The stars must have been set in their order by the primordial Irish using a linguistic amalgam which also did justice to the Chaldaean elements in their blood. If the constellation of the Great Bear was read from right to left, Vallancey believed, it produced the Hebrew letters *aleph, resh* and *tau*, a combination that spelled the word *art*, the Irish for 'bear', which already hinted at the Greek word derived from it, *arktos*. The Little Wain, on the other hand, consisted of two letters, an *aleph* and a *shin*, and the Irish for 'wagon' was *aish*. That Vallancey had dozens of similar examples need not be any surprise: in the end, the whole sky had once spoken a Celtic-Semitic language.[58]

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54 Vallancey, *A Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic* 108–111.

55 Ibidem 112–129.

56 Maurice Thomas *The History of Hindostan, its arts, and its sciences, as connected with the history of the other great empires of Asia, during the most ancient periods of the world* (2 vols.) (London, William Bulmer: 1795–1798), vol. 1, Book 1, Part 1, 45–80, and Barrett J., *An enquiry into the origin of the constellations that compose the Zodiac, and the uses they were intended to promote* (Dublin: 1800) passim.

57 Vallancey, *An Essay on the Primitive Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland*, cap. 5, 125–139.

58 Vallancey Charles, "Of the Use and Application of the Celestial Alphabet, as an Astronomical Character, and of the Origin of the Figures of the Celestial Globe", *Collectanea*

At the heart of the Hiberno-Phoenician astral cult had lain, as already suggested, the worship of light and the sun, a quality that distinguished both Chaldaic ritual and the religion of the Brahmans. Baal and the Irish Bel were one and the same. The Indian pantheon, too, could be derived without difficulty from its Irish variant, Vallancey believed. Krishna, for Vallancey a version of Apollo, had his counterpart in the god Crishen, son of the sun god Bel, and Arun in the god of light Aruth. In Ishvara, a secondary name of many Indian gods, was concealed the word for fire, *aos*. Buddha, too, Vallancey added, had been honoured in Ireland, in the form of the god Buttavant whose temple had long stood near Cork. When, as was the custom at the winter solstice, the druid had offered a cockerel to the goddess Nargal, he was in essence honouring the Indian moon-goddess Chandri, as well as the risen Mithras, and ultimately also the reborn Babylonian-Chaldaean Tammuz.[59]

The festivals of the Irish calendar were likewise witnesses to an archaic and ultimately Indian-oriental cult of light which celebrated the solstices. Samhain on the First of November, Hallows' Eve or Halloween, was the festival at which the druids honoured the realm of the dead and offered black sheep to those who had died. In Persia the same month bore the name Adur, like the angel who presided over fire. What the druids, priests of the fire, had to ritually undergo in November, Vallancey concluded, was the eternal struggle against the powers of darkness. Samhain stood for *summus manium*, the foremost of the *manes* ('shades') and spirits of the underworld, the Latin *Summanus* and Lord of the Underworld, i.e. Pluto and Beelzebub, Ahriman, the Persian prince of darkness, and Samael, the Satan in Judaism and Lord of the Demons, whom the Zohar had described with such insistence. At this time Murdad, the Angel of Death, as the Persians had called him, was to be banished. The Christian festival of All Souls, but also the feast that was dedicated to the Holy Innocents massacred in Bethlehem, must have been a superficial echo of this salvation mystery; indeed, even the Hallowe'en festival was the result of an ancient rite that went back to the origins of the Deluge. Had there not been dances in the churchyards on the First of November, right into the high Middle Ages,

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de rebus Hibernicis 5 (1790), 188–200, and again idem, "On the Oriental Emigration of the Ancient Inhabitants of Britain and Ireland", *The Oriental Collections* 1 (1797), 301–317, and extensively with more additional material idem, "The Oriental Emigration of the Hibernian Druids proved from their Knowledge in Astronomy, collated with that of the Indians and Chaldeans – from Fragments of Irish manuscripts", *The Oriental Collection* 2 (1798), 1–20, 101–121, 201–227, 321–348. The serial was edited by the famous Indologist William Ouseley.

59 Vallancey, *An Essay on the Primitive Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland*, cap. 1–2, 20–63.

Vallancey notes, until the Cistercians had banned the practice in Ireland? Did young girls in country communities even in his own day not go from house to house and ask for cakes, which had previously been offered to Samael to placate the powers of winter darkness?[60] The second great festival of the Irish year, 'Lughnasa', was dedicated to the power of light, too. *Lug-nasad*, the 'killing of Lugh' on the First of August, Vallancey continued, had had a secondary name, 'Gul of August'; but *gul* meant 'circle' or 'wheel', i.e. the solar wagon and also the circle of the seasons. Equally, it recalled the Swedish Yule festival, the winter solstice, which had simply been copied in Scandinavia from the Irish festival. It had been a Chaldaic rite which the Phoenicians, the Mago-Scythians, had brought to Ireland along with the caste of the druids.[61]

3 Irish Monuments Calling Back All Ages

The solar cult brings us to the final element in Vallancey's presentation of evidence, namely the surviving ancient monuments. Here too we must limit ourselves to just a few examples.[62] The word *cul* for the circle, so Vallancey explained in the same section of his monumental *Collectanea de hibernicis*, had a counterpart in the Persian *kulleh*, meaning 'tower'. And did Ireland not abound in mysterious round towers, which for the most part stood apart from the churches and appeared to be unique in Europe? They must have served as observatories for the astral cult and the observation of the heavens. Earlier antiquaries, above all Edward Ledwich and Richard Gough, had devoted many considerations to these towers, Vallancey noted, but they could only be explained if one bore in mind the oriental roots of Irish culture, and the long wanderings of the Phoenician Irish. In the Volga area Peter Simon Pallas had found similar buildings in the area formerly settled by the Bulgars, which were called by the local inhabitants *misgir*, or 'fire towers'. In Persian the word *mudskir* stood for a man of special piety. If one believed Geoffrey Keating, during the third invasion by the followers of Nemed, already some time after the

60 Vallancey Charles, "An Essay on the Irish Festival Oidchhe Shamha, the All-Hallow-Eve of the Modern Irish", *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* 3 (1786), 443–467.

61 Vallancey Charles, "On the Gule of August, called La Tat, the Lammas Day of the Modern Irish", *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* 3 (1786), 468–511.

62 In addition see e.g. Vallancey Charles, "Description of an Ancient Monument in the Church of Lusk in the County of Dublin", *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 2 (1788), 57–68, and idem, *Account of the ancient stone amphitheatre lately discovered in the county of Kerry, with fragments of Irish history relating thereto* (Dublin: 1812), and see also Lennon, *Irish Orientalism*, 93–94.

Deluge, a druid called Midghe had taught the Irish the use of fire. The towers must thus have been a special feature of the Scytho-Phoenician settlement of Ireland and its archaic Chaldaean religion.[63] We now know that the round towers were built only in the early Middle Ages, but we may note in passing that they prompted wild speculations right up to the mid-nineteenth century.[64] It's worth to mention just the attempt by Henry O'Brien in 1834, following close in the footsteps of Vallancey, to elevate the round towers of Ireland to evidence of an Indian-oriental phallus cult.[65]

Another monument interpreted by Vallancey is of interest. Near Dundalk there was a probably neolithic formation of ritual stones arranged in the form of a ship. It had already been described by Vallancey's contemporaries. Why did this cult site take the form of a ship? Was it a monument that had been set up by the nautically skilled Danes, the Vikings, to commemorate their many journeys? Was the ship of the gods from the *Edda*, Skidbladnir, perhaps worshipped here? No, wrote Vallancey, the Phoenician ur-druids had here venerated a cult of the world beyond which had used the ship merely as a symbol. After all, already Tacitus had recorded that the ancient Germans had worshipped the goddess Isis in the form of ships. The first settlers in Ireland, taught by the Chaldaeans, must have brought the cult with them to Ireland.[66]

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63 Vallancey Charles, "Of the Round Towers", *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* 3 (1786), 191–196, and see Ledwich Edward – Grose Francis, *The Antiquities of Ireland* (2 vols.) (London, Hooper and Wigstead: 1791–94), e.g. vol. 1, 12–13, and the separately published small paper of Gough Richard, *Observations on the Round Towers in Ireland and Scotland* (s.p. 1779) passim.

