EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I AND THE AGE OF DÜRER


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·IVSTICIA·
·TEMPERANCIA·
·FORTITVDO·
LIBERALITAS
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VERITAS
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GERMANIAE
GALLORVM
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GLORIA·CAESARIS
DIGNITAS

1518.


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PER SEVER ANTIA
FIDENTIA
MAGNIFICENTIA
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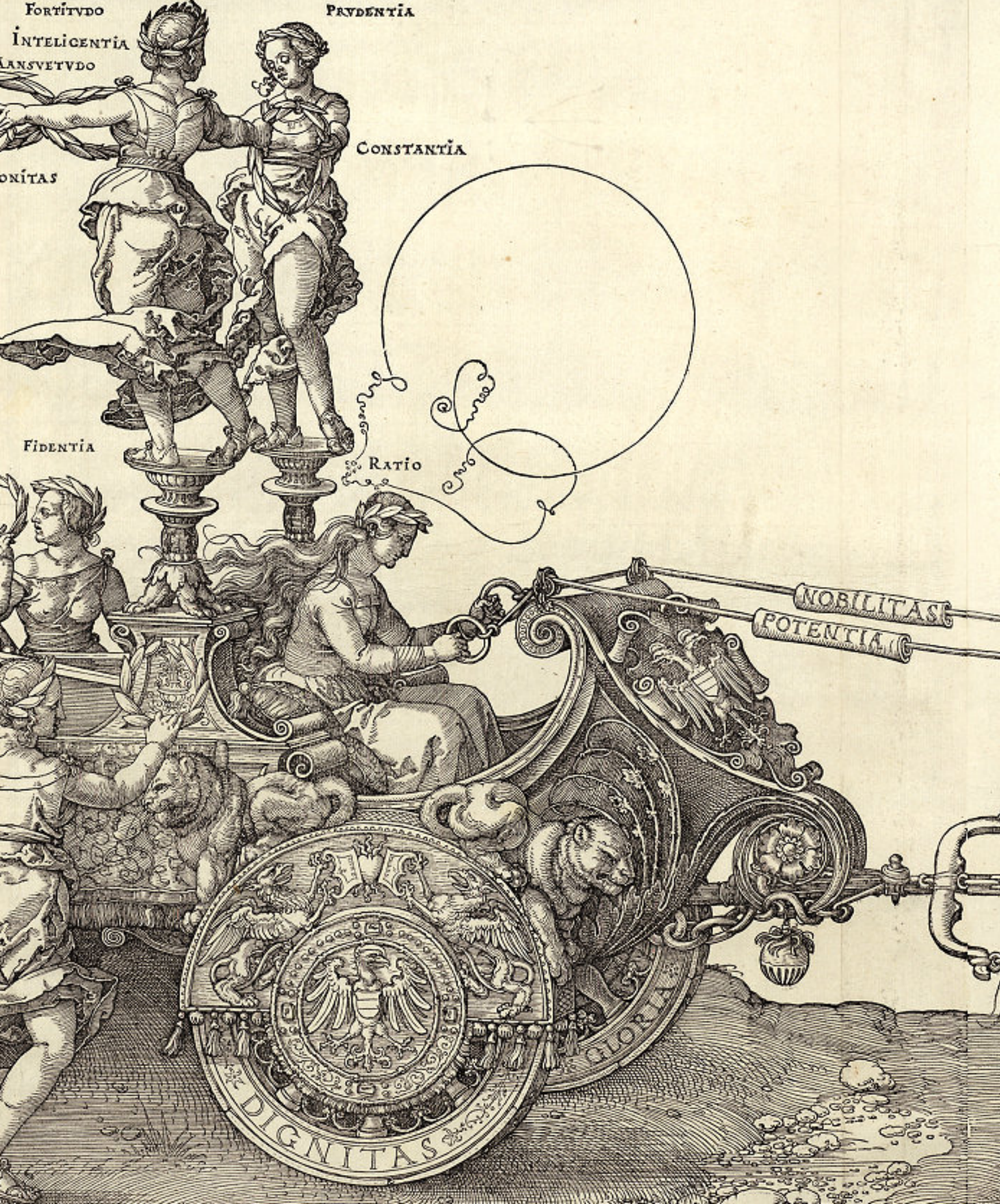
Fortitvdo
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Constantia
onitas
Fidentia
Ratio
Nobilitas
Potentia
Dignitas
Gloria

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Klaus Albrecht Schröder

Over half a century has passed since the last exhibition on Emperor Maximilian I in Vienna: On the 500th anniversary of his birth, in 1959, the Albertina mounted the largest show ever held on Maximilian, in cooperation with the Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Since then not only have crucial historical works been published—most notably the five-volume biography by Hermann Wiesflecker—but the in last few years in particular numerous art historical studies have also appeared on the imperial commissions, the artists in Maximilian's circle, and his virtually modern propagandistic use of the medium of woodcut. There is scarcely anywhere more predestined to mount an exhibition on Maximilian I than the Albertina, with its rich and important holdings particularly in early sixteenth-century German art. After a series of monographic presentations of the Albertina's central holdings over the past ten years, including those devoted to Albrecht Dürer (2003), Rembrandt (2004), Peter Paul Rubens (2004), Rudolf von Alt (2005), Egon Schiele (2006), and Gustav Klimt (2012), the Albertina's exhibition dedicated to a historical figure might seem to enter uncharted territory; but in fact many of the most important works created for imperial propaganda and *memoria* can be found in our collections. It is also a striking peculiarity of history that it was not Maximilian I, the world's most powerful monarch at the time, but rather one of the artists in his employ whose name came to stand for an entire epoch: the Age of Dürer. In this exhibition the Albertina presents numerous works by Albrecht Dürer together with other exceptional imperial commissions from its own collection, complemented by exclusive loans from international museums.

Mathias F. Müller—who had extensively studied one of the emperor's greatest commissions, the *Triumphal Procession* miniatures—was the first to seriously consider an exhibition on Maximilian I. The more immediate motivation for this exhibition was one of the most comprehensive conservation projects ever undertaken by the Albertina: the conservation treatment, between 2009 and 2012, of the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I* by Albrecht Altdorfer and his workshop, among the greatest treasures of the Albertina's holdings. The frieze of images, originally over a hundred meters long, with representations of the most important persons and events in the emperor's life, has not been exhibited since 1959 and is thus known only to scholars. Its meticulous conservation now complete, the *Triumphal Procession* forms the focus of our show and, thanks to a special exhibition architecture, can be shown for the first time ever as a continuous pictorial frieze. As the work approaches the 500th anniversary of its execution in 2012–13, it is a special pleasure for us to be able to exhibit this important commission by Emperor Maximilian once again after such a long time. Because of the work's fragility executed with pen in gouache on parchment, they can be displayed only very seldom. The exhibition offers an exceptionally rare opportunity to rediscover this outstanding artwork.

An exhibition of this ambition is only possible through the collaboration of numerous colleagues and the generous cooperation of other museums and collections. I would thus like to express my gratitude first to our lenders, who have entrusted their precious works to us for the duration of the exhibition. In addition to prominent key works these also include new discoveries, presented for the first time in the context of Maximilian's art.

Nor could a project of this magnitude be realized without the financial support of our generous patrons and sponsors. My particular gratitude is owed to the partners of the Albertina, SIGNA Holding and SUPERFUND, the exhibition's sponsor Raiffeisen Zentralbank Österreich AG as well as all the private sponsors who have made possible such a lavish presentation of the *Triumphal Procession*.

My warmest gratitude goes to the curators Maria Luise Sternath and Eva Michel for the conception and coordination of both the exhibition and the catalog. Thomas Schauerte of the Museen der Stadt Nürnberg and director of the Dürer Haus, a renowned expert on Maximilian I and Albrecht Dürer, provided advice in developing the exhibition's concept and in selecting the works. It is also my pleasure to thank all the catalog authors, in particular for the essays by Manfred Hollegger, Eva Michel, Friedrich Polleroß, Thomas Schauerte, Andrea Scheichl, Manfred Schreiner, Larry Silver, Werner Telesko, and Elisabeth Thobois. The editing, translations, and production of the catalog were expertly carried out by Prestel Verlag. My special thanks go to Gabriele Ebbecke, Sophie Reinhardt, Brigitte Beier, Cynthia Hall, and Margarethe Hausstätter as well as to Katharina Haderer, Sabine Gottswinter, and Eva Dotterweich. I would also like to thank Ingo Sandner and Michael Hofbauer for the completion and assessment of the infrared reflectograms of the *Triumphal Chariot* as well as Manfred Schreiner and his team for the scientific investigation of the *Triumphal Procession* miniatures and the Graz *Death Portrait* of Emperor Maximilian. Michael Kohlbauer and his assistant Florian Bartelsen were responsible for the complex architecture of the exhibition; my sincere gratitude to them for the pleasant and constructive collaboration.

