MARKETING MAXIMILIAN
The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor

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... the ornamental customs of that strange and brilliant life led by rich people, who hunt and shoot and give balls and pay each other visits ... 

—Proust, In Search of Lost Time

... The practice of hunting big game is more appropriate and necessary for kings and princes than any other. Hunting is an image of war: in it there are stratagems, traps, and snares for conquering the enemy safely; in short, it is a practice that harms no one and gives pleasure to many; and the best thing about it is that it is not for everyone, as other forms of hunting are, except for hawking, which also is only for kings and great lords.

—Cervantes, Don Quixote

6 | Magnificence and Dignity: Princely Pastimes

Although the Triumphal Procession is predicated on the emulation of ancient Roman rites of military victory (chapter 3), nonetheless a large portion of that cycle of woodcuts bears the unmistakable stamp of Maximilian's nonmilitary claims. In fact, the bulk of the woodcuts, entrusted to Burgkmair at the beginning of the frieze, present an entirely separate set of princely concerns. After an initial fanfare by a nude herald on a griffin, followed by the equivalent of a military fanfare by fifers and drummers (chapter 5), the first two large groups of marchers consist entirely of courtly figures outside the realm of combat: first hunters and then musicians and entertainers. Because no activity of Maximilian remains completely distinct from warfare, both hunting and music as well supported the virtues of strength and bravery to be fostered during peacetime for a future time of war. Nonetheless, hunting and music, along with jousting, the activity that follows the musicians and entertainers in the Triumphal Procession, were the principal, abiding passions of Maximilian's life at court when he was not on the battlefield.

Because such prerogatives were reserved exclusively to noble or princely patrons, such activities also served to promote the visible grandeur and dignity of Maximilian as emperor, and also to situate him within the highest peer group. Visual imagery as well as objects created in the service of these princely activities reveal the great importance for Maximilian of hunting, music, and heraldry—the exclusive province of individuals and families with coats of arms and titles patent. Beyond this dignity of noble rank Maximilian also reserved unto himself another princely activity, which could advance his majesty as fully in peacetime as war itself: diplomacy and territorial claims. Taken together, these diverse activities embodied his virtues of princeliness.
THE HUNT

The *Procession* begins with representatives of the hunt, the consuming passion of Maximilian’s lifetime. In the *Procession*, the first hunter is a mounted falconer, identified by name (Hans Teuschel) and followed by five other falconers. According to the dictated text of Maximilian:

The Emperor, planning constantly,
Has raised the art of falconry,
Making joys of summer and winter the same,
And ordering me to take my aim
The quest of pleasure of every sort
At all times with this feathered sport.

Burgkmair’s woodcuts fulfill the dictations to the letter; meanwhile, around the title frame fly a brace of falcons in pursuit of their varied prey: a heron, a vulture, and a duck.

Within the *Historia Friderici et Maximiliani* drawings, this kind of modest hunt was used to illustrate the prince’s deeds in youth (no. 23, *De eius gestis in infancia*; in the series it follows right after the toy crossbows and cannons that he played with as an infant (no. 19, *De eius gestis in ultimis infantiae annis*; see chapter 5). Another of the drawings by the young Altdorfer shows Maximilian as a grown boy imitating real hunters in pursuit of game animals (fig. 65); instead the boy chases barn fowl with both hounds and with the long spears used for small mountain quarry, such as ibex and chamois (see below). The text specifically points to his secret escapes from book learning in order to pursue such exercises fervently, in addition to his combat training with weapons. In addition to his youth (also marked by the archducal hat on his head, prior to his later adoption of a crown, fo. 58r, no. 29), the boy’s insecurity as a novice hunter is evident in his decision to hunt while wearing armor for additional protection.

For the significance of hawking or falconry the pages of *Weisskunig* as usual assess how such experiences are understood to form an integral part of the education of the young, ideal prince. Chapter 39, “How the Young White King Found Particular Delight in Going on Falcon Hunts [Beiz],” begins with a memorandum to himself that such activity could divert him from more sinful pursuits. As usual in *Weisskunig*, the king’s skills in falconry are celebrated with specific details of his passion:

He spared no costs but had . . . falcons brought from Tartary, the heathen land, from Russia and Prussia, from Rhodes and from many other ends of the earth. All kings of the earth knew that he gladly hunted with falcons, for which reason many falcons were sent to him and presented. He had at his court 15 falcon-masters and more than sixty falcon attendants, who did nothing else but prepare the falcons for their hunts. . . . Since the young king seldom stayed long at one place but rather traveled most of the time from one kingdom to the other, he hunted with falcons while under way, wherever he had the free time and the opportunity. . . . Even when he made war, and war was almost always made against him, he
did not allow it to interfere with the time allotted for falcon hunting. His passion for the noble falcon hunt was so great that whenever he knew where herons, vultures, ducks, magpies, or crows could be found, even if the spot lay far from his path, there he went, with no poor trail, no small storm, neither heat nor cold able to hinder him."

As is also usual in Weiβkunig, the king's innovations are celebrated in the text. In the case of falcon hunting, he introduced vultures as prey ("an especially bold and merry Beiz") and also stocked (the term is "enclosed and tended" [hogen and hüten]) his hunting regions with both heron and ducks. In the accompanying illustration (no. 41) to Weiβkunig, the young king looses blinders off the eyes of his bird. Escorted by a hound and his assistants, he rides through marshes in pursuit of their quarry, as falcons target a fleeing heron. Later, Weiβkunig, chapter 42 ("How the Young White King Delighted in Birding [Vogleren]"), describes how an older king installed various Vogelmeister, master bird-keepers, in various parts of his realm in order to capture songbirds for him and release them in his living quarters as a delight (one even followed him with a songbird during his falcon hunts). Here his interests in music (see below) and in hunting overlap.