64 For a wonderful survey on the 'Round-tower-controversy' see Lennon, *Irish Orientalism*, 102–114.

65 O'Brien Henry, *The round towers of Ireland, or the mysteries of freemasonry, of sabaism, and of budhism, for the first time unveiled* (London: 1834) passim. The essay won the prize of the Royal Irish Academy. Although O'Brien, ebd. 19, is distancing himself from Vallancey, he nevertheless quotes him permanently. The debate on the towers was flourishing afterwards, see in addition Petril George, "The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion, comprising an Essay on the Origin and Use of the Round Towers of Ireland", *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 20 (1845), 1–452, here 1–120, and Weaver R.L., *Monumenta antiqua, or the Stone Monuments of Antiquity yet remaining in the British Isles, particularly as illustrated by Scripture, also a Dissertation on Stonehenge, together with a compendious Account of the Druids* (London: 1840) cap. 1–2, 1–75.

66 Vallancey Charles – Pownall Thomas, "An Account of the Ship-Temple near Dundalk", *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* 3 (1786), 197–210, and see on this temple for Vallancey already Wright Thomas, *Louthiana, or An Introduction to the Antiquities of Ireland* (London, Thomas Payne: 1758) 15–16.

3.1 *Conclusion: Speculative Ideas, National Romanticism and an Early Modern Heritage*

It is easy today to laugh at Vallancey's crazed speculations and to be put off by the maelstrom of invented myths and 'facts' that it produced. Many of his linguistic parallels and schemas were entirely correct; his achievements in the study of the Irish language are incontestable. In contrast to many of his contemporaries Vallancey did not forge either manuscripts or artefacts in support of his theses. In the study of Indian culture, the excitement of discovery had not yet been tamed by Indo-European linguistics and the humourless editorial practices of German philology. Despite long study of the Irish language and the inclusion, since Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn in the seventeenth century, of Gaelic among the Celtic-Germanic languages, Indoeuropeanists would only really turn their attention to Irish from 1840 onwards.[67] Nor were the other Celtic languages proof against fantasies of primordiality and the ur-language.[68] At the same time Welsh scholars such as Edward Davies, defender of the great Bardic Councils of the late eighteenth century, outdid each other in the attempt to link their language to the scriptural revelation, the figure of Noah or the legendary Hyperboreans and to elevate it to the position of Europe's mother tongue.[69] Similar endeavours had won a very warm reception in Wales already in the seventeenth century.[70]

Vallancey seems to be important for a different reason. His project shows what a massive integratory power and energy was still held by the great orientalising models of the seventeenth century – deeply baroque in character and

67 As early speculative 'Celtologists' see e.g. Boxhorn Marcus Zuerius, *Originum Gallicarum liber, in quo veteris et nobilissimae Gallorum gentis origines, antiquitates, mores, lingua et alia eruuntur et illustrantur* (Amsterdam, Johannes Jansson: 1654) there the comparative dictionary 1–75, Pezron Pierre, *Antiquité de la nation et de la langue des Celtes, autrement appellez Gaulois* (Paris, Marchand et Martin: 1703), there on the languages 180–331.

68 On followers of Vallancey like William Betham, Henry O'Brien and Roger O'Connor see esp. Lerssen, "On the edge of Europe", 103–107, 111–112.

69 Davies Edward, *Celtic Researches, on the origin, tradition and language of the ancient Britons, with some introductory sketches on primitive society* (London: 1804), there e.g. Appendix, 555–561, and see earlier and more general also Parsons James, *The Remains of Japhet: Being Historical Enquiries into the Affinity and Origin of the European Languages* (London, Davies and Reymers: 1767), there with the *Leabhar Gabhála* as authority cap. 6, 145–184, or Jones Rowland, *The Origin of Language and Nations, hieroglyfically, etymologically, and topografically defined and fixed, after the method of an English, Celtic, Latin, Greek and Latin English Lexicon* (London, John Hughs: 1764) Preface, 23–29.

70 Edwards Charles, *Hebraismorum Cambro-Britannicorum Specimen, honorandis antiquae Brittanicae gentis primoribus, aliisque ei benignis maecenatibus eudaimonia* (s.p. 1675) passim.

committed to the Bible – for antiquarianism as late as the early nineteenth century. It was hardly chance that for Vallancey, not only Bochart but also Athanasius Kircher could be relied on as an authority. Reading these works was no anachronism; to the contrary, Vallancey is an emphatic testament to how much life was still in these paradigms. The will to represent and rebuild a past as glorious as imaginable was guiding him back to the great authorities of the 17th century. Contrary to what is sometimes maintained, there was no epochal shift in philological or antiquarian studies within the first two decades of Sanskrit studies in Europe. It would be a long time before the first representatives of the European study of India, the generation after Jones or Wilford, would succeed in creating the breach between Semitists and Indo-Iranian studies, that is so often asserted in history of science. To the contrary, the baroque Semitists' realia, texts and methods could be adopted without any major discontinuity. The 'baroque' idea of unity was revealed as still capable of bearing intellectual weight. The celtophiles were not alone in this achievement. Vallancey's rivals the Gothicists and their competing Scandinavian model had succeeded, at least in Sweden, in integrating Sanskrit studies and Finno-Ugric into their universalist, Sweden-centric designs, even if, admittedly, not every antiquarian in the early nineteenth century would still have accepted their model in its then current transformations. Orientalism, Philosemitism, enthusiasm for India and Scandinavophilia were not mutually exclusive. In his own way Vallancey too, despite his swift marginalisation in organised scholarship, was thus perhaps more modern than he may seem at first sight.

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Index Nominum

Abraham 591–592, 602, 607–608
Ada (Countess of Holland) 283
Adam of Bremen 623, 627, 629, 631, 633, 638, 642
Adele (daughter of Pepin of Italy) 243
Adelheid (Adelaida, daughter of Pepin of Italy) 243
Adornes, Anselm I 527
Adrichem, Christiaan van 468
Aegidius (Roman commander) 161
Aegidius Parisiensis, *see* Gilles of Paris
Aelred of Rievaulx 741
Aeneas 17 n. 7, 23, 32, 34, 56, 243, 246, 288–289, 314, 592
Afonso de Portugal (Alfonso of Portugal, Bishop of Évora) 138
Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (Duke of Alba) 306, 400, 407, 410
Albert III of Saxony (Duke of Saxony) 514
Albert IV of Bavaria (Duke of Bavaria) 567
Albert VII (Count of Holland, Archduke of Austria) 233
Alberti, Leandro 96
Alberti, Leon Battista 54, 92, 96 n. 55, 100, 190, 570 n. 116, 571, 572 n. 123
Albrecht III of Saxony, *see* Albert
Albrecht IV of Bavaria, *see* Albert
Albrecht of Halberstadt 731
Albrecht of Stade 17 n. 7
Albrecht von Eyb, *see* Eyb
Alewijn 446
Alexander of Roes 592
Alexander the Great 22, 28, 284, 598
Alfonso of Aragon (Duke of Calabria, subsequently King of Naples Alfonso II) 54–55
Alighieri, Dante, *see* Dante
Altdorfer, Albrecht 611
Altdorfer, Georg (Bishop of Chiemsee) 527
Althamer, Andreas 540, 541 n. 58
Álvarez de Toledo, Fernando, *see* Alba
Amalia of Saxony (Duchess of Bavaria) 524
Amantius, Bartholomeus 393
Ambigatus 504
Amman, Jost 318
Ammianus Marcellinus 502–503, 597
Ampzing, Samuel 423–424, 425 n. 14, 426 n. 16
Amstel, Egbertus van 449
Amstel, Gijsbrecht IV van 449
Ancarville, Pierre d' 754, 763
Anchises 314–315
Andreas, Valerius 404, 416
Andrewes, Lancelot 713
Androuet du Cerceau, Jacques 189, 190 n. 6, 202, 210–212, 228, 727
Anne Stuart (Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland) 712
Annio da Viterbo 93
Annio of Viterbo (Giovanni Nanni) 93, 176, 496–501, 599, 601, 604
Antenor (Trojan hero) 18 n. 7, 93, 243
Apianus Petrus 393 n. 23
Apollonius of Rhodes 764
Aquinas, Thomas 71, 363 n. 12
Aquino, Girolamo 68 n. 47, 71–72
Aretino, Pietro 91–92, 302
Aristotle 109, 115 n. 19, 116–117, 121 n. 32, 125, 363, 364 n. 12
Arius 162
Arnout I (Count of Holland) 245–246, 247–248, 277 n. 88
Arnulf, Count of Holland, *see* Arnout I
Arthur (King) 156, 168–170, 172
Ascanius 33
Asinius Celer, Servius 371
Asser of Cherbury 744
Atala, *see* Adele
Attendolo Giovan Battista 72 n. 61
Attendolo, Ambrogio 61, 63, 67, 70–72, 74
Aubert (Saint and Bishop of Avranches) 171
Aucuparius, Thomas, *see* Vogler
Augustus (Octavian, Roman Emperor) 11, 84–85, 111, 270, 284, 408, 586, 589–590, 611
Aurelius, Cornelius 379, 438 n. 28, 443
Auzout, Adrien 205
Aventinus, Johannes 536 n. 47, 567, 598
Averlino, Antonio, *see* Filarete
Avogaro, Pietro Donato 80, 81 n. 10