And finally my thanks are due not least to all the colleagues and coworkers at the Albertina for their great personal dedication in realizing this exhibition, of such great significance to the museum, especially the department of conservation under the direction of Elisabeth Thobois and her colleagues Karine Bovagnet, Ina Jochumsen, and Hannah Singer. Bettina Dräxler, Melanie Nief, Karin Steiner, and Catherine Bouvier (documentation) carried out the conservation treatment of the *Triumphal Procession* miniatures. Framing was entrusted to the skilled hands of Ulrike Ertl, Gerhard Forster, and Christian Kolbinger. Margarete Heck admirably managed the loans and the organization of the exhibition. And finally, I would like to thank our photographers Peter Ertl and Caroline Heider, the departments of museum education and public relations, Barbara Dossi and her team, and the many other colleagues behind the scenes who have contributed to the success of this exhibition.

PREFACE

Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath

Maximilian I (1459–1519) is among the most fascinating and multi-faceted figures in history, and it is scarcely possible to overestimate his historical significance: born in Wiener Neustadt as the son of Emperor Frederick III—the first Habsburg on the imperial throne—and his wife Eleanor of Portugal, Maximilian stepped onto the stage of European politics already as a young archduke with his marriage to Mary of Burgundy. Together with his father Frederick he succeeded in consolidating the splintered sub-domains of the Habsburg realm and after Mary's early death was able to retain at least portions of Burgundy against France's rival claims. In 1486 Maximilian was elected King of the Holy Roman Empire; since an official imperial coronation by the pope was denied Maximilian for the length of his life, in 1508 he proclaimed himself "elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire." The figure of Maximilian is inseparably connected with the expansion of the Habsburg sphere of influence in the Netherlands and even to Spain as well as into Bohemia and Hungary—less through war than through the skillful arranging of his children's and grandchildren's marriages, later giving rise to the catchphrase, "Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube" (Let others wage war, but thou, O happy Austria, marry). Maximilian's grandson would expand the Holy Roman Empire to include territories in South America and thus rule over an empire over which "the sun never set." When Emperor Maximilian died on 12 January 1519 in Wels, the Habsburgs had become one of the greatest powers in Europe, a dynasty that lasted until 1918.

Commonly known as the "Last Knight" and as the donor of Innsbruck's landmark, the Goldenes Dachl, Maximilian erected an absolutely unique monument in Innsbruck's Hofkirche: his cenotaph, with its twenty-eight over-life-sized bronze figures, the "Schwarze Mandern." Despite his notorious shortage of money he continuously invested in his *gedechtnus* already during his lifetime: his concern for posterity's memory of his life and works dominated Maximilian's entire thinking, as expressed by the White King, i.e. Maximilian, in his autobiographical work *Weisskunig* (White king), "He who fails to create his *gedechtnus* during his lifetime will have none after his death and will be forgotten with the tolling of the last bell. Therefore the money that I spend on my *gedechtnus* will not be lost." One could rephrase this to say that all investments that served the perpetuation of his memory were justifiable. It would thus be a misunderstanding to speak of Maximilian as a "patron of the arts." All of his commissioned works pursue genealogical, heraldic, or historiographic goals and aimed above all at establishing the remembrance of his person and his family for the future and even for all eternity. To this end Maximilian commissioned the best artists of his day, led by none other than Albrecht Dürer. The fact that in addition to Nuremburg's famous son a mediocre artist (from present-day perspective) such as Innsbruck's Jörg Kolderer also worked at the imperial court is evidence of Maximilian's approach to art often being more "pragmatic" than based on aesthetic criteria. Not everything he commissioned is thus high art. At times complex material could even be conveyed with simple images, achieving their unforgettable effect in combination with texts composed by Maximilian himself.

Even if many of Maximilian's ambitious plans remained unfinished, this merely attests to the monarch's unshakeable trust in his progeny to see to his projects' completion. Reciprocally, the family trees he commissioned, with their fictive antique and Biblical roots and the genealogical research he commissioned were intended to prove the extremely old and illustrious pedigree of

the House of Habsburg in order to give it legitimacy as ruler over the Holy Roman Empire over and against competing noble houses.

Time and time again connections to antiquity played an important role for Maximilian, who, as ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, saw himself as the legitimate successor to the rulers of antiquity. One example of this is the heart of our exhibition, the *Triumphal Procession*, which draws upon one of the most important antique forms of acclamation and its adoption in the Italian Renaissance, but which both formally and in terms of content is based much more on indigenous festival culture and the tradition of ceremonial entrances by rulers. The *Triumphal Procession*, which never took place in actual fact, appears like a festive procession of lansquenets and knights, relocated into the present. Strictly speaking, Maximilian's romantic sobriquet "the Last Knight" is thus misplaced, for his self-image as sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece and the Order of St. George as well as campaigner for a crusade to free Jerusalem from the Turks were less backward-looking flights of fancy than political necessities resulting from actual threats. The figure of his patron saint, St. George, reflects the knightly virtues that also played a great role for Maximilian himself. His personal intervention in dangerous situations of all sorts is the stuff of legends, reflected as well in his personal motto "Per tot discrimina rerum" (Through so many dangers). Maximilian even contemplated becoming pope in order to unite all temporal and spiritual powers in himself as the highest-ranking monarch in Christendom.

Maximilian I was a master of an almost modern style of self-staging, and was the first ruler to deploy the innovative technical possibilities of the woodcut medium deliberately for his own purposes. All of his autobiographical book projects, *Freydal*, *Theuerdank*, and *Weisskunig*, are illustrated with woodcuts; the monumental *Arch of Honor* is the largest multi-sheet woodcut of the Age of Dürer. The *Triumphal Procession* was also reproduced as a woodcut in order to reach a larger public. The most important artists of the time designed the prints, the greatest besides Albrecht Dürer being Augsburg's Hans Burgkmair the Elder. It was not economic reasons that induced Maximilian to use the medium of paper, which only seemed inexpensive; rather, he recognized the innovative possibilities of printing: its almost endless reproducibility and the ease of transporting paper. The emperor himself always took a lively interest in the realization of his commissions, specified ideas to the artists in writing, and frequently had the works presented to him for inspection. In this way he was able to develop a kind of "trademark" already during his lifetime and disseminate it widely in a variety of media.

Many of these works have been gathered together in this exhibition and catalog. They confirm Maximilian's prognosis that money invested in his *gedechtnus* was not misspent. It is precisely the great visual power of his commissions that has insured that even today Emperor Maximilian I is not forgotten.

Essays

PERSONALITY AND REIGN
THE BIOGRAPHY OF EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I

Manfred Hollegger

Maximilian I (1459–1519; fig. 1)[1] was a complex, in some respects even contradictory personality whose character was colorfully inflated by court historians and image cultivation alike. From his contemporaries to the historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is apparent just how differently he and his reign can be assessed.[2] Was he engaging in a denial of reality as he worked on his Latin autobiography while crossing Lake Constance in 1499, in the middle of the Swiss War;[3] as he spoke of the wonderful order of the stars[4] and, following a series of devastating military defeats against the Swiss Confederacy, unapologetically celebrated a courtly feast in honor of the river Danube at its source;[5] or was it rather a matter of coming to terms with reality in keeping with the motto "Good fortune lies in forgetting what cannot be changed" (Rerum irrecuperabilium felix oblivio), which his father Emperor Frederick III recorded in his notebook?[6] The solution may lie in the answer which he gave Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg in 1503 in reply to his question regarding his adversaries and those who held a grudge against him: "I would long ago have had my fill if I had accepted such things at all times or allowed them to affect me" (Ich wer langst ful, wann ich mich solcher sachen allzit angenommen oder zu hertzen gon lassen).[7] He could thus apparently distinguish without difficulty between personal piety and the politics of the Church, and support Humanism without giving up his own penchant for German heroic poetry and tales of courtly chivalry. In his everyday life at court he largely dispensed with ceremonial and representation,[8] while on official and political occasions he made use of the symbols of power and the power of symbols both in his appearance and his clothing. He occupied an elevated throne, attended by imperial High Officers; wore royal or imperial regalia or other precious robes and ceremonial armor;[9] displayed his gold and silver tableware; gave banquets; staged ceremonial hunts, tournaments, feasts with dancing, and masquerades; and showed off his artillery park in Innsbruck as well as his salt works and his mint in Hall in Tyrol.[10] He loved to dine to the accompaniment of music, assuming the role of master of ceremonies and staging grand performances in public, literally with drums beating and trumpets sounding, with the sound of the organ filling the room, the singing of his court choir, or with drummers and pipes during his military parades, which he mostly led personally with the pike of a lansquenet on his shoulder.

