FESTIVAL REPRESENTATION BEYOND WORDS: THE STUTTGART BAPTISM OF 1616

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ABSTRACT

The representation of a Stuttgart court festival in a fascinating book of prints has received no art historical attention. The cultural production of German lands in a complex and obscure time described by one historian as being particularly bereft of "textbook facts", has not elicited much scholarly interest. In the seventeenth century before confessional disputes within the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation turned into armed conflict, small German territorial courts modelled themselves on and assumed the courtly style of the larger European courts. The Stuttgart baptism of 1616 presents an interesting case study of the use of a courtly spectacle by a secondary court at a time of great instability. The baptism festival served as a stage to display an alliance of some German Protestant princes that held a promise of international support for the Protestant cause.

The Wurttemberg court commissioned lengthy texts and a large number of engravings to represent the event. This study will address the contributions made by printed images to the festival program. The key documents for this study are the texts which complement and at times diverge from the visual representation. The differences between the visual and textual material will serve to locate the function of the visual representation of a festival held at a time of impending conflict. The triumphal procession format of the

engravings discloses a strategy of disenfranchisement of a powerful parliament while it serves to assert the rank of the court within and outside the German empire. The complex amalgams of imagery that are interspersed in the paper procession allude, I suggest, to the problems presented to the Wurttemberg court by an uneasy alliance of Protestant courts within the empire. The engravings served to encode references to problematic issues such as the survival of the Holy Roman Empire, the rights of Protestant territorial princes to form an alliance and the hopes for outside help for the Protestant cause.

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INTRODUCTION

When Duke Johann Friedrich of Wurttemberg had another son in December of 1615, an unusually lavish program of entertainments was arranged and presented, three months later, to a carefully selected assembly of guests. The court subsequently commissioned three books comprising more than four hundred pages of text and a book of more than eighty engravings. The purported reason for these festivities was the baptism of the child, but none of the prince's other children had been feted in this lavish manner, nor had festival books been produced for other baptisms. In this study I want to consider some of the weight carried by the visual representation of this festival which took place at the beginning of one of the most turbulent periods in Central European history, the Thirty Years War.

The lavish expenditure by a secondary court on numerous copperplate engravings and lengthy textual accounts forms a part of a system of costly cultural patronage that both originated from and reinforced the growth of ducal power. By amplifying the impact of the festival, the book of engravings performed a key function in the political program of the early modern court. In the festival the ruler of Wurttemberg could make manifest his domination over political life within his state and the augmented power of his secondary court within the empire.

Voltaire's dictum that the Holy Roman Empire was neither holy, nor Roman nor an empire was applicable long before he pronounced it. The dissolution of the "holy" (the universal church) by the Reformation enabled even middle-sized principalities like the duchy of Wurttemberg to aspire to the status of the large centralizing monarchies of Europe. In 1555 the Peace of Augsburg codified the religious status quo and gave territorial rulers within the Empire the right to impose either Catholicism or Lutheranism on their subjects. Protestant princes like the dukes of Wurttemberg were recognized as the owners of ecclesiastical properties they had seized during the Reformation. Growth of territorial power became increasingly evident in Protestant principalities where the ruler became the patron, defender and nurturer of the church as well as the owner of the land holdings of the church.[1] Protestant princes by their intervention in church affairs also became overseers of education and social welfare; universities flourished in Protestant areas where the digression from Catholic scholasticism opened new areas of study such as astronomy, philosophy and statecraft.[2] University-trained nobles and burghers took jobs in the growing bureaucratic apparatus of the Wurtttemberg court. As the central authority of the Empire declined, territorial princes became increasingly self-conscious about their power and place.

This new territorial self-importance expressed itself not only in building programs and defense projects but also in collecting and art patronage. This orientation towards visual display is demonstrated in the engraving of the "Lustgarten", the expanded court complex that appears as an introduction to the book of engravings devoted to the baptism festival (fig.1). The construction of the "Lusthaus" or entertainment house which dominated the architecture of the city signalled a new priority of the ducal court away from its feudal responsibility for defense to one of display of grandeur.

Within the walls of the city the pastors, burghers and lesser social orders had nothing to gain from the erection of an opulent stage for an ever-escalating show of courtly power. The residents of the small medieval market town of Stuttgart and of the many other towns of Wurttemberg had no interest in subsidizing the balls, festivals and tournaments that took place in the "Lustgarten".[3] The exploitation of conspicuous consumption and cultural patronage was beyond the means of the small court; this enterprise required ever greater subsidies from recalcitrant subjects. The escalations in princely style put greater and greater demands on the populace that required the lifting of local privileges in order to restructure the taxation system to the benefit of the court.[4]

In 1593, the same year the Lusthaus was completed, Duke Friedrich acceded to the throne. This early absolutist prince

vigorously pursued the shift in orientation of ducal power away from local feudal government concerns. The Wurttemberg constitution had provided for parliamentary participation by the representatives of the towns within the territory. This parliamentary body, that acted as a counterweight to ducal power, was ignored by Duke Friedrich in order to suppress its authority. His modernizing program was modelled on the more centralized and powerful courts he had visited in Valois France and Tudor England[5]. In addition to Friedrich's tactics of excluding his local parliamentarians from government he pursued an aggrandizement program in the international courtly arena.

Duke Friedrich's ambitions to become a monarch of international stature included a pleading and pathetic campaign to be admitted into the English Order of the Garter by Elizabeth I. A visit and eleven years' worth of letters and gifts to the Queen did not bring the desired results for the duke whom the Queen called "Cousin Mompelgart" (a name derived from one of his land holdings, the tiny Wurttemberg-owned area of Montbeliard within the borders of France). After the death of Elizabeth I Duke Friedrich pursued his goal of admission to the Order with her successor James I and was finally accepted into the Order in 1603.[6] (Whether he achieved the recognition he sought is doubtful - King James is said to have asked: "Who is this Mompelgart?")

Duke Johann Friedrich became the ruler of Wurttemberg at the death of his father Friedrich in 1608. Parts of Johann Friedrich's diary, the Calendarium Domesticum, are still in existence.[7] In them he reveales himself to be the sort of German prince who contented himself with the time-honoured pursuits of hunting and drinking. Nevertheless, the structures of courtly ambition were in place in the showpiece court and his diaries indicate that he took the job of monarchical display seriously. His agents in Prague and Vienna kept him informed of the newest tournament games enjoyed at those courts while an agent in France sent him news of the latest fashions in clothing.[8]

In the grandiose festival staged for his 1609 wedding and seven years later for the baptism of one of his children, Johann Friedrich continued his father's tactics of cultural display as a means to distance himself from his subjects and to enforce a new political structure. The 1616 baptism further allowed for the pursuit of an aggrandizement program on a national and international level. Clearly it was the presence of the Palatinate ruler Frederick V and his English wife, the daughter of James I, rather than the baptism, that made this event worthy of a major celebration. The use of a "private" festive occasion such as a baptism fits into an established tradition of international courtly practice. The Valois court had made extensive use of dynastic marriages to employ the cultural apparatus of the "fete" to promote

concialiatory efforts during the Wars of Religion.[9] In these French festivals the conflict between warring religious factions was replicated and performed in a symbolic and festive form. Such larger issues were also addressed in the 1616 Stuttgart festival but in a somewhat different manner. The private dynastic occasion of the Stuttgart baptism festival served as a forum to celebrate and publicize a vision of unity of what was in actuality an uneasy alliance of Protestant factions.

Wurttemberg was an arch-Lutheran stronghold; its university at Tubingen was the main training school within the empire for Protestant pastors. In the years following the 1555 Treaty of Augsburg which had been advantageous for Lutheran princes Wurttemberg maintained a stance of neutrality in confessional conflicts. But the historian R.J.W. Evans has pointed out that it is a textbook fact (and almost the only one that can be stated about this difficult period) that after 1555 religious squabbles grew.[10] One major source of conflict originated in the exclusion of Calvinism from the 1555 accord; Calvinists became increasingly militant after this settlement in which they had received no guarantees. Towards the end of the sixteenth century Catholics launched a new offensive to reestablish a single, unified church in the empire. Catholic princes, inspired by Jesuit teachers who were determined to rout out the heresy of Protestantism, became aggressive defenders of the Church of Rome. By 1608, post-Tridentine

fervour had caused the occupation of the free imperial city of Donauworth by Catholic forces and the demand by Catholics for the restitution of cloisters seized after 1552. Increasing Catholic militancy had convinced a number of Protestant states and free cities within the German empire of the need to form a union for defense. The Catholic princes responded by forming a league under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria. In the last decade before the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, the Protestant Union and the Catholic League faced off in a mistrustful and expectant way; these defense unions promoted a war-readiness that rushed toward war.[11]

Duke Johann Friedrich of Wurttemberg joined this union over the objections of the parliamentary assembly that he had only recently reconvened after the death of his father. Any deference the duke showed to his parliament was due in large part to the terrible financial situation of the court's treasury.[12] The court was too bankrupt to borrow money and needed parliamentary guarantees to find creditors. The duke needed the financial support of his parliament to join the Protestant Union but the parliamentarians feared that this union would load further financial burdens on them and would eventually lead to war. The union represented a dangerous and rebellious alliance that threatened the continuation of the German empire whose institutions provided a final court of appeal in inter-estate disputes. Further, the staunch Lutherans of the Wurttemberg parliament were very reluctant to

join into a union with Calvinists with whom doctrinal disputes had reached a high level of acrimony.

The Protestant Union however was under the Calvinist leadership of the Elector Frederick V, ruler of the Palatinate. For a long time the Palatinate, a large central territory with its ducal seat in Heidelberg had led the Calvinists in the empire to work towards uniting all Protestants. Christian of Anhalt, the main advisor of the very young Frederick V, orchestrated the formation of the Protestant Union under Palatinate leadership. Anhalt exploited the Protestant cause for the aggrandizement of the Palatinate by arranging the marriage of Frederick to Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I of England. The hope was that this marriage alliance would secure the support of England and the Netherlands for the Protestant side.[13] In 1608 the militant Protestants of the Palatinate had succeeded at the Reichstag, the imperial parliament, in organizing a union for defense. While emphasizing the maintenance of fidelity to the imperial federation some Protestant territories agreed to defend each other, to contribute to a fund for this purpose and to communicate with each other via a "secret correspondence".[14]

While the Catholic League looked for support from Spain, the Protestant Union hoped to encounter the increasingly militant Catholic Counter Reformation alliance with a international

Protestant bloc. The Palatinate marriage held the promise of furthering the cause of a Pan-European Protestant axis. Not least among the obstacles to forming a Protestant power bloc were the internal divisions among German princes of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Lutheran princes feared the militancy of the Calvinist Palatinates who were ready to take up arms against the emperor, while Lutheran princes knew they had nothing to gain and much to lose in an armed confrontation.[15] The disunity among German Protestants dampened the willingness of the Reformed powers outside the empire to support the Protestant Union.[16] The marriage of the English king's daughter to the Palatinate ruler appeared to give the Protestant cause international strength. Past the eastern reaches of the Empire the Protestants could look to the "dubious help of a weird, barbarous Calvinist prince from Transylvania named Bethlen Gabor".[17] The Protestant Union sought for outside support that could rival the stronger international Catholic axis.

The festival in 1616 provided an ideal, and perhaps somewhat covert setting for a meeting of those Protestant princes who had joined the Union. The major success in international Protestant politics that the marriage of Frederick V to Elizabeth Stuart represented was to be extended to Wurttemberg by having Frederick and Elizabeth take the role of godparents at the baptism of the Wurttemberg princeling. The international importance of the event is indicated by the

extravagance of the festival whose costs far exceeded the means of the court. It is known from government records that the duchy applied for and received an early payout of its share of Union funds for 1616.[18] While it is not known to what extent, if any, other states contributed to the event financially, it is clear that the lavishness of the event was beyond the means of the small territory.[19] Many years later, the baptismal child himself wrote in his memoirs:

> "The baptism was called the Great Baptism because of the great number of people and the too-great expenses that went into it, for costly processions, tournaments, fireworks and expensive publications...which we are still paying for today."[20]

The cost and variety of the representations of the festival disseminated after the event itself points to the fact that the spectacle was intended to function not only within the territory of Wurttemberg and the participating German ducal states. Three texts were produced and the differences in style, language and content between these show an intent to target local and international audiences. While publishing texts of court festivities was not new, the visual representation in the form of engravings was unprecedented and introduced to the Wurttemberg court during the reign of Johann Friedrich (1608-1628). The baptism engravings present a fantastic and baffling array of images of costumed riders, pageant cars, giant heads, grottos, the courtly setting, fireworks, impaled Turks, Latin mottos, a Maltese galley, etc.

How did these images function in relation to the diverse groups addressed by the textual representations?

The Reformation, which had empowered territorial rulers, had been fueled by printed material which made unprecedented use of visual imagery to promote the doctrinal cause. The power of print had been tested by the Reformation and had shown its effectiveness as a medium of mass propaganda.[21] The proven power of visual persuasion, ironically unleashed by a movement with iconoclastic aims, was enlisted for a visual show of power that communicated the wealth, education and taste of the territorial ruler.

> "It was the Reformation that first drove the politicians and bureaucrats of Europe to strive for domination over the hears and minds of their subjects far more total than any that had been seen before."[22]

While the medium of print had used lurid and scatological images for religious and social commentary in illustrated broadsheets, this absence of any standards of decorum had proven an obstacle to the status of the printed image among the visual arts.[23] The printed image needed to be made worthy as a medium of courtly representation. Charles Talbot locates Durer's extensive use of print technology as the moment that allowed the printed image to gain stature to become as authoritative and as worthy a medium for the artist as painting or sculpture.[24] In this particular instance, it would seem that Duke Johann Friedrich realized that his interests were better served by prints which could be widely

circulated, than by paintings or tapestries. The seventeenth century patron did not appear to regard the multiple printed image in low esteem, and in fact, for the Stuttgart court the printed image held advantages that accrued from its very lack of uniqueness. As Talbot's analysis of printed imagery states:

> "...one supposes that the printed image carried a certain weight because of its published form, implying public verification as far and wide as the copies were disseminated. The tendency to believe what appears in print surely applied in some degree to the beholder of a visual image, just as it always has to readers."[25]

The production of prints in multiple copies assured the Wurttemberg court that these depictions would have the widest possible impact.

Ironically, art historical scholarship which valorizes the auratic qualities of the unique object has tended to ignore the printed image in favor of painting or sculpture. Another hindrance to art historical interest in the visual imagery produced by a secondary court must be the extent to which the canon of noteworthy art objects is formulated in accordance with "triumphant" periods of history. The production of the German Renaissance is linked to the vigour of free imperial cities as centres of arts and crafts production.[26] The economic strength and wealth of the city was in decline by the end of the sixteenth century. At that time the growth in stature of territorial states, generated by the Reformation which empowered territorial rulers, eclipsed the importance of the free city. The Reformation had pulled German-speaking

Europe apart along religious lines just as other European peoples were solidifying into nations. Outside the maritime powers with experimental bourgeois regimes, most of Europe found an efficient and stable model of government in absolutism based on the French model.[27]

In the German empire, however, the many small domains adopted the courtly style of absolutist regimes without attaining much stability in the period of the looming confrontation of the Thirty Years War. While the focus of art historical writing shifts to the larger ascendant regimes of northern Europe and France, Central Europe is relegated to the position of a minor side show of incompetent imitation of the dominant styles. Sacheverell Sitwell's discussion in his German Baroque art (1928) exemplifies the disdain the artistic production of the turn of the sixteenth century called forth when the style of the German Renaissance had expired and the Baroque was not yet in place:

> "Both Durer and Holbein were gone, and a period of strange distorted taste was in progress...the Augsburg goldsmiths were in the midst of their microscopic achievement; there were elaborate woodcuts in the Durer tradition still engraved and sold...some of the Ducal families, to judge by portraits, had by now attained through dynastic marriages a truly portentous pitch of ugliness..."[28]

Only in recent years have efforts been made to reevaluate the artistic production of this period.[29] Stuttgarter Hoffeste, a 1979 publication, reproduces an archival collection of the textual and visual representations of two Stuttgart festivals.

This obscure bibliographic material was offered as a challenge for further study of this neglected era. The unusual wealth of textual material was re-issued in order to contextualize the Wurttemberg poetry of Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, whose short German career still afforded him a place in German Baroque literary history as an innovator in courtly panegyric. The engravings produced for the Stuttgart baptism festival were reprinted in a separate volume as an addendum to the textual material.

In order to investigate the complex intersections between the program of multiple representations and the aims of the festival itself, I intend to explore the junctions and the disparities within these historical fragments. This study will set out to uncover how the visual material functioned as both a separate and a complementary element of the textual commemorative program. What could the visual representation offer and what did it offer beyond the textual material? did the engravings fulfill the usual function of the courtly festival, which was to bridge differences or to disguise oppositions in order to show power at a time of crisis?