Aytta van Zwichem, Wigle van, *see* Viglius of Aytta
Álvarez de Toledo, Fernando, *see* Alba

Bachelier, Nicolas 190
Bailly, Jean-Sylvain 754, 760
Barbaro, Daniele 95, 700–703
Barbarossa, *see* Frederick I Barbarossa and Frederick II Barbarossa
Barclay, Alexander 744
Barlaeus, Caspar 455–458
Barlandus, Hadrianus 53, 258 n. 52, 267 n. 71, 268–277, 289, 290 n. 115, 374
Barrett, John 764
Barrett, William 734
Barros, João de 145
Bartholomae, Paulinus a 755
Bartolomeo De Capua 51, 57 n. 18
Basinio Basini 34
Beatus Rhenanus, *see* Rhenanus
Beaumesnil, Pierre de 207
Beck, Leonhard 306–307
Beckenschlager, Johann, *see* Johann III of Esztergom
Bede (Beda Venerabilis) 621, 691
Beke, Johannes de 450 n. 48
Belforte (son of the Trojan prince Francus) 22
Bellori, Giovanni Pietro 124–125
Bellovesus 504
Belten, Pieter 341–342
Bembo, Pietro 110
Benedicti, Georgius, *see* Wertelos, Georgius Benedicti
Benoît de Saint-Maure 18 n. 7
Bentheim, Luder von 431
Bentivoglio, Guido 398 n. 1
Bentley, Richard 748
Bernhard von Rohr (Archbishop of Salzburg) 526
Berosus (i.e., ps.Berosus) 93, 497–501
Bertha (daughter of Pepin of Italy) 243
Berthelot, Gilles 214
Bertin, Dominique 190
Bertius, Petrus 279
Beveridge, William 724
Beverweijck, Johan van 438–439
Biancolini, Giovanni Battista 640 n. 48
Bielski, Joachim 654 n. 24
Bielski, Marcin 653, 656
Biondo, Flavio 5, 90 n. 29, 92, 501, 502 n. 52, 580–581
Blaeu, Johan 423 n. 12
Bleysweijck, Dirck van 440–441
Blommendael, Joannes a 181
Blondel, François 205–206
Boccaccio, Giovanni 532 n. 39, 575, 744
Bochart, Samuel 753, 757, 759, 769
Boece, Hector 692–693
Böhmer, Justus Christoph 400 n. 7
Boffrand, Germain 206
Bogan, Zacharias 753
Bohier, Thomas 214
Boissard, Jean-Jacques 191
Bolesław Chrobry (King of Poland) 654
Boom, Abraham 457
Boreel, Adam 468
Borlase, William 745, 746 n. 66, 748
Bosse, Abraham 206, 219
Bossi, Giuseppe 67, 68 n. 47
Bouchard, Alain 170–171
Bouchet, Jean 180
Boudan, Louis 179
Boxhorn, Marcus Zuerius 768
Boyssoné, Jean de 190
Bramante, Donato 217, 229
Brand, John 745, 746 n. 66
Brant, Sebastian 490, 499, 501
Brassica Jacobus 374 n. 42
Braun, Georg 178, 181, 428
Bray, Salomon de 331, 338
Brigid (Saint) 758
Brinio (leader of the Caninefates) 8
Brinsley, John 714
Brompton, John 739
Brosterhuijsen, Johan 472, 476
Brouwer, Christoph S.J. 597
Brueghel, Pieter the Elder 610
Bruni, Leonardo (Leonardus Aretinus) 533, 572
Brutus (Lucius Junius Brutus, the first Roman consul) 477
Brutus (Marcus Junius Brutus) 378 n. 53, 477
Brutus (son of Priamus, King of Troy) 17 n. 7, 18 n. 7
Bryant, Jacob 732–749, 754, 763

Buchel, Aernout van 15, 383–396
Buddha 765
Bullant, Jean 188–190, 216, 226, 228
Bullioud, Antoine 217, 222
Buonaccorsi, Filippo 527
Buonarrotti, *see* Michelangelo
Burgkmair the Elder, Hans 306
Burgundius, Nicolaus 397–417
Burnet, Richard 708, 710

Caesar, Gaius Julius (dictator) 3–6, 16, 211, 269–272, 284, 292, 303, 315, 320–321, 323, 408, 443, 487, 491, 494, 499, 501–503, 505, 598, 740–741, 745
Calderino, Cristoforo 71
Caligula (Roman Emperor) 369
Camden, William 686, 688, 694, 717
Campen, Jacob van 330, 331 n. 4, 338, 341, 344, 350, 460, 463–465, 467, 472, 473 n. 37, 475–476, 479–481
Cappellano Achille 74 n. 68
Capys (Trojan hero) 56–57
Carion, Johannes (Nägele) 3
Caroto, Giovan Francesco 70
Caroto, Giovanni 80 n. 8, 96–97, 99
Carrio, Lodovico 385
Casimir I, Mieszko, *see* Kazimierz I, Mieszko
Casimir Jagiellończyk, *see* Kazimierz Jagiellończyk
Casimir the Great, *see* Kazimierz the Great
Cassiodorus 90 n. 29, 621
Cassius Dio 315 n. 30, 694
Castelli, Girolamo (Court physician of the d'Este family) 20, 22–25
Castiglione, Baldassarre 110, 111 n. 12
Castilho, António de 145
Catcott, George Symes 734
Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catilina) 370, 372 n. 36
Cato the Elder (Marcus Porcius Cato) 93, 370, 371–373
Cato the Younger (Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis) 287
Catullus (Gaius Valerius Catullus) 309
Cedrenus, Georgius 690
Celer, Asinius 371
Cellarius, Christoph (Keller) 650 n. 4
Celtis, Conrad 8, 492 n. 27, 501–502, 536 n. 46, 540, 580 n. 142
Cervantes, Miguel de 302
Cesariano, Cesare 92
Charlemagne (King of Franks, Holy Roman Emperor) 4–5, 11, 17 n. 7, 113, 158–159, 162–165, 243, 252, 499
Charles of Austria (son of Philipp II) 72
Charles the Bold (Duke of Burgundy) 273, 485–486, 514, 562
Charles I (King of England) 480
Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor) 128, 169, 188, 229, 260, 272–274, 286, 336, 345–346, 400
Charles VII (King of France) 154, 164
Charles VIII (King of France) 164
Charles Martel 159
Chartier, Jean 155
Chatterton, Thomas 731–740, 742–748
Chaucer, Geoffrey 731, 734, 736, 743
Chersiphron (Greek architect) 202
Childeric I (King of Franks) 161
Christ 3, 106 n. 3, 111, 116–118, 120–121, 363
Christeta of Avila (Saint) 132
Christina (Queen of Sweden) 636, 753
Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero) 38, 111–112, 370, 372 n. 38, 373 n. 39, 378 n. 53, 380, 413–414, 495 n. 34, 549, 572–574
Ciriaco d'Ancona 84–85
Civilis, Julius 397, 414
Clagny, Sieur de, *see* Lescot, Pierre
Clamer, Jodocus (rector of the Ulm Minster) 565
Claudian (Claudius Claudianus) 18 n. 9, 33, 34 n. 48, 37, 43 n. 67
Claudius (Roman Emperor) 411 n. 55
Clovis I (King of the Franks) 158, 162, 243
Cock, Hieronymus 266
Codussi, Mauro 87
Coecke van Aelst, Pieter 607 n. 62, 608 n. 63
Coignard, Jean-Baptiste 201 n. 24, 202, 205 n. 29
Colbert, Jean-Baptiste 200–201, 206
Colonne, Guido delle 18
Commendone, Giovanni Francesco 594
Conrad the Red (Duke of Lorraine) 323