Fiction and reality, stagecraft and unvarnished truth were the devices which Maximilian I frequently used, both on the political stage in order to hide his true intentions and plans for as long as possible, and in his "marketing," his self-display.[11] It is expressed in the courtly portraits and in the illustrated stories of *Weisskunig*, *Theuerdank,* and *Freydal* as well as in the *Ehrenpforte* (*Arch of Honor*), the *Triumphzug* (*Triumphal Procession*), and in the plans for his tomb.[12] The latter was erected over sixty years after his death in the Hofkirche (Court Church) in Innsbruck and is considerably smaller than he had planned, but it still breathes the spirit of a man who had the motto "Be moderate" (Tene mensuram: the motto of the Order of Moderation[13] founded by his father Frederick III) engraved around his coins, but who had little sense of proportion, so that many of his political and artistic schemes reveal a tendency towards megalomania. He stated personally that he had no desire to be a king with immense wealth, but that in the interests of honor and posthumous reputation he preferred to be known for his warlike rule. Those who did not create a "*gedechtnus*" (memory)[14] of themselves during their life would be forgotten when the

ALBRECHT DÜRER
Emperor Maximilian I, 1518
Cat. 75 (detail)

1
ANONYMOUS
In High Society (group portrait of fifteen European rulers playing the card game "Flüsslis")
Woodcut, colored with the aid of a stencil, 38.5 × 29.4 cm
Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Kantons-, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Inv. PAS II 24/14

final bell tolled. He wanted to be remembered as the greatest emperor since Charlemagne, as the "great huntsman" (groß waidmann), as Maximilian calls himself in his book of hunting; as the brilliant and wise king, or "Weisskunig"; as the lofty-minded one, the "Theuerdank"; and as the youthful and joyful white knight, the "Freydal" (see cat. nos. 74, 73, 72). At the same time he was able to ask himself, half-jokingly and half-seriously, what God could have been thinking when he made a chamois hunter like him emperor. Especially in the last decade of his reign, when he enlisted the help of his literary and artistic editors and intensified the work on his image-cultivation projects, the tone of resignation became louder. One idea he considered in view of his increasing age and rapidly deteriorating health was to resign from the affairs of government and to retire to a monastery; the alternative was to idealize his person and his reign in literature and art.

It would be wrong, however, to ignore the sober realist in the face of these idealizations and ideal-typical stylizations. Although they were not always in agreement, the rational manner in which Maximilian and his counselors analyzed the political constellation of Europe never fails to amaze.[15] Since he was unable to win the support of the imperial estates for his plans and his power base in Austria alone was not sufficient, his foreign policy rested on a broadly based cultivation of alliances. The germ of the powers of modern Europe could already be clearly seen, in which—like the game of chess, which he liked to play with his daughter Margaret[16] and an example of which he even purchased for 100 guilders[17]—no figure could be moved without thinking ahead about all the others and planning the next moves in advance (fig. 1). Accordingly, his envoys were expected to travel the breadth and length of the continent without complaint even as far as "Calicut, which is further than Jerusalem" (Kalykut, ist verrer dan gen Jerusalem)[18] if this proved necessary. His diplomacy[19] primarily served the preparation of war, in which he saw the means of gaining for

himself and his dynasty his rightful place at the top in the "re-adjustment of the hierarchy of prestige among the European dynasties,"[20] a process which had been underway since the middle of the fifteenth century. Thereafter he aimed to achieve world rule through the "globalization" of the monarchy, which reached its zenith under Charles V in the concept of a *monarchia universalis*.[21] For if Maximilian possessed Milan he would also possess the whole of Italy; if he possessed Italy, he would also possess Gaul (France), Germania (Germany), and thereafter not only the "Turks" (the Ottoman Empire), but also the "Solden" (the Egyptian Mamluk Empire) and thus dominion "inn Affrica, Assia und Erropa."[22] Anticipating reality, Maximilian had all this portrayed in advance in the *Arch of Honor* and the *Triumphal Procession* through foreign weapons, animals, and people.[23] And indeed: to the abusive taunts of the citizens, "Ghetz gen Grätz" (Go to Graz), his father Frederick III had been driven out of Vienna, which he later lost together with Lower and Central Austria (Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola) to the Hungarian king Matthias Hunyadi, known as Corvinus, and was later forced to reside in Linz. His grandson, Emperor Charles V, by contrast, reigned over an empire on which the sun never set. Maximilian I systematically pursued the expansion of the Habsburg powerbase in keeping with his motto "Through so many dangers" (Per tot discrimina rerum), which, together with hereditary good fortune, resulted in the family actually becoming one of the leading European dynasties within three generations. This soon found expression even linguistically in the coexistence of the House of Austria: Haus Österreich, Maison d'Autriche, Casa d'Austria. The price for all this was, however, an almost uninterrupted succession of wars, earning Maximilian the sobriquet "Heart of steel" (Coeur d'acier) from Olivier de la Marche, the court chronicler at the court of Burgundy, and from Lukas Rem of Augsburg the reproach that he was the main culprit responsible for the deaths of 500,000 victims.[24] Although these figures are probably exaggerated by a factor of ten, there is no doubt about the figures for the bankruptcy of the state at the end of Maximilian's reign, brought about by the wars. The total debt amounted to some five million guilders, twenty times the average annual revenues of the Austrian hereditary lands. For a long time Maximilian would hear nothing of the "eternal calls for peace," and declared that it was better to lay a country waste than to lose it. Frequently described as humane, gentle, and friendly (fig. 2), he reacted with anger, violence, and vengefulness when he felt his rights had been injured or his honor threatened, both of which

2
HANS BALDUNG GRIEN
Emperor Maximilian I, 1511
Silverpoint, 14.5 × 9.6 cm
Monogram and false date (1501)
in another hand
Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe,
Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. VIII 1062, fol. 12

3
HANS BURGKMAIR THE ELDER
Maximilian I and the Artillery
Weisskunig, ca. 1515
Woodcut (1775 edition)
Albertina, Inv. Cim II/6, fol. 34

he valued greatly.[25] Only in the face of death did he finally gain the insight that his twenty-seven wars had served only the devil.

Born in Wiener Neustadt on 22 March 1459 as the son of Emperor Frederick III and Eleanor of Portugal, Maximilian received the usual princely education, whereby his schooling was broad and superficial rather than truly solid.[26] Maximilian, however, continued to have wide-ranging interests, especially if he saw their practical use, such as cartography, which blossomed as a result of the Spanish and Portuguese voyages of discovery. He personally had maps produced or purchased for military purposes.[27] He had at least a good grounding in everyday Latin, so that he could occasionally converse alone and in confidence with foreign emissaries. Later in Burgundy he also learned French, which he wrote in a highly idiosyncratic manner, however; he probably also understood some Italian. It seems doubtful that Maximilian really did speak more than a few words of English and a dialect of Slovenian. He was, however, very accomplished in the courtly and knightly pursuits of dancing, jousting, and hunting, and he was also a skilled craftsman: in Innsbruck he had his own lathe for woodworking.[28] His contemporaries attested that he had a good understanding of firearms;[29] in an accurate assessment of the changing techniques of war, these were one of his main concerns apart from his foot soldiers (fig. 3). Throughout his life he retained an interest in the healing properties of herbs, berries, and roots,[30] and he invented his own recipe for brewing an invigorating *steinbier*. We know little about his eating habits since there are no sources in the archives, apart from the occasional directives for game pies, game in aspic, dried and cured sturgeon, smoked venison and wild boar, preserved plums and cherries, or the making of Nuremberg fig cheese (veygen kas),[31] while we know from the Tyrolean *Kammerraitbüchern*[32] that he was fond of good wine, especially "Rainfal" (Ribolla) and Malvasia, as well as fruit (apples, pears, cherries, peaches, and grapes) and southern fruits (melons, oranges, and figs), which his senior "fructier" had to procure for him in Bolzano.[33]

Maximilian's formative years as ruler began in the summer of 1477 with his marriage to Mary of Burgundy, the only daughter of Charles the Bold (cat. 3; fig. 4). After Charles's death in January 1477 the duchy threatened to collapse under internal unrest, but especially under the

4
HANS BURGKMAIR THE ELDER
Maximilian and Mary Learning Each Other's Languages
Weisskunig, ca. 1515
Woodcut (1775 edition)
Albertina, Inv. Cim II/6, fol. 45

attacks from France, which claimed immediate tenure of Burgundy as a purely male fief. The fifteen-year military struggle with France developed into a civil war over extensive regions in the Netherlands after Mary's death in 1482. The balance of power shifted in favor of the States General of the Netherlands, and Maximilian was taken prisoner in 1488 in Bruges. Frederick III had to send in the imperial army to free his son, who had been elected King of the Holy Roman Empire in 1486. Maximilian was able to claim approximately half of the territory, but he lost most importantly the eponymous Duchy of Burgundy to France. The traditional system of alliances in Western Europe, consisting of Spain, England, and Burgundy against France, into which Maximilian entered as duke of Burgundy, was dissolved in the Peace of Etaples (1492) between England and France, and in the Peace of Barcelona (1493) between France and Spain. In the last stages of the war Maximilian was accordingly obliged to be content with the Free County of Burgundy and to sign the Peace of Senlis (1493) with France. However, he felt doubly humiliated by Charles VIII, who dissolved the betrothal with Maximilian's daughter Margaret (cat. 126) and married Anne de Bretagne, whom he had already married by proxy. The fight for hegemony between the houses of Habsburg and Valois had now become a question of personal honor as far as Maximilian was concerned. Having started as a struggle to take over the legacy of the last duke of Burgundy, it was transferred to Italy following the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples by Charles VIII (1494). Not only did it bring to a standstill the plans for a crusade,[34] which the Roman curia had been pursuing since the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, and which Maximilian had initially taken up after becoming sole ruler following the death of Frederick III in 1493; it also became a matter of greater urgency for Maximilian, who was in danger of losing the imperial crown if France were to strengthen its hold on Italy and succeed in gaining decisive influence over the papacy. In order to prevent this, Maximilian I first formed the alliance known as the Holy League with the Pope, Spain, Venice, and Milan in 1495. At the same time a double marriage alliance was negotiated between the houses of Habsburg and Trastamara.[35] Its implementation in the marriages between Maximilian's son Philip with Joanna of Castile (fig. 5) on the one hand and Maximilian's daughter Margaret with John of Aragon in 1496–97 on the other,