While the festival is represented in a single set of engravings, three texts were commissioned by the court to record the event. Two texts, written by Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, in both German and English, have received scholarly attention because of that poet's innovation of

introducing into German the lofty style that European courts had adopted for vernacular panegyric. His sophisticated account, called Triumphall Shews in English, focussed on the elaborate costumed processions of the "tournaments" in which the duke and his princely guests performed carefully choreographed displays of horsemanship and foot combat. With sustained artificial naivete, the poet converted the royal parade into personifications of mythological and historical monarchs. According to one literary historian, Weckherlin saw pageants as symbols of the high level of German culture that, as such, could act to guarantee her safety in troubled times:

> "Instead of perilous actuality, instead of the princely couple who felt their religion and their domain were in serious danger, Weckherlin describes a ruling family of demi-gods living in perfect security in a purely imaginary land."[30]

What this historian identified as an Utopian vision was necessary for the cultural show of power that was intended to place the secondary Wurttemberg court of the same level as the larger centralized European courts.

The need to speak to an international courtly audience in an elegant and equivalent voice signals the importance of the "baptism" as a show of alliance of the Protestant princes who had come together in a festive occasion. In the sophisticated language of Weckherlin's courtly praise, as well as the lavish graphic representation, the Wurttemberg court and its confederates could, via cultural patronage, assert

their power and worthiness as allies. (Perhaps the festival representation program can be read as an answer to James I's doubts about the situation of the German territorial princes: "Tant de petits princes n'y font rien qui vaille", he is reported to have said.)[31] Weckherlin's representation of the festival pageantry in both German and English was meant to impress an international audience with a sophisticated courtly style and with an idealized image of Protestant unity.

Another text was commissioned by the Stuttgart court from a court secretary, Johann-Augustin Assum. This account followed the old style of German courtly panegyric. The English nineteenth century historian, William Brenchley Rye, aptly describes the nature of the less up-to-date style of courtly writing that was superseded by Weckherlin. A 1605 court-commissioned text celebrated another momentous international event for the Wurttemberg court, the investiture of the duke into the English Order of the Garter. Rye describes the book as "a most tedious and tiresome book to consult, being laden with digressions on every conceivable subject.[32] A German nineteenth century historian applies a similar judgment to Assum's 1616 Baptism panegyric. He states:

> "It would go too far if I were to elaborate on this peculiar text. This same presents with its pointed learnedness, its laboriousness and its far-reaching detail, a most sorry reading material."[33]

The lengthy digressions in Assum's text identify it as the work of a "polyhistor". Anthony Grafton most recently reexamined this peculiarly German phenomenon of scholarly writing which is characterized by the pursuits of humanism and encyclopedism or eloquence and erudition.[34] These writers generated the most lengthy and tedious treatises packed with a display of encyclopedic knowledge. Assum's pedantic exhibition of learning, albeit in a dreary form, served to set the Stuttgart festival into an appropriately grand historical framework. His text is ornamented with lengthy enumerations of antique and more recent precedents for the pageantry as well as excursuses on past great events in the history of the house of Wurttemberg. Assum's efforts to place the festival into a glorious context of historical antecedents and to praise the Wurttemberg dynasty points to a ruler legitimizing purpose that was addressed to a Wurttemberg audience. The long lists of names of the aristocratic guests that populate his description make clear that his text was intended for a local German audience.

A further document that was not commissioned by the Stuttgart court is the handwritten account of the festival by the diplomatic correspondent, Philipp Hainhofer. His account was commissioned by another German territorial ruler, the Duke of Pommern-Stettin. Hainhofer's account was not published, but a number of copies are known to have been circulated; among the recipients were the principal guests of the baptism, the

Palatinate rulers.[35] According to an 1891 analysis of Hainhofer's text, the diplomatic letter was meant to give an example for his patron of how such an important festivity was to be celebrated by a court.[36] Hainhofer's account gives an extraordinarily detailed and vivid picture of the courtly festival; he describes seating arrangements, the value of gifts given, the contents of the "Kunstkammer", the number of dishes served, the precious gems adorning princely hats, the number of pages in an entourage, etc., in a tireless assessment of rank and status for his patron. His indelicate appraisal of the wealth of the host and his guests laid bare the purpose of the event as a competitive show of power and sovereign majesty. Perhaps the most valuable details in Hainhofer's description are those that draw attention to the extreme caution with which the Wurttemberg court wanted the symbolic elements of the pageantry handled. Hainhofer's account, in at least two instances, commented on segments of the festival that the commissioned texts leave out.

It is clear that the differences in style and language of the textual representations constructed specific audiences. The question of audience seems more complicated in relation to the set of engravings. I intend to show that these embraced different viewing positions. By focussing on where the visual and the textual material are at variance and where they act in concert, the difficulties the Wurttemberg court faced with a spectacle of majesty will hopefully be brought to light.

Chapter One will consider the questions of exclusion and inclusion of participants. How is participation in the festival constructed by the texts and by the engravings? This examination will disclose that the absolutist image the court propagated did not correspond to the actual power of the court. The structure of the graphic representation in a triumphal procession format made visible the hierarchy of the Wurttemberg court and the participating territorial courts. I will suggest that the exclusion of all but a courtly elite from the representation served to reinforce ducal attempts to establish the court as the sole locus of authority within the retardatory parliamentary government of the territory. The following chapter will discuss the surprising appearance of the "Kubelstechen", a paid performance by stable grooms, which seems curiously out of sync in a program with ruler-legitimizing aims.

The last three chapters will focus on those engravings which seem to stand out from the repetitive conventions of a representation of a triumphal procession. While the show of courtly inventiveness and novelty might have subsumed potentially problematic images, these nonetheless register complex religious and political content. My investigation will focus on how contentious issues such as the survival of the ideal of the Holy Roman Empire, the rights of corporate solidarity of territorial rulers within the still-valid estatist structure of the German Empire and the formation of

an international Protestant alliance were addressed in a visual representation which remained true to an all-encompassing expression of courtly power and magnificence. Attempting a historical explanation of the enigmatic vocabulary of these images without guidance from the other forms of representation or from documentary evidence of their reception is, of course, not without risks. However, I will argue that these particular visual representations had the capacity to selectively address and construct viewing audiences.

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CHAPTER 1

The Paper Procession: A Triumphal Entry in the Contest For Authority

This chapter will focus on the definition of audiences by the the festival engravings. As outlined in the introduction, the number and variety of texts produced to commemorate the Baptism festival reveal an intent to target varied audiences and the graphic representation appears to encode the same intent. Historical information about the circulation of the texts and engravings is scant. It is known that books of engravings and panegyric texts were traditionally produced as souvenir gifts for the most important guests.[1] Some evidence also exists that the engravings bound with Assum's book were available for sale.[2] By examining the form and content of the visual material in comparison with the commissioned texts, I will offer some speculations on how the engravings presume particular audiences.

The engravings are arranged in a triumphal procession format which served to make visible the hierarchy of the Wurttemberg court and to display the rank of each participating prince. Yet the traditional social rites of the triumphal procession were altered in this representation since only high nobles appear in an exclusive pageant. This image of aristocratic exclusivity represented the Wurttemberg court as a perfect

absolutist state to an international audience. On the local level, the graphic representation of a festival in which the lower estates have no place, either as participants or onlookers, conforms to the ducal strategy of exclusion as a means to amass power. This image of an exclusive court festivity is somewhat at odds with the commissioned texts in which a more complex social field of action emerges. These disjunctive aspects of the visual and textual material are the cracks through which it becomes possible to catch glimpses of the tensions which beset the Wurttemberg court. In this chapter I will address the role the festival representations had in advertising a notion of the perfect absolutist court that did not correspond to its actual power. I hope to show that the image of the festival with its implication of absolute power of the court served to disguise oppositions via a program of cultural aggrandizement that extended from the event into its representations.

The graphic depictions of the court complex, one at the beginning and one at the end of the engravings book, act as visual confirmation of the grandeur of the court. Their placement at the outer edges of the book allows them to act as "frames" that define the setting of the represented pageantry. The first illustration (fig.1), a view of the court complex seen from within the court gardens, introduces the festival environment as an empty stage. The cube-like medieval castle in the background is the nucleus from which the decorative

architecture, the tournament grounds, the sculpture gardens and botanical displays radiate. The orthogonals of Merian's engraving delineate the incremental expansion that had taken place since the late sixteenth century to accommodate new collecting, alchemical, sporting and cultural pursuits of the duke. The engraving of the "Lustgarten" builds on the fame this elegant court setting had acquired amongst small German territorial states.[3] The architectural wonder of the new Lusthaus, shown as the focal element of a new representative court style, ironically seems to be modelled on the civic buildings of the bourgeois-corporate Netherlands; but, unlike its urban models, the bulk and height of this building stands apart from the tightly built walled town, in airy Renaissance parterres.[4] The court is represented as a large exterior entertainment "room" where a new representative ducal style can be unfolded in front of a select audience. This large exterior space, as an extension of the private space of the castle, no doubt gave the court the means to define and control participation in the festival to an extent that an urban space could not have.

In the final engraving (fig.2), the entertainment and recreational functions of the ducal amusement grounds are shown in use. The old tournament grounds and the small old Lusthaus are the viewing stations for noble guests who are watching a spectacular fireworks. The courtly audience depicted in the final illustration could not have been the

only audience of the fabulous pyrotechnical display shown emanating from the court grounds. Yet this event and all the represented pageantry are enclosed within the court complex as entertainments staged for and by high nobles.
The engravings present the elegant settings that were made for the hoped-for self-fulfilling prophecy in which the show of power that is presented becomes the very substance of the ruler's authority. The full page engravings of the court setting act as locators for the bulk of the engravings which are less elaborately illustrated in that their backgrounds are left blank. These framing elements place the triumphal procession format of the graphic representation within the serene and separate arena of the court complex.

The exclusive aristocratic nature of the pageantry that the festival engravings present are a departure from earlier triumphal representations. As of the late Middle Ages, the depiction of triumphal processions became the most frequently used motif, next to religious themes, for the glorification of German rulers.[5] For the German imperial court, and later, for territorial ducal courts, the triumphal procession formed the central element of court ceremonial.[6] In these ceremonies, the presence of city fathers, guild members and clergy, had a legalistic function in which the bond between various estates and the ruler was made evident and reaffirmed. In France and elsewhere the procession lost its validating function in constitutional matters with the growth of absolutism, but in

those states where the rights of the estates still held sovereign power in check, the triumphal procession continued to confirm the ties between social strata.[7]

The staging of triumphal processions in German territories was a privilege territorial dukes had to usurp for themselves (the use of this ceremonial as a right of the secondary sovereigns was only codified by the Peace of Westphalia).[8] The format of the engravings makes evident the Wurttemberg court's conversance with this strategy of government, but omitted from the representation of the triumphal procession are images of the estates that do not form a part of the ducal enclave. This was not an arbitrary omission. The visual representation of the procession is meant to convey an impression of an absolutist court powerful enough to do away with acts of subjugation by its subjects, even if in the actual event those elements were retained.

The demonstration of a confident all-courtly triumphal procession might disclose one audience for the festival engravings. Were the primary recipients of the show of power the courtiers and advisors of the duke? It was after all this group, as the festival historian Berns points out, that held the greatest danger for the ruler.[9] According to Berns, the prince's fear of his officials and his closest relatives was the most consistent theme of German baroque drama; there the motifs of tyranny, regicide, treachery and intrigue were

tirelessly played out.[10] As a safeguard against such strife, the court ceremonial provided the means by which the duke and his selected courtiers could make a show of mutual dependence and support. The pages of the festival book allowed the depicted costume parade to confirm the make-up of the courtly retinue.

This function of the ceremonial is given graphic expression in the lengthy frieze-like form of the representation that takes as its model the early 16th century woodcut series Emperor Maximilian I commissioned to celebrate himself. While Maximilian's illustrated pageantry was not bound by a demand to depict an actual event, his triumphal paper processions were emulated in later event-based festival representation. And this overly long format, described by one art historian as sacrificing impact by a stultifying quantity of images "that have no shore and no horizon", nevertheless proved useful to translate the week long festival into a Maximilianesque triumphal entry.[11] The core of the engraving book is a traditional band of images, that unlike Maximilian's, features only costumed nobles parading across eighty pages with blank backgrounds. The elaborate pageantry of chivalric exercises are the elements of the festival that are the subject of almost all of the illustrations. Introduced by ornamented title pages of coats-of-arms and the lengthy names of high-ranking aristocrats, the main noble presenters are shown accompanied by numerous attendants. Trumpeters, saddle boys

and servants are represented in several separate engravings; their number in accordance with the importance of the princely actor in each segment of the represented parade. The portrayal of attendants in only slightly varied poses over several plates underlines their significance as status-givers. What appears at first to be an unnecessary repetition of figures has a function in emphasizing the relative importance of each prince represented.

This relentless display of rank is a theme that is also found in Assum's commissioned poetry, where all the members of each prince's entourage are named for a German audience.[12] The engravings at least were enlivened with depictions of costume and ornament in offering records of each participant's place in the hierarchies of German territorial courts as well as of the individual's ranking within each court. The visual and textual representations are marked by the function of court festivals to make explicit the place of the court vis-a-vis the outside world as well as defining its inner structure.

While the court-centered subject of the engravings served to send the message that the status of the duchy of Wurttemberg was equal to that of the ranking European courts, its courtly focus also had a local dimension. The festival and its graphic commemoration form a part of the political manoeuvres that Wurttemberg dukes had utilized along what the American historian James Allen Vann has called "...the road to strong,

aggressive central government (which) was filled with loops and twists."[13] This "looped road" has been the subject of monographs by constitutional historians.[14] These studies present a picture of the duchy that differs markedly from the absolutist image the court presented in the festival book.

In the fragmented Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the southwestern area had the largest number of free imperial cities and this urban element influenced the make-up of the larger territories such as Wurttemberg.[15]

> "The greater urban density of the German southwest lent a more bourgeois character to that part of the empire than to other regions of it. But middle class culture and middle class values were not confined to the free towns alone. The largest duchy of Swabia, Wurttemberg, was also the most bourgeois territory in the Holy Roman Empire."[16]

While the burghers played a leading role in governing the towns, the "bourgeois" character of Wurttemberg must not be read as that of a self-conscious emancipatory class, rather as one that sought to preserve its privileges in the estate hierarchy.[17] The leadership of the towns was in the hands of a patrician class, the "Ehrbaren" or notables. In the larger cities of Stuttgart or Tubingen, the "Ehrbarkeit" had as much at stake in the status quo as the ducal family. The "Ehrbarkeit" of the larger urban centres had large landholdings and can not be seen in any sense as advocates for the lower estates.[18] The "Ehrbaren" ran the fifty-eight "Aemter" or basic local political units of the territory which

were the institutions by which ducal control was administered.[19]

The notables, through the administrative powers they held in the towns, were able to consolidate their position into a political force within the territory. This group did not so much represent an economic class because there were wide differences in wealth among them, but rather it represented a political elite whose places in the town magistracies afforded them the right to exert political authority in their local areas as well as on the territorial level.[20] These local "notables" participated in the administration of the state through their position as the constituent members of the "Landtag" or territorial parliament.

While the Landtag, the parliamentary assembly of "notables", was instituted as a mechanism for territorial control, it acted as a counterweight to ducal power. Throughout the sixteenth century, Wurttemberg dukes, empowered by the Reformation, had sought to expand their sphere of influence. At the end of that century, the rule of Friedrich I (1598-1608) was marked by an impetus to increase ducal authority. Duke Friedrich's efforts to establish a standing army, to expand trade and production, to institute a school to train aristocrats for court service, to carry on diplomatic relations with foreign Protestant states and to expand the ducal role via a privy council joined his cultural patronage

to promote a strong monarchy. He added to his predecessor's architectural innovations and adopted the lavish court style he had observed in his travels. Among Friedrich's accomplishments was his induction into the Order of the Garter - which after a long campaign was finally bestowed upon him.[21]

Friedrich's ambitious restructuring of ducal authority involved disenfranchising the Landtag; he ruled without parliamentary input - fewer and fewer parliamentary sessions took place during his reign - and he assigned his personal advisors to take over that body's administrative functions.[22] An extravagant court culture gave expression to Friedrich's new political system, a system based on what the historian Jurgen von Kruedener has characterized as a "charismatization" of the ducal role. The legitimization of greater ducal sovereignty, according to Kruedener, was to be based on the production of a social-psychological effect that was to emanate from a display of majesty at court. Kruedener describes this strategy as being unsuccessful; the indicator for this being that the duke had to fall back on older claims to authority such as the unimpeachable nature of his high office and of his dynastic heritage.[23]

During Friedrich's reign, conflict between the duke and his parliamentarians grew to the point where the parliament seemed to have been eclipsed.[24] But when Friedrich's sudden death brought Johann Friedrich to power, the new duke felt he needed

parliamentary approval, especially its financial support, to step into the confessional conflict by joining the Protestant Union.[25] In 1608 Johann Friedrich recalled the Landtag and stated that the goal of his policies was to be the restoration of "the old, good-hearted, trusting affection" between ruler and subjects.[26] Nevertheless Johann Friedrich pursued other strategies to buttress ducal authority.