The true significance of falconry for Maximilian is conveyed by an anecdote at the end of chapter 39 of Weiβkunig. When asked by a follower why he gives so much time over to this activity, the white king brings his interlocutor out on a hunt with the birds, asking him to guess whether a high-flying heron will be caught by the falcon. Despite the visitor's doubts, the tiny hawk succeeds, and the white king says: "Thus do I conquer my enemies." Elaborating on this cryptic observation, he adds: "You work against yourself. If I did not ride on the falcon hunt, where any man can come to me, you would not now be next to me, you would not have spoken with me."
this time, and would seldom speak with me. Someone else, however, someone now lesser than you, him you would have to follow after in great longing.” The falcon hunt, the text concludes, “is a public enjoyment and a hidden wisdom.” Indeed, Maximilian used the occasions of his frequent hunts to host his brother princes as well as royal ambassadors. He even left open the possibility of receiving more common people, who would not ordinarily have any access to him at all.

Falcon hunts served often as the occasion for general festivity. For example, the falcon hunt drawing from the cycle of wars and hunts made for Maximilian around 1516 by Jörg Breu of Augsburg (Munich, Graphische Sammlung; fig. 66) shows a large assembly of visitors along both sides of a small mountain lake. That roundel also features all moments of the falcon hunt—from the flushing of game birds from the marshes and the freeing of the eyes of the falcons upon their release to the actual combat in the air, followed by retrieval by hunting dogs, and the eventual rewards to the falcon in the form of the flesh of prey. Both the dogs and the mounted hunters with spears correspond to the youthful Maximilian in the earlier Historia drawing, and the artist has even included technical details of the falcon hunt, such as the tether (jess) that binds some of the birds to the protected wrists of their handlers. Several curious articles of the falcon hunt
of Maximilian have survived: embroidered and feathered leather hats of the emperor and Bianca Maria Sforza as well as the ornate leather Luder, or perches, held by falconers.\textsuperscript{8}

Tradition associated falconry with the princes of Europe. For example, the library of Dr. Johann Fuchsmagen, Maximilian’s trusted adviser, contained the classic treatise on falconry, penned by an earlier emperor, Frederick II: \textit{De arte venandi cum avibus}.\textsuperscript{9} For Frederick, hawking was the noblest of the forms of the hunt; in fact, it was the only truly noble form of hunting, because its conduct had to be learned through training the animals and could not be practiced through artificial aids, such as nets or snares. Of course, Frederick, the last Hohenstaufen emperor, was the perfect model monarch, at once an avid hunter as well as a competent author. Indeed, Maximilian would attempt to emulate his example with treatises on a host of practical matters, including both hunting and fishing.\textsuperscript{10}

A memorandum dictated by Maximilian to Marx Treitzsaurwein for his program of project books includes: “Jegerey . . . Valkneren . . . Vischerey . . .” (Hunting, Falconry, Fishing). Whereas Frederick’s work is characterized by the minutest of natural observations, Maximilian’s writing on the hunt remains more distracted and unscientific but equally absorbed in naturalist details of favorite sites and practical procedures for both hunting and fishing. In his \textit{Secret Hunting Book} as well as his \textit{Tyrol Hunting Book} (Tiroler Jagdbuch), he records detailed observations on localities as well as instructions for proper dress on the hunt.\textsuperscript{11} This same inventory of hunting preserves finds its equivalent for fishing in the \textit{Tyrol Fishery Book} (Tiroler Fischereibuch), completed in 1504 by Wolfgang Hohenleiter with the aid of the fish-master, Martin Fritz.\textsuperscript{12}

Perhaps as noteworthy as the contents of these books on hunting and fishing are the attractive illustrations to adorn the emperor’s own books. These contained full-page miniatures, painted by court artist Jörg Kölderer (three in the \textit{Jagdbuch}, eight in the \textit{Fischereibuch}). These images depict the landscapes with scenes of fishing and hunting, often together. In the “Lange Wiesen” scene, for example, a portrait likeness of Maximilian in his characteristic grey-green hunting costume appears in the central boat fishing on the water, while all around other hunting scenes take place, such as falconry on horseback and a stag hunt. Maximilian appears a second time in the lower left corner, as he pulls up on horseback with his party to question his fisherman at the side of a stream.\textsuperscript{13} In the \textit{Achensee} miniature the emperor on horseback in sober hunting costume contrasts markedly with the gaily dressed courtiers around him, who wear bright colors (red and yellow) and hats with gaudy feathers (fig. 67). One of them, mounted alongside Maximilian, reads to him in the manner described in the \textit{Weisskunig} text. These miniatures dramatize the seclusion of the sites, exaggerating the height and sharpness of the mountain crags while retaining a small sense of figure scale within such vast areas. In several of the miniatures, festive parties take place in which women also are present, clad in bright red dresses.

Although fishing is not represented in the \textit{Triumphal Procession} woodcuts, it plays a significant role in the text and illustrations of \textit{Weisskunig}, specifically chapter 41 (“How the Young White King Delighted in Fishing”). The text singles out the mountain lakes, naming them specifically, like the \textit{Fischereibuch}, along with their principal yields. Mountain fishing areas were especially favored,
because they also permitted hunting for mountain game, stags and chamois, as in the illustrations by Kölderer. In fact, using the lake as the final obstacle to slow a stag is a favorite technique, practiced by Maximilian and Saxon princes, as illustrated by Lucas Cranach (see below). Weißkunig reveals his hunter's sportsman mentality and naturalist's love for both the sites and the sounds of nature. The woodcut illustration of fishing (no. 43) is not by Burgkmair and is weaker than the miniatures, but it features the king with a pole amid his companions on a mountain lakeside. Additional figures in the image employ more technically sophisticated snares, one barrel-like and the other made of a narrowing basket, while a bear hunter sits with his hunting weapon in the right corner.