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ALBRECHT DÜRER
The Marriage of Maximilian's Son Philip and Joanna of Castile
Arch of Honor (detail), ca. 1515
Woodcut
Albertina, Inv. DG1935/975/3

brought Philip's son Charles (V) the inheritance of the Spanish kingdoms twenty years later. But Maximilian's attempt to intervene in Italy in 1496 and his campaign in Upper Burgundy in 1498 both failed. His allies in the Holy League were disenchanted by his military weakness due to his lack of financial backing, and had signed a peace treaty with France in rapid succession. In the aftermath of the defeat in the Swiss or Swabian War (1499), the conquest of Milan by France (1499–1500), and his virtual loss of power within the empire following the Imperial Government of Nuremberg (1500–02), Maximilian allowed himself to be persuaded to shelve his personal animosities in favor of a pragmatic change of course in his foreign policy. Instrumental in the decision were his closest advisors, especially Matthäus Lang, the later Cardinal-Archbishop of Salzburg, and his son Philip, who as duke of Burgundy had already reached a settlement with France in 1498 in the interest of his domains but to the annoyance of his father. Moreover, he evened up the score with Louis XII of France in the Agreement of Lyon-Blois-Hagenau (1503–05),[36] in order to be able to travel to Rome for his coronation as emperor and so that he could achieve his aim of gaining Italy as an extension of his power base. The neutrality of France in the Landshut War of Succession (1504–05) was achieved through the contract, and enabled Maximilian to conquer the Palatinate. But the old rivalry immediately flared up again when Louis XII of France dissolved the contract pledging the marriage of his daughter Claudia to Maximilian's grandson Charles (V), the main clause of the settlement between the houses of Valois and Habsburg in May 1506, in favor of a betrothal of his daughter to the Dauphin François d'Angoulême. Through the death of his son Philip in September 1506 in Burgos, Maximilian had lost a powerful ally (since the latter had assumed power in the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, and Granada in 1504 together with his wife Joanna following the death of her mother Isabella). Thrown back on his own resources, in 1508 he therefore tried to mount an Italian campaign for the imperial coronation in Rome and to win back Milan. He saw that duchy as the gateway to Italy, which is why he had entered into a second marriage in 1494 with Bianca Maria Sforza, the niece of Ludovico Sforza, the ruler of the duchy at the time (cat. 10). In view of the combined military resistance from France and Venice, however, he was obliged to abandon the project and be content with having himself proclaimed "Elected

Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire" in the cathedral of Trento in February 1508. In order to turn the tide in his favor after the initial defeats in the Venetian War (1508–16; fig. 6), he entered once again into an alliance with the king of France in the League of Cambrai (December 1508). This had been negotiated by his daughter Margaret, who by this time had been appointed Governor of the Netherlands, together with Maximilian's closest advisor Matthäus Lang. After the league disintegrated, however, the struggle for supremacy continued until Maximilian's grandson Charles, by this time King Charles I of Spain following the death of Ferdinand of Aragon, ended it in 1516 with the treaties of Noyon and Brussels. He did so without consulting his grandfather, who did not want to abandon the war without "honneur et prouffit." Milan thereby remained in the hands of the French (and) the emperor gained only a few small border territories from Venice.

This struggle for hegemony in the West and the South was initially decided in favor of the House of Valois-Orléans. It was Charles V, with the resources of Spain, who was eventually able to turn it in favor of the Habsburgs, at least in Italy; he was crowned there as the last emperor by the pope—albeit in Bologna and not in Rome. In the face of these conflicts, Eastern Europe long played a subordinate role in the politics of Maximilian I. Since 1497 he had sought to establish diplomatic contact with the Ottoman Empire in order to have its support against France. This led to two truces and finally in 1504 to a lasting peace. The campaign for the crusades with their divine portents, such as the "blood rain" and divine warnings like the "great pox" (syphilis), only served to fill Maximilian's empty state coffers via crusade indulgences, and to enable him to present his frequently invoked procession to Rome to be crowned emperor as an indispensable precondition which would lend the crusade greater authority and safeguard him against any forms of criticism. In the crusade agitation which was resumed in 1517–18 after the end of the Venetian War we must see an attempt to have Maximilian I crowned emperor by the pope after all, in order to make it easier to have Charles (V) elected King of the Holy Roman Empire.

Because of the priority attached to the policies relating to the West and to Italy, for a long time Maximilian contented himself as regards Hungary with maintaining the status quo achieved in the Peace of Bratislava in 1491. This confirmed the Habsburg entitlement to the Crown of Saint Stephen following the rapid re-conquest of the eastern Austrian hereditary lands after the death of Matthias Corvinus (1490). Maximilian achieved this by negotiating alliances

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ALBRECHT ALTDORFER
The Venetian War
Triumphal Procession of Emperor Maximilian I
ca. 1512–15
Cat. 53, fol. 68 (detail)

with the voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia, and especially with the Grand Duchy of Moscow, against the Jagiellonian Dynasty, who ruled in Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Lithuania. After a short war, Maximilian I enforced in the Peace of Vienna (July 1506) not only the express renewal of the Habsburg hereditary claim to Hungary-Bohemia, but also achieved in the subsequent negotiations in 1506–07 an initially secret marriage contract between the Habsburgs and the Jagiellonians. Following detailed preparation by Johannes Cuspinian, Matthäus Lang once again carried out tough preliminary negotiations with the Jagiellonians in Bratislava, in which he had to relinquish the alliance with Moscow and to renounce the support of the Teutonic Order for the duration of Maximilian's lifetime. Thereupon Maximilian I, Vladislaus II of Hungary-Bohemia, and Sigismund of Poland met in July 1515 at the First Congress of Vienna. This resulted in double marriage contracts between Louis (II) of Hungary with Mary of Austria on the one hand and one of the emperor's grandsons, Ferdinand (I), with Anna of Hungary (fig. 7) on the other, thereby laying the foundations for the later Habsburg Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

In spite of his election as King of the Holy Roman Empire in 1486, apart from his release from imprisonment in Bruges in 1488, Maximilian I received no assistance worth mentioning from the Holy Roman Empire in the Burgundian wars, because it was seen as a dynastic affair and not as a matter affecting the empire. After he became sole ruler in 1493, the disagreement between him and the estates became evident at the first diet, held in Worms in 1495. He saw the political priorities as lying in foreign policy, while the estates considered domestic policy to be more important.[37] This disagreement, and also the dissent regarding the organization of the empire, and whether it should be more strongly monarchic or estates-based, was never resolved,[38] which explains why the realm's financial and military support for the king, or rather the emperor, remained at a low level throughout his life. He was thus essentially dependent upon the funds supplied by his Austrian hereditary lands. Maximilian achieved fundamental reforms with regard to their administration; in the Holy Roman Empire, by contrast, he left few traces apart from the establishment of the Reichskammergericht, or Imperial Chamber Court, together with a blueprint for a lasting peace within the realm through a general ban on feuds, which was, however, not enforced during his reign, and a first draft for a district administration. Like his father Frederick III, Maximilian was convinced of the fact that the House of Habsburg had been divinely chosen, as expressed in the famous motto "AEIOU" (Alles Erdreich ist Österreich untertan: the entire earth is Austria's subject),[39] and like him he clung to the legitimacy principle. His idea of just rule, extending downwards from the emperor via the princes and the aristocracy to the citizens and the peasants, made him no more than a preserver of existing conditions without any sympathy for the social conflicts that were already erupting across the land. Indeed, despite repeated threats with a council, he was also prevented from revoking his oath of obedience to the pope and thus making use of the anti-Roman mood within the kingdom. Maximilian's personal piety had nothing to do with it; not only did he generally start his day by hearing Mass, but shortly before the end of his life he also had the *Theses* of Martin Luther rejected. His religious convictions did not extend to ethical-moral behavior in the sense of demonstrating sympathy with others; he, on the other hand, possessed no mean measure of self-pity, and complained that no one since Christ on the Cross had suffered as he did. How Maximilian saw his extra-marital relationships in this context has not been recorded, only the annoyance of his councilors that in spite of great financial hardship an attractive woman at court was to receive the annual sum of 2,400 guilders. Maximilian's longest and most intensive extra-marital relationship was with Anna von Helfenstein and resulted in five sons and six daughters; it is thought that altogether he had about thirty illegitimate children.[40] His beliefs encompassed not only a belief in miracles but also superstition and astrology.[41] Although he was not personally involved with magic he was very interested in the magical arts practiced by Abbot Johannes Trithemius; the latter supposedly conjured up Maximilian's first wife Mary of Burgundy, and Maximilian put to him eight questions about God which demonstrate his critical approach to religion. And finally, his personal piety did not prevent his practicing his territorial stewardship of the Church on a large scale, appropriating or withholding the property and mines belonging to abbeys and monasteries, and procuring sinecures for a succession of his secretaries and clerks via the *Ius primariarum precum* or his ecclesiastical fiefdoms, for which he also had a precise register drawn up.