> "About the same time he also claimed the right of appointing all parsons and deacons: a new system was beginning. Probably for similar reasons he preferred foreigners and noblemen as his officials - a policy which was contrary to the treaty of Tubingen (constitution of 1514) - while hitherto most of the ducal councillors and officials had been from the ranks of the urban "Ehrbarkeit" which also dominated the Estates."[27]

Nor did Johann Friedrich abandon his father's cultural patronage strategies even if the Landtag advocated a return to the old patriarchal role of the duke. Parliamentary displeasure with ducal programs is recorded in the Landtag documents of 1610:

> "When the excess and the foreign splendour and magnificence brought in by strangers is removed and things at court are directed in the old, simple, yet praiseworthy German manner so it will follow that in a short time the troubles and debts will end and a good supply of money will amass; such old Wurttembergian custom will not be detrimental to the ducal reputation, as the young or the misinformed, or those in the spell of foreign splendour or other well-meaning souls might suppose; the duke's pre-eminence and reputation does not rest on a large court retinue, outward ornament, and apparatus, which is called 'magnas phantasias' in holy scriptures, much rather on the duke's courage and manliness, stern defense of the true faith and beneficial justice, good policies both for the common fatherland and poor subjects, and other eminent heroic virtues and attributes of which (the almighty be thanked) our now reigning gracious duke has no lack. Just as the Wurttemberg dukes of the last 100 years have been held in high esteem both inside and outside the empire without any special great apparatus."[28]

This document reveals that ducal attempts at "charismatising" were no mystery to the "notables"; ducal efforts at assuming the style of foreign courts were transparent as costly strategies to abrogate their rights and privileges. The Landtag demanded a return to the old role of the duke, that of the patriarch who ruled by virtue of high moral principles and his guardianship of Lutheran orthodoxy. The Landtag's admonitions did not hinder Johann Friedrich's resumption of a lavish court culture; the festival records from the 1616 Baptism festival attest to this. The duke seemed determined to pursue his father's policies of elevating his stature by gaining esteem from outside the territory. The historian Grube cites that in the duke's rebuttal to the Landtag's reproofs, Johann Friedrich complained that he was honored more by foreign potentates than by his own subjects.[29]

The engravings represent a lofty court society in which subjects play no role. The printed images address the Landtag with a denial of their demands for a virtuous patriarch who is content with his place in the local estate hierarchy. The visual representation avoids the retardatory estate structure of Wurttemberg and submits an image of a court that is intent on taking its place in an international context of centralized courts.

To represent itself as an equal to the more powerful courts, the Wurttemberg court employed some artists who, through their

experience of foreign courts, were proven in the arts of ruler glorification. The engraver Merian, who was responsible for parts of the graphic depiction of the baptism festival had worked on a number of royal commissions in France. His earliest claim to fame was his work on the representation of the "Pompes funebres du Duc Charles III de Lorraine" of 1610.[30] In the following years Merian worked on the glorification programs of the young Louis XIII and his mother Maria de Medicis; in 1615, he produced two engravings to commemorate the Bordeaux wedding of Louis to the Spanish infanta.[31] The secondary Wurttemberg court hired artists who were familiar with the style current in the larger western European courts in order to address these courts. Part of the written program for the Wurttemberg festival of 1616 was left to Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, who had learned the style and manners of foreign courts in his travels.[32] His linguistic abilities allowed him to address his Triumf to Elizabeth Stuart in her mother tongue and to compose verses in French and Latin.[33] The polyglot nature of Weckherlin's poetry and Merian's courtly work history point to the Wurttemberg duke's strivings to give his court an international aura and importance. The visual representation of an exclusive aristocratic pageant forms a part of the same project to present the Wurttemberg court as a modern absolutist state to an international audience. The triumphal procession composed only of high nobles can be read as a single-minded campaign to

present a powerful unfettered court in which lower estate orders do not participate.

This campaign continues in the texts where the poets lay claim to an elevated and hierarchically defined language and content in order to construct an exclusive audience. The elegant triumphal form of the visual representation and its courtly contents are mirrored in Assum's introduction to his composition. Assum promotes the erudite and exclusive nature of his writing by setting up a most interesting cultural division:

> "And so did order and wish His Ducal Grace/ that he, Philopatris (Assum's nom-de-plume)/ should summarize all the memorable proceedings most diligently in high German language/ nevertheless not like the common Relatione Historica, as in the weekly newsheets/ or those that the Frankfurt spring and fall fairs bring/ Rather in such manner of invention and disposition: so that all persons of high estate and gentlemen/ along with the highly-praised ladies/ be hereby enabled and stimulated to a lively reading/ and the worldly-wise and learned to many 'Discours'".[34]

Assum's differentiation between the audience of book fair tracts and his elegant courtly book cannot help to gauge who the readers of the text actually were. As Jose Maravall stated in Culture of the Barogue: "...in the seventeenth century the diatribe against the common people became aggravated precisely in those works destined for widespread consumption..."[35] It is worth noting that Assum's contempt for popular newsheets may come out of desire of the court to pre-empt the unauthorized diffusion of newspaper accounts of the festival.[36] Since we know little of how this book was

circulated, it is not possible to ascertain that his "Relation" had only a courtly readership. What is clear, though, is that the author emphasized that there is a cleavage between the cultural production of the court, such as his work, and the "common" books available at the Frankfurt fairs. Assum's advertisement for the inaccessibility of his narration to those of less than elevated social origins is echoed in his account of how the court attempts to control audiences.

Assum's account made brief mention of organized and sanctioned participation by non-nobles. In the ceremony held to greet the most important Heidelberg guests at the entrance to the city, Assum's account has "800 selected burghers bearing weapons" who are described as "joyfully standing separately."[37] The joyful burghers do not find their place into the engravings, nor do they appear in Weckherlin's text; the representation of such a demonstration of fealty may have been considered to have been too outmoded to be worthy of commemoration. While the actual event still used the triumphal entry as a ceremony to confirm ties between social strata, the visual and textual representation is marked by an intent to construct a new self-consciously aristocratic image of the court. The exclusion of the lower estates from the representations mirrors the elevated cultural horizon Assum claims for his text. Both the texts and the engravings contain the intent to speak in a hierarchically differentiated

language, but this language may be directed at those social strata it aims to exclude.

Unlike Assum's poetry, the elegance and courtliness of Weckherlin's Triumf did not need to be prefaced by claims to exclusivity. The innovation of French verse form, which he introduced into German poetry, sufficed to demonstrate the grandeur of the genre. In Weckherlin, the new Wurttemberg court culture had found a poet, who was capable of investing the courtly pomp and magnificence of the festivities in a fitting language. While Weckherlin's text, like the prints, focussed on the elaborate costumed processions which he artfully converted into a parade of mythological and historical monarchs; the amazed citizenry is mentioned only cursorily. To observe the "gorgious ostentations" of "our worthies and knights":

> "The people runneth from all sides to the garden: there is a strange crowd: the scaffolds are full: so are the trees: the tops and windows of all houses and towr's thereabout are filled with spectatours. Ioy is every where."[38]

Crowds line the setting of each event:

> "As soone as the beames of the sunne did guild the toppes of the mountaines, the scaffolds in the tilt-garden were againe filled with people. The magnificence had yesterday so much delighted the eyes of the spectatours; and never-silent Fame did thus thickle the eares, and intice the mind of those, that either by too much businesse, or too great an idlenesse had neglected so rare a sight, that now th'one as well as th'others thrusted into the place, and waited there patiently for the midday."[39]

Weckherlin's crowds are no more than a patiently waiting backdrop to the extensively and metaphorically described

utopian scenes of heroes and gods, even their "idlenesse" was only to their own disadvantage.

Assum's text, however, gives a picture of crowds that need to be controlled. As the princes, dukes and other nobles (listed according to rank) proceed by carriage and horseback from the banquet in the old Schloss to the new Lusthaus, the guards and attendants who follow them have a hard time fending off the disorderly crowd of common folk assembled in the gardens.[40] These palace guards then proceeded into the Lusthaus ballroom to keep the middle of the room free (for the ballet performance?). The tournament processions seem to have presented crowd control problems as well, according to Assum:

> "Then one could clearly see, looking down from the windows of the castle, how the erected hoardings on the right side of the tournament grounds were taken up and filled with thousands of men and women-folk, so that differences could not be made in keeping with the propriety of the session: since one had not enlisted the help of the guards and attendants in time to fill the prescribed and distinct places for the noble knighthood, the learned clergy and persons of renown: and to banish the disorderly heaped rabble to their special quarters."[41]

The nobles, each named in order of rank, are then shown to proceed with their preparations, without harassment or displacement by the unruly mob. Assum's guileless account of the "inability" of palace guards to secure the rightful place of honor for the knighthood, the clergy and the "notables", which he delivers from the heights of the castle, makes transparent how the festival was used to distinguish and distance court society from those groups immediately below in

the estate order. This strategy served to sever the pyramid of estate hierarchy by elevating the tip of this structure: the duke and his court. By excluding the burgher elite from their place in the festival, this elite found itself abandoned to the rabble of subjects who strained to see the spectacle of aristocratic magnificence.

This program of exclusion was not confined to this ceremonial occasion but had its counterparts in other areas. Disputes arose in the 1610's about the accessibility of education. The Landtag saw this path to vertical social mobility and court employment closing and asked for access to the aristocratic "Collegium Illustre", the school for courtiers, for its sons. Johann Friedrich replied that he would tear the "Collegium" down before "peasant children" were admitted.[42] In 1620, the duke released all burghers from their positions as palace guards; from then on they were to act as night watchmen outside the court buildings.[43] The festival engravings, Weckherlin's panegyric, and Assum's less rigorous account are all marked by this same impetus to construct an exclusive court society. Looked at in this light, the festival and its images disclose a strategy to disenfranchise its powerful "Ehrbarkeit" while asserting the rank of the court within and outside the German Empire.

The "notables" relegated to the undifferentiated mob as spectators, are paradoxically, by this act of exclusion,

foregrounded as recipients of the display of courtly magnificence. This powerful patrician class, through their representation in the parliament, offered the greatest impediment to expansion of ducal power. In that moment of confessional conflict, the court strove to assert itself as the sole locus of authority and foreign policy administration via a program of cultural aggrandizement. This cultural program is extended in the textual commissions of the festival which insist on the socially elevated nature of their medium of courtly description just as the graphic medium submits an image of an exclusive aristocratic social sphere.

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1. These kinds of publications appear in large numbers in German lands after the mid-sixteenth century. Lexikon des Buchwesens, ed. Joachim Kirchner, Bd. 1 (Stuttgart, 1952).

2. The authors sent a letter to the city of Lucerne offering their works for sale. Stuttgarter Hoffeste, ed. L. Krapf and C. Wagenknecht (Tubingen, 1979), p.VII.

3. The Stuttgart civic historian Otto Borst reports that early travel guides, reports and personal letters eulogized the beauty and magnificence of the Wurttemberg court. Stuttgart, Die Geschichte der Stadt (Stuttgart, 1973), p.99.

4. O. Borst, p.100.

5. K. Tenfelde, "Adventus, Zur historischen Ikonologie", Historische Zeitschrift, Band 235 (1982), p.56.

6. K. Tenfelde, p.57.

7. K. Tenfelde, p.58.

8. K. Tenfelde, p.61.

9. Jorg Jochen Berns, "Der nackte Monarch und die nackte Wahrheit", Daphnis, vol. 11 (1982), p.325.

10. J. Berns, p.325.

11. Georg Dehio, Geschichte der deutschen Kunst (Leipzig,1926), p.21.

12. The guest lists, published twice during the festival, also were comprehensive indicators of wealth and status. Each princely guest is listed followed by an inventory of his entourage, catalogued according to rank giving exact numbers of nobles, civil servants, lackeys, cooks, tailors, and drivers. They further served Assum to populate his panegyric with the names of all the aristocratic actors. L. Krapf and C. Wagenknecht, Stuttgarter Hoffeste (Tubingen, 1979), p.478.

13. James Allen Vann, The Making of a State, Wurttemberg 1593-1793 (Cornell, 1984), p.57.

14. Vann, also Walter Grube, Der Stuttgarter Landtag 1457-1957 (Stuttgart, 1957).

15. Helen P. Liebel, "The Bourgeoisie in Southwestern Germany, 1500-1789: A Rising Class?", International Journal of History, 10(1965), p.285.

16. H. Liebel, p.295.

17. O. Borst, op.cit., p.74.

18. O. Borst, pp.78-79.

19. J.A. Vann, op.cit., p.58.

20. J.A. Vann, p.43.

21. William Brenchley Rye, England as seen by Foreigners (London, 1865), p. IX-XCII. From the year 1592 on, Friedrich sent letters and ambassadors to Queen Elizabeth to ask for his induction into the Order of the Garter: after eleven years his solicitations bore results. Rye chronicles the lengthy and stubborn supplications by this secondary monarch.

22. Ernst Muller, Kleine Geschichte Wurttembergs (Stuttgart, 1963), pp.124-125.

23. Jurgen von Kruedener, Die Rolle des Hofes cited in Ingrid Laurien, 'Hofische' und 'Burgerliche' Elemente in den

"Gaistlichen und Weltlichen Gedichten' Georg Rodolf Weckherlins (1648) (Stuttgart, 1981), pp.23-24.

24. F.L. Carsten, Princes and Parliaments in Germany from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 1959), p.47.

25. W. Grube, Op.cit., p.274.

26. W. Grube, p.275.

27. F.L. Carsten, op.cit., pp.51-52.

28. Cited in I. Laurien, op.cit., p.24. My translation.

29. W. Grube, op.cit., p.275.

30. L. H. Wuthrich, Das druckgraphische Werk von Matthaus Merian d. 'A' (Basel, 1966), p.XI.

31. L.H. Wuthrich, p.XII.

32. I. Laurien, op.cit., p.26.

33. I. Laurien, p.27.

34. Johann-Augustin Assum, Warhaffte relation...etc. (Stuttgart, 1616) p.1. My translation.

35. J. Maravall, Culture of the Baroque (Minneapolis, 1986), p.93.

36. While weekly newspapers were published in German territories since 1609, (Johann Friedrich's diary records his receipt of such publications) concerns about the dangers that this medium held for rulers were not voiced until mid-century. J.J. Berns in "Der nackte Monarch und die nackte Wahrheit" (ftn.9) analyses the debate about newspapers that takes place in the late seventeenth century.

37. J.A. Assum, op.cit., p.26.

38. G.R. Weckherlin, Triumphall Shews, p.17. reprinted in Stuttgarter Hoffeste, op.cit.

39. G.R. Weckherlin, p.86.

40. J.A. Assum, op.cit., p.28. My translation.

41. J.A. Assum, p.1. 2nd part. My translation.

42. W. Grube, op.cit., p.279.

43. O. Borst, op.cit., p.113.

CHAPTER 2

Princely Virtue and the "Kubelstechen"

An advantage the textual representations had over the visual medium as an extension of the festival program was that the courtly poetry could declaim princely virtues in a way the engravings could not. Both the visual and the textual representations centered on the theatrical chivalric exercises performed by noble actors. In the texts the narrative impact of these dramatic performances could be replicated to underscore aristocratic virtues. In the printed illustrations these didactic plays were transposed into the triumphal procession format that served, as we have seen, to indicate inner and inter-court rank while promoting a vision of exclusive aristocratic authority. The texts eulogized the virtues that justified aristocratic privilege and and proclaimed the qualities that distinguished the high nobility as legitimate rulers. The parade of lavishly costumed nobles represented in the engravings could not sufficiently bring the ruler-legitimizing content of the chivalric plays to life.

The previous chapter analyzed the pronounced aristocratic and exclusive nature of the commemorative visual and textual commissions by the court and speculated on which audiences this material was intended to address. This segment will examine the single engraving in the series which features non-nobles. The graphic depiction of the "Kubelstechen"

breaks rank with the triumphal procession format of the series and enjoys a prominence that this event is not given in the textual representations (fig.3). Only Weckherlin's Triumphall Shews expands on this particular German practice in this English version dedicated to the English princess. Several paragraphs are devoted to the explanation of the "Kubelstechen":

> "...the princess Electrice her highnesse, all th'other Princes, Lords and Ladies went after dinner againe into the tilt-garden, there to entertaine their too-worthie sight with an other turney, or rather a darke shadow of a turney, represented by tub-headed adventurers. T'is a sport, I never saw but in Germanie, and therefore doe I not know, how to tearme it. But to set it downe the best I can, me thinks that even as one may see the unspotted sun shine in a filthie puddle, or upon a dunghill, so doeth appeare some reflection of the worthinesse of lustrous chivalrie on those counterfeit riders. For they are commonly horsekeepers and groomes of the stables, that being armed, as I will tell you, hazard themselves to get some manie falls without money, or some money not without falls."[1]

The poet goes on to describe how the riders who are "bluntly garnished" in "bigge sacks, bombasted with hay" are "constrained to fall down".[2] The unwieldy graceless riders stage a performance in which:

> "...some went over, flying like shittlecocks, that have but two feathers: and others, that had more skill in horsemanship, hitting their ennemies did push themselves downe: so that there was nothing seene but tumbling downe, and getting up to tumble down again."[3]

This paid performance by stable boys is briefly mentioned in Hainhofer's report as an amusement that provokes much laughter. Weckherlin's English description makes clear that this buffoonery is performed as a clumsy contrast to the noble tournament. The poets do not devote many words, in the German

texts, to this event which diverges from the grandeur of the preceding pageantry.

