



Department of History and Civilization

**Cosmopolitan Aristocracy and the
Diffusion of Baroque Culture:
Cultural Transfer from Spain to Austria
in the Seventeenth Century**

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INTRODUCTION

In 1666, the bond of kinship between the Austrian and Spanish Habsburg monarchies was continued by the marriage of Leopold I and Infanta Margarita Teresa of Spain. Shortly after the Spanish Princess had arrived in Vienna with her entourage, the Emperor complained about the Spanish ladies, who wanted everything done according to their Spanish customs and habits. »The local *mujeres españolas* want to make my court entirely Spanish, but I cannot let them have their way«, he wrote to his ambassador in Spain, Count Pötting.¹ Overall, cultural differences and the rejection of the German language by the Spanish ladies, as well as disputes concerning rank were frequently an issue in Leopold's correspondence with Count Pötting.²

Although the Emperor repeatedly emphasised that he was not willing to introduce any changes or innovations at his court, it is undeniable that the Spanish-Austrian relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made their marks on the imperial court, on the Viennese townscape, and on the cultural landscape of the Austrian Habsburg territories in general. In many respects, the Emperor himself furthered a cultural transfer from Spain to Austria. The reception of Spanish theatre, and especially the plays by Calderón, saw the heyday in Vienna in this epoch. Leopold I frequently instructed his ambassadors in Spain to send copies of the latest performances and music compositions to Vienna, not least since his wife had such a longing to hear Spanish music, as he once remarked.³ Probably one of

¹ »[...] die hiesigen *mujeres españolas* wollen mein hoff ganz spanisch machen, ich kann es ihnen aber nicht angehen lassen [...]«. Leopold I. to Franz Eusebius Pötting, 1666, December 10. In: Alfred Francis Pribram – Moriz Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I. an den Graf F. E. Pötting: 1662-1673*, vol. 1, Vienna 1903, p. 265.

² In December 1666 he wrote for instance: »Übrigens ist mir noch dieses eingefallen, euch zu berichten, dass die Spanier alles auf Spanisch wollen gehalten haben und das will mir gar nicht in kopf gehen. Noch zu dato habe ich auch allezeit erst um 1 oder 2 uhr gegessen, so mir unmöglich wäre in die länge auszudauern, wird also wohl nicht übel sein, wann die Königin ihnen allhier zu verstehen geben wollte, dass sie keine Neuerung allhier anheben sollten.« Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna, 1666 December 9. Ibidem, vol. 1, pp. 264-265.

³ »Weilen mein gemahl allweil verlangte, spanische musik zu hören, wollet also schauen, dass ihr mir schickt tonos humanos auf ein, zwei oder meistens drei stimmen, und wär mir lieber, wann man die ganze musik haben könnte und eine komedi, so vor etlichen Jahren gehalten worden, und heißt *Zelos aun del ayre matan*. [...]«. Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna, 1667 January 6.

the best-known testimonies of the cultural relations between the two monarchies is the Spanish Riding School in Vienna, which is today one of the city's landmarks. Its foundation goes back to the sixteenth century, when Spanish horses and Spanish know-how of horse breeding permeated all of Europe. In his study *Die Kultur der Spanier in Österreich unter Ferdinand I.*, Christopher Laferl pointed to the central role the Spaniards played at the court of Ferdinand I in this respect. Ferdinand even wanted a »*planta de la traça de la cavalleriza*« from Spain, a plan for »the ideal construction of a riding stable«. ⁴ Certainly, the building, which hosts the Spanish Riding School today, has no longer anything in common with the riding stable of the sixteenth century, but instead it dates from the eighteenth century and is a masterpiece produced by Fischer von Erlach.

Interest and demand in Spanish know-how and cultural goods are unquestioned, and in the case of Ferdinand I even self-evident. Born and raised in Spain, Ferdinand was throughout all his life closely attached to his native country and its culture. When he left Spain in 1518 as a young man of fifteen years in order to take over the reign in the Austrian hereditary lands, he was accompanied by a number of Spanish nobles who formed part of his court in Vienna and who cultivated their customs and cultural practices far away from their home country. The dynastic links between the two Habsburg branches in the following hundred and fifty years provided a similar framework for a continuous Spanish cultural presence in the Austrian Habsburg monarchy. ⁵

Ibidem, vol. 1, p. 278. The play is by Calderón and was first performed in Madrid in 1662. For the reception of Calderón's plays in Vienna see Alfred Noe, *Die Rezeption spanischer Dramen am Wiener Kaiserhof des 17. Jahrhunderts. Versuch einer Bilanz*. In: *Daphnis* 30/1-2 (2001), pp. 159-219. As regards theatre transfer see also the contributions by Sommer-Mathis. Here only exemplary Andreas Sommer-Mathis, *Spanische Festkultur am Wiener Kaiserhof. Ein Beitrag zum europäischen Kulturtransfer im 17. Jahrhundert*. In: *Frühneuzeit-Info* 11/1 (2000), pp. 7-15.