7
ALBRECHT DÜRER
The Viennese Double Wedding Arch of Honor (detail), ca. 1515
Woodcut
Albertina, Inv. DG1935/975/12

Maximilian I was very receptive to the printing of books and Humanism as two of the defining cultural experiences of his time.[42] He increased his father's library, consisting of approximately 150 books, to almost 400 manuscripts and printed works, also including a considerable amount of medical literature.[43] He made use of the new possibilities opened up by printing not only for practical chancellery work, whenever a large number of copies of documents were necessary, for example as in the case of diets; he also used them together with his publicists in order to gain a broader political audience and to influence them for propaganda purposes.[44] He summoned the German "arch-humanist" Conrad Celtis to the University of Vienna, and supported the Collegium Poetarum et Mathematicorum in Vienna and the Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana. He also awarded many humanists the wreath of poet laureate, whereupon they projected medieval and ancient Roman imperial ideals and more recent national ideals upon him. This not only secured for him an ideal position above the princes of the realm, but also ensured their loyalty and allegiance to him as the defender of Christendom and the future victor over the Turks, the new Augustus. He was to ring in a new golden age as "Herkules Germanicus," who would defend German honor against the French and the Italians and preserve for the Germans the imperial title as their most illustrious honor.[45]

Maximilian I did not only employ the humanists for the development of his political propaganda. In association with the leading German artists of the time he involved them in his genealogical program, which aimed to trace the Habsburgs through a family tree reaching back to Biblical times, even right back to antiquity, showing it as a dynasty which surpassed all others (fig. 8),[46] as well as in his literary works and the plans for his tomb. He instituted searches in monastery libraries and was as interested in what was found as he was in the discovery of inscriptions or Roman stones, as the entries in his personal memorial books show.[47] There were humanists among his counselors and secretaries. In their selection he refused to be influenced by

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MASTER OF THE HISTORIA
The Emperor's Family Tree
Historia Friderici et Maximiliani, ca. 1515
Pen in black, watercolor 15.7 × 11.2 cm (illustration)
Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Inv. HS 39, fol. 6r

class barriers, but was convinced that "intelligent minds derive their nobility from God." In this respect he also placed the rank of office above that of birth, although this social disciplining was not always easy for the nobles in particular to accept, and disagreements even led to physical attacks on superiors. It is not true that Maximilian allowed himself to be "ruled" by his counselors and secretaries, nor is it true that he was easily influenced by them. It would be more accurate to say that the servants at court frequently expected gifts and tips for help and advocacy, which is why the Spanish envoy Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida spoke of a "quadrilla" (band of robbers). Counts Eitelfriedrich von Zollern and Wolfgang von Fürstenberg, the Master of the Household and the Court Marshal respectively, were the exceptions here, since the Italian envoys report unanimously that they were incorruptible—because they were wealthy enough themselves. In this respect Maximilian usually took up a position in front of his counselors and servants and also defended them in no uncertain terms at his last state parliament, the Innsbruck Ausschusslandtag of 1518, even though he had to forbid the most blatant excesses of advocacy for monetary reward.

Of the 350-odd counselors Maximilian employed during his reign both at court in the still indeterminate privy council and in the central authorities down to the local administration, at the highest level, fifty-five percent originated from Swabia and Tyrol. These included the district and domestic administrators, the privy council and court chamber (which were institutionalized in 1497–98), as well as the governances, treasury chambers, and household chambers. Those in Innsbruck were responsible for the so-called Upper Austrian group of lands (Tyrol and the foothills, although these later received their own authorities in Ensisheim and Hagenau that remained subordinate to Innsbruck); those in Vienna administered the Lower Austrian group of provinces (Austria below and on the Enns, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola). Forty-five percent of the leading counselors had attended the university; in Swabia eighty percent of the power elite were related to each other; in Tyrol the figure was seventy-two percent.[48] Since wages and tenure were still mixed, the official machinery gave rise to low costs, amounting to about three to ten percent of an average annual budget of approximately 220,000 guilders. Some of the administrative regulations seem to have been formulated by the councils, but the emperor always examined their bills very carefully, sometimes down to the smallest details. He passed over some in silence or expressly referred to his superior position, from which all authority for government and administration derived: these included, for example, the Gossembrot contracts of 1501–02, which were pioneering for their financing of loans secured by the revenues from the departments instead of the hitherto considerably less favorable leasing or pledging of the departments, and the Vienna governance decree of 1510, which Maximilian only accepted under compulsion. He personally did not want to be bound by regulations. Although he frequently neglected his affairs in order to pursue his great passion of hunting, he often worked until late at night, while in the councils in summer the working hours lasted for seven hours, from 6 until 10 a.m. and from 12 noon until 3 p.m., and in winter for four hours, from 8 until 10 a.m. and from 1 until 3 p.m., albeit seven days a week.[49] Time, in fact, became an important factor and the clock began to rule people's lives, as can be seen in the fact that from now onwards in many reports not only the date but also the time is mentioned and the documents are increasingly marked with the comment "cito, cito, cito" ("quick," in the sense of "pressing" or "urgent").[50]

In 1498 Maximilian separated the public purse from the private one and organized the territorial mining, building, hunting, fishing, and household affairs within the domestic administration. This was responsible for the renovation and to a certain extent the rebuilding and extension of the territorial castles in Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, Graz, Linz, and Innsbruck as well as numerous other castles and palaces, which in some cases were in very poor condition. No new buildings were constructed during Maximilian's reign, but many were renovated and modernized, not only optically through the redesign of the façade[51] or the new "zieglkunst mit dem lusiern" (art of glazed bricks),[52] but in particular as regards sanitation. This can be seen in Maximilian's precise instructions regarding the "secret chamber" (privy), and the deflection of the waste through pipes into a cesspit, into which the waste water from the kitchens was also to be diverted. Improved hygiene in general was one of his concerns, in order to overcome the dirt and the smells. The latter were to be banished from his apartments by "herbal essences" (wohlgeschmack); and in several towns he had the streets and alleys cobbled and equipped with gutters for the rainwater.

Furthermore, the "ausguss" (open drains for waste water) in the houses were to be bricked up; people were forbidden to keep animals in the towns; and it was ordered that no rubbish was to be left in the streets overnight.[53] In addition to these sanitary regulations he also issued directions relating to fire prevention, once again not only for his immediate surroundings. In Innsbruck, for example, he had the rear outbuilding of the Mitterhof (the House with the Golden Roof) rebuilt as a fire-resistant archive, and in many other towns he ordered fire walls to be built between the houses and their tiled roofs.

That we know quite a lot about these measures lies in the fact that under Maximilian the administration was all committed to paper, even at the local level, in order to ensure better control. While this initially applied only to financial affairs, which traveling commissioners, known as "Umreiter und Reformierer," were to make more efficient, before long he also had the salt and iron trades in particular supervised by their own "Überreiter." In 1511 he finally expanded the supervision to cover all regions by ordaining a systematic examination of all ownership titles and land registers relating to the nobility and the clergy throughout the entire Lower Austrian group of provinces. The role of official prosecutor in property questions was taken up by the treasury or fiscal proctor, whom he continued to support determinedly despite all the protests of the estates. When a reform failed to prove itself he abandoned it, however, like the system of bookkeeping introduced in 1498 which he had simplified in 1503 from twelve books to three by his treasurer general Jakob Villinger and then transferred into the commercial form, including for the first time a book with proper double-entry bookkeeping with debit and credit. He also dissolved government agencies or merged functions together if they cost more than the benefit they brought. This had nothing to do with flightiness, as has often been maintained, but rather shows a high degree of flexibility related to a sober cost-benefit analysis, which incidentally also prompted him to transform the peasants' building rights in Tyrol from tenancy at will (annual re-allocation) to emphyteusis. For the same reason, his mines and salt works were also subject to particular care and control. The consequence of all the reforms was a marked increase in revenues; the cornerstones were furnished by the silver and copper from Schwaz—the fine silver production alone increased from 2,800 kilograms in 1470 to 14,000 kilograms in 1516—and the salt works in Hall in Tyrol, Gmunden, and Aussee, as well as the tolls, duties, and surcharges in Engelhartszell, Vordernberg and Innerberg (Eisenerz), Tarvis (Tarvisio), and Marburg (Maribor). Money for Maximilian was only a means to an end, and he had no intention of subjecting himself to the dictates of empty coffers, which is why he operated an unscrupulous policy of pledges and loans. Since he knew that his creditors in South Germany, in particular the Fugger family (see cat. 95), took advantage of his precarious situation, from 1502 he charged the Innsbruck councils with the necessary negotiations, since they could adopt a harder line than he could by referring to their instructions. His belief in progress was already remarkably "modern," leading him to instruct obstinate powers like the Austrian estates that the world was constantly moving forward into a better future, so that they should just allow him to set his reforms in motion even if they failed to understand the new developments themselves. He aimed for a princely centralism and was of the opinion that a prince should rule in accord with his subjects, but that it was not fitting to agree contracts with them which would also be binding for the prince. It should be clear at all times that all power that he was prepared to delegate came from him, and that the ultimate decision therefore must always rest with him and be accepted without protest. This approach to rule also explains why Maximilian had such difficulties reaching agreement with the estates not only in Burgundy but also in the Holy Roman Empire and in Austria; he essentially wanted to simply give orders. He wanted to act similarly in Italy, which not only possessed great ideological significance for him with Rome as the center and the "former seat of our throne" ("Romam ipsam solii nostri antiquum domicilium"),[54] but which pragmatically speaking was also the key to supremacy in Europe in view of its financial resources, a view also shared by the kings of Spain and France. It was only to flatter his Italian allies during the time of the aforementioned Holy League of Venice and to give them a feeling of security that he described himself as a German born and bred who nonetheless thought and felt like an Italian ("de natione era Alemanno, de voler et animo era Italiano"), while to the imperial princes he emphasized his German-ness and appealed to their "German honor." This shows that Maximilian did not lag behind his times and the changes they brought, and merely