In the engravings this doomed contest of awkward and bulky riders is faithfully depicted in a print which features the hatched-in terrain where this performance takes place. The disorder and gracelessness of this battle is acted out in an "earthbound" space, in contrast with the ethereal plane evoked by the blank horizons of the noble parade. The fact that this scene of fallen and tumbling horsemen is given attention in the graphic work points to its usefulness in highlighting the lofty and unattainable nature of the aristocrats' chivalric displays. The "Kubelstechen", by its antithesis of dynamic disarray enlivens the rather uninspiring succession of gods and heroes presented in the triumphal procession format of the engravings. While this procession arrangement of the depictions served well to display rank, the poet's texts added another layer of meaning by incorporating the "cartels" or challenges, which were read out at the festival before each tournament display, into their representations. These verses (and sometimes songs) which are reprinted in Assum's and Weckherlin's accounts, identify the knightly attributes shared by the presenter and his mythological or heroic alter-ego. This was no mere play-acting, as the festival historians Alewyn and Salzle point out:

> "It is no less than the expression of a social and political claim. In the festival, courtly society attains its most valid form. In the festival, it represents that which it wants to be, that which it

> imagines to be, and in any case, that which it wants to appear to be. It is an impassioned demonstration, in which this society uses all the rhetorical metaphors with which it likes to celebrate itself, as a mask, and then it lifts this masquerade to the level of mythology."[4]

In the visual medium, all this masquerade, even in its display of wealth and invention, remains just that, and does not fulfill the residual function that the obsolete chivalric exercises disclose in the poetic texts. The poet provided the story, via the cartels, in which the virtues of the "knights" were acted out. The cartels were important because as one of Weckherlin's asserts:

> "The reputation of a knight does not consist in outward shew, but in that hee is able to performe and to defend merrily and quietly."[5]

The poet's script allowed the princely actor to "performe or defend merrily and quietly" with the assurance that his attributes (be they bravery, humility, continence, generosity, etc.) would be expressed to the audience.

The tournament, having abandoned its medieval form of combat as a test of the ruler's prowess, remains as an empty shell of words which retains an ideological function.[6] This shell now comprises virtues which are only attributable to the formal noble ruling class.[7] These virtues belong solely to an elite whose position is beyond question. The festival, where these aristocratic attributes are acted out and celebrated, then confirms the claims to power of the noble elite as the sole holders of heroic and god-like virtues.

The allegorical scripts convey the "inner qualities" that mark the ruler and that speak to the role of the duke that the Landtag sought. In the festival, and in its textual documentation, the duke could act out roles which allegorically reveal him to be a just, brave, and wise defender of the faith and the fatherland, albeit in a vehicle the parliamentarians found wasteful and foreign. While the texts imbued the knightly pretenses with a confirmation of the moral claims to power of the court, the legitimizing virtues of the elite could not be adequately underscored in the engravings. Here, the depiction of the "Kubelstechen" is called into play with all the might of the rhetorical device of antithesis, to ridicule the notion of finding knightly attributes outside the ranks of the court nobility.

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1. G.R. Weckherlin, Triumphall Shews, p.162, reprinted in Stuttgarter Hoffeste, op.cit.

2. G.R. Weckherlin, op.cit., p.163.

3. G.R. Weckherlin, op.cit., p.163.

4. Richard Alewyn and Karl Salzle, Das grosse Welttheater (Hamburg, 1959), p.16. My translation.

5. G.R. Weckherlin, op.cit., p.78.

6. Ingrid Laurien, 'Hofische' und 'Burgerliche' Elemente in den 'Gaistlichen u. Weltlichen Gedichten' Georg Rodolf Weckherlins (1648) (Stuttgart, 1981), p.30.

7. I. Laurien, op.cit., p.30

CHAPTER 3

A Grotesque Translation Of The Empire

The banal illustrative quality of the triumphal procession format, for all its uses in the exposition of social hierarchies, could not fulfill an intent that was stated in Assum's text. The panegyric text promised to enable and stimulate a lively discourse among those of elevated social standing and learning.[1] The intent to provoke and challenge learned discussion for a social elite that Assum expressed is replicated in the symbolic tableaux which are interspersed in what would otherwise be an essentially tedious represented parade. Into the standard social disciplining function of the triumphal procession are inserted complex and visually exciting elements which address the specific occasion of the festival. These are the most eye-catching engravings of the visual representation; here novelty and innovation are freely deployed to evoke wonder and amazement in what has been shown to be a rather diverse audience. But these challenging images do not "speak" on their own and the texts do not make them "speak" either. Unlike their antecedents, the illustrated broadsheets, where text and image acted in concert to produce meaning for wide and even illiterate audiences, the courtly visual representations have no explanatory captions. These segments of the visual representation remain locked in a language that was not accessible to all but a select audience that was close to its courtly producers.

These extraordinarily suggestive yet deliberately obscure elements of the festival representation encode an intent to exclude; that also makes this material dangerous territory for art historical study. The visual medium in its particular ability to simultaneously accommodate multiple signs and symbols extends an invitation for iconographic excess. My efforts to access these assemblages of visual vocabularies must stand as suggestions for reflecting on this difficult material. In explicating the multiple metaphors of the prints I hope that my analysis will not stray beyond the circumstances in and for which these images were invented and the audiences they addressed.

This chapter will focus on the representation of the "head" ballet which appears in the second full-page illustration of the graphic work (fig.4). This performance was staged on the first evening of the festival and must have had a key function as a thematic introduction to the festival program. The pictorial transmission of this strange dance features the combinatory form of the grotesque to present a most intriguing image. I will propose that the giant head depiction can be associated with the apocalyptic Rosicrucian texts that emerged in the years before the Thirty Years War. This narrative base for the bizarre head ballet in its chiliastic story line seems to take up the theme of a never-performed masque intended as part of the 1613 festivities held in honor of the Palatinate marriage in London.

The Stuttgart festival, while billed as a baptism, does not pay hommage to this event in the engravings. All the innovative skills of the festival designers went into an awesome ballet which celebrated the true significance of the festival, the visit of the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate and his wife, Princess Elizabeth. According to the poet Weckherlin, it was the English princess whose "blessed presence was the chief cause of the shews."[2]

The ballet found a suitable theme for this important state visit. Four giant heads appeared in the Lusthaus ballroom and, according to Weckherlin's account, each expelled three dancers, all in different national costumes.[3] Only Hainhofer's report tells who each of the twelve dancers was; Duke Johann Friedrich of Wurttemberg appeared as the "blacke moore" while his courtiers represented the eleven other "nations". According to Weckherlin, these were an Englishman first, followed by a "Scottishman", an "Irishman", a "Frenchman", a "High-Dutchman", a "Laponian", a "Spaniard", an "Italian", a "Polonian", a "blacke a moore", a "Turke" and an "Indian, or Americaine".[4] Each performed his own dance which the others copied in turn, until all were finally dancing the same way.[5] This parable of international cooperation addressed "the cause of the shews", the presence of the Palatine Elector Frederick V and his wife Elizabeth and celebrated more than just a meeting of German Protestant princes. The festival, with James I daughter in attendance,

held the hope of overcoming the overriding problem that faced those who wished to oppose the might of the Catholic axis, which was the welding of the numerous enemies of the Habsburgs into a coherent rival international alliance.[6]

The English King James I still seemed to be promoting a Protestant alliance when he agreed to the 1613 marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to the leader of the Protestant Union of German princes, Frederick V. Lavish festivities took place from London to Heidelberg to celebrate "the union of the Thames and the Rhine".[7] The Stuttgart baptism provided a forum to extend and confirm this dynastic alliance to Wurttemberg and to the member states of the German Protestant Union. A short historical description of the baptism ceremony written by an anonymous Wurttemberg reporter tells that the English princess was led into the church "like a bride".[8] This emphasis on the bride-like status of Elizabeth Stuart indicates that the baptism and the many marriage festivals had an analogous purpose. According to the German festival historian Berns, the occasion- specific elements of a festival and its representation required ever new but functionally similar symbolic material for the didactic and demonstrative purposes of each dynastic event.[9]

A recent study by David Norbrook, "'The Masque of Truth': Court Entertainments and International Protestant Politics in the Early Stuart Period" presents evidence that a masque with

such a "functional similarity" to the giant head ballet was to have been presented at one of the London marriage festivities.[10] Norbrook examines the interesting case of a masque, composed for the wedding, that never was performed, even though its description was printed in a French commemorative pamphlet. The theme of this suppressed masque, as Norbrook points out, may have been picked up in the Giant Head Ballet held at the Stuttgart 'baptism'.[11] "The Masque of Truth" would have been, had it been performed, one of the most spectacular entertainments yet staged at the English court, and of a scale and grandeur far surpassing that of the Stuttgart ballet.

Norbrook offers a summary of the never-performed spectacle from its fictitious description in the French text.[12] The masque begins with muses singing the praises of King James, the muses then lead Atlas to England where his globe opens to reveal Europe and her five daughters (France, Spain, Germany, Italy,Greece); each has three pages and all are in national costume. They are followed by the Ocean, his wife the Mediterranean, and by the chief rivers of Europe. The princes of Europe appear and dance with the daughters/princesses. The same procedure takes place with Asia and Africa and their daughters. The muses then call on the international assemblage to abandon their quarrels, to look to King James and imitate his zeal for the true religion. "The masque ends with one more spectacular effect:" The globe splits in two

and disappears, leaving behind it a paradise guarded by an angel bearing a flaming sword, with a skull at his feet. Truth invites the queens and their followers to overcome their fear of death with repentance and faith and enter Paradise. Atlas and the Muses lead the nations into Paradise and the sword and skull vanish; then the gates of Paradise close behind them.[13]

According to Norbrook, this masque breaks from the old panegyric topos of England as a 'world divided from the world', and addresses the marriage as the basis of an international religious reformation and not just as a dynastic union. The religious zealotry implicit in the apocalyptic end to the masque "goes beyond the caution of official pronouncements on the match. And the presentation of traditionally mighty powers like Spain and France bowing down before Britain and the Palatinate is hardly tactful in the context of European diplomacy."[14]

The militant Protestant message in the masque was problematic to James whose goal it was to pursue a pragmatic foreign policy that responded to changes in the European balance of power.[15] In fact, James regarded religious enthusiasm as a dangerous force that might present a political threat to his authority.[16] Norbrook explores evidence that points to the collapse of the policy of rapprochement with European Protestantism that occurred with the death of Prince Henry

shortly before the marriage of his sister Elizabeth to the Palatinate Elector.

Ironically, the English wedding was taken as a sign of James' solidarity with the anti-Habsburg cause of the Palatinate prince; his ambivalence towards the confessional issue did not become evident until it was too late and Frederick V had already embarked on the ill-fated Bohemian adventure. At the 1616 "baptism", the marriage of the Rhine and the Thames still was a cause for celebration for those Protestant princes that the militant Calvinists of the Palatinate had managed to enlist into a union for defense.[17] The central motif of the meeting was presented in the ballet on the first evening of the festival; this performance is thematically linked to the too fervent English masque. Norbrook characterizes the Stuttgart ballet this way: "...though less overtly religious in tone, its symbolism, and the general occasion would surely have recalled to (Princess Elizabeth) the dance of the many nations originally planned for her wedding festivities"[18] The "Masque of Truth", even if never performed, may well have been known to the Wurttemberg designers of the festival from its French texual description. The invention of a thematically similar variation could also have addressed the knowledgeable elite Assum's text claimed as the worldly- wise recipients of his German panegyric. The similarity of the occasion of the wedding and the baptism allowed for the utilization of the same theme, but in keeping with the need for novelty (that

Berns identified as a characteristic of courtly festival practice), a new form was found. This new symbolism implied, contrary to Norbrook's analysis, the very same apocalyptic moment that was contained in the suppressed masque.

To locate the source of the apocalyptic moment implied in the ballet, the commissioned texts of Assum and Weckherlin offer no interpretive guidance. Berns analyzes this frustrating quality of courtly reportage: its repetition of the uninterpreted sign.[19] The representation of the festival is carried out without commentary; the sign system in use is not made accessible by the absolutist court, when, in the process of secularization of its claims to power, it foregrounds a shock effect that is designed to numb the audience. The complex of multiple allegories that replaced the ruler-validating sacred ceremonial subordinated communication potential to a paralyzing show of magnificence. The lesser mechanism of symbol transmission could, however, not be abandoned by the secondary early absolutist court of Wurttemberg - in contrast with James' I court, which had suppressed "The Masque of Truth" in favor of masques which emphasized mystery and ceremony.[20] The "baptism" festival, held at a moment of crisis, still utilized a repertoire of allegorical material that addressed the hopes and fears of the court and its subjects.

A key to some of the festival symbolism can perhaps be found in the widely-circulated millenarian tracts attributed to the Wurttemberg theologian Johann Valentin Andreae. The historian R.J.W. Evans describes these "Rosicrucian" tracts as a "strange corpus of writings claiming to offer universal enlightenment through the medium of secret wisdom, with plenty of chiliastic intimations".[21] Frances Yates study of these texts (The Rosicrucian Enlightenment) connects the appearance of the Rosicrucian pamphlets to the hopes raised by the supposed alliance of England and German Protestants.[22] Yates' reading of these esoteric texts has been bitingly criticized for her too avid hypothesizing about the transmission of hermetic thought via symbol, allusion and supposed personal contacts throughout Europe which finally, in her analysis, had repercussions in the initial stages of the scientific revolution.[23] The Rosicucian texts, according to the evidence she presented, arose out of the English influence on Palatinate cultural and intellectual life and came to form a part of Palatinate propaganda campaigns against Habsburg power. Her analysis has been too allusive and indirect to convince other historians. The connection of these texts to the turmoil of the pre-war years is much less in doubt. A less far-reaching analysis by the German historian Richard van Dulmen does not go beyond the territory of Wurttemberg where the presumed author Andreae wrote the tracts.[24] According to his reading these hermetic texts promoted a second Protestant reformation by providing an irenic alternative to the deep

divisions among Calvinists and Lutherans. The earliest Rosicrucian manifestos which appeared around 1605, the Fama and the Confessio, foretell, in a powerful and prophetic apocalyptic tone that a great reformation is at hand which will signal the return to the state of Adam in Paradise.[25] The subtext of the prophecies is a call for a second Protestant reformation that will bring forth the millenium. The Fama, which is the core of the Rosicrucian myth, called forth a lot of interest from all social levels.[26]

The passage of the Fama that is relevant to the giant head ballet is found in the explication of the Rosicrucian credo where Protestant fervour and expressions of allegiance to the Empire are tempered with intimations of great change:
"In Politia we acknowledge the Roman Empire and Quartam Monarcham for our Christian head, albeit we know what alterations be at hand, and would fain impart the same with all our hearts to other godly learned men..."[27]
The acceptance of the theory of the four monarchies, pronounced in the Rosicrucian manifesto refers to the medieval idea of the "translation" of the Roman Empire to Germany, from which the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation took its name. The revelation in the book of
Daniel that prophesied that the world would be reigned over by a total of four monarchies or empires until the Apocalypse, was codified in medieval scholarship where the monarchies were identified as the Babylonian, the Persian, the Greek and

finally, the Roman.[28] Charlemagne's reign, whose "Roman" endorsement signified the transfer of the final empire onto German soil, was the basis of the continued authority of the theory.[29] The belief that the world would end with the fall of the fourth empire carried weight into the seventeenth century and beyond; not only as a historiographic fundamental, but also as a political source of strength.[30] In constitutional and legal treatises the belief in the God-willed survival of the Roman empire shines through as a first-class ideological weapon against internal and external enemies of the German empire. Daniel's prophecy was always recalled as evidence that the Roman-German empire could not fall before the end of the world.[31] Even Luther, while rejecting the Roman "translation" theory as a validation of papal authority, cited Daniel's revelation as empowering evidence for the impossibility of the eclipse of the German-Roman empire by the Turks.[32]