Hunting, the greatest of Maximilian's passions, is nowhere apostrophized so richly as in the Weißkunig text, chapter 40 ("How the young White King was Enthusiastic for the Hunting of Stags, Chamois, Ibex, Boar, and Bears"). Here, "fürstlichen Jägerei," "princely hunting," delimits the land to hunting preserves and game rights of nobles and princes. Again, the "sportsman's" love of the land and his fervor to hunt on it overlap as surely as in the Field and Stream publications of modern America: "Thus, he left game preserves [Wildbret hegen] in all kingdoms and lands for stags, ibex, chamois, boar, marmots, rabbits, and other animals, and no one might shoot or catch game in his forests and preserves [Revieren]. Had the king not preserved the game thus, ibex in particular would have extinguished."

Clear distinctions contrast noble, ancient forms of the hunt and the modern hunt by peasants: "For when handguns came in, people began to shoot ibex, which happened with the peasants, wherever they came across the preserve, with no moderation [kein Mass halten—Maximilian's own motto was "Halt Mass!"]], but rather exterminate it according to their peasant fashion." Formerly the ibex could boldly test the aim and marksmanship of the noble hunter with a crossbow, but now the animals were vulnerable to musket fire. This lamentation sounds like the clichés uttered about the loss of noble warriors upon the advent of gunpowder in warfare, a criticism that Maximilian never made, because of his delight in artillery as well as infantry tactics (chapter 5)."
But in his personal realm of direct encounter with wild animals in the hunt, he bitterly castigated the loss of older, cherished values and traditions, and he linked the offenders with his social inferiors in the country, the peasants. Not only did Maximilian delight in being able to restock this endangered species, ibex, but he even identified it as a “noble creature [edles Getier], that was given to the nobility to have its attention.”

As with his passion for jousting (chapter 5), Maximilian also became an innovator in techniques of hunting. Weisskunig praises him for introducing the “parforce- and park-hunting” of stags (the former is a hunt on horseback, chasing with hounds; the latter is a hunt within circumscribed boundaries of thick enclosures). The text continues:

I want now to say something for myself, I do not believe that a king has ever lived who was such a hunter, nor that in future times there will be his like. He was not a hunter out of habit or pride, but rather a hunter out of inborn nature and royal temperament. I want to report briefly how he preserved hunts and in what manner he conducted hunts. The king had in his kingdoms a chief hunt-master, 14 forest masters, 105 forest assistants and pensioners, who had to care for the forests, trails, hunts, and game within an extraordinarily large district. In addition, he had for his court hunts two hunt masters and 30 hunt assistants. Regularly in his kingdoms more than 1,500 hunting dogs were reserved for his hunts alone. He hunted bears with special gusto and had great joy and pleasure whenever he could spear a bear. As often as he hunted chamois, he went to the peaks in the mountains, climbed the cliffs, and shot the chamois down himself.... Someone who was not informed [eingeweiht, literally “initiated,” further implying the tight circle of associates and peers] might think, reading this, that the young king did nothing else but hawk and hunt, but that does not pertain. Hawking and hunting were the king’s pursuits primarily during great wars. The reasons are as follows. ... If another king withdrew into war, he would have made himself ready a long time in advance; the young White King was always ready for war, because he always hunted and hawked and gladly captured stags and herons in the land of his foes. No king was the equal of the young White King in combat, command, hunting, and hawking. He was an augmenter and admirer of all forests and hunts as well as game and a nurturer of upright, knightly soldiers and of all hunters, for he possessed a combative, noble, and royal nature, that I will now reveal. Not only did he wish to be a prepared hunter, by first enclosing a preserve and then hunting and capturing game, but he was still more prepared to win lands, cities, and castles in war. Although he also was a master falconer, he was a still better master for bringing mighty kings, princes, and lords under his will. The young White King was an unsurpassed hunter, falconer, warrior, and commander and also bested all kings in the four chief virtues, which every king should possess. Whoever is learned in histories and in tales [Historien und Geschichten] will not say that I exaggerate. Yet my writing is composed for the greater understanding of the common people [gemeine Völck].

Magnificence and Dignity 175
Nowhere else is the analogy presented more graphically between the skills and endurance of hunting and those of warfare, practiced by the prince as commander and knight.

Given the aristocratic tenor of most of the narrative in Weißkunig, there is little reason to take that final gesture to the common folk at face value. Even more than that text, princely virtues inform the verse romance of Teuerdank (completed in 1517). Just as the emperor calls himself the “great hunter” (gros Waldmann) in his Secret Hunting Book, he also gives over the bulk of adventurous episodes in Teuerdank to the hunt. (Of the eighty-eight trials undergone by the hero, thirty-four involve the very animals mentioned in Weißkunig and celebrated in the Triumphal Procession: fifteen chamois hunted in dangerous mountain crags, eight boars, five stags, three bears, and one bird).15 Visually, too, the illustrations of Weißkunig and Teuerdank differ little for the subjects of the hunt. Woodcut no. 40 of Weißkunig shows the king, dressed in the same practical clothes as in the Jagdbuch miniatures by Kölderer, with an aide at the base of a vertical cliff high in the mountains. A shot from his crossbow has just brought down a chamois, whose frightened companion flees in terror. Across a gorge, two assistants with spears look on in astonishment; above them a pair of hunting dogs corner another chamois. Such scenes recur in abundance within Teuerdank, altered chiefly by the presence of the necessary allegorical figures mentioned in the text: both the herald Ehrenhold and the villain of the moment.16 Within the Triumphal Procession woodcuts, ibex and chamois hunting follow directly after falcon hunting (woodcut no. 7), led by a mounted leader, identified in the text by name (Conrad Zuberle). The woodcuts show chamois hunters with the animals as well as with mountain-climbing equipment necessary for their specialized expeditions.17