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Goldenes Dachl (Golden Roof), Innsbruck

looked back with nostalgia on a universal imperial ideal which was long since outdated.[55] This was the age in which Machiavelli, as a diplomat in the service of Florence, was inspired to create a new image of a ruler oriented purely towards utility. It was indeed the only workable ideology against the nation states which were constantly aspiring to increasing power: From it flowed not only the legitimation for the supremacy of the Germans, but also for the Habsburgs compared with all other dynasties, as long as they asserted the imperial crown. It was this aspect which ultimately made Maximilian I decide to pour his new wine into old vessels.[56]

Universalism as opposed to territorial interests and the interest of the nation-states represented one of the main sources of tension in Maximilian's life. He tried to solve it by feigning and dissemblance, and as king or emperor within the empire by asserting through his supreme court and privy council a monopolized, centralized jurisdiction towards the German territorial powers. At the same time he insisted as archduke of Austria on the observation of the Austrian legal privileges and emphatically rejected appeals or summonses by Austrian subjects through the Imperial Chamber Court or the High Court of the Empire in Rottweil. It was the same with the "Gemeiner Pfennig" (common penny), which the imperial princes were supposed to pay, but which he as Austrian territorial prince exempted his estates from paying in favor of another tax. Accordingly he was never in a position to present the register documenting the payment of the "common penny" in his hereditary lands as demanded by Arch-Chancellor Berthold von Mainz, the leader of the opposition in the imperial estates. It was much the same with his long refusal to enfeoff his son Philip with the imperial fiefdoms of Burgundy. To a great extent Maximilian thus encouraged Austria-Burgundy to grow out of the empire, whose ruling House of Habsburg was well on the way to Europe with its marriage policy and which was more than secure with the *Privilegium Maius* since the confirmation by Frederick III. Others, however, including, for example, the Confederation, also separated themselves de facto from the empire, which Maximilian was unable to prevent.[57] With the help of the German humanists he attempted to conjure up a nationalistically colored imperial myth against the opposition in the imperial estates; it was intended to unite the empire behind a common task, namely his anti-French policy in Italy as the precondition for a crusade. But the imperial princes rejected the idea of becoming involved in Italy, "because the Italians have never even sent a donkey to help Germany."[58] His relationship with the Germans was thus ambivalent: on the one hand he saw them as a great nation and was even proud to a certain extent to be a "king of kings" and not a king of "animals," like the king of France.[59] On the other hand he envied both the latter and the Spanish king for their almost unlimited power, since he first had to tame "these German beasts" with the sword in order to really dominate them. As he saw it, this—in addition to his poverty—was the main curse of his reign: namely the restrictions placed on him by the electors and princes, as Maximilian repeated continuously in various images: he had four devils in the shape of the French and Venetians, who always defaulted on their contracts, the Turks, who at least observed theirs, and the Swiss, who overturned everything that Maximilian built up; but if he were to be asked on his oath who carried the main blame for everything, then it was the German princes. Or: Everything in Europe depended on four kings: the King of the Holy Roman Empire and the kings of France, Spain, and Hungary. Only if he had Germany under his command would he be more powerful than the other three together, and also stronger than the Turk; in fact, however, he was king in name only, because the German princes refused to obey any king, so that he only had his state of Austria under his command, and as regards the empire he felt more like a mayor.[60] Apart from resigned comments, that the imperial princes would have had to have other mothers to obey him, Maximilian changed his tune completely when he threatened to smash the crown on the ground and grab the pieces; or stated that in return for a hereditary Roman monarchy for the Habsburgs he would relinquish the imperial crown to the king of France.

The disinterest of the imperial estates after 1502 resulted in a vacuum, which Maximilian increasingly filled with the dead weight of the kingdom and his power base. His more recent offers of cooperation to the German electors and princes—on his terms, however—in Cologne (1505) and Constance (1507) fell on deaf ears; the Diet of Cologne also marked the end of the deal between imperial help and imperial reform, so that foreign policy subsequently played no direct role in the reform and the politics of the emperor, the empire, and the Habsburg Dynasty became

virtually inseparable.[61] The struggle between monarchical centralism and estates-based oligarchy, or between the interests of the monarch, the estates as a whole, and the territory,[62] which had begun with Maximilian's election as king (1486) and was then increasingly acute after the first Diet of Worms (1495), remained undecided until long after the end of Maximilian's reign, until in 1555 the Peace of Augsburg decided the issue in favor of territorial principality.[63] In his Austrian hereditary lands, however, with his administrative reforms and the associated consolidation of land and dominion to state and sovereignty,[64] Maximilian I had created a decisive basis on which his grandson Ferdinand I could build, above all, however, for the dynasty and its expansion to the west and east. The rise of the Habsburgs as a result of the two double marriages and the resulting legacy of Spain and Bohemia-Hungary was a combination of systematic dealings and—at least for the Habsburgs—good fortune.[65] Maximilian's consciousness of his power, his self-awareness, and his sense of mission provided the requisite conditions.