Constantine the Great (Roman Emperor) 4, 586, 590, 713, 724
Contantius Chlorus (Roman Emperor) 590
Coornhert, Dirck Volkertszoon 362, 365
Corbulo (Roman general) 440
Cordatus, Hadrianus 270
Corna, Francesco 83–85, 87, 90, 92, 93
Cornelis Anthonisz 610
Cornelisz. van Oostzanen, Jakob 261 n. 61, 267, 269
Corrozet, Gilles 385, 389
Cotta, Giovanni 78, 79 n. 6
Cotte, Robert de 206
Cranmer, Thomas 708
Crassus (Marcus Licinius Crassus) 374 n. 43, 378 n. 53
Crates of Thebes 364
Cravant, Louis de 154
Crescenzi, Pietro de 653
Cromwell, Thomas 170
Cunigunde of Luxembourg (Holy Roman Empress, wife of Emperor Henry II) 257
Cusanus, Nicolaus (Nicholas of Cusa) 593
Cuthbert 741

Dahlbergh, Erik 627–628, 645
Dankerts de Rij, Cornelis 461
Dante (Dante Alighieri) 390–391
Danti, Egnazio 91, 92 n. 34
Dapper, Olfert 449, 450 n. 52, 469–470
Dares the Phrygian 16, 17 n. 7, 22
Dati, Leonardo 40 n. 62
Davies, Edward 768
De Chambré, Fréart 205
De la Touche, Lancelot 212
De l'Orme, Philibert 188–190, 210–230
del Balzo, Vincenzo 68
del Castillo, Julian 619 n. 2
del Tufo, Giovan Battista 68
Dębiński, Jakub 666 n. 82
Delfos, Abraham 261
Derand, François 219
Desgodets, Antoine 80, 201, 205
Desiderius (King of Langobards) 158, 162 n. 36, 163
di Falco, Benedetto 395
di Franco, Francesco 69
Dickinson, Edward 753–754
Dictys Cretensis (pseudonym) 16, 17 n. 7, 22
Dido (Queen of Carthage) 23, 38
Dietrich of Bern 90–91
Digby, William (fifth Baron of Digby) 726
Dinocrates 202
Diocletian (Holy Roman Emperor) 132
Diodorus Siculus 604
Diogenes of Sinope 364
Dionysius the Areopagite 491
Dionysius (Saint) 155, 159, 163
Dirk I (Count of Holland) 240–241, 243–245, 249, 251, 255–256, 260, 274, 277, 278, 286–289, 292, 295, 297, 420, 438
Dirk II (Count of Holland) 249–251, 255–256, 317, 322, 324 n. 58, 326
Dirk III (Count of Holland) 286–287
Dirk IV (Count of Holland) 311, 315, 439
Dirk V (Count of Holland) 272 n. 81, 287
Dirk VI (Count of Holland) 262
Długosz, Jan 651 n. 9, 658 n. 46
Doen Pieterz 267–269
Domitian (Roman Emperor) 270
Douglas, Gavin 737
Dousa the Elder, Janus 5, 302–329
Dousa the Younger, Janus 278–279
Dow, Alexander 755
Drusus the Elder (Nero Claudius Drusus, brother of emperor Tiberius) 507, 535
Dryden, John 744, 747
Drzewicki, Maciej 669
Du Bellay, Jean (French diplomat) 170
Du Bellay, Joachim 210
du Choul, Guillaume 640 n. 49
Dudley, Robert (Earl of Leicester) 385
Dugdale, William 710, 718–719, 723, 732
Duivenvoorde, Johann II van (Lord of Warmond) 261
Dungal of Bobbio 764
Durandus, Wilhelmus 715
Dürer, Albrecht 69–70, 536 n. 46, 546 n. 68, 562, 571, 578 n. 140

Eberhard the Bearded (Eberhard I Count, later Duke of Württemberg) 530, 574
Egmond, Joris of 240, 272
Egmond, Philip of 240, 272
Egmont, Lamoral (Count of Egmont) 409

Ekkehard of Aura 601
Elagabalus (Roman Emperor) 373
Elijah 3
Eliezar (Rabbi) 176
Elitovius 504
Elizabeth I (Queen of England) 279, 309, 712
l'Empereur van Opwijck, Constantijn 468
Enen, Johann 594, 603
Engistus (Hengist) 443, 446
Ennius, Quintus 316 n. 35, 490
Enoch of Ascoli 534
Ensinger, Moritz 553
Epictetus 363
Epicurus 364 n. 13
Eprius Marcellus, Titus Clodius 410
Erasmus, Desiderius 269, 312 n. 23, 313, 362–365, 369, 374, 381
Erhart, Michel 548 n. 73, 550
Ernest Elector of Saxony 514, 569
d' Este, Borso 19–26, 42
d' Este, Ercole I 19, 21
d' Este Leonello 19
Estienne, Henry 467
Eucharius (Saint) 590, 594
Euripides 370
Eutropius, Flavius 505
Evelyn, John 685–687
Eyb, Albrecht von (canon) 565, 573–575, 579 n. 141
Eyck, Jan van 542–546, 548, 581

Fabius (Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator) 490
Fabri, Felix, O.P. 27 n. 33, 538, 554
Falconetto, Giovanni Maria 87, 95
Farnese, Alessandro (Govenero of the Low Countries) 402
Federico II, Marquis of Mantua 94
Feliciano, Felice 95
Feria, Suárez de Figueroa, Gómez (Count of Feria) 410
Ferrante of Aragon (King of Naples) 54
Ferro Antonio 74
Fiamma, Galvano 24
Fichard, Johann 81 n. 11
Filarete (Antonio Averlino) 85
Filelfo, Francesco 36 n. 53, 41 n. 64, 43 n. 67
Filelfo, Gian Mario 26, 28, 30–36
Filipp da Rimini (Venetian chancellor of Corfu) 36
Firlej, Piotr 676 n. 113
Flamininus, Lucius Quinctius (Roman consul) 77
Flaminius, Gaius Flaminius Nepos (Roman consul) 77, 94–95, 96 n. 55
Flavius Josephus, *see* Josephus
Flinck, Govert 477
Florence of Worcester 738, 741
Floris II (Count of Holland) 285, 287, 423
Floris III (Count of Holland) 283–284
Floris IV (Count of Holland) 283, 305
Floris V (Count of Holland) 432, 435, 448–449, 452
Folengo, Teofilo 175
Francis I (King of France) 172, 188, 201, 212, 223, 228
Franco (Francus or Francio, Trojan hero, forefather of the Franks) 18, 19 n. 10, 22, 25, 159, 160 n. 24, 164 n. 41, 165
Fréart de Chambray, Roland 204–205
Frederick I Barbarossa (Holy Roman Emperor) 284
Frederick II (Barbarossa; Holy Roman Emperor) 439
Frederick II (Holy Roman Emperor) 51, 72
Frederick III (Holy Roman Emperor) 20, 21 n. 14, 556
Frederik Hendrik (Prince of Orange, stadtholder) 330, 472
Fugger, Raimund 393
Fuller, Thomas 719