Woodcut no. 42 of Weißkunig, directly after both chamois hunting and falconry, features a stag hunt, led by hounds but trailed by the White King on foot, restraining a mastiff. In Teuerdank, the first scene with a stag is more dramatic. The illustration shows the king on horseback delivering a coup de grâce with his sword from horseback (no. 13, by Hans Schäufelein; fig. 68). In this case, the picture stresses individual heroism rather than love of either the hunt or the outdoors. A later scene from Teuerdank, no. 33, shows the king mounted on horseback with a sword in the process of a Parforcejagd, chasing a stag that disappears into the woods.

Surprisingly, there is no chamois hunt among the roundels made for Maximilian by by Jörg Breu at the hunting lodge at Lermos, but the stag hunt in that cycle of drawings is documentary in character, akin to the Kölderer miniatures in the Jagdbuch in stressing the setting as well as techniques of the hunt rather than the glory of the emperor-hunter (fig. 69).18 At the center of the image, a pair of deer stand placidly in a clearing surrounded by trees and hedges; in the right distance a fence is visible as a restraint to the movement of other stags, who are being chased by hounds. This, then, is the Parkjagd, conducted by assistants visible in the foreground, one of whom is loading a crossbow, while the rest relax and tend the hounds. Similar figures reappear in woodcut no. 9 of the Triumphal Procession, followed by deer hunters with hunting horns and switches, employed in flushing the animals and driving them ahead for the hounds and huntsmen. Then either nets or fences or a body of water set up boundaries, as in the Achensee miniature, to slow the animals up for the kill.
The special esteem given such hunts suggested powerful metaphors in medieval thought. A stag hunt carried the same powerful associations of aristocratic participation but also had its own special rituals, as exemplified by Sir Tristram in Malory’s *Morte d’Arthur*: “Stop! What are you doing? Who ever saw a stag cut up in that way? Is that your custom in this country?” The stag is dressed according to a set procedure, then given to the master hunter for *la fourchée*, when the liver and other parts are given to a servant on a fork. Then follows *la curée*, where entrails are rewarded to the dogs as a reward, and *le present*, where the head of the animal, placed on a branch, is offered to the king along with the previously prepared fork, following a procession led by hunting horns. The entire event is serious, hierarchical, and linked to exclusive aristocratic privilege. Indeed, knowledge of the hunt ritual is itself a sign of initiation into the club of noble peers, bonding them through shared activity, much as Frederick II saw hawking as the only truly noble hunt. Even the implements of this ritual carving of a game animal were distinguished from the ordinary. One remarkable set of hunting-knives was produced for Maximilian by his royal knifesmith, Hans Sumersperger. This set (Stift Kremsmünster) consists of a serving knife for offering choice pieces to select noblemen, two heavy knives for cutting and skinning, and a delicate table knife and fork. On the blued ground of the knives rich gilded decoration accords with the elaborate ceremonial swords produced by Sumersperger for Maximilian in 1496 (chapter 5). The serving knife shows an emperor, identified as Sigismund, and an Austrian archduke, identified as Maximilian’s kinsman and predecessor in Tyrol, Sigismund, to indicate the original royal ownership of the implements. With prayers to patron Saints Sigismund and George, foliage and stag hunts further decorate the blades.

Aristocratic participants in particular stag hunts appear in representations by Lucas Cranach for the Saxon court. The earliest, a two-part, oversize woodcut *Stag Hunt* (ca. 1506), shows a Saxon
Jörg Breu the Elder, *Stag Hunt*, stained glass window design for
Lermos, ca. 1516, ink. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.

castle in the background. In addition, several paintings of Saxon stag hunts by Cranach detail stages of the hunt. One posthumously commemorates a hunt given by Frederick the Wise (d. 1523) for Maximilian (d. 1519), apparently in 1497 at the time of great tournament festivities in Innsbruck (1529; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; see fig. 87). Such pictures suggest, like the surviving commemorative tournament books (see below) particular occasions featuring prominent guests enjoying sport together. The Vienna Cranach picture includes a boat with an audience of women, akin to the miniatures in Maximilian's hunting and fishing books. Portraits of Duke Johann, Frederick, and Maximilian himself are also clearly delineated with their hunting gear across the foreground.

More dangerous, if less noble, animals were also hunted by Maximilian: boars and bears. Although neither is illustrated in *Weisskunig*, both are featured as heroic images in *Teuerdank*. Invariably, these bold encounters feature single combat between one man, armed with a long speak, and a ferocious beast. A similar woodcut image by Cranach (ca. 1507) shows a Saxon prince on horseback accompanied by hunting dogs against a boar in the forest. Such encounters, however, were far from the rule. In Breu's roundel drawing of the *Boar Hunt*, a team of assistants trail a pack of hounds in running the boar to the ground before dispatching him with spears. This kind of
scene was portrayed more than a century later by Rubens in his several _Boar Hunts_ as well as in his _Wolf and Fox Hunt_ (New York, Metropolitan Museum). Bears were usually wounded first by means of a crossbow and then stuck with a special spear; they, too, were hunted in teams because of the danger they posed, despite the heroic single encounters pictured in _Teuerdank_. Breu’s _Bear Hunt_ roundel (fig. 70), presumably more accurate, pictures Maximilian with a spear in front of the bear at bay (still vicious, however, as it claws and bites the hounds that assail it), while his assistants stand ready to protect him in case of a mishap (all before a beautiful setting of forest, crags, and mountain lake, like the _Jagdbuch_ miniatures).