1 Still fundamental is the five-volume biography by Wiesflecker 1971–86, on which both the one-volume biography by Wiesflecker 1991 and the paperback biography by Hollegger 2005 are based, and where the most important literature before 2004 can be found on pp. 272–306. The present sketch is based both in content and text to a large extent on these works.
2 Wiesflecker 1955; Wiesflecker 1971, vol. 1, pp. 11–43; Wiesflecker 1993; Hollegger 2005, pp. 248–57.
3 Regesta Imperii XIV, 3/1, no. 9351.
4 Regesta Imperii XIV, 3/1, no. 9343.
5 Regesta Imperii XIV, 3/1, no. 9391.
6 Koller 2005, p. 21.
7 Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, no. 17459.
8 Duindam 2006, p. 211.
9 Noflatscher 2003, pp. 357–58, and e.g. Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, no. 17623; 4/2, no. 20261a.
10 Wiesflecker-Friedhuber 2005, pp. 144–48.
11 Fundamental on this and the following points is Müller 1982 as well as Silver 2008a, who summarizes research to date; also Wiesflecker 1986, vol. 5, pp. 306–80; Wiesflecker 1991, pp. 320–36; Rupprich 1994, pp. 128–37; Schütz 1992, pp. 156–57, 159–61, 163–64, 167–74, 176–77; Müller 2002b; Hollegger 2005, pp. 244–48.
12 See cat. nos. 74, 73, 72, 124, 53, 120 a and b, as well as Schauerte 2011; Wiesflecker-Friedhuber 2005, pp. 156–58; Schütz 1992, pp. 156, 162–63, 177.
13 Noflatscher 2003, p. 358.
14 Compare Müller 1982.
15 Examples in Hollegger 2005, pp. 93–4, 96, and Hollegger 1983, pp. 203–04.
16 Report of the Venetian emissary Pietro Pasqualigo of 28 February 1507 in Sanuto 1882, vol. 7, p. 32.
17 Tiroler Landesarchiv Innsbruck, Oberösterreichische Kammerraitbücher, vol. 51, fol. 177 and 233v.
18 Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, no. 18040.
19 See Hollegger 2007.
20 Heinig 2002, p. 27; Schütz 1992, pp. 164–65.
21 Kleinschmidt 2011, pp. 313–15; Heinig 2002, p. 27; Lutz 1982, p. 21.
22 Tiroler Landesarchiv Innsbruck, Maximiliana I/40, fol. 160: Letter of Hans von Königsegg to Maximilian I of 28 January 1506.
23 Sutter Fichtner 2011, pp. 41–2; Kleinschmidt 2011, pp. 308–16.
24 Wiesflecker 1991, p. 345.
25 Compare the corresponding entry in the memorial book in Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, no. 16338.
26 Schütz 1992, p. 156.
27 See e.g. Memorial Book entry about a "kortha marin" [nautical chart] of Piero Jenoue: Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, no. 16338; also e.g. Regesta Imperii XIV, 1/1 no. 318, 359, and 4/1, no. 15862.
28 Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, no. 17803; Wiesflecker-Friedhuber 2005, p. 134.
29 Ibid. pp. 148–49.
30 See, for example, the memorial book entry about a root against the plague: Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, no. 16338.
31 Regesta Imperii XIV, 3/2, nos. 13719, 13734, 14137, 14269, 15026; 4/1, nos. 16338, 17150, 18166.
32 See here Wiesflecker 1987.
33 Regesta Imperii XIV, 4, 1, nos. 16465, 16493, 19956.
34 Mertens 2010, p. 175.
35 See here Kohler 1993.
36 See here Wiesflecker-Friedhuber 2007.
37 See here Hollegger 1995.
38 Mertens 2010, p. 175.
39 Koller 2005, p. 19.
40 Noflatscher 2003, p. 357.
41 See here Regesta Imperii XIV, 1/1, nos. 390, 574; 2/1, no. 4575; 3/1, nos. 9148, 9255, 9794, 10354.
42 Mertens 2010, pp. 175–76.
43 Noflatscher 2003, pp. 354, 359; on Maximilian I's interest in various books Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, no. 16338.
44 Mertens 2010, pp. 178–79; Hollegger 2002, pp. 224–25.
45 Mertens 2010, p. 179; Hollegger 2002, pp. 225–34.
46 Lutter 2003, pp. 532–33.
47 Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, no. 16338.
48 Noflatscher 1999, p. 142, and diagram 2, pp. 275 and 304.
49 Hollegger 2005, p. 262.
50 Hollegger 2011, p. 342.
51 See, for example, Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, nos. 17802 and 17803; see also Wiesflecker-Friedhuber 2005, p. 134.
52 Regesta Imperii XIV, 4/1, no. 16338.
53 Hollegger 1983, p. 188, note 3.
54 Regesta Imperii XIV, 1/1, no. 1973.
55 See here Kohler 2002.
56 See here Lutter 2003, p. 539–40.
57 See here Schmidt 2002b; Hollegger 2010.
58 Regesta Imperii XIV, 1/1, no. 2694; Schröcker 1971, p. 189.
59 Wiesflecker 1991, p. 226.
60 Regesta Imperii XIV, 1/1, no. 2694; 2/1, no. 5204, 5205, and 4/1, no. 16394; Schröcker 1971, pp. 181, 186, 188–91.
61 Angermeier 1984, pp. 196–207.
62 See here Heil 2002.
63 Angermeier 1984, pp. 317–28.
64 See here Hollegger 2011.
65 Heinig 2002, pp. 80–81.

THE EMPEROR NEVER DIES: TRANSITORY ASPECTS OF THE MAXIMILIAN *MEMORIA*

Thomas Schauerte

THE ASCENT OF THE EAGLE

A mighty eagle is enthroned above the rear wheel well of the prodigious printed apparatus of fame by Albrecht Dürer and Willibald Pirckheimer, which, known as *The Great Triumphal Chariot of Emperor Maximilian I*, has become a paragon of German reception of antiquity (cat. nos. 59, 60). This eagle, different from both his one- or two-headed cousins from heraldic imagery, is not inscribed upon a shield, but has his wings half spread and seems ready at any moment to soar up from his perch on the wheel labeled "Magnificentia": magnanimity or magnificence. Admidst the proto-Baroque profusion of fantastical embellishment, he—like the lion, basilisk, or gryphon—can be made out only on more careful scrutiny; but within this décor he clearly possesses a higher degree of reality, comparable to that of the horses. In light of the meticulousness with which Dürer executed for Maximilian the conception of his friend the Nuremberg humanist Pirckheimer (cat. 37), this observation should be taken seriously and form a basis for further reflections. First among these is the fact that the giant woodcut is expressly dated "1522": By then, the imperial protagonist on his rolling throne had already been dead three years.

What is preserved here thus is the transitory moment between the end of worldly fame and the beginning of eternal fame. In the case of Maximilian, fame was assured not only by the fact that the motif was reproduced many hundred times over in the form of a woodcut, but also—until its destruction in 1945—by a monumental fresco on the north wall of the large reception hall in Nuremberg's Rathaus, and could thus become a central identifying image for one of the empire's most important polities at the time. As the woodcut's inscription also expressly states, the fresco is directly addressed to Maximilian's grandson and successor, Emperor Charles V, who, it was vainly hoped, would follow tradition and convene his first imperial diet in Nuremberg. But it is in the miniature that the eagle on the emperor's chariot of the *Triumphal Procession* (fig. p. 36) is most clearly highlighted and, in its natural black coloring, stands out against the allegorical gold decoration.

The reason for this emphasis on the eagle is apparently derived from a passage in Cassius Dio's *Historia Romana* from the beginning of the third century. Its subject matter is a description of the state funeral celebrations granted by Emperor Septimius Severus to his murdered predecessor Publius Helvius Pertinax in A.D. 193, which Dio had himself attended. The images he saw at the time must have been very impressive: After a procession of the government estates past the wax effigy of the dead man that was placed on view on a wooden stage of the Forum Romanum, the entire assembly of mourners marched on towards the Campus Martius:

> There a towering, three-story funeral pyre was prepared, decorated with ivory and gold, as well as with some statues, and, placed on its summit, the chariot that Pertinax himself had driven. It is in this funeral pyre that the obsequies were held, after which Severus and the relatives kissed the image of Pertinax ... Then the consuls lit the fire. When this happened an eagle ascended from the pyre. Thus was Pertinax made immortal.[1]

ALBRECHT ALTDORFER and workshop
Triumphal Chariot of the Emperor and his Family, ca. 1512–15
Triumphal Procession of Emperor Maximilian I
ca. 1512–15
Cat. 53, fol. 93 (detail)

Both the chariot and the eagle thus play a major role in the procedure of the ancient *consecratio*—the apotheosis of the dead emperor to a place among the immortal gods—because they graphically illustrate the passage to a higher level. It is probably the eagle that conveys this most impressively: Released by means of an ingenious mechanism, it soars up at the end of the ceremony from the collapsing catafalque into the heavens as an emblem of the emperor's apotheosized soul.[2] Complementarily and in a scarcely less impressive manner, the triumphal chariot at the top of the funeral pyre initially highlights the moment of passage, yet during the course of the complex transitory ritual it also recalls the highest honor that the Roman Empire could bestow upon its highest representatives during their lifetime, namely the public ceremony of the Triumph. What is crucial here is that this final great honor of the *consecratio*, and simultaneously the Triumph that is its essential prerequisite, is made clear here in a purely sensual and symbolic manner. At the time the scholars around Maximilian—the Viennese humanist Johannes Cuspinian as well as Conrad Peutinger, the Augsburg friend of Dürer and Pirckheimer—were studying these kinds of historical sources for their *Kaiserbücher*, produced concurrently, so it is likely that there were similar stimuli in the present case.

Only against this background is it possible to explain the remarkable fact that the first *Triumphal Chariot*—among the many documented representations of triumphal chariots commissioned by Maximilian—appeared shortly after the unexpected death of Maximilian's only son Philip in September of 1506—a catastrophe in dynastic terms. And, as later in Nuremberg, this one was also apparently used to decorate a town hall, in this case that of Hall, a town in the province of Tyrol. On 30 March 1507, Maximilian's newly appointed court painter Jörg Kölderer (see the essay by Scheichl) was given payment for six drafts for "the triumphal chariot of Austria," only one of which was deemed serviceable; this then presumably formed the basis for the commission "to make the triumphal chariot of Hall."[3] It had been in Hall namely that in September of 1503 Maximilian had organized a reception, with great state pageantry, for his son as the new king of Castile for the first time in imperial territory. In 1507 the Hall version of the "triumphal chariot" phenomenon—however it may have looked—must have seemed to Maximilian appropriate to express, on the one hand, a memorial to the deceased, and, on the other, the House of Habsburg's ongoing dynastic entitlement to the Spanish throne.[4] When Dürer and Pirckheimer took up this theme in 1512, this multifaceted orientation had thus long been in place. It consisted of the fusion of the ancient Roman cult of the emperor with the visualization of worldly *memoria* and the powerful image of political and dynastic objectives. And herein lies one of the most remarkable characteristics of the *Triumphal Chariot*. In an almost thoroughly sanctified lifeworld in which preparation for the "good" Christian death represented a constant obligation, artworks were now produced that almost completely obscured this approved religious cultural technique: In addition to this triumphal chariot, there were the *Triumphal Processions* that were provisionally completed in 1518 in painted or printed form (cat. nos. 53, 68 a and b), as well as the actually completed *Arch of Honor* (cat. 124).