Gabriel, Jacques 206
Gaignières, François Roger de 207
Galba (Roman Caesar) 272
Galle, Philip 181, 235–250, 252, 258–259, 266, 269, 275, 277–278, 367
Galle, Theodor 266
Gardet, Jean 190
Gataker, Thomas 689
Gébelin, Antoine Court de 754
Gellius, Aulus 112, 369, 370 n. 27, 371 n. 33, 372, 373 n. 40
Gena (Geva or Gunna), fictitious daughter of Pepin I 243, 255, 274

Geoffrey Long-Tooth (Geoffrey II of Lusignan) 168, 181–185
Geoffrey of Monmouth (Geoffroy) 17 n. 7, 170, 172, 741, 745, 746 n. 68
Geoffrey of Viterbo 17 n. 7
George III (King of Great Britain and Ireland) 170
George the Rich, Duke of Bavaria 524, 548
Gerbranz., Jan 244 n 20
Gerulf (father of Dirk I, Count of Holland) 240
Geva, *see* Gena
Gilles of Paris 163
Giocondo da Verona, Fra Giovanni 55, 92, 189
Giorgi, Antonio 755
Giovio, Paolo 266–267
Godefried, *see* Godfrey
Godefridus, *see* Godfrey of Viterbo
Godfrey the Hunchback (Godfrey III, Duke of Lorraine, Count of Holland) 272, 281, 287, 449
Godfrey of Viterbo (Godefridus Viterbiensis) 592
Godfried III, *see* Godfrey
Goeree, Willem 471
Goes, Hugo van der 527, 555, 581
Goguet, Antoine 754
Golius, Jacob 753
Goltzius, Hendrick 236, 264
Goltzius, Hubert 640 n. 49
Gordon, Robert 692 n. 20
Górnicki, Łukasz 651, 658–660
Gough, Richard 766, 767 n. 63
Gozzoli, Benozzo 608
Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de 402, 407–408
Gravesande, Arent van 's- 637
Greaves, John 699, 703
Grimaldi, Giacomo 122
Grotius, Hugo 277 n. 88, 278 n. 88, 406, 415
Gruterus, Janus 279–280
Guaiferio (Lombard captain) 50
Guido delle Colonne 18
Gundrada (daughter of Pepin of Italy) 243
Gunna, *see* Gena
Gustaf II Adolf (King of Sweden) 619
Haer, Florentius vander 400 n. 8, 402
Haimoc (abbot of St-Pierre-sur-Dives) 84 n. 15
Hannibal (Phoenician general) 78
Hardouin-Mansart, Jules 206
Hawksmoor, Nicholas 726–727, 728 n. 45
Hecataeus of Miletus 56
Hector (Troyan hero, prince of Troy) 18, 38–39, 159, 160 n. 28, 243
Hedwig Eleonora (Queen of Sweden) 628 n. 25
Hedwig Jagiellon (Duchess of Bavaria) 524
Heemskerck, Maarten van 608, 610, 645
Heimburg, Gregor 572
Helena of Troy 30
Helena (Saint, mother of Constantine the Great) 590
Helst, Bartholomeus van der 295
Helvidius Priscus, Gaius 410
Hendrick van Cleve III (Flemish painter) 610
Hendrickszoon, Aelbrecht 303, 304 n. 4, 312 n. 21, 326
Henry of Huntingdon 738, 746
Henry the Fowler (Duke of Saxony, later King of East-Francia) 319
Henry II (Holy Roman Emperor) 257
Henry II (King of France) 188, 216, 219, 228
Henry III (King of England) 255
Henry VI (King of England) 156
Henry VIII (King of England and Ireland) 169–170, 707–708, 710
Hermogenes 202
Herodian 694, 740
Herodot 604, 610
Hickford, Rayner 747
Hildebert of Lavardin 602
Hinderbach, Johannes (Bishop of Trent) 570
Hoefnagel, Joris 178, 180–181
Hogenberg, Frans 178, 181, 428
Holinshed, Ralph 739
Hollar, Wenceslaus 719
Holwell, John 755
Homer 315, 736 n. 20, 740, 743
Hooft, Pieter Corneliszoon 406

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) 309, 364 n. 13, 573–574, 576
Hottinger, Johann Heinrich 753
Huet, Pierre 754
Hunold (or Hunald, Duke of Aquitaine) 162
Huydecoper, Joan 342–343
Huygens, Constantijn 330, 352–353, 472
Hyde, Thomas 753

Ictinus (Greek architect) 202
IJsselstijn, Maximilian of 272
Ioppas 160–161
Isaiah 603 n. 46, 606
Isidore of Seville (bishop of Seville) 586, 603, 604 n. 49
Itz, George Nicolaas 422

Jagiellonian dynasty (Kings of Poland), *see* Władysław Jagiełło, Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (Casimir), Sigismund the Elder, and Sigismund II Augustus
James (Saint) 131
James I (King of England, King of Scotland as James VI) 479–480, 713
Janko of Czarnków 658 n. 46
Japhet 93
Joan of Arc 159–160
Johann III of Esztergom (Johann Beckenschlager, Archbishop) 526
Johannes Tzimiskes, Byzantine Emperor 246, 258
John (evangelist) 123
John I (Count Palatine and Duke of Zweibrücken) 596
John III (King of Portugal) 140, 142, 147
John XIII (Pope) 589–590
Jones, Inigo 687–688, 693, 703
Jones, William 755, 756 n. 26, 768 n. 69, 769
Jordanes 621
Joseph Iscanus 17 n. 7
Josephus, Flavius 473, 475
Juan of Austria, Don 238
Julius Civilis, *see* Civilis 397, 414
Julius II, Pope 107, 108 n. 4, 112, 121–122, 156
Junius the Elder, Franciscus 280
Junius, Franciscus 628 n. 26, 732
Junius, Hadrianus 8, 361–382, 423
Juvenal (Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis) 371 n. 33, 372 n. 35

Kazimierz I, Mieszko (Asimir) 654
Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (Casimir) 656
Kazimierz the Great (Casimir) 654, 658, 660, 662–665, 677
Keating, Geoffrey 752–753, 755, 757–758, 766
Kerr, Sir Robert 334, 335 n. 8
Kersey, John 732, 747
Key, Lieven de 419, 422, 424, 431, 442, 449, 453
Keyser, Hendrick de 331, 428–431
Kircher, Athanasius S.J. 763, 769
Kmita Piotr 666 n. 86
Knebel, Johannes 485
Kortebrant, Jacob 357
Krasicki, Marcin 673 n. 101
Krasicki, Stanisław 673 n. 101
Krasiński, Franciszek 669
Kritoboulos of Imbros 28–29
Kromer, Marcin 651
Kryski, Feliks 660 n. 53
Kunicki, Wacław 653, 662
Kyriander, Wilhelm 595–597

La Sauvagère, Félix-François de 207
Lactantius (Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius) 369
Laetus, Pomponius, *see* Leto
Lafréry, Antoine (Lafreri, Antonio) 95
Lambarde, William 732, 741
Lambert I Count of Nantes 244
Lambert II Count of Nantes 244
Lamoral, Count of Egmont, *see* Egmont, Lamoral, Count of
Lampridius, Aelius 373 n. 39
Lamoral de Ligne, Claude 443
Lampsonius, Domenicus 266
Lang, Matthaeus (bishop of Gurk, later archbishop of Salzburg) 490, 494–495
Lanza, Annibale 69
Laud, William 713, 714 n. 13, 718
Laurence of Siponto (Laurentius Maioranus, Saint) 171
Laurence (Saint, deacon of Rome) 118