In the _Triumphal Procession_, boar and bear hunters complete the procession of Maximilian’s court hunters behind a chief, identified in the dictation as Wilhem von Greysen. Their distinctive weapons of the boar hunters, long, spearlike swords, are visible (no. 12) before the bear hunters, led by Diepol von Slandersberg, credited with having “instituted a rare new style in fearsome bear hunting.” The text also refers to “rules of venery,” even for this most violent of European game animals. This structure indicates once more how the hunt, like the tournament, remained an activity of princely men, governed by strict rules.
The importance of the hunt for the self-esteem and identity of Maximilian becomes clear from a pair of images that need not have contained this more private form of recreation. The first is the frontispiece, mentioned above, to the 1512 Privilege Book of the House of Austria, whose borders are filled with an elaborate miniature of several hunts: hawking, chamois, and stag hunts.²⁹ Under a heraldic shield of Austria, crowned by the archduke’s hat, Maximilian is characterized as “Archidux Austriæ Ro Imperii supremus venator” (Archduke of Austria, supreme hunter of the Roman Empire). The other key hunting image is the woodcut by Albrecht Altdorfer for the left tower of the Arch of Honor (fig. 71).³⁰ Maximilian appears in characteristic hunter’s dress with horn and knife like a stag hunter; he stands between a forest and a mountain crag, above a fish-stocked lake. The variety of quarry is the same as in the Triumphant Procession: chamois, ibex, stag, boar, and bear. The accompanying verses read:

Field and stream were his concern
as fearlessly he took his turn
to hunt for mountain-goat, stag, and boar
for his enjoyment evermore.
Many a deer he let survive;
caught and kept tame and alive.³¹

A novel feature of the woodcut is the large round, crowned wheel, held lightly in the hand of the hunter-emperor. This object has been interpreted as the wheel of fortune, repeated on the livery of Ehrenhold, the herald of Teuerdank.³² Of course, in Teuerdank the hero’s good fortune and divine providence are stressed repeatedly throughout the text, as he escapes injury during all of his adventures and accidents, including hunts.

Related to this concern for fortune, controlled by the will of God, is one pious practice, instituted by Maximilian and continued to this day. In the Secret Hunting Book, Maximilian speaks of rising by 3 a.m. and quickly saying mass before departing for the hunt, but in 1514 he donated four candles to be lighted in perpetuity in the parish church of Wilten bei Innsbruck in memory of the loss of his leading chamois-master, Kaspar Gramaiser, in a fall during a hunt in the mountains. With these candles “we, our court servants, chamois, and other hunters may be protected on hunts against accidents and harm.”³³

Sport of kings since the earliest epochs of art making, hunt scenes have included the lion reliefs of Assyrian kings from Nineveh (seventh century BC; London, British Museum).³⁴ In addition to the treatise on hawking by Frederick II, mentioned above, a similarly complete survey of hunting was produced by Gaston Phébus, comte de Foix and Lord of Bearn (who died, appropriately enough, on a bear hunt in 1391): the Livre de la chasse.³⁵ It, too, offers a detailed naturalist’s study of fourteen different varieties of game as well as various breeds of hounds. Such observations not only contributed to the eventual advancement of biological science but also offered testimony to the intense, personal involvement of noble hunters in their pastime. The sanction for later illustrated treatises, such as the several illuminated versions of Phébus, was established from the outset by
Frederick’s example—not as a sign of learning but as a technical manual to communicate information and accumulated practical experience.

Maximilian’s texts about hunting and fishing continue this pragmatic tone in their specific attention to particular sites and the game featured there. Their illustrations also feature the same kinds of site-specific hunting. But the ceremonial and celebratory aspects of the hunt closest to the tone of the Weiskunig ideal can only be found in an artwork tribute to Maximilian after his death: a tapestry cycle, designed by Bernard van Orley of Brussels, ca. 1530, on the subject of the hunt.36 Traditionally titled the Hunts of Maximilian, these twelve drawings and their tapestry realizations are conserved in the Louvre.37 The site of these hunts seems to be the forest of Soignes, a large preserve near Brussels, but each tapestry corresponds to a month of the year, marked by the appropriate sign of the zodiac in its border, as the changing landscapes mark the movement of the seasons. A central figure on horseback in the December tapestry, The Killing of the Boar, though traditionally identified as Maximilian, should more properly be seen as his look-alike grandson, Ferdinand. In any case, the cycle pays tribute to the Habsburg love of hunting, staged within the
context of the Netherlands. As Balis points out, the cycle conforms to prescriptions laid down by Gaston Phbus, including elaborate prehunt banquets (similar to the ritualized banquets and masquerades that follow every tournament; see below) and ritual carving (no. 8, with “fouail,” where the dogs leap for upheld vitals; and “kuret,” where they are loosed on the sound of horns for their portion of the stag; see also no. 11 for the boar). These hunting scenes combine the action of both Weisskunig and Teuerdank illustrations with the accuracy of costume and portraiture in the Triumphal Procession woodcuts.