In the sixteenth century, German history teachers confined themselves to a political narrative of the fortunes of the four biblical monarchies.[33] The theory of the "translation" of the Roman empire to the German empire formed the underpinnings of the constitutional and the legal system. Even as the Protestant princes were organizing themselves into a union to defend themselves against their Catholic counterparts, they make it clear that they did not have the

goal of breaking up the empire, as revealed by the preamble to the constitution of the Union:

> "In view of the urgent necessity, we, the undersigned Electors and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, much less to damage but much more to strengthen and uphold peace and unity in the Holy Empire, as dedicated and obedient Estates of the Empire of the German Nation, our beloved fatherland, in order to advance the common well-being, our land and people and also those Estates who will in future join us to further peace, order and protection in the name of God the Almighty, have one and all reached the present amicable and confidential agreement...[34]

Continued allegiance to the precepts of empire and emperor was also a basic demand of the reluctant Wurttemberg Landtag members when faced with Johann Friedrich's decision to join the Protestant Union.[35]

The appearance of the four giant heads at the "baptism" festival must have very readily evoked the idea of the four world monarchies as it was embodied by the four gigantic and monarchical physiognomies. The giant effigies were a visual affirmation of the idea of imperial allegiance to which Hainhofer's commentary on the performance offers corroboration. The imperial theme of the ballet is spelled out at the end of the "nations" dance: "they made, in dancing, an F and an E, a P and an O, by that alluding to the prince and princess' names and to the imperial orb."[36]

But this is not a static image of affirmation of a traditional world view. The monstrous heads cannot "contain" a new experiential world. These pregnant, yet bodiless, effigies are unlike the limbed giant puppets that

traditionally appear at popular and courtly festvals.[37] The heads that reveal their constituent parts, the nations, have more in common with the form of the "Arcimboldesque", an engraving with great currency in German lands around 1600, which was inspired by Arcimboldo's strange allegorical portraits of Rudolf II.[38] These grotesque depictions of heads made up of symbolic elements had many imitators (fig.5). Warncke's study of German grotesques attributes the prevalence of the grotesque at the beginning of the seventeenth century to the ability of this form to meld diverse signs:

> "Under the mantle of the grotesque, legitimized by antique precedents, were united the most diverse aims, and with that, all the expressive and interpretive possibilities of monsters, fabulous creatures and mongrels that had been invented over the centuries. The grotesque rescued whole image worlds, through alteration and absorbtion, out of the upheaval brought about by the secularisation of historical thought. When we see the grotesque clearly reveal itself as a means to overcome contradictions in a seemingly uncertain world, then the power of this form lies in its power to transform by synthesis."[39]

This impulse to synthesize new secular knowledge is demonstrated in the depiction of the grotesque heads out of which the "nations" emerge as signs of a new experience of phenonema that cannot easily be assimilated into traditional teachings about the world. The steadfast loyalty to revealed knowledge, represented by the heads, breaks into an image of change, as the twelve nations are released to present an expanded cosmos of history and geography.

It is the integrative intent of the "grotesque" form of the ballet that points to a relationship with Rosicrucian ideas. These tracts, which achieved an immediate and extensive resonance, exhibit an apparently contradictory trend, as the historian R.J.W. Evans observed. The "occultizing puritanism" of Andreae's Utopian texts manifests a religious enthusiasm that went with "an uncomfortable stance towards learning, blending moral fervor with continuing intellectual commitment to aspects of the Renaissance tradition, especially the rejection of dogmatism."40 The call for a spiritual reformation which would combine disparate elements of orthodoxy and mysticism came out of the profound crisis that shook the early modern Protestant territorial state. It is the consciousness of an "end" that emerges immediately before the Thirty Years War that, according to Richard van Dulmen's analysis, Andreae's tracts bear witness to. The millenarian visions come out of an awareness of being at the end of Christian universalism, of the end of the unity of politics and religion and of the end of the constitutional balance of the institutions of the empire and the emperor.41

It would not be surprising that Andreae's chiliastic calls for a new and better Protestant world order would make an appearance in the Stuttgart festival ballet. The learned family of theologians Andreae was born into had connections to the Wurttemberg court; his father, a pastor, was on friendly terms with Duke Friedrich, whose interests in alchemy he

shared, and in 1601, when Andreae's father died, Duke Friedrich granted the job of court apothecary to his mother.[42] There can be no doubt that his writings would have been familiar to the designers of the Stuttgart court festival. His tracts provided a native and current narrative that could replay the apocalyptic theme of the suppressed English masque - complete with its vision of international harmony. The Fama and other Rosicrucian tracts which Andreae called "ludibrium", or games for the curious, were not written as theoretical dissertations, but instead used the devices of dreams, fables and emblematic imagery to convey a Christian Utopian message in the form of a riddle.[43]

In the representation of the ballet, the Protestant fervour of the Rosicrucian tracts is not replicated but only alluded to - unlike the suppressed English masque's open manifestation of King James' role for the "true religion". Both Assum's and Weckherlin's accounts make clear that Frederick and Elizabeth are being honored by the ballet, but only Hainhofer's account of the ballet offers who the earthly promoters of the millenium might be in his "private" description of the dance where the Palatinate ruler's initials and the imperial orb were consecutively "signed". The symbols of this dance recall Jane Newman's summation of the hopes raised by the English-German marriage alliance: "In a better, Protestant world, the Tudors and their vassals would offset, perhaps even replace, the Habsburgs as guarantors of the European peace."[44]

The strategy of "replacement" of the Catholic-Habsburg domination of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation only became virulent with the Palatine elector's acceptance of the Bohemian crown in 1619 - and it was a move the Union of Protestant princes on the whole opposed as being too dangerous.[45] The idea of a Protestant empire may be an accurate picture of what the wedding promised to the Palatinate rulers, but as David Norbrook has shown it was not the message the Jacobean court wanted to send out, at least in England.

The Wurttemberg head ballet remains "headless" in its visual representation for much the same reasons. A Protestant empire under the Palatinate Elector would have been an unacceptable cause for the Landtag to rally around. The parliamentarians had made it clear that even if Wurttemberg's union with other Protestant principalities was unavoidable, then under no circumstances would they tolerate an alliance with Calvinists or other sectarians.[45] The Union, with its Palatinate leader, represented just such an alliance. For the festival the Rosicrucian tracts provided a religious narrative framework which stood outside the significant friction that existed between the Reformed confessions in Germany. The pansophic program of Rosicrucianism is perhaps best understood as a reaction to the political and religious divisions of Germany since the Reformation, especially the disputes between Calvinists and Lutherans.[47] The vague Utopian riddles were

encoded into the festival sign system without calling attention to the many oppositions that existed both inside and outside Wurttemberg. The festival, at least in its official representation, replicated all the conciliatory non-specificity of the universalist puzzles of Rosicrucianism, while presenting them in an awe-inspiring form that must have generated amazement in any audience and in visual symbols that must have been accessible only to an exclusive audience. The visual medium allowed the complex problems of imperial allegiance and rebellious Protestant unification to be accommodated in an allusive and non-committal manner.

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1. Johann-Valentin Assum, Warhaffte relation etc. (Stuttgart, 1616), p.1.
2. G.R. Weckherlin, Triumphall Shews, op.cit., p.1.
3. G.R. Weckherlin, op.cit., p.9.
4. G.R. Weckherlin, pp.10-11.
5. G.R. Weckherlin, p.11.
6. G. Parker and L.M. Smith, the General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1978), p.67.
7. F. Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment (London, 1972), ch.1.
8. Stuttgarter Hoffeste, op.cit., p.313.
9. J.J. Berns, "Die Festkultur der deutschen Hofe zwischen 1518 und 1730", Germanisch Romanische Monatsschrift 65 (1984), p.300.
10. David Norbrook, "'The Masque of Truth': Court Entertainments and International Protestant Politics in

the Early Stuart Period", The Seventeenth Century, vol.1, no.2 (July 1986), pp.81-110.

11. D. Norbrook, op.cit., p.98.

12. D. Norbrook, pp.82-83.

13. D. Norbrook, p.83.

14. D. Norbrook, p.89.

15. D. Norbrook, p.88.

16. D. Norbrook, p.100.

17. Claus-Peter Clasen, The Palatinate in European History, 1555-1618 (Oxford, 1963), p.5.

18. D. Norbrook, op.cit., p.98.

19. J.J. Berns, "Der nackte Monarch und die nackte Wahrheit", Daphnis, vol.11 (1982), p.342.

20. D. Norbrook, op.cit., p.83 cites this preference of the Jacobean court.

21. R.J.W. Evans, "Culture and Anarchy in the Empire, 1540-1680, Central European History, vol.18, no.1 (1985), p.21.

22. F. Yates, op.cit., pp.30-34.

23 B. Vickers, "Frances Yates and the Writing of History", Journal of Modern History, 51 (1979), pp.287-316. Also R.J.W. Evans' review of The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, The Historical Journal, XVI, 4 (1973), pp.865-868.

24. Richard van Dulmen, Die Utopie einer christlichen Gesellschaft, Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654) Teil 1 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1978).

25. R. van Dulmen, p.82.

26. R. van Dulmen, op.cit. The early Rosicrucian pamphlets elicited much written response, nearly two hundred such documents are still in existence.

27. Fama Fraternitas, attributed to J.V. Andreae, cited in F. Yates, op.cit., p.53.

28. J.W. Swain, "The Theory of the Four Monarchies", Classical Philology 35 (1940), p.1.

29. Gertrude Lubbe-Wolff, "Die Bedeutung der Lehre von den

vier Weltreighen fur das Staatsrecht des Romischen Reichs", staat 23 (1984), p.370. Also: Werner Goez, Translatio Imperii (Tubingen, 1958). Goez' book traces the idea of the transfer of the fourth empire in German political and historical theories from medieval to early modern times.
And: Notker Hammerstein "'Imperium Romanum cum onmibus suis qualitatibus ad Germanos est translatum' Das vierte Weltreich in der Lehre der Reichsjuristen" in J. Kunisch, ed., Neue studien zur fruhneuzeitlichen Reichsgeschichte (Berlin, 1987).

30. G. Lubbe-wolff, op.cit. p.371.

31. G. Lubbe-Wolff, p.371.

32. G. Lubbe-Wolff, p.372.

33. A. Grafton, "The World of the Polyhistors," Central European History 18 (1985), p.37.

34. In G. Benecke, Germany in the Thirty Years War (London, 1978), p.9.

35. W. Grube, op.cit., p.275. The survival of the empire held great importance for members of the lower estates because the imperial court acted as the final court of appeal in disputes with the territorial ruler. Peter Blickle examines the prevalence of legal recourse in inter-estate disputes in German territories in "Peasant Resistance in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century Germany in a European Context", Religion, Politics and Social Protest, Blickle, Rublack, Schulze, eds. (1984).

36. P. Hainhofer in Stuttgarter Hoffeste, op.cit., p.331.

37. The urban Nuremberg Schembartlauf, as well as festivals at the Habsburg court featured "giants".

38. C-.P. Warncke, Die ornamentale Groteske in Deiuschland 1500-1650 (Berlin, 1979) pp.77-78.

39. C.P. Warncke, op.cit., p.78. My translation.

40. R.J.W. Evans, p.22.

41. Richard van Dulmen, op.cit., p.15.

42. R. van Dulmen, pp.95-96.

43. R. van Dulmen, p.93.

44. Jane O. Newman, "Marriages of Convenience: Patterns of Alliance in Heidelberg Politics and Opitz's Poetics",

MLN 100 (1985), p.547.

45. F. Yates, op.cit., p.19.

46. W. Grube, op.cit., p.275.

47. F. Yates, op.cit., p.98. The conciliatory aims of Rosicrucianism are also discussed in L.W. Forster, Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, Zur Kenntnis seines Lebens in England (Basel, 1944), pp.81-83.

CHAPTER 4

The Mirror Of A Prudent Estate

In the previous chapter I have suggested that the giant head ballet representation put forward a rather attenuated notion of imperial allegiance. The illustration that follows of a ballet that was performed in immediate succession presents, I propose, an effort to come to grips with a corollary problem. This second ballet (fig.6), again performed by the Wurttemberg duke and his courtiers, this time as Nuremberg mirror-makers, can be seen to address the dangers presented by the unification agreements between Protestant powers within the Empire. The formation of this alliance left the cautious Wurttemberg court open to accusations of rebellion. Traditionally the still-valid medieval estate hierarchy of the empire allowed territorial rulers to legitimately stand together as an estate in internal imperial conflicts. The depiction of the courtly retinue in the assumed roles of another estate, even if the lavish costumes remained true to the display of courtly grandeur, depended on a contrast between appearance and actuality that could only be visually pronounced. A solemn evocation of the estate structure that I suggest the mirror-maker ballet represents may have been offered to ward off any charges of seditiousness from other German territories as well as from local parliamentarians. In this chapter I will examine how the Wurttemberg court strove

to give a legitimate and placating image to its alliance with the aggressively anti-Catholic Palatinates.

That the Wurttemberg court wanted to approach the issues of dangerous alliance with great caution is brought out in discrepancies in the descriptions of another segment of the festival. The fact that the court-commissioned visual and textual material is notably different from Hainhofer's "private" account about this part of the pageant demonstrates that the court intended to modulate the use of politico-religious polemical imagery in the representations. The discrepant descriptions of the Duke of Baden's tournament entry (fig.7) present evidence for how carefully the Wurttemberg court wanted contentious issues of politics and religion handled in the visual and textual representations. This caution is manifested in the representation of the Empress Germania followed by her ten "circles" or nations in an anachronistic vision that did not reflect the territorial divisions or the actual confessional power blocs within the post-Reformation empire. In the engravings Germania's "circles" are shown holding mirrors, an emblematic reference to "Prudentia" or "the recognition of appropriateness".[1] The allegorical duo of "Concord" and "Discord", a familiar device of festival representation in German territories follows the circles (fig.8).[2] The commissioned texts do not elaborate on the identity of these symbolic figures; "Discord" is identified generically as a "monster" or as a "hellish

peace-disturber". Only the diplomatic correspondence of Hainhofer is forthcoming in describing the "monstrum" as being made up of figures representing a "Spaniard, a Jesuit, a Capuchin, etc. who are disquieting Germany".[3] According to Hainhofer the evil of the bound Spanish-Catholic monster is acted out by a horned boy dressed as a black devil who emerges from under the monster's feet and runs off. The monster is giving expression to the greatest fear of the Protestant princes and that is that the interests of the Spanish King Philip II and Catholic forces would combine to impose a new Catholic universal monarchy.

Only Hainhofer, whose account was directed at a small audience of Protestant princes, "made the obvious inference that (the monster) represented the militant forces of the Counter-Reformation."[4] The court commissioned accounts as well as the engravings take a far more cautious approach. The graphic depiction of the "monster" is close to Weckherlin's description: "his shape being like a man, but having infinite faces, armes and legg's".[5] The short tunic the monster wears is perhaps cassock-like but the high hats of the monster do not insist on its clerical status. Under the sign of "Prudentia" the festival representation maintains a neutral tone while utilizing the enemy-identifying propagandistic tool at the actual event.

Robert Scribner's analysis of how popular broadsheets and popular processional propaganda were used to further the cause of the Reformation can be applied to the satanical nature of the Catholic monster that was presented to the festival audience.[6] Reformation propaganda, according to Scribner, reduced complex political and confessional issues into a confrontation between good and evil that was expressed in easily recognized symbols, in very material ways or in terms of clerical persons. While the "Discord" monster seems to have taken such a role at the festival, his identity is far more obscure in the representations. His many-headedness still recalls Reformation propaganda "monsters" where their monstrous status was taken to be a visible sign of sin that acted as a warning from God.[7] Many-headed popes and many-headed Luthers were a common device of confessional polemical imagery in the sixteenth century (fig.9).

In the festival engraving of the monster, the desacralizing intent of satanic, scatological or bestial imagery of the broadsheets is deleted, even if its satanic nature was acted out in the actual event. The multi-limbed but innocuous looking monster is shown being led away by an equally composite female "Concord" bearing imperial devices; the use of the familiar polemical image of the monster is defused by this juxtaposition. If the purpose of propaganda, as Scribner states, was to incite people to direct action rather than to just change opinions, such imagery had no place in the

Stuttgart festival.[8] The Wurttemberg court did not intend to make any call to action on confessional matters. The court wanted to represent the Union as a strictly defensive alliance which would protect Protestant interests.[9] It was the defensive character of the Union that Duke Johann Friedrich emphasized to his parliament.[10] While the Calvinist Palatinate had distinguished itself by its militant and aggressive anti-Catholic policies, the Wurttemberg court strove to present an appeasing image of this alliance.