⁴ Christopher F. Laferl, *Die Kultur der Spanier in Österreich unter Ferdinand I. 1522-1564*, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar 1997, p. 144.

⁵ Ferdinand Opll – Karl Rudolf, *Spanien und Österreich*, Vienna 1991. For Spanish-Austrian relations see also the contributions in Friedrich Edelmayr (ed.), *Hispania – Austria II. Die Epoche Philipps II (1556-1598) / La época de Felipe II (1556-1598)*, Vienna-Munich 1999, as well as the contributions in Wolfram Krömer (ed.), *Spanien und Österreich in der Renaissance. Akten des Fünften Spanisch-Österreichischen Symposions (Wien, 21.-25. September 1987)*, Innsbruck 1989, and Ibidem (ed.), *Spanien und Österreich im Barockzeitalter. Akten des Dritten Spanisch-Österreichischen Symposions (Kremsmünster, 25. – 30. September 1983)*, Innsbruck 1985.

This study aims to reveal traces of Spanish cultural influences on the seventeenth-century Austrian Habsburg monarchy, or to be more precise, on courtly and aristocratic culture. The focus is however less on the ruling houses, but rather more on the aristocratic society and its contribution to cultural transfer processes from Spain to Austria. Tracing themes of alteration in aristocratic self-representation, evoked by political, social and cultural changes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this study examines the role of culture in general, and cultural borrowings in particular, in the process of aristocratic re-invention. »A nobleman has to be curious«, Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein once argued. »Thereby he distinguishes himself from the ordinary man.«⁶ This *curiosity* in every respect was beyond any doubt a decisive factor for cultural transfer processes.

Recent studies, like those of Ronald Asch, Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, Thomas Winkelbauer, and many others, have already examined the different strategies the European aristocracy developed in order to »adopt to a new cultural climate and at the same time to reassert their social and cultural hegemony«.⁷ In studying the Austrian aristocracy and its interest in foreign cultural practices, with a primary focus on Spanish influences, this study aims to offer an additional narrative of seventeenth-century aristocratic culture and the changes in aristocratic self-perception and self-representation on the one hand, and early modern cultural transfer processes on the other. Moreover, contrary to many studies that analyse

⁶ »[...] *dessen wehsenheit [=des Adeligen] jedoch sein solte, curios zu sein, was schenes, statliches, rares und kinstliches ist, zu schatzen und zu lieben, zu verlangen und zu ieben [...]. Dan da bei dem Adel kein curiositet, zu schatzen und zu lieben, was schen, vornehm und kunstreich, und consequenter rar, so ist von selbigem kein unterschied zwischen dem gemeinen man und ihme [...].*« Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein, *Werk von der Architektur*. In: Victor Fleischer, Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein als Bauherr und Kunstsammler (1611-1684), Vienna-Leipzig 1910, p. 94.

⁷ Ronald G. Asch, *Nobilities in Transition 1550-1700. Courtiers and Rebels in Britain and Europe*, London 2003, p. 2. Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, *The Castilian aristocracy in the seventeenth century: crisis, refeudalisation, or political offensive?* In: I. A. A. Thompson – Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla (eds.), *The Castilian crisis of the seventeenth century. New perspectives on the economic and social history of seventeenth-century Spain*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 277-300, and more recently *Ibidem*, *¿Traición de la burguesía vs. crisis de la aristocracia? Por una revisión de la historia social y de la cultura de las elites de la Europa del Antiguo Régimen*. In: Carmen Sanz Ayán – Bernardo J. García García (eds.), *Banca, Crédito y Capital. la Monarquía Hispánica y los antiguos Países Bajos (1505-1700)*, Madrid 2006, pp. 509-531. For the Austrian aristocracy for example Thomas Winkelbauer, *Krise der Aristokratie? Zum Strukturwandel des Adels in den böhmischen und niederösterreichischen Ländern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. In: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 100 (1992), pp. 328-353.

aristocratic society from a predominantly regional perspective, this study shifts its attention to trans-regional aspects of aristocratic society and culture.⁸ In doing so, particular attention is given to the social and cultural encounters between the Austrian and Spanish aristocracies. The extent to which networks and relations provided channels for a cultural transfer from Spain to Austria will be examined. Following the main ideas of the concept of cultural transfer, which will be presented in more detail in Chapter 1, this study analyses the *process* of transfer, thus it gives attention to the ways of distribution. It addresses the central figures in these processes and how foreign culture was received by the Austrian aristocracy.