Just as images of the hunt ornamented the house or hunting lodge of a prince, so did the activity of the hunt—at once physical and healthy, yet also infused with special skills and the knowledgeable appreciation of nature—adorn the character of its free and noble practitioner.³⁸ It could be a favored form of training, as Castiglione’s Book of the Courtier makes clear: “There are also other exercises which, although not immediately dependent upon arms, still have much in common therewith and demand much manly vigor, and chief among these is the hunt, it seems to me, because it has a certain resemblance to war. It is a true pastime for great lords, it befits a courtier, and one understands why it was so much practiced among the ancients.”³⁹ But the true epigraph for the hunt as the crown to noble effort is given by Shakespeare in As You Like It (act 4, scene, 2):

Let’s present him to the Duke, like a Roman conquerer;
and it would do well to set the deer’s horns upon his
head for a branch of victory.

TOURNAMENT SPECTACLE

Like the hunt, knightly games or tournaments (chapter 5) provided a vivid peacetime facsimile for the skills of warfare, as well as a mark of class distinction reserved only for the nobility. Thus, they provided Maximilian’s other chief form of leisure activity. Much of this tournament combat and its technology of armor is discussed elsewhere, in conjunction with the martial arts. However, courtly spectacle and entertainments associated with the tournament also formed an important part of princely activity. Like the hunt, practical experience in jousts remained more important than what one could learn from books. Weisskunig (chapter 46) declares, “one who wants to become famous in this needs practice with deeds and not learning from texts.”⁴⁰ A king’s renown for his practical skills in hunt or tournament makes him a model for his peers, so they flock to him. Weisskunig also underscores the analogy between jousts and wars, in which honor can be won or demonstrated, but also the role of tournaments to provide visible magnificence: “Whenever he had respite from wars, he had tournaments held at his court and was in them himself. His court became famous throughout the world as a result, so that from many lands came princes, counts, lords, and knights, who, however, were bested by the king. It should be noted that he extended his knightly hand towards kingly honor, which he then attained in the future memory of the people with great honor.”⁴¹
The verses at the top of the *Arch of Honor* alongside the Altdorfer woodcut image of the emperor's tournaments and entertainments proclaim:

From jousting and other knightly game  
He derived great pleasure, also fame.  
By everyone it was believed  
That no prince ever had achieved  
Such excellence and reaped such praise  
Instead of the anguish of early days.⁴²

Included in the corner of the woodcut (see fig. 56) alongside the three principal forms of jousting (*Rennen, Stechen*, and *Fusskampf*, chapter 5) is a fourth, equally indispensable form of tournament activity: the costume masquerade. Here masked and turbaned courtiers stand and converse, completing the image just as they completed the tournament events with a final festivity.

Tournament spectacle imagery in the *Historia Friderici et Maximiliani* (no. 36, *De eius hasticis certaminibus*) follows directly behind the image of the hunt (no. 35) and after several images of the emperor's clemency and diplomacy (nos. 32–34; see below). In addition, right after the tournament comes an illustration of a masquerade (no. 37, *De eius spectaculis*).⁴³ In the tournament image, a mounted joust (*Rennen*) takes place, in which a figure, clearly marked as Maximilian by means of Burgundian arms (St. Andrew's cross with inserted flints), strikes his opponent with his lance within a palace courtyard. A large cluster of knights and attendants, including costumed heralds, view the contest. Maximilian regarded such an image of his triumph in jousting as a form of boasting, and he added an autograph annotation to the drawing, "*lyber laudis post mortem*" (better to be praised posthumously).

Luxurious ornamentation on tournament armor makes clear (chapter 5) that jousting was one of the most splendid public displays, a fitting segment within the *Triumphal Procession*’s courtly figures (Burgkmair woodcuts nos. 41–56). Moreover, many of the most splendid tournaments were held on festive occasions, such as an imperial Diet or princely marriage. In accord with traditions of knightly romances, such ordered combats offered a noble form of *Frauendienst*, homage to ladies.⁴⁴ Of course, the model for such spectacular tournaments at marriages derives from the Burgundy of Maximilian’s father-in-law, Charles the Rash, whose own third marriage to the English princess, Margaret of York in Bruges (1468) already had achieved legendary status.⁴⁵

Because Maximilianic tournaments were not recorded with the kind of scrupulous care that Olivier de la Marche gave to the Burgundian instances, we cannot be sure about their forms and rules, but usually such tournaments were organized around a central fable. At the Bruges marriage in 1468, that fable made Anthony, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, into a protagonist; he was supposed to rescue the Lady of the *Ile celée* from distress and to contest 101 lances and 101 sword blows, as well as to decorate a Golden Tree with the heraldic arms of great champions. The contests were carefully regulated by both judges and heralds, and all the results were duly recorded. Throughout the competition, heraldic arms and colors were invested with special importance,
and ceremonial behavior framed all the combats. Feasts, held as the festive climax of the wedding, included theatrical miming performances, loosely composed around the theme of the labors of Hercules and accompanied by splendidly costumed heraldic animal personifications as well as animal-costumed musicians and entertainers. Documents reveal that in 1495 at Worms on the occasion of the Diet a mass tournament with swords was held, with all of the participants taking the identities of Arthurian knights or heroes of medieval German romances. These festive and ceremonial aspects of tournaments served increasingly as their raison d'être, marked occasions when gentlemen met one another. Indeed, this same combination of pomp and martial display survived to the end of the sixteenth century in the royal context of Elizabethan England's Accession Day Tilts, stage-managed by Sir Henry Lee.