The historian Clasen finds the contrast between the Palatinate and other German princes expressing itself in the "stereotyped formulas which constantly recur in the diplomatic correspondence".[11] While the Palatines continually speak of the "advancement of the glory of God and of the establishment of his Church," the other German Protestants never cease to emphasize the "steady maintenance and nuturing of the beloved peace, quiet, and unity of our beloved Fatherland the German nation."[12] To bridge these conflicting mission statements the festival engravings present a traditional principle for all Protestant princes and subjects to rally around. The issue of confessional differences in the German Empire was too contentious to be clearly enunciated in the festival books; in its place the medieval conception of the Empire as a hierarchy of estates was called upon. The princes could only rightfully stand together as an estate, as they had in the past, to defend their interests against those of the Emperor, thereby

bypassing a charge of rebellion to which the formation of the Protestant Union came perilously close. The notion of the estates as the constituent parts of the Empire is, I suggest, alluded to in the engraving following that depicting the giant head ballet.

The second theme-setting ballet performance by the Wurttemberg duke and his courtiers gives graphic expression to the hierarchical estate structure of "Germania". The written accounts have the giant heads "vanish" to be replaced by a dazzling mirrored shop that moves into the ballroom. Assum expresses surprise that a "princely" dance did not follow, instead twelve dancers, the duke and his courtiers, appear in costumes Assum identifies as those of Nuremberg mirror-makers. The emblematic signification of the mirrors of "Prudentia" is eminently applicable to the free imperial city of Nuremberg which had been an important mercantile centre since the thirteenth century. The city had joined the Protestant Union in 1610 while continuing with a long-standing gulden diplomacy which involved contributing to imperial coffers while secretly sending money to Protestant powers.[13] Nuremberg had the reputation of being the most "distinguished" city of the empire even though its relationship to the house of Habsburg had cooled markedly after the confessional switch of 1524. Nuremberg, where all the imperial insignia and the sacred objects of the empire were stored, also was the most favoured site for imperial sojourns.[14] The city of Durer and Hans

Sachs was seen as a repository of "Germanness" that stood for the opposite of the "foreign" Western European culture of ducal residences.[15]

The costumes and the shop of the mirror-makers of the Stuttgart ballet found an undisputably German model in the festival books which described and illustrated the "Nuremberg Schembartlauf". The urban-artisanal "Schembart" carnival was said to have begun in the early fourteenth century as a privilege granted to the butchers' guild as a reward for their loyalty to the Council of the city in a rebellion by fractious citizens.[16] Over time the rights to the costumed and masked dance of the butchers were bought up by the patrician class, the members of the oligarchy of four hundred families that governed the city and its vast rural holdings. The last year of the Schembartlauf was 1539. The council abolished the festival that year when celebrants used the occasion of the dance to protest against the chief Lutheran prelate's injunction of the celebration of Carnival. From shortly before abolition until well into the eighteenth century Schembart books copied and reproduced images and descriptions of the costumes and events which recorded the history of the festival most likely with the aid of older manuscripts.[17] The "Schembart" historian, H.-U. Roller, identifies the impulse that generated these books well after the demise of the practice as a folkloristic one that emerged out of the widening cultural horizons of the Renaissance. The books

served patrician interests of self-representation in which the grandeur of an indigenous German past could be celebrated.

The wealth of documentation found in the "Schembartbucher" has offered an unusually rich documentation, despite its belated nature, of popular festival forms. Because of the dearth of graphic representations of popular festivals the Schembartlauf has elicited much attention as a documentation of the evolution of festival form from its corporate- agrarian origins to a final phase of patrician display. The Schembartlauf has served as a paradigm of the shift of festival practice from its ritualistic and participatory functions to that of a controlled "representation", despite the difficulty presented by the dating of the illustrations.[18] The mirror decorations of the duke's and courtiers' costumes and the mirror-makers shop link the Stuttgart ballet to the Nuremberg Schembartlauf representation. In early versions of the festival trees decorated with mirrors were carried in a procession; in later versions costumes were adorned with mirrors (fig.10). The shop of the mirrormakers is also a recreation of a Nuremberg carnival form; the "Kramladen", a sort of general store, was used as a pageant sled in the 1512 carnival.[19]

The antiquarian removal of the Schembartlauf motifs to the confines of the court ballroom marks yet another shift in

festival practice. As the Stuttgart historian Otto Borst has remarked:

> "It is noteworthy that, as renewed prohibitions of carnival celebrations were on the increase, the court's efforts to conform to these edicts diminished."[20]

As Protestant towns enforced the suppression of the Carnival the Stuttgart court used the model of the historic Schembartlauf as a source for an aristocratic display of courtly skill. What had begun as a ritualistic street festivity was transformed in the Stuttgart ballet into a rehearsed and controlled performance of measured movements by the duke and his courtiers. The undisputably "German" Schembartlauf may have been utilized in response to the Landtag's dissatisfaction with the new "foreign" showiness and refinements of the court. The parliamentarians wished for a court that was based on, as they said, "the old, simple, yet praiseworthy German manner." The urban Schembartlauf theme of the court ballet, even though it was altered into a delicate performance of dancing skill, could be read as a sign of the subsumption of an urban form by a newly dominant court culture.

The place accorded to the mirror maker ballet as an adjunct to the theme-setting giant head ballet and as an introductory element of the festival representation points to the centrality of its "urban-estate" theme. The importance of the guild-artisan costume of the duke and his courtiers lies in the strange dualism of absolutism and of the conservation of

the estate hierarchy that existed in German lands before the Thirty Years War. Ingrid Laurien's 1981 social-historical analysis of Weckherlin's English and German careers addresses this issue. The constitution of the German empire was quite unlike that of other Western European states:

> "Germany in the early modern period presents on one and the same level the interesting drama of the rigorous enforcement of the two conflicting and antithetical building principles of the epoch: the estate hierarchy principle won out in the upper level of the empire, the monarchical principle, under the sign of absolutism was realized in the important areas of the second level, the territories... German constitutional history since the Middle Ages was defined by the fact of bifurcation."[21]

This dualistic conception of the German empire allowed territorial dukes to band together against other dukes, or even the emperor, where the sovereignty of the estate order was endangered by attacks against the Protestant confession.[22] German Protestantism held no anti-absolutist tendencies yet territorial dukes did not adhere to an anti-estate policy on all levels.[23] The Protestant Union presented itself as an alliance that guaranteed the triumvirate of territorial rule, Protestantism and estate privilege.[24] Laurien states that it is no coincidence that Weckherlin in the Triumf calls the duke and the estates protectors of "Teutschland" in one and the same breath. He interpreted the position of the duke as a member of an estate of the empire and so could celebrate the territorial dukes as the protectors of those very privileges which these dukes were curtailing within their own territories.[25]

The graphic, and festive, tribute to the Nurembergers then is given such prominence because it contains a confirmation of the estate hierarchy - even in the pronounced aristocratic totality of the festival. In the retardatory estatist structure of the empire the justification of a dangerous alliance with the Palatinate which did not appeal to the Wurttemberg estates could be found, bypassing charges of rebelliousness or doctrinal compromise.

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1. S. Henkel and A. Schone, Emblemata (Stuttgart: 1967), p.1350.
2. F. Sieber, Volk und volkstumliche Motivik im Festwerk des Barocks (Berlin: 1960), p.139.
3. P. Hainhofer in Stuttgarter Hoffeste, op.cit., p.333.
4. D. Norbrook, op.cit., p.98.
5. G.R. Weckherlin in Stuttgarter Hoffeste, op.cit., p.60.
6. R. Scribner, Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany (London, 1987), p.295.
7. C. Andersson, "Popular Imagery in German Reformation Broadsheets". Print and Culture in the Renaissance (Newark, 1986), p129.
8. R. Scribner, p.299.
9. C.P. Clasen, The Palatinate in European History, 1555-1618, (Oxford, 1966), p.4.
10. I.Laurien, op.cit., p.50.
11. C.P. Clasen, p.5.
12. C.P. Clasen, p.5. My translation.
13. J.W. Zophy, The Holy Roman Empire, A dictionary handbook

(Connecticut, 1980), p.340.

14. B.-M. Baumunk, "Hauptstadt-aber wo liegtsie?", Die Zeit, no. 29, 20 July 1990, p.17.

15. B.-M. Baumunk. op.cit.

16. H.-U.Roller, Der Nurnberger Schembartlauf, (Tubingen, 1965), Roller finds the historical documentation too frail to make assertations about the origins of the Schembartlauf. p.22.

17. H.-U. Roller, p.13.

18. Most recently: Samuel Kinser,"Presentation and Representation: Carnival at Nuremberg, 1450-1550", Representations 13, Winter 1986, pp.1-41. Kinser's intertexual analysis uses texts by two well-known artisan-poets to analyze the "shifts in consciousness" that led to the end of the Schembartlauf.

19. H.-U. Roller, p.125.

20. O. Borst, op.cit., p.110.

21. Gerhard Oestreich, "Die verfassungspolitische Situation der Monarchie in Deutschland vom 16. bis 18. Jahr hundert" cited in I. Laurien, p.52.

22. I. Laurien, p.52.

23. I. Laurien, p.52.

24. I. Laurien, p.52.

25. I. Laurien, p.52.

CHAPTER 5

A Protestant Venus?

In this chapter I will suggest an interpretation for one of the most multi-layered and compelling segments of the book of prints. I have attempted to show that the Wurttemberg court treated politico-religious issues with great caution and reticence. While the festival must have had the aim of bringing together a consensus of the united Protestant rulers, the Wurttemberg court tried to maintain what the historian Walter Grube called a stance of "armed neutrality". The visual medium that left interpretations open was ideally suited to enclose such an ambiguous position within the standard inventive extravagance of representations of courtly magnificence. The multiplicity of symbols and allusions in the graphic representation provided an ideal cover for the inclusion of a tentative political discourse that would only be accessible to a limited audience. The visual medium, I suggest, could be made to carry allusive and elusive polemical material that could not be entrusted to the textual representation.

I want to explore some possible textual and visual sources that may explicate the significance of an enigmatic compilation of classical and historical references which appear to be encoded in a segment of the graphic representation. The commissioned texts do not offer more than

a trite description of the strange amalgam of images presented in the graphic medium. I contend that the compelling visual elements of this section of the engravings invited some contemporaries to "read" a discourse derived from an irenic Rosicrucian parable that was pronounced in a preexisting and allusive visual vocabulary. The visual medium, I suggest, couched references to a stronger international Protestant alliance in a form that was still expedient to promote an image of neutrality for the Wurttemberg court.

Perhaps the most impenetrable images of the engravings series are those portraying the tournament procession by the Wurttemberg duke's privy councillor. This opaque assemblage of images mixes classical and historical elements into a very strange concoction. A dead Hungarian king is shown in a Venetian boat propelled by sea-creatures, followed by perfume-egg throwers with Turkish swords(fig.11). Another sea-float follows with Venus, this Venus, according to the mystifying story in Assum's and Weckherlin's texts, who is also the king's daughter, is preceded by a bound Cupid and is followed by sword-bearing angels and a draped "soul of Cupid"(fig.12). The procession continues with Hungarian soldiers carrying ghoulish trophies: severed Turks' heads impaled on stakes(fig.13). The first soldier carries the head of a Moorish prince impaled on a scimitar (fig.14).

The texts offer a prosaic description of this sequence of the pageantry; the narrative framework offered by the poets tells that the Venus/daughter had fallen in love with the Moorish prince who then was executed by beheading. Weckherlin's text conveys this plot as a scenario of a chivalric romance performed within the tournament pageantry.

What is remarkable about this sequence in the texts and the engravings is that it closely parallels the core of the most well-known Rosicrucian tract: The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreuz.[1] A play within that complex and allusive narrative describes a courtly marriage festival witnessed by the narrator, Rosenkreuz. The wedding play acts as a microcosmic summary of the surfeit of emblematic imagery and events of the total narrative.[2] In this courtly drama interlude of the "Chemical Wedding", an old king receives news of a land devastated by a Moorish king. Only one daughter of the local dynasty survives the assault. This surviving princess who was to marry the old king's son escapes but is lured back by the Moor. The old king and his army free the princess; the king returns her kingdom to her and vows to marry her to his son. The princess behaves badly; once again falls under the sway of the Moor and hands her kingdom to him. The Moor imprisons the princess and another battle with the Moor ensues until she is freed by the king's son. The Moor is beheaded, the bride is freed and sent to the court preacher. The evil court preacher misuses his power and is banished from the kingdom. The story ends with the wedding.

This skeletal summation of the play within the "Chemical Wedding" represents an elaborate allegory that at first parallels Old Testament teachings about the relationship of God to his people. After Satan destroys God's people, God sends his son to free them. The temptation of Satan (the Moor) remains so great that they succumb again. Only through the total annihilation of Satan by the son of God can the church be reestablished. When the Roman church misuses its power it is replaced. Finally the marriage that God desired between the church and Christ can take place in the Reformation.[3]

The faithless Venus/bride of the Rosicrucian story, the poets texts and the engraving can be seen to represent a metaphor for the reformed church. The visual metaphor of Venus as a dangerous temptress relies on a pictorial tradition that was already in use in the pre-Reformation era; in a 1494 woodcut in Sebastian Brant's Narrenschiff Venus subjugates by the power of love.(fig.15). Reformation propaganda re-utilized this familiar rhetoric in attacks on the church of Rome; Cranach, for example, reworked the device of the seductive temptress to illustrate Luther's Bible of 1534 (fig.16). The Roman church is shown as the Babylonian whore who has taken the place of Christ in the church and has made men subservient.

The Venus of the Stuttgart baptism is a "redeemed" version of the "whorish" type; that the redemption of Venus is effected by a Lutheran Reformation (as in the Rosicrucian parable) may be given a visual indicator by the swans who precede her in the artificial water. Swans had been used as an emblematic allusion to Luther since the beginning of the seventeenth century and became a widely used motif in commemorative medals for the Reformation Jubilee of 1617 (fig.17).[4] In the engraving, the "Protestant" Venus is followed by the phallic "Anima Cupidini" whose sleep mirrors the immobilization of the bound cupid. This pictorial denial of sexuality conforms to the Rosicrucian fable in which Cupid represents "creative, natural love (that) is unable to comprehend the (story of Salvation) and remains unmoved by the pains of redemption".[5] The puritanical credo implicit in the Rosicrucian story as a Protestant tract is not only a rejection of the "Babylonian whore" of the Church of Rome, but also speaks to the rejection of the sexual power that Reformation polemic attributed to the Catholic clergy. Religious passions were aroused, according to Robert Scribner's analysis, by what was perceived to be the sexual predatoriness of the priesthood. Scribner locates the perception of excessive powers of the clergy in the rules of sexual conduct that permitted priests behaviour denied to the laity, in the power priests exercised in the confessional in enquiries into sexual sins and in the clergy's role as marriage counsellors and brokers.[6] Against this image of Catholic sexual incontinence the Protestant clergy produced a

"strongly moralised cosmos, in which disorder was seen as the result of human weakness and sinfulness".

In the engraving of the "Protestant" Venus in her redeemed state, she is dressed in English fashion (the fan collar and low-cut bodice are identified as English dress in another engraving in the series representing "English ladies", fig.18). This costume is perhaps meant to pay tribute to Elizabeth Stuart "the chiefe cause of the shews" as the heir to Elizabeth I, the "Virgin Queen" and defender of the Protestant church. Frances Yates' study of the Elizabethan cult examined how the Petrarcan theme of the "Triumph of Chastity" was exploited as an anti-papal symbol. Yates suggests that:

> "if we follow the relentless argument of the Elizabeth symbolism to its logical conclusion, we may begin to see this Chaste Lady as a Pure Church, the opposite of an unreformed Whore of Babylon".

It is unfortunate that Frances Yates was not familiar with the Stuttgart baptism engravings where this theme is apparently picked up. In Yates' The Rosicrucian Enlightenment her reading of the "Chemical Wedding" does not touch on the Reformation allegory of the tract; in her analysis: "The main events in the 'Wedding' evidently reflect or in some way refer to ceremonies and rituals connected with the orders of chivalry."[8]

For Yates the courtly content of the Rosicrucian parable is pre-eminent; her suggestion that the courtly architecture and

ceremonial of the story show the influence of English culture on the Wurttemberg author Andreae is too tenuous. In Yates Anglocentric analysis, it is Andreae's supposed attendance at the Friedrich I Garter induction ceremony presided over by an English embassy in Wurrtemberg and the possibility of Andreae's familiarity with what she termed as the "Jacobean" renaissance at the Heidelberg court that inspire the settings of the "Chemical Wedding".[9] (Even Yates has to cast doubt on the location of the castle of the story in Heidelberg because the fictitious one is on a sea-shore - the sea-motif of the Stuttgart pageant vehicles also alludes to a seaside setting). The English costume of the redeemed Venus of the engraving may have offered corroboration for Yates' ruminations about English allusions in the Rosicrucian tract.[10] The Reformation allegory of the play ,however, eluded her analysis and she interpreted the text as an impenetrable chivalric-alchemical tale whose origins were thoroughly English. Yates' reads the "microcosmic" play within the fable as an "extremely simple plot about a king, a Moor, and a princess", punctuated by Biblical emblems.