Le Duchat, Jacob 179–180
Le Pautre, Pierre 203
Leclerc, Sébastien 202
Ledwich, Edward 766, 767 n. 63
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm 644
Leland, William 688, 698 n. 36
Lemaire de Belges, Jean 176
Leo IV (Pope) 113
Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici, Pope) 109
Leon, Jacob Jehuda 468–469
Leonardus Aretinus, *see* Bruni
Leonidas (Leonidas I, King of Sparta) 282, 284, 286
Lescot, Pierre 189–190, 216, 228
Leto, Pomponio 488, 502
Leydis, Johannes Gerbrandszoon a 311, 312 n. 21
Ligorio, Pirro 204
Lipsius, Justus 363, 397, 399, 403, 405, 406 n. 30, 407, 408 n. 39, 414 n. 65
Liquenaius Florentinus 37–40
Lister, Martin 685 n. 1, 695, 697–704
Listrius, Gerardus 374
Liutgarde, *see* Lutgardis
Livy (Titus Livius) 65, 95 n. 46, 372 nn. 35, 38, 376, 378 n. 53, 415 n. 69, 504
Loccenius, Johannes 627
Lois, Jacob 355–358
Louis of Anjou (King of Poland) 654
Louis VII (King of France) 158
Louis IX the Rich of Bavaria-Landshut, *see* Ludwig the Rich (1417–1479)
Louis IX (King of France, Saint) 211, 229
Louis XI (King of France) 172
Louis XII (King of France) 155, 212
Louis XIII (King of France) 200–201, 204, 456 n. 4
Louis XIV (King of France) 201, 205–206, 480, 597, 602 n. 44
Lubomirski, Stanisław 676
Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus) 689
Lucilius, Gaius 309, 369
Lucius (King of Britons) 156
Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus) 364 n. 13
Luder, Peter 566, 569
Ludovisi, Ludovico (Cardinal) 204
Luijtgaert, *see* Lutgardis
Lupo II (Lupus, Duke of Gascony) 162
Lutgardis (Countess of Holland, wife of Arnout I) 247–248, 257, 274
Lydgate, John 731, 733, 736, 738, 743

Machiavelli, Niccolò 27, 403 n. 21, 405 n. 26
Machuca, Pedro 229
MacPherson, James 731, 733 n. 7, 734
Macrobius (Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius) 492, 493 nn. 28–29, 496, 506
Magalotti, Lorenzo 644
Magnus, Johannes 619, 624–625, 632, 642, 644
Magnus, Olaus 8, 619 n. 1, 624–626, 631
Mair, Martin (court councillor in Landshut) 566–567
Maire, Johannes 281
Mansart, François 206, 480
Mantegna, Andrea 612
Manuel (King of Portugal) 138, 142
Manços (Saint) 131–132
Margaret of Parma (Govenor of the Low Countries) 402, 409–411
Maria de Medici (Queen of France) 455, 456 n. 5, 457–458
Marnix, Philips of (Lord of Saint-Aldegonde) 324–326
Marsi, Paolo 28, 36 n. 52
Marsilus (or Marsilius, Saracen prince) 157 n. 17, 158
Marthus (Trojan prince) 24
Martial (Marcus Valerius Martialis) 368–369, 373
Martin V. (Pope) 65
Martin, Jean 191, 201
Mary of Burgundy (Duchess of Burgundy) 305–306, 427, 486
Mary of Hungary (governor of the Low Countries) 326 n. 60
Masen, Jacob, S.J. 597
Mason, William 748
Mathias, Thomas James 747
Matthew of Westminster 741
Maurice, Thomas 755, 764
Maurits of Orange 468
Maximilian I (Duke of Bavaria, Prince-Elector) 399, 400, 401

Maximilian I (Holy Roman Emperor) 249, 273, 305–306, 319 n. 38, 427, 447, 449, 486, 488 n. 15, 489, 494, 506–507, 556
Mazzochi Alessio Simmaco 72
Medici, Catherine de 212, 216
Mehmed II (Ottoman Sultan) 26–36, 38–42, 43 n. 67
Meier, Jacob 289–290
Meisterlin, Sigismund 93, 534–535, 538, 548
Mela, Pomponius 502
Melanchthon, Philipp 3, 363, 377
Mendes de Vasconcelos, Diogo 145
Mendoza, Bernardino de 398 n. 1
Mercator, Gerardus 181
Merlin 156
Merovech (King of Franks) 160–161
Michelangelo Buonarotti 390–391, 459
Mickle, William Julius 748
Mieszko I, and Władysław Łokietek 654
Mignard, Pierre 201
Milano, Rinaldi 58
Milles, Jeremiah 731–748
Milton, John 748
Modius, Franciscus 317
Modrzewski, Andrzej Fryc 662
Monaco, Michele 71 n. 58
Monmouth, Geoffrey of 17 n. 7, 170, 172, 741, 745, 746 n. 68
Montanus, Petrus 450
Montmoret, Humbert de 153–166
Moro, Crtistoforo (Venetian doge) 36 n. 53
Moses 3
Mostaert, Guilhelmus 181
Moxon, Joseph 703–704
Murad I (Ottoman Sultan) 34
Murad II (Ottoman Sultan) 33
Muretus, Marcus Antonius 397, 403 n. 21
Murner, Thomas 486 n. 6, 487 n. 9, 488–489, 492
Münster, Sebastian 594, 611

Nanni, Giovanni, *see* Annio da Viterbo
Necker, Jacques 207
Neithart, Hans 565
Neithart, Heinrich the Younger (rector of the Ulm Minster) 565
Nennius (Nemnius, Welsh monk) 691, 694
Nero (Roman Emperor) 443
Nicholas of Cusa, *see* Cusanus
Nicolaus de Braia 163
Nigra, Ercole 191
Ninus (mythical king of Babylon) 591, 598, 600
Noah 3, 93, 491, 497, 591, 599, 603
Noci, Carlo 71 n. 58
Nogarola, Ludovico 94–95, 97

O'Brien, Henry 767, 768 n. 68
Octavian, *see* Augustus (Roman Emperor)
Odoacer 161
Olai, Ericus 632 n. 29, 633
Oldebarnevelt, Johan van 352
Oporowski Władysław 666 n. 83
Orlers, Jan 442
Orosius, Paulus 505, 604
Ortelius, Abraham 181
Othman 31–33
Osman I (Ottoman Sultan) 31
Ossoliński, Jerzy 673
Ossoliński, Krzysztof 673
Ossoliński, Krzysztof Baldwin 674 n. 109
Ottheinrich (Count Palatine) 90, 91 n. 31
Otto of Freising (Bishop of Freising) 592, 602–603
Otto II (Holy Roman Emperor) 246, 257
Otto III (Holy Roman Emperor) 246, 257
Ouseley, William 755, 765 n. 58
Outremeuse, Jean d' 603
Overlander, Volcker 353
Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso) 32 n. 45, 311, 315–316, 322, 327, 371 n. 32, 731, 742

Pacioli, Luca 100, 101 n. 66, 607
Palladio, Andrea 78 n. 5, 80, 87 n. 22, 97–99, 101, 189, 191, 204, 472, 476, 639 n. 48, 700 n. 41
Pallas, Peter Simon 755, 766
Pantaleon, Heinrich 265, 265 n. 64, 266
Panteo, Giovanni Agostino 80, 81 n. 10
Panvinio, Onofrio 77, 84 n. 16, 95, 640 n. 49
Paprocki, Bartosz 653, 658, 660, 668, 674
Paris (Trojan prince) 24, 313 n. 23, 321
Pasicompsa 321–322
Pasquier, Étienne 210–211
Patroclus 315
Paul (Saint) 118, 121