If the Freydal illustrations can be trusted to correspond with real Maximilian tournament trappings, the range of colors and decorations was truly splendid and bizarre, comparable to the analogous record-books that preserved the results of other tournaments among German princes. One example is the splendid Tournament Book of Duke Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous of Saxony (ca. 1535; Coburg), made by the workshop of Lucas Cranach. This Cranach book commemorates the prowess of the Saxon duke in 146 tournament competitions between 1521 and 1534. Like Freydal except for being explicitly documentary rather than fictionalized, this tournament book shows jousting duels on facing pages and gives careful attention to details of costume and outcomes through recorded inscriptions concerning participants, location, and date. At an earlier date, Lucas Cranach had issued commemorative woodcuts for the Saxon court, one as early as 1506 and three in the year 1509 alone, which celebrated a splendid tournament of November 1508 in Wittenberg (fig. 72). Maximilian's own field marshal, Caspar von Lamberg (ca. 1460-1544), also owned a book of 115 pages with 88 depictions of Rennen and Stechen in gouache, and a posthumous tournament book of Maximilian (ca. 1550-60; Augsburg) was prepared by Hans Burgkmair the Younger after his father's woodcuts to the Triumphal Procession.

Like the Historia illustration and Freydal cycles, and a Hans Burgkmair woodcut for Weiskunig (fig. 73), tournaments ended with dances and masquerades (Mummereien). These too were based on courtly precedents in Burgundy and Italy, invariably including thematic costumes, usually of an exotic or foreign cast, worn by the guests. In the Historia illustration five masked men with feathered hats enter and approach five ladies at table; in the Arch woodcut of tournaments by Altdorfer they wear turbans. Only the golden chain and foreground location identify Maximilian in the Historia. Burgkmair's costumes feature bird faces and turbans. Dürer's lone woodcut illustration of a masquerade for Freydal shows a circle dance with masked men bearing torches; the central woman facing the viewer wears a crown that distinguishes her from her companions (fig. 74). Several men wear golden chains, but here Freydal stands with a feathered hat and a chain in the doorway. Above, a gallery box holds viewers of various classes, including a central crowned woman, whose royal dignity is further marked by a brocade draped over the balcony.

In Burgkmair's Triumphal Procession woodcuts the masquerade (nos. 31-32) follows the section of musicians and serves as transition to the long series of tournament armor woodcuts. It is pre-
eced by a cluster of jesters (nos. 27–28) and natural fools (i.e., madmen used for court amusement, nos. 29–30), led by the famous Conrad von der Rosen. The jester cart is drawn by wild ponies, while the natural fools are drawn, appropriately, by asses, whose ears are the very emblem of folly in Sebastian Brant’s Ship of Fools (1494) as well as on the costumes of fools and jesters. Clearly the masquerade entertainments follow closely upon other delights of court life, offered by musicians and fools. Of course, masquerades also included dancing to court music, generally to fifes and drums (which also served the new infantry forces; chapter 5). Moreover, masquerades offered a temporal license for a carnival atmosphere, marked by the emphatically noncourtly costume roles. Thus, a natural overlap and affinity prevailed between masquerades and both music and folly.

The Procession text for Burgkmair’s woodcut of masquerade names Peter von Altenhaus, its master. Despite comical or exotic costumes, this text makes clear how the masquerade was reserved for knights and designed for entertainment within decorous limits. Behind the master of the masquerade Burgkmair shows two ranks of mummers carrying burning torches, as in Dürer’s woodcut. The Freydal illustrations all make masquerades the final event of individual tournaments, so there are sixty-four separate festive entertainments commemorated in the planned text. Most astonishing is their variety of fantastic costumes, which depict alternative classes, personalities,
or nationalities. Designed by master tailor Martin Trummer, they included the following motifs: fools, clowns, peasants, hunters, mountain men, monks, Turks, Hungarians, Venetians, Spaniards, Burgundians, as well as giants, apes, and bird-headed creatures, among others. Dances included both row and circle dances, both of which appear among the *Freydal* illustrations, sometimes with torches, as in the Dürer woodcut. Leitner observes that besides dancing, other activities took place at masquerades: distribution of prizes (no. 52, costumes with crowns and motley); mock-tournaments (no. 116, a pike battle between infantry men [*Landsknechten*] and peasants); and obscure courtly ceremonies, perhaps some version of courtly love, or *Minnedenst* (no. 96, in Burgundian costumes, but with apes in mocking imitation of the ceremonial gestures).

The fullest explanation of the variety of *Freydal* illustrations is furnished by the idealized *Weißen kunig* text. Included among the learning experiences of the young White King chapter 34 glorifies “How the Young White King Surpassed Other Kings with Banquets and *Mummereien*”:

The young White King heard much in his youth about banquets and masquerades, which other kings held. So he had the desire and informed himself with much effort in what
manner and according to what custom such a king would arrange his banquets and masquerades. He spared no costs or efforts for them; for no one can invent such a thing by himself, he must have a procedure, instruction, and experience.... These brought him prizes at tournaments and honor at festivals. Not that he was a spectator, but rather to the joy of his people and to the honor of the foreign guests he took part in every way and was particularly glad to masquerade, where he had his own pleasures and each time thought up a special mask and shape. Although he was the most warlike king, so may anyone see from my text that he was also the merriest king. ... I am certain that [his banquets, masquerades, and festivals] will be written about in their own book [Freydal].