Studies of the "Chemical Wedding" that came after Yates" <u>The Rosicrucian Enlightenment</u> (1972) put forward the Biblical and Reformation allegory as the interpretive key.[12] The German historian Richard van Dulmen locates the work firmly on German soil; he characterizes Rosicrucianism as a particular early seventeenth century reaction of a group of Lutheran

Wurttemberg scholars to the crises they perceived in the state regimentation of the church, in the dangers posed by Roman Catholicism on the political front and in the secularization of scientific knowledge outside the institutions of learning which challenged the scholastic rigidity of schools and universities. The deliberately mystifying and enigmatic texts promoted an egalitarian Christian society where the growth of secular learning would be coupled with an internalized pietistic practice. The utility of this Utopian subtext of the Rosicrucian texts for the Stuttgart festival is that it developed a religious- philosophical position that stood outside the doctrinal disputes the territorial church was engaged in with Catholics and Calvinists.[13]

While Wurttemberg Rosicrucianism reflects disenchantment with the results of the century-old Reformation as expressed by a group of "bourgeois" scholars, it is interesting to note that the proposed reforms still mirror Luther's ideas about the separateness of the sacred and secular spheres. In the desired "second Reformation", the worldly order would be left intact: neither church, nor state, nor the estate hierarchy, nor the political constitution were called into question.[14] While Andreae sought for change, this change would only be sought for in a Christianization of learning and morality.[15] The Rosicrucian calls for a pietistic revival in Wurttemberg did not play a major role in the parliamentary opposition to absolutist rule, in contrast with Puritanism, the English

seventeenth-century version of pietism, as Mary Fulbrook's comparative study has shown. In her Piety and Politics, Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Wurttemberg, and Prussia (1983), she examined how the pietist afterlife of Andreae's Rosicrucian pamphlets came to be incorporated and tolerated within the Wurttemberg territorial church.[16]

In the 1616 festival the Rosicrucian narrative base cannot be read as an incorporation of an oppositional discourse. The irenic Protestant framework of the Rosicrucian texts may have spoken to the Wurttemberg estates concept of the ducal role which understood the legitimacy of the ruler not in his godlike qualities, but rather in his Christian virtue and defense of the true faith. Perhaps the Rosicrucian parable with its allusions to Christian virtue may have acted as a response to the picture of the Christian patriarch that the still influential Wurttemberg estates held up in their opposition to lavish ducal self-representation.

The issue of the defense of the true faith that the allegory of the redeemed Venus and the beheaded Moor introduces is further overlaid with imagery that does not occur in the Rosicrucian parable but which is also based in the confessional conflict. The baffling blend of Hungarians, Turks, a Venetian boat and the English-dressed Venus, I suggest, contain a polemical intent behind a veneer of courtly exoticism. These are not random choices of accompaniment for

an allegorical Reformed church. The Venetian boat and the Hungarian king are in the same metaphorical boat as the English Venus. The anti-papal Venetian republic and the Calvinism of the eastern reaches of the Habsburg empire are alluded to as allies of the Protestant cause in the Hungarian identity of the king in the gondola. The texts place the Hungarian rescue of the Venus into a foggy historical past that disguises any contemporary import to their presence. The Hungarian soldiers carry the Moor's head of the Rosicrucian fable but also carry the impaled heads of twelve Turks. The ghoulish trophies the Hungarians are carrying are unlike any anti-Turkish propaganda images current at the time. Rudolf II had extensively exploited the theme of victory over the Turks for personal propaganda of his role as Hungarian king but the many paintings and tapestries commissioned for his private rooms and the medals he had made utilized a bland imagery of captured Turkish weapons and artifacts.[17] A richly illustrated Hungarian art historical monograph entitled "Let us gird ourselves with the sword against the heathen" analyses anti-Turkish imagery current in sixteenth and seventeenth century Central Europe; it offers no models for the gruesome trophies portrayed in the Stuttgart festival.[18] Only broadsheets with an anti-Turkish theme made use of images of impaling - and then it is the Turks who are the impalers (fig.19). The gory impaled heads of the Stuttgart festival may be connected to earlier pamphlet imagery of the Dracula story. The dreadful deeds of Vlad the Impaler were among the

most popular broadsheet woodcuts in circulation in fifteenth century Germany (fig.20).[19] The Hungarian impalers of the Stuttgart festival may, by making a pictorial association with Transylvania and its gruesome history, be referring to a more contemporary concern. The Hungarian kingdom of the early seventeenth century was no longer sovereign and united. It consisted of three parts; the Turkish occupied area, the Habsburg ruled area and a third area ruled by a Turkish vassal, Bethlen Gabor.[20] The Habsburg area, which was almost entirely Protestant was a centre of conflict with the emperor in the first decade of the seventeenth century.[21] But it was the Transylvanian ruler, the Calvinist Turkish vassal, who was the most important Hungarian figure in the pre-war years because he promised to advance the Calvinist cause.[22] In the face of English and Netherlandish reluctance, as the historian van Schelven has pointed out, Bethlen Gabor offered a great and final hope to mobilize a pan-European Protestant alliance; even if his later politics did not consistently conform to his religious orientation. The strange phenomenon of a Calvinist ally who is also a Turkish vassal led van Schelven to question how such a ruler could have had enough prestige to even be considered as a catalyst to unify all Protestant Europe. The hopes Bethlen Gabor embodied were brought to the fore as other efforts to unify against the Catholic axis met with failure.

Perhaps this strange ally of the Palatinate cause is given credibility in the engravings via the gory heads of vanquished

Turks which serve to deny his status as liege subject of the Sultan. By utilizing the images of impaled heads Bethlen Gabor's Transylvanian heritage is recalled and the famous cruelty of Dracula becomes a positive attribute of an ally.

The notion of a Hungarian ally to the Protestant cause is not mentioned in the commissioned texts. The poets' commentaries do not go beyond what is represented; instead, the allegorical narratives are removed into a courtly nether world of heroic actions by historical and mythological figures. The engravings are released into a separate field of action where contemporary political and religious allusions are there to be read. These readings are, however, detached from court authorship; the "readability" of the symbolic commentary of the graphic work is accessible to those close to the "author", the Wurttemberg court, but this author had abdicated a role as interpreter of the imagery and any direct polemical intent was subsumed by grandeur and innovation in the form and wealth of the representation.

By maintaining an allegorical tone the festival representations avoided conflict-ridden issues of religion and alliance that might have fueled further dissent both within and outside the territory while allowing the graphic representation to disseminate an ambiguous bundle of allusions for the Protestant Union to rally around. The equivocal visual language of the Venus narrative was utilized, I

suggest, to allude to the hopes of a Protestant renewal without naming any dangerous and rebellious alliances that might have brought it about.

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1. Joh. Valentin Andreae, Fama Fraternitas (1614), Confessio Fraternitatis (1615), Chymische Hochzeit. Christiani Rosencreutz, Anno 1459 (1616), edited by Richard van Dulmen (Stuttgart, 1973). The text of the "Chemical Wedding" was written in 1605 or 1606 and published in 1616 in Strasbourg, p.9.

2. J.W. Montgomery, Cross and Crucible, Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654) Phoenix of the theologians (The Haque, 1973), p.276.

3. Montgomery, also R. van Dulmen, Die Utopie einer christlichen gesellschaft, Teill (Stuttgart, 1978), offer this reading of the Reformation allegory.

4. R.W. Scribner, Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany (London, 1987), pp.342-344.

5. J.W. Montgomery, op,cit., p.411.

6. R.W. Scribner, op.cit., pp.246-250.

7. Frances Yates, Astraea, The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (Penguin, 1977), p.114.

8. F. Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, op.cit., p.68.

9. F. Yates, op.cit., p.68.

10. F. Yates, op.cit., p.67.

11. F. Yates, op.cit., p.63.

12. J.W. Montgomery, also R. van Dulmen, see notes 2 and 3.

13. R. van Dulmen, op. cit., p.47.

14. R. van Dulmen, op. cit., p.203.

15. R. van Dulmen, op. cit., p.203.

16. Mary Fulbrook, Piety and Politics (Cambridge, 1983).

17. Karl Vocelka, Habsburgische Hochzeiten 1550-1600 (Vienna, 1976).

18. Galavics Geza, Kossunk Kardot Az Pogany Ellen (Budapest, 1986).

19. Grigor Nadris, "A Fantastic Attempt of Dracula to Conquer England" Comparative Literature Studies (3), 1966, p. 374, Also:

    Dieter Harmening, Der Anfang von Dracula, Zur Geschichte von Geschichten (Wurzburg, 1983).

20. Galavics Geza, op.cit., p.161.

21. Kalman Benda, "Le Droit de Resistance de la Bulle d'Or hongroise et le calvinisme" in Noblesse francaise Noblesse hongroise, Bela Kopeci and Eva H. Balazs, eds. (Budapest/Paris, 1981).

22. A.A. van Schelven, "Der Generalstab des politischen Calvinismus in Zentral-europa zu Beginn des Dreissigjahrigen Krieges", Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte 35-36, 1938-1939, pp.117-141.

CONCLUSION

In the highly politicized culture of the early modern period, artistic production set in motion in an unprecedented manner the accumulation of power by the court. The festival with its extravagant use of all cultural forms was perhaps the consummate means by which an early absolutist court could not only represent but also formulate its authority. The baptism festival presents an interesting case study of the use of this cultural strategy by a secondary German territorial court. Conversance with the international repertoire of courtly magnificence enabled a cultural display designed to advertise and implement the accretion of power by the minor court on the local, national and international level. The multi-level rank explicating function of the festival was programmatically heightened by its translation into a visual medium. Via the extensive use of the print medium the secondary court could release the effects of the event from the domination of the immediate and the local.

In addition to social status explicating functions, the visual medium extended the conventional use of the festival as an instrument to encounter political crisis. The representation of the courtly spectacle disseminated a show of strength that masked a less than perfect Protestant alliance at a time of impending confessional conflict. Some of the most

eye-catching images, as I have suggested, allude to the considerable instabilities brought about by the politico-religious crisis. In the engravings the hopes and fears raised by a potentially rebellious alliance could be transmitted in a symbolic form that differentially addressed the local and international spheres of action. Mediated by the hierarchically defined language of courtly glorification, the contentious issues of a dangerous Protestant alliance were visually expounded and in a sense overcome by a show of virtuosity and invention. The difficulties presented by joining a potential rebellion were sublimated in a confident representation of courtly elevation and elegance that precluded coarse polemical content.

If the problems faced by the Wurttemberg court in joining the Protestant Union would have been more directly addressed, perhaps the Palatinate ruler would not have taken the dangerous step of accepting the Bohemian crown in 1619. The Palatinates must have had an inflated sense of Protestant solidarity when Frederick V precipitated an empire-wide armed conflict when he took the side of the Bohemian rebels. Neither the Protestant Union nor the English king came to his aid when he was expelled by Catholic forces; Duke Johann Friedrich tried to declare neutrality but Wurttemberg was soon overrun by imperial troops. The population of Wurttemberg that had numbered 450,000 at the beginning of the century was reduced to 90,000 by the end of the Thirty Years War.

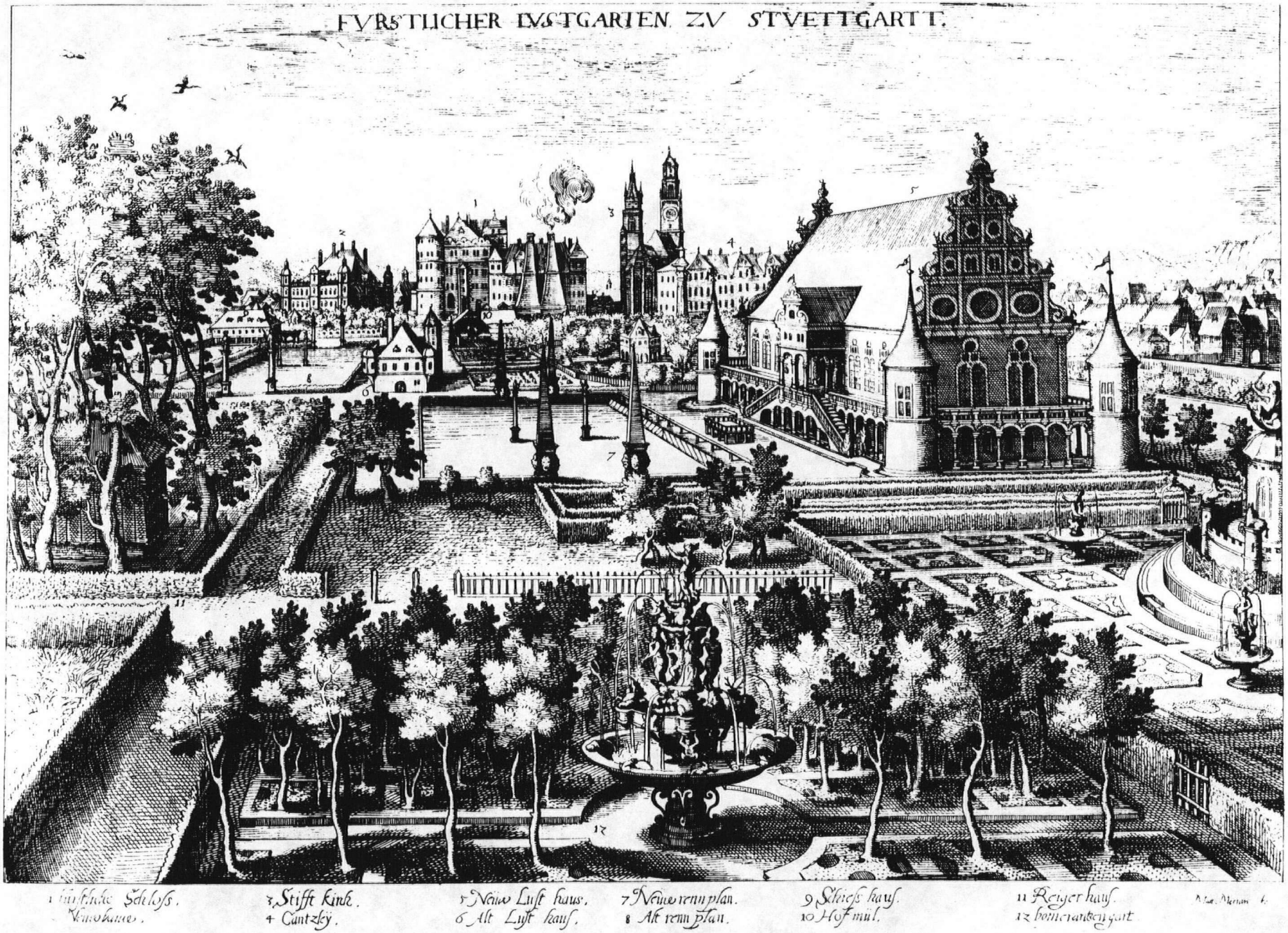

Figure 1. Stuttgart Lustgarten; Stuttgart, engraving. Signed M. Merian.

CONTRAFACTVR DES KVNSTLICHEN FEVRWERCKS SO BEY DES NEVGEBORNEN IVNGEN PRINTZEN FRIDERICHEN HERTZOG ZV WVRTEMBERG & KINDTAVFFEN ZV STVETGART IM LVSTGARTEN DEN 17 MARTI ANNO 1616 GEWORFFEN WORDEN

Figure 2. Fireworks; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

Figure 3. Kubelstechen; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

Figure 4. Headballet; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

Figure 5. Arcimboldesques:
a. Hunter, Saxony, 1576, etching. Heinrich Goding.
b. Terra, Munich, 1590's, etching. Unknown master.