Paul the Deacon 505
Paul II (Pietro Barbo, Pope) 556
Pauw, Adriaan 352
Pauw, Dirk Frankenz 244 n. 20, 245 n. 23
Peckius, Petrus (chancellor of the county of Brabant) 400
Don Pedro (viceroy of Naples) 74
Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de 189
Pepin Carloman, *see* Pepin of Italy
Pepin of Italy (King of Italy, also Pepin Carloman, son of Charlemagne) 243–244, 256
Pepin the Younger (King, r. father of Charlemagne) founder of the Carolingian dynasty 158, 243 n. 18, 254–255, 751–768
Peppino, *see* Pepin of Italy
Pericles 284
Perna, Petrus 266–267
Perrault, Charles 206
Perrault, Claude 199, 199 n. 20, 201–203, 205–206, 686 n. 2
Perrenot, Antoine, *see* Granvelle
Persius (Aulus Persius Flaccus) 370 n. 30, 380 n. 58
Pesnitzer, Ulrich 524
Peter (Saint) 116, 118, 121, 123, 590, 593
Petrarch 4–5, 108, 112, 303, 416, 645, 744
Petronius Arbiter, Gaius 309
Petrus of Triest (bishop) 490
Peucer, Caspar 3
Peutinger, Konrad 8, 393, 485–510
Pharamund (King of Franks) 160 n. 30
Philandrier, Guillaume 91–92, 191, 693, 695
Philip the Good (Duke of Burgundy) 273, 514, 543, 566
Philip the Handsome (Duke of Burgundy) 273
Philip II (King of Spain, Count of Holland) 233, 236, 238–239, 274–275, 288, 306, 324, 326 n. 60, 327, 400, 409, 411–413, 480
Philip II Augustus (King of France) 158, 165
Piast dynasty Kings, *see* Bolesław Chrobry, Kazimierz the Great, Kazimierz (Casimir) I, Mieszko I, and Władysław Łokietek
Piccolomini, Enea Silvio, *see* Pius II
Pighius, Stephanus Winandus (Pigge) 18, 389–391
Pimentél de Herrera, Juan Alonso 74
Pinkerton, John 760
Pippin Carloman, *see* Pepin of Italy
Pippin the Younger, *see* Pepin the Younger
Piranesi, Giovanni Battista 621, 646
Pius II (Pope, Enea Silvo Piccolomini) 20, 21 n. 14, 24, 25 n. 26, 27 n. 33, 28, 30–31, 40, 41 n. 63, 42 n. 65, 487, 498–499, 501, 512 n. 4, 567, 569, 570 n. 116, 593–594
Plantin, Christopher 235, 238–239, 241–242, 250, 258, 269, 274–278, 290, 370 n. 31, 390 n. 16
Plato 109, 115 n. 19, 116–117, 121 n. 32, 125, 637 n. 41, 638, 640, 642–643
Plautus (Titus Maccius Plautus) 309, 322, 757
Pleydenwurff, Hans 546, 561
Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus) 95, 371 n. 33, 378 n. 53, 502, 606, 621, 700 n. 40
Pliny the Younger (Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus) 95, 269
Ploos, Adriaan 339
Plutarch 372 n. 34, 492
Pococke, Edward 753
Polch, Johann Wilhelm 597
Poldo d'Albenas, Jean 189
Poliziano, Angelo 533
Polybius 371, 372 n. 34
Pomponio Leto, *see* Leto
Pomponius Mela, *see* Mela
Pontano, Giovanni 20–21, 23
Pontanus, Johannes Isaac 450, 451 n. 53
Pontchartrain, Louis II Phélypeaux de (Count of) 207
Ponętowski, Jan 653
Pope, Alexander 726, 743, 747
Porsenna (Etruscan king) 95
Post, Pieter 444–445
Potter, Dirc 305 n. 7
Priam (mythical King of Troy) 17, 31, 160
Priamus (brother of Aeneas) 592
Probo da Sulmona, Marco 41 n. 64
Propertius (Sextus Propertius) 323–324

Ps.-Fredegar 16
Ptolemy 113, 549, 691
Pulci, Luigi 175
Pusculo, Ubertino 35–36, 37 n. 54
Puteanus, Erycius 399, 400 n. 9, 404 n. 23, 405, 414 n. 65

Quellinus, Artus 462, 477–479
Quellinus, Hubertus 477–479
Quevedo (Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Santibáñez Villegas) 132
Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus) 112, 549, 572

Rabelais, François 167–186
Radegund (Saint) 180
Raffaello, *see* Sanzio
Raleigh, Walter 726
Raphael, *see* Sanzio, Raffaello
Raphelengius, Franciscus 365–366
Raybaud, Jean 201
Reede tot Drakestein, Agnes van 340
Reede, Gerard van 346
Reede, Johan van 350
Reneker, Herman 279
Resende, André de 127–150
Rhenanus, Beatus 593
Richelieu, Alphonse-Louis du Plessis de 201
Richelieu, Armand-Jean du Plessis de (Cardinal) 200, 204
Ringmann, Matthias 490
Robert of Gloucester 737
Robert, Hubert 206–207
Roger of Hoveden 739
Roland 157 n. 17, 158
Romano, Giulio 92, 94, 96 n. 57
Romulus (first king of Rome) 92
Ronsard, Pierre de 212
Roritzer, Matthäus 571
Rowley, Thomas 731–749
Rubens, Peter Paul 480
Rudbeck, Olaus 624, 636–640, 642–646
Rugerus (Trojan prince) 22–23
Rüxner, Georg 317–319, 320 n. 41, 321
Ryff, Walther Hermann 686 n. 2

Sabina (Saint) 132
Sacchetti, Franco 303
Sadeler, Jan 181
Sagundinus, Nicolaus 25, 30
Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus) 38, 309, 369–370, 372, 407 n. 36, 408 n. 41, 414, 415 n. 69
Salutati, Coluccio 416
Sambin, Hugues 226
Sammes, Aylett 754
Sanfelice, Antonio 71
Sangallo the Younger (Antonio da Sangallo) 64, 85
Sangallo, Giovan Battista da 61
Sangallo, Giuliano da 55, 189
Sanmicheli, Michele 87, 92
Sannazaro, Jacopo 55, 71
Sansovino, Jacopo 92, 93 n. 37
Sanudo, Marino 85
Sanzio, Raffaello 38, 105–126
Sarayna, Torello 84 n. 16, 85–88, 91, 93–97
Sasbout, Master Sir Arnoud 236, 238
Sautereau, Jean 201
Savage, John 695
Savery, Salomon Jacobz 457
Saxo Grammaticus 621
Scamozzi, Vincenzo 77, 78, 93, 94 n. 45, 97, 99, 100 n. 65, 101
Scardeone, Bernardino 393–394
Scève, Maurice 191
Schäufelein, Hans 306
Schedel, Hartmann 18, 535, 539, 554, 569, 594, 601, 608
Schedel, Hermann 554 n. 86
Schefferus, Johannes 633
Schleinitz, Hugold von 515
Schmidt, Johan Jacob 476
Schönberg, Dietrich III of (Bishop of Meißen) 516 n. 13, 569
Schoten, Frans van (the Younger) 637
Schrader, Lorenz 66–67, 67 n. 42
Schreyer, Sebald 535, 539 n. 54
Schultens, Albert 753
Schürer, Matthias 490
Schut, Hendrick 436–437
Schweiner, Hans 559
Scipio Africanus maior (the Elder), Publius Cornelius 5, 303
Scriverius, Petrus (Schrijver, Pieter) 270, 277–278, 281, 284, 286 n. 104, 287 n. 108, 289–295
Selden, John 753