A permanent impression of such masquerades appears in an architectural decoration by Maximilian on the Innsbruck Hofburg: the Golden Roof (Goldenes Dachl, 1497–1500).\textsuperscript{16} This loge balcony commemorates the celebrations held in honor of Maximilian’s second marriage in 1497 to Bianca Maria Sforza of Milan. (Innsbruck hosted major tournaments for Maximilian in 1492, 1497, and 1498.) The balcony also marks the place of intersection in the Old Town of Innsbruck between the palace and the public, and it surely must have served as the royal box for viewing tournaments.
or festivities in the square below, like the Lucas Cranach tournament woodcuts for the Saxon court. The Goldenes Dachl was built by master mason Niklaus Türing and completed by the inscribed date of 1500. Its two stories of multimedia decoration unfold a spectacle of courtly display. The lower zone below the glass windows presents a frieze with reliefs of the territorial arms claimed by Maximilian: Styria, Tyrol, Milan, Burgundy, Germany (single eagle for Maximilian as king of the Romans), Holy Roman Empire (double eagle), Hungary, Austria. The windows are flanked by two giant, painted foot soldiers, Landsknechten, bearing banners with the arms of both Tyrol and Germany. This kind of heraldry conforms to both military and tournament usage, to offer a ready means of identifying the combatants in an age that saw the eclipse of specialized heralds who had traditionally fulfilled that role. Like the elevated balcony location, which differentiated the ruling class from its inferiors (note the many balconies in Freydal illustrations for royal viewing of masquerades), the use of arms on banners and pennons was a privilege reserved for the upper nobility and served, as noted above, as an integral part of the tournament festivities in Burgundy. The open balcony above presents a figural relief. Above a cloth of honor Maximilian and his new Milanese bride appear in the center. They are accompanied by his first wife, Mary of Burgundy, along with both councilors and court fools, as if in permanent audience at a tournament or masquerade.

The festive event being staged across four panels on the edges of the Goldenes Dachl relief is a wild dance, a Moriskentanz (“moors’ dance,” or “morris-dance” in Elizabethan English). This frenzied competition is waged for a fair woman’s favor, in this case the prize of a golden apple held by Bianca Maria. Such an image reappears as illustration 36 of Freydal, where a host of masqueraders, clad in the motley of fools, dance wildly around a static figure of a woman, who holds up a golden apple as their prize. Like such a fantastic masquerade performance, the morris-dance is a combination of the foolish and the foreign, here “moorish” (including pseudo-Hebrew inscriptions on the banners of the dancers), music and movement. Moreover, in the courtly tradition of Frauendienst, the queen has reduced these splendidly dressed courtiers (one of whom can be identified by his arms as the Hofmeister, chief of the Innsbruck Regiment, Michael von Wolkenstein, ca. 1460–1523) to the state of prancing fools.

The Goldenes Dachl is finally climaxed by an open loggia, where the actual monarch and his court would appear. This loggia is crowned on four columns by the gilded copper-tiled roof that gives the structure its name. More than any other architectural creation for Maximilian, except perhaps for the nearby Armorial Tower (Wappenturm; see below), also appended to the Hofburg in Innsbruck, the Goldenes Dachl proudly and permanently displays the courtly splendor of the emperor to his “capital” city. The loggia is further ornamented by festive frescoes, presumably painted by court painter Jörg Kölderer, depicting dancers, musicians, and women in a Mayday play, as well as decorative animals.

One final, verbal work serves to mark the festive world of the masquerade as well as the princely world of the hunt: Conrad Celtis’s Latin play, Ludus Dianae, produced for Maximilian at Linz in 1501, just as later mythic masques by Ben Jonson were penned for the Stuart royal court in seventeenth-century England. In that work, the goddess of the hunt, Diana, along with her
retinue of satyrs and other forest creatures, crowns the king with her attributes and declares him to be her special favorite, the *venator maximus,* before the entire court, including Bianca Maria, the duke of Milan, as well as the author. The goddess offers to the king her bow and quiver, spear and net, as she proffers her title to hunting skills and venues. Later the play presents the forest god Silvanus, whose praise of Maximilian as the mightiest warrior is accompanied by a charge to the emperor to pursue a crusade, much as the famed Feast of the Pheasant had used courtly entertainments in order to elicit pledges by Philip the Good and the nobles of Burgundy to make a crusade in 1454. Along with this serious side, the *Ludus Dianae* also admixed set dance and music pieces by companies of nymphs, fauns, and satyrs, as well as choral pieces of thanks to the emperor, much as we imagine masquerades to have been staged.

MUSIC

Directly after the hunting segment of the *Triumphal Procession* follow the court musicians (after a single interlude of five court valets attending on the king: cupbearer, cook, barber, tailor, and cobbler). Indeed, musicians head the entire procession. Fifers and drummers, the musicians for both the masquerades and the military, are singled out as the first feature (woodcuts nos. 3–4) of the *Procession.* They are led by “Anthony the fifer,” whose verses proclaim his varied roles, both military and festive:

I, Anthony of Dornstädt, have played my fife
For Maximilian, great in strife,
In many lands, on countless journeys,
In battles fierce and knightly jousts [ritterlicher pan],
At grave times or in holiday,
And so in this Triumph with honor I play.

Serving the Imperial arms
In knightly joust and war's alarms.
Always prepared, the fifer blows
Times gay and stern, as this Triumph shows.

This music conflates tournament and battle, entertaining spectacle and chivalric proving ground. This ability to behave like a prince in peace and in war was the hallmark of Maximilian's ambition and of all his training and experience within the central section of *Weisskunig.* Thus fifers and drummers, appropriate to both the military victories underlying the *Triumphal Procession* as well as beating time for the stately spectacle of that march, were chosen to head this courtly yet military parade.