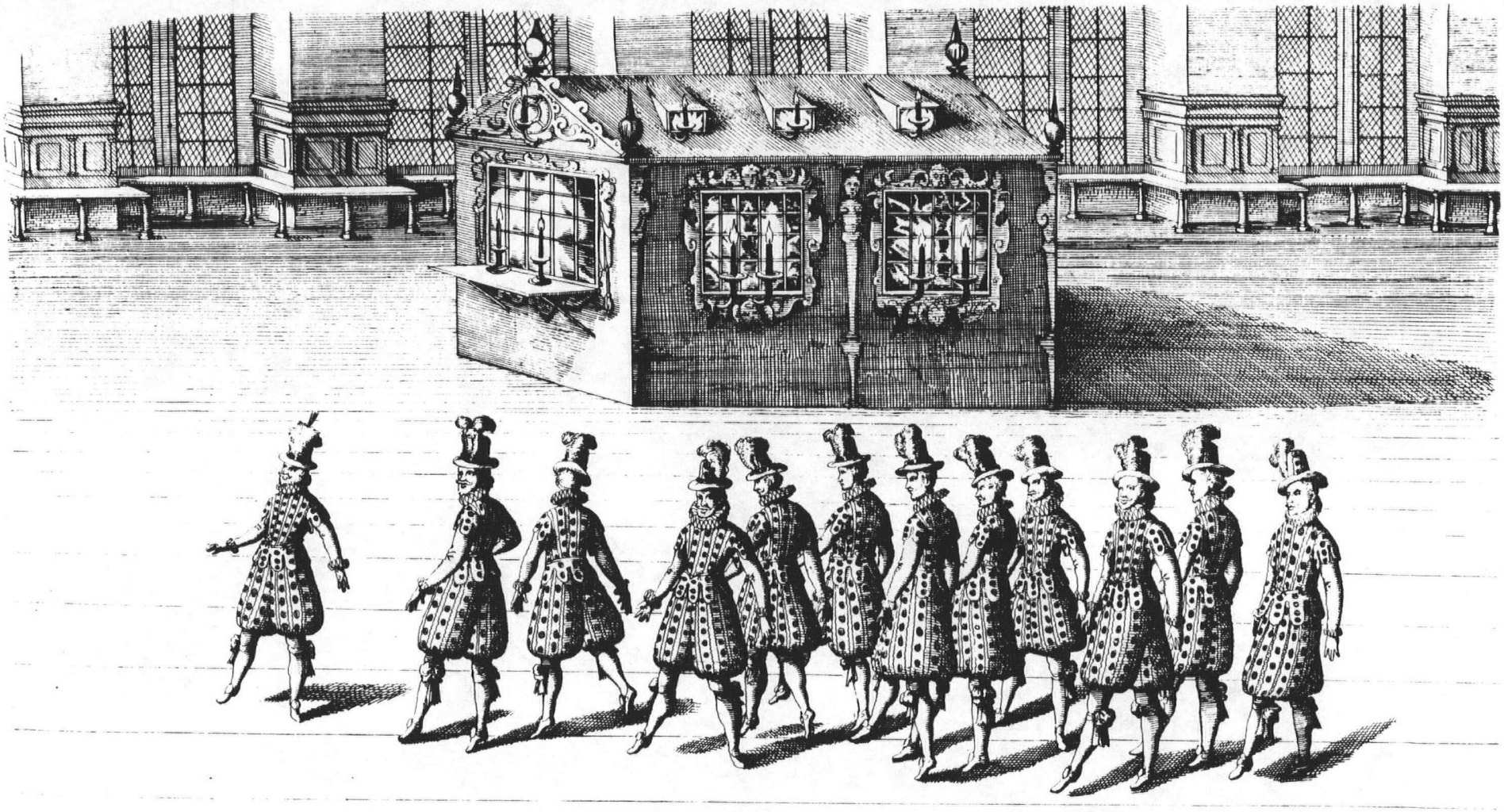

Figure 6. Mirror-maker Ballet; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

Figure 7. Germania and her circles; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

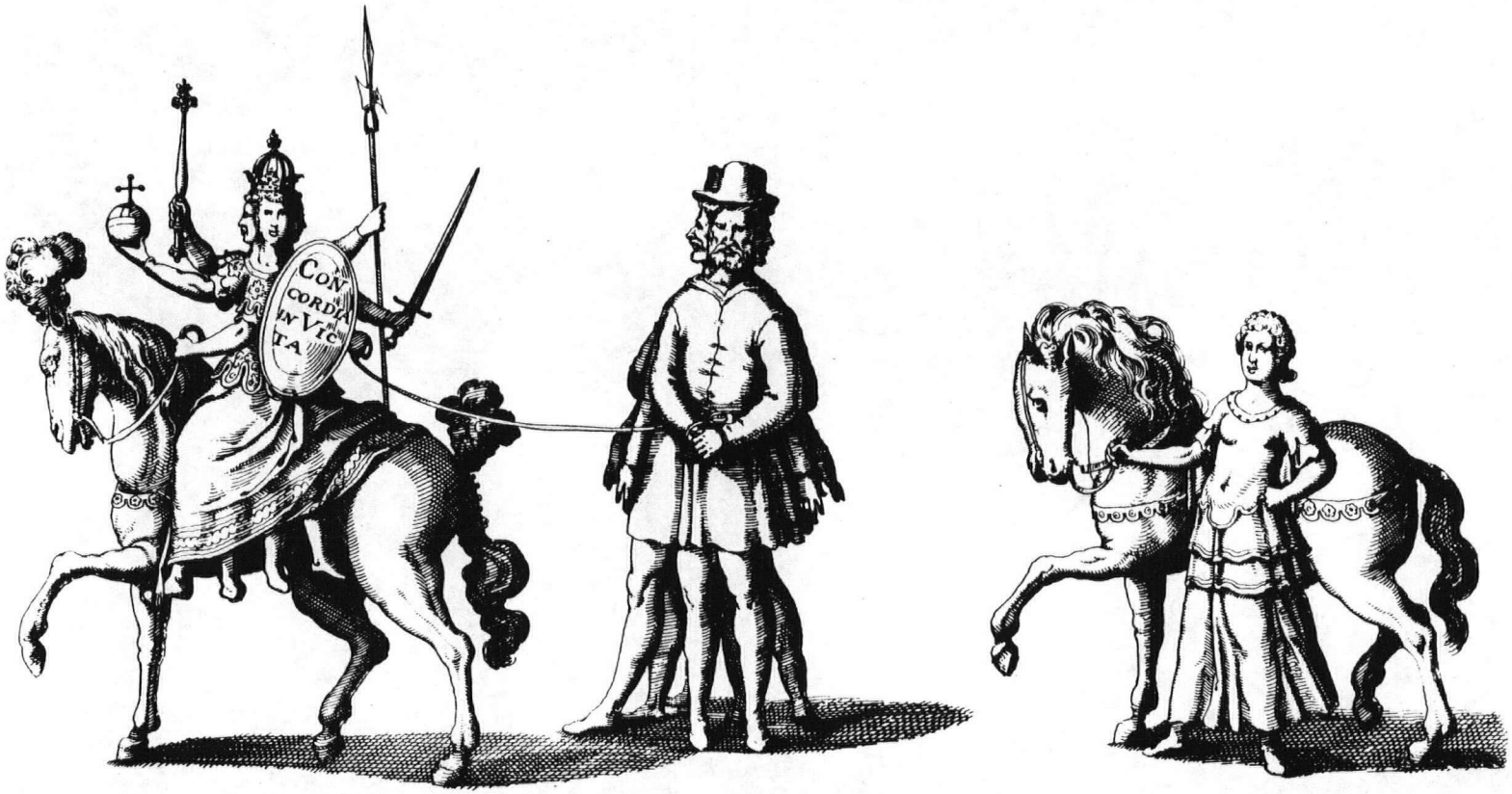

Figure 8. Concord and Discord; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

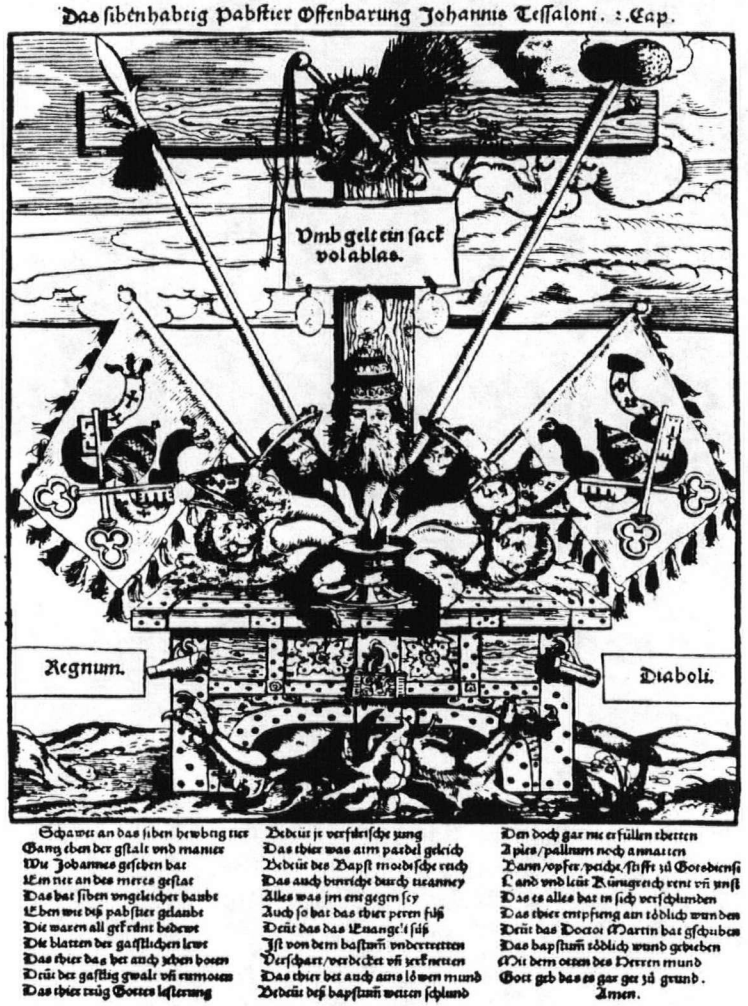

Figure 9. Many-headed monsters:
a. Seven-headed papal beast; c. 1530, woodcut.
b. Satire on the Catholic clergy; 1556, trick woodcut.

Figure 10. Schembart mirror costume, manuscript illustration.

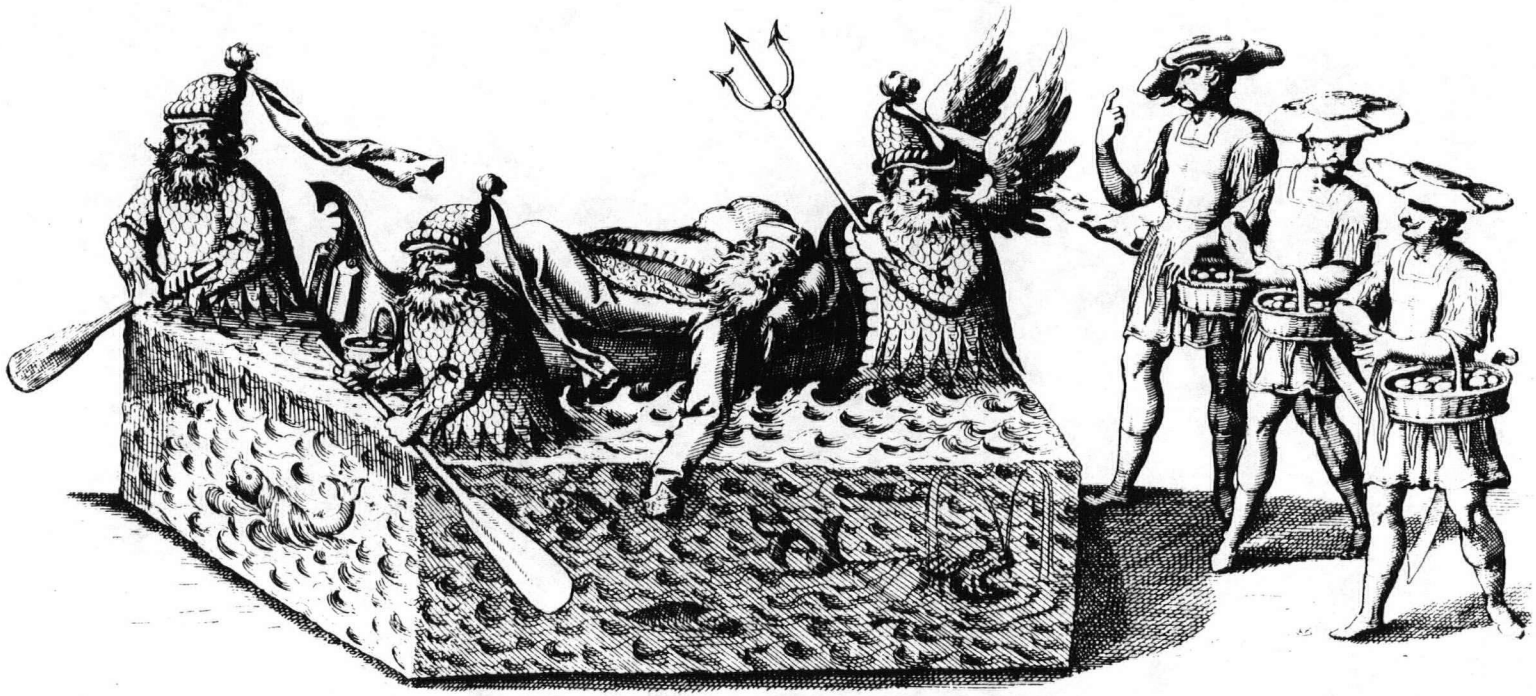

Figure 11. Hungarian King; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

Figure 12. Venus and Cupid; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

Figure 13. Turkish Trophies; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

Figure 14. Hungarians with Moor's head and Turks' heads; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

Figure 15. Venus; Sebastian Brant's Ship of Fools, 1494, woodcut.

Figure 16. The Babylonian Whore; Luther Bible 1534.

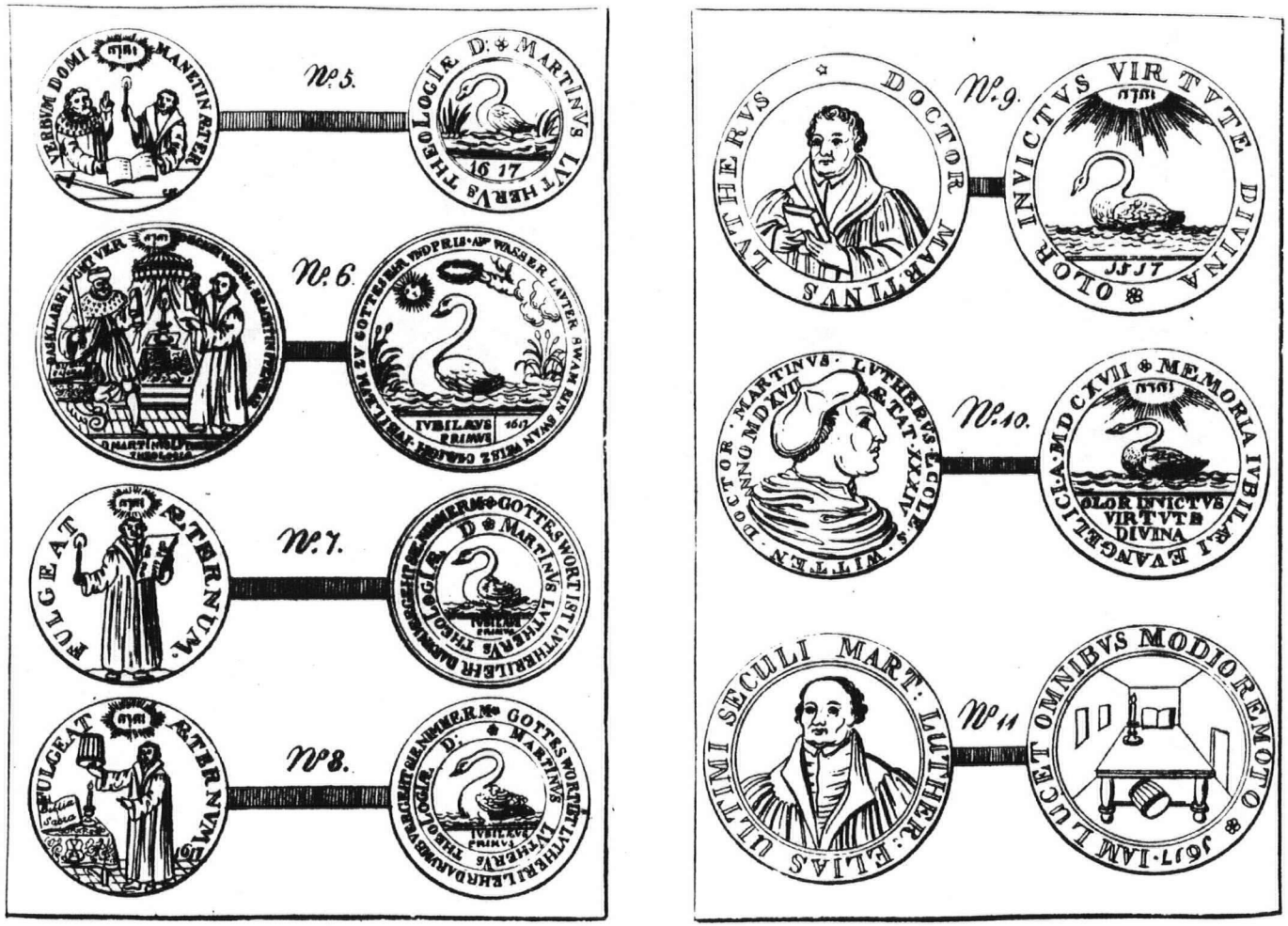

Figure 17. Commemorative medals for Reformation Jubilee of 1617.

Figure 18. English Ladies; Stuttgart, 1616, engraving.

Figure 19. Turkish soldier with captive peasants; first half of 16th c., woodcut.

Figure 20. Dracula; Strasbourg, 1499, woodcut.

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