Semiramis (mythical Queen of Babylon) 591, 600, 606, 610
Seneca (Lucius Annaeus Seneca) 363
Septimius Severus (Roman Emperor) 202, 645, 691, 694
Serlio, Sebastiano 76–78, 83, 88–92, 94, 97–100, 188–191, 204, 216, 223 n. 18, 645
Sertorius, Quintus 129–131, 141–147
Severus, *see* Septimius Severus
Sforza, Bona 666, 668 n. 88
Shakespeare, William 79, 734, 744
Sheba, Queen of 458, 473, 477
Shirley, Robert 723–724
Shute, John 607 n. 62, 608 n. 63
Sibbald, Robert 691–695, 698, 703–704
Sicanus (Trojan hero) 18 n. 7
Sidney, Sir Philip (Earl of Leicester) 279–280
Siegbert I (King of Austrasia) 244
Siegbert II 244
Siegbert III (King of Austrasia) 244
Siegfried (son of Arnout I, Count of Holland) 248
Siegfried I (Count of Luxembourg) 247, 258
Sigisbertus of Aquitania, supposed father of Dirk I, Count of Holland 277, 292
Sigismund II Augustus (King of Poland) 669
Sigismund III (King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania) 651
Sigismund of Habsburg (Archduke of Austria) 485
Sigonio, Carlo 77
Silius Italicus 154
Silva, Miguel da (Bishop of Viseu) 143, 145
Silveira, Luís da (Count of Sortelha) 142
Simeon of Durham 738, 739 n. 38, 741
Simon de Capra Aurea 17 n. 7
Sinclair, Henry 692–693
Sixtus IV (Pope) 65
Slezer, John 727
Sluijs, Simon Doede van der 356–358
Sluijs, Willem van der 356
Smith, John 762
Smith, Thomas 754
Snoy, Reynier 374
Socrates 109
Solinus (Gaius Julius Solinus) 505
Solomon (King of Israel) 7, 11, 455–481
Somner, William 721–723, 730 n. 46
Soutman, Pieter 277 n. 87, 281 n. 95, 291
Spartacus 50
Sparwenfeld, Johan Gabriel 621, 622 n. 9
Spatafora, Adriano Guglielmo 69, 74
Spelman, John 741
Spenning, Lorenz 569
Spenser, Edward 747
Spieghel, Hendrik Laurenszoon 362, 365
Spreti, Desiderio 391, 393
Stalpaert, Daniel 451
Starowolski Szymon 653 n. 17
Statilius Taurus 94
Staveley, Thomas 723, 724 n. 37
Steinhöwel, Heinrich 566, 573, 575, 577, 582
Stephen (Saint) 118
Stercker von Mellerstadt, Heinrich 569–570
Stevin, Simon 637
Stiernhielm, Georg 628 n. 26
Stimmer, Tobias 266
Stockdale, Percival 748
Stoke, Melis 305, 311
Strabo 497 n. 40, 502, 504, 604, 742
Strada, Famiano 398 n. 1, 406
Strahlenberg, Philipp Tabbert von 755
Strick, Johan Jr. 354
Strick, Johan Sr. 354
Strozzi, Tito 19–26, 42–43
Strutt, Joseph 744, 748
Stukeley, William 762
Suárez de Figueroa, Gómez, *see* Feria
Sublet de Noyers, François 201, 204
Suetonius (Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus) 57, 270–272, 315 n. 30, 369, 505
Sulla (Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix, dictator) 129, 131
Sulpicia 309
Sylvester (Pope) 590
Syrlin, Jörg the Elder 108, 548, 549 n. 75, 550, 552–554, 562, 565 n. 102, 566 n. 105
Szydłowiecki, Stanisław 666 n. 87

Tacitus 8, 76, 90, 369, 372, 379, 397–417, 496, 498 n. 41, 500–505, 534, 540, 577, 593–594, 599, 605, 621, 656, 689, 691
Taets van Amerongen, Christina 354
Tarquinius Priscus (Roman king) 94, 504

Tarquinius Superbus (Roman king) 92
Terence (Publius Terentius Afer) 549
Textor, Ravisius 174
Theoderic (King of the Ostrogoths) 83, 90
Theodosius (Roman Emperor) 157, 160
Theodrada (or Tetrada, daughter of King Pepin of Italy) 243
Theophanou (Holy Roman Empress, wife of Otto III) 246–247, 256–258, 277 n. 88, 278 n. 88
Thevet, André 183
Thiofrid of Echternach 601
Thomas of Aquino, *see* Aquinas
Thoresby, Ralph 688–689, 703
Thou, Jacques-Auguste de 398 n. 1
Thwaites, Edward 689
Thybaut, Willem 249, 260–263, 439–440
Tiberius (Roman Emperor) 369, 407, 408 n. 40, 410 n. 49, 411 n. 55, 414, 507, 535
Tibullus, Albius 309
Tisnacq, Charles of, sr. 411
Toland, John 745, 746 n. 66
Tolhopf, Johannes 539
Toll, Johan van 354
Totila (King of the Ostrogoths) 10
Trajan (Roman Emperor) 4
Trebeta (mythical founder of Trier) 591–593, 595, 597–603
Trudaine, Charles-Daniel 207
Tuyll van Serooskerke, Reynoud van 340
Tyrwhitt, Thomas, 733 n. 5, 734, 735 n. 16, 736, 743 n. 57, 747

Ulysses 375
Ussher, James 717

Valckenborch, Marten van 610
Valerini, Adriano 97
Valerius Maximus 269, 272
Valla, Lorenzo 108–109, 111, 114–115
Vallancey, Charles 750–770
Van Haften, Robertus 181
Varro (Marcus Terentius Varro) 369, 371 n. 33
Vasa dynasty, Kings of Poland, *see* Sigismund III, and Władysław IV
Vasari, Giorgio 109, 116, 124, 605 n. 54, 608
Vasconcelos, Diogo Mendes de 145
Vatable, François 467
Veen, Otto van 8
Velleius Paterculus 407 n. 34
Verelius, Olaus 622 n. 11, 624, 632–633, 636, 638–639, 645–646
Verino, Ugolino 164
Verstegan, Richard 717
Vespasian (Roman Emperor) 76, 93, 369, 379, 410
Vico, Enea 80
Vida, Marco Girolamo 111
Vierlingh, Andries 371 n. 32
Vigenère, Blaise de 191
Viglius of Aytta 409, 411–413
Vignola, Giacomo Barozzi da 703–704
Villalpando, Juan Bautista 469 n. 31, 471–473, 474–476, 480–481
Villani, Giovanni 10, 532 n. 39, 533
Vincent (Saint) 132–133
Vingboons, Philips 341–344, 458–460, 467
Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) 17 n. 7, 21–22, 32–35, 37–38, 42 n. 66, 57, 65, 111–112, 154, 160 n. 27, 243, 246, 288–289, 314, 314 n 27, 315, 315 n. 30, 317 n. 36, 320 n. 42, 324 n. 55, 408 n. 42, 549, 737, 743
Virgil of Salzburg (bishop of Salzburg) 764
Viriathus (leader of the people of Lusitania) 129–130, 141
Visscher, Cornelisz. 270, 277–278, 285, 291–292
Visscher, Roemer 362, 365
Vitruvius 81, 84–85, 88, 91, 93, 95, 98–99, 142, 190, 195, 201–202, 205–206, 471–472, 475, 533, 606–608, 638, 644, 686, 693–695, 697–703
Vogler, Thomas Heinrich (Aucuparius) 490
Volphius, Thomas 490
Vondel, Joost van den 450–451, 463, 463 n. 14
Vosmeer, Michiel Cornelis 235–249, 252, 254, 259 n. 56, 274–275, 277, 281
Vossius, Gerardus (Gerrit Jansz. Vos) 763 n. 53

Waldkirch, Bernhard 494
Walpole, Horace 732

Warton, Thomas 734–736, 747
Wertelos, Georgius Benedicti 278–289
Westfalen, Arnold von 515–516, 518, 519 n. 19, 522, 568, 569 n. 114, 570
Weyden, Rogier van der 544, 545 n. 66, 546, 552
Whitaker, William 279
White, Robert 708
Wickram, Jörg 731
Wicquefort, Joachim de 456 n. 3, 472
Wiesinger, Wolfgang 556
Wilford, Francis 755, 761, 769
Wilkins, Charles 755
William I (Count of Holland) 240, 242, 260, 263, 287
William II (Count of Holland and Roman King) 260, 283, 422–424, 432
William III (Count of Holland) 449
William the Breton 163
William of Malmesbury 738, 741
William of Orange (William the Silent) 258, 275, 280, 282, 288, 324, 402, 407–409, 413 n. 62, 414, 416; 428, 467, 482
William of Reichenau (Wilhelm, Bishop of Eichstätt) 567
William of Worcester 738
Willams, John (bishop) 480
Willis, Browne 725, 726 n. 42
Wimpfeling, Jacob 486–489, 492, 597
Wingen, Philips van 385
Wiser, Wolfgang, *see* Wiesinger, Wolfgang
Władysław IV (King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania) 674 n. 109
Władysław Jagiełło (King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania) 654
Włostowic, Piot 659
Wolsey, Thomas (Archbishop of York) 170
Wölckern, Lazarus Carl von 536, 537 n. 48
Worm, Olaus 622, 636, 642
Wotton, Henry 472, 710
Wren, Christopher 687, 689–690, 703, 710
Wren, Christopher Jnr. 690
Wulfila 628 n. 26
Wyle, Niklas of (city scribe of Esslingen) 573–576, 582

Zaleucus 477
Zasius, Ulrich 490, 507
Zbaraski, Krzysztof 676
Zoroaster 113
Zyphridus, supposed name of Siegfried, son of Arnout I, *see* Siegfried