The artworks' secularized *memoria*—as noted above—is derived, on the one hand, from descriptions of the Roman cult of the emperor that have been handed down. In the case of the *Arch of Honor*, however, another printed work is relevant, which almost disappears in comparison to the giant woodcut from Dürer's workshop but whose significance for humanistically inspired portraiture can hardly be overestimated: Hans Burgkmair's *Epitaph Portrait of Conrad Celtis*, one of the leading poets and philologists of German Humanism, presumably produced in 1503–04, (cat. 34).[5] This woodcut, like the *Arch of Honor* later, was commissioned during the sitter's lifetime as a placeless and therefore universally available epitaph on paper but, by quoting and updating ancient forms, preserved everything that was relevant to the subject's continued existence after death. In the same way, both works equally show how a person's image could be defined and firmly fixed during his lifetime, with the help of new reproduction techniques. In this great and comprehensive project of the "Memorial Triumph," which took form gradually, Maximilian seems to have learned from his protégé Celtis.

Even if each of the works mentioned thus far—regardless of whether they were actually completed or not—represented a self-contained artistic enterprise, their profane character indicates that each is in a sense incomplete and, viewed for itself alone, only of limited validity. This

can be seen first in Burgkmair's portrait of Celtis. There is no visual detail that points to the Christian perspective of death and afterlife, which is consigned only to the words in the penultimate sentence "HIC IN CHRIS[TO] QUIESCIT" ("Here he rests in Christ"). Since, despite all his penchant for antiquity, the poet laureate had never foresworn Christianity, the woodcut with its missing thematic complement to an afterlife should probably be placed beside the humanist's actual gravestone (fig. 1), which takes up and highlights the syncretism of Christianity and antiquity in the woodcut: two columns, quite unclassically resting on a *tabula ansata* stating the date of death, support an additional panel with "dovetail handles" that at the same time forms a kind of parapet behind which the half-length figure of the deceased points to six of his works. Hanging from this dais is a festoon at whose apex the poet's laurel wreath hangs. Inside the circular wreath is a Greek Cross, within whose bars are the four letters of the Latin word "VIVO" (I live). This likewise forms the compositional center of the whole configuration and can therefore be related to the single pictorial elements of the epitaph in its entirety: first of all by the Christian promise of salvation, but just as much by all nine books and the laurel of the crowned poet, who lives on although he has died. As with the triumphal chariot in the *consecratio* of the Roman ruler, the laurel wreath reminds us of the highest honor that Celtis was awarded in his lifetime. But in contrast to the woodcut produced shortly before, the Christian element is emphasized more strongly here at the actual burial site. This makes the epitaph on paper into something of a preliminary stage and—since it is more iconographically charged—into a compliment to and commentary upon the actual gravestone.

1
Tomb of Conrad Celtis, ca. 1515
Vienna, St. Stephan's Cathedral

And now it becomes clear that the gigantic *Arch of Honor*, too, follows Burgkmair's inconspicuous woodcut, at least in its basic disposition; it was published as a printed epitaph even during the Habsburg ruler's lifetime and, with its copious historical, genealogical, and heraldic themes, points to nothing less than Maximilian's monumental tombstone project (fig. 2). Although at the time it was visible only in outline at best, the emperor was intensely occupied with it over the last two decades of his life. Only very few of the most famous components of its extensive conception were produced during Maximilian's lifetime. These are found in twelve of the over-life-size bronzes statues, of which forty were planned and twenty-eight actually carried out, and which today surround his cenotaph in Innsbruck (see cat. 120 a and b). They too, however, are derived less from Christian iconography than from the infinitely vast field of Maximilian's genealogy, which will be discussed below. For the missing sacral aspects of the *memoria* it is necessary to consider a quite different, unassuming work, which has frequently been the subject of research: namely, a colored pen-and-ink drawing with a program for a wall painting (cat. 118). Up to now generally considered a fresco design for a windowless three-eighths choir, nothing in the drawing provides an indication of the dimensions of what is represented. Furthermore, the fact that the design is entirely devoid of windows is so unusual for an above-ground building that this rendering of Maximilian's pious endowments—which for their part follow corresponding depictions of his father's tomb in Vienna—would have more likely served to decorate a planned crypt beneath the tomb. If this insight is pursued, then here can be seen the piety—inevitable for a ruler and typical for the time—missing from the sculptural program.

All this is on display in three ways: first in the cleverly arranged, close conceptual interweaving of Maximilian's various art enterprises, which mutually complemented and commented upon one another; secondly in their all-encompassing memorial claim; and, in this context, in the constant emphasis on their double functionality during the emperor's lifetime but also upon his death. But even this does not completely describe the emperor's claims, for in several cases the element of symbolic action can also become a component of the simultaneously propagandistic, sacral, and transitory-memorial self-fashioning, as the following section seeks to show.

WORLDLY FAME, HEAVENLY REWARD

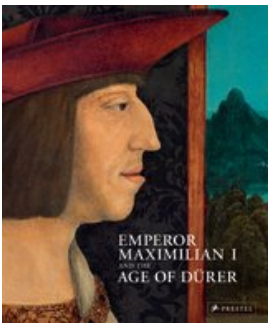
As shown above, the Christian aspects of fame, death, and posthumous renown are literally pushed to the sidelines in the Celtis woodcut, the *Triumphal Procession*, and the *Arch of Honor*. In the latter (aside from the statues of Saints Arnulf and Leopold), Christian themes are touched upon solely in a few scenes in the towers. One of these shall now be the subject of closer scrutiny

2
Cenotaph of Maximilian I
Innsbruck, Hofkirche

(fig. 3): Found in the archway's left tower and executed in 1517 by Albrecht Altdorfer, it shows the exposition of the so-called Trier tunic. According to tradition this relic of Christ, which is still venerated today, is the seamless garment that Mary made for her son as a child and that is supposed to have wondrously grown with him into his adulthood, up until Christ's Passion when, at the end, the soldiers cast lots for it (John 19:23).[6] The verses report that the emperor's participation in the exposition of the relic was significant, a fact that the woodcut reveals only upon closer inspection. For although the area under the image remained blank, and thus enough space would have been available, the scene is in fact a double scene spread across two lunettes, on the right of which is shown the exposition of the remains of St. Leopold of Babenberg. This event was of the highest dynastic relevance for Maximilian, for not only did he take the liberty—typical of the time—of adding an old, extinct princely family to his own family tree, but the genealogy now also included kinship to another saint approved by the papacy. Thematically the two scenes are linked together by the fact that Poppo of Babenberg, one of the High Middle Ages' most important archbishops of Trier, was an in-law of Maximilian's. If the depiction on the *Arch of Honor* is thus taken literally, then the Trier exposition is not only on an equal footing with this important event, but, by being placed on the heraldic right side, assumes an even higher ranking. Thus, as more recent research has also shown, it becomes an event whose significance for the emperor can apparently hardly be overestimated.[7] The reason for this can be understood when one takes into consideration the events in Trier in 1512 and what led up to them.

The background to this story begins with the fact that, according to the 1493 *Nuremberg Chronicle* of Harmann Schedel, Trier was considered the fifth city founded in world history after Jerusalem, Nineveh, Sodom and Gomorrah, and Memphis—i.e., centuries before Rome. And in this ancient, imperial, even electoral residence, young Maximilian had an absolutely fateful encounter in the autumn of 1473. This took place within the framework of a political summit between his father Frederick III and one of the then most powerful regents in Europe, Charles the Bold (cat. 1), who was duke of Burgundy and father of Maximilian's future spouse Mary. Beside the successful marriage contract and the mutual problems with France's politics, there was also the question of a European stand against the Turks. The electors resided in Trier's Bischofsburg for two months. And since most of the negotiations took place only in the smallest circle, it seems clear that young Archduke Maximilian had the leisure to learn something about the mythical age of the city and its ancient buildings. For, after all, the Palastaula—or Emperor Constantine's

3
ALBRECHT ALTDORFER
The Exposition of the Trier Tunic and the Canonization of Saint Leopold Arch of Honor (detail), 1517
Woodcut
Albertina, Inv. DG1935/973



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Maximilian I. - der Kaiser und seine Künstler

Kaiser Maximilian I. (1459–1519) gehört zu den faszinierendsten Persönlichkeiten der Geschichte. Schon zu Lebzeiten mit einer fast modern anmutenden Strategie zur Verbreitung seines Nachruhms befasst, verstand er es, die besten Künstler der Zeit um sich zu versammeln. Im Zentrum des Bandes stehen die zahlreichen Werke, die sich heute im Besitz der Albertina befinden – allen voran der »Triumphzug«, ein einzigartiger Bilderfries von ursprünglich über 100 Metern Länge, den Maximilian I. bei Albrecht Altdorfer und seiner Werkstatt in Auftrag gegeben hatte. Eine erlesene Auswahl an Gemälden, illustrierten Handschriften, Skulpturen und Tapisserien aus internationalen Museen vermittelt ein farbenprächtiges Bild der Zeit. Essays mit neuesten wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen verleihen dieser Publikation den Rang eines Standardwerks. (Englische Ausgabe)