It goes without saying that it was not only the aristocracy, but also other groups that contributed to cultural transfer in early modern time. Merchants, scholars, artists, labour or religious migrants and many others were just as important in this respect.⁹ Above all, the Jesuits played a central role in the spread of Spanish moral literature and ideas.¹⁰ They were prominent in the education of the nobility and, hence, contributed to the re-formation of noble values and ideals. If in the present study the aristocracy is addressed, it is self-evident that we deal here only with one component within the much more complex field of seventeenth-century cultural development and transfer.

However, there are several attractive reasons to focus on the aristocracy and to give them a prominent place in early modern transfer research. First of all the

⁸ Recently Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla has contributed several studies on transnational history in the early modern age. Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, "Localism", global history and transnational history. A reflection from the historian of early modern Europe. In: *Historisk Tidskrift* 4 (2004), pp. 659-678, also *Ibidem*, Estado, naciones y regiones. Propuesta para una historia comparada y transnacional. In: *Ibidem* (ed.), Estados, naciones y regiones. Entre Europa, España y el Caribe, León 2006, pp. 13-35. Many of the key ideas at the core of this study I discussed and elaborated in the framework of workshops at the EUI, which traced themes of trans-national history: »Elites in the Empire. La Monarquía Hispánica and Latin America, 492-1714«, organized by Prof. Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla at the EUI in April 2006 (See therefore the forthcoming publication of contributions discussed in this workshop); Summer School at the EUI on the topic Comparative and Trans-national History organized by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla in September 2006; Workshop on the topic »Aristocratic identities (1600-1850): Between Cosmopolitanism and Localism«, organized by Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla and Michael North at the EUI in January 2006.

⁹ Katrin Keller, *Zwischen Wissenschaft und Kommerz. Das Spektrum kultureller Mittler im 16. Jahrhundert*. In: Wolfgang Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, Innsbruck-Vienna 2003, pp. 271-286.

¹⁰ See for instance Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, Cambridge 2003.

aristocracy can be considered as the »cultural elite« that had an enormous impact on the official cultural landscape in the period under study. At least early modern aristocrats claimed this position, and as studies like that of Ronald Asch clearly reveal, they succeeded at least partly in their claims for cultural hegemony. The promotion of art and the display of good taste gained more and more importance in the life of aristocrats, as the aforementioned statement of Prince Liechtenstein demonstrates. Thereby, I argue, they became important promoters of, and agents in cultural transfer processes. In their drive for prestige, and in order to maintain the »god-given« social order, which was being questioned more and more by humanists and urbane social classes, aristocrats increasingly became open to foreign cultural practices, luxuries, exotica, and many other things that enabled them to demonstrate education and cultural competence. The aristocracy provided a market for foreign goods. In addition, the widely ramified networks of the European elite provided excellent channels for the spread of novelties and cultural goods.

As regards »Spanish« cultural influences, in scientific literature seventeenth-century Spain was for a long time viewed from the perspective of decline, especially in its gradual loss of political and cultural hegemony to France, which more and more took over the role as cultural trend-setter from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Archival documents, however, attest to a different trajectory. Demand for Spanish horses, hawks or exotic animals, as well as plants and goods from overseas, which arrived in Seville, are a recurrent topic in the diplomatic correspondence of the age. Libraries and art collections of the imperial family as well as of the aristocracy similarly bear witness to a lively cultural transfer from Spain to Austria in this epoch. Above all, in respect to art, literature, and theatre, Spain's seventeenth-century is with good reason called the Golden Age.¹¹

On the other hand, it is also true that at almost all European courts, including the imperial court, French influences on lifestyle, fashion, and language increased from

¹¹ See for instance John H. Elliott, *Art and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain*. In: *Ibidem*, *Spain and its World 1500-1700. Selected Essays*, New Haven-London 1989, pp. 263-286.

the second half of the century onwards. Italian cultural influences were also quite prevalent. In the seventeenth century, the Italian theatre tradition was still predominating at the imperial court. While in other European countries prominent local playwrights, such as Shakespeare in England, Molière, Corneille or Racine in France, or Calderón in Spain, wrote their plays in their own vernaculars, at the imperial court playwrights and composers came almost exclusively from Italy, and their plays were written and performed in Italian throughout the seventeenth century. This had a crucial impact on local courtly culture and above all on literary activities in the realm of the court.¹² As we will discuss later in Chapter 9, this influence was by no means unrestrictedly welcomed. Above all, German poets and intellectuals were critical of the deficient promotion of German-speaking literature at the imperial court.

The study at hand does not intend to create the image of a cultural predominance either of Spain, France or Italy in a particular moment of history. On the contrary, it regards culture as a melange of different influences. Against this background, and by aid of selected examples, the study aims at contributing to our knowledge of early modern aristocratic culture. By taking the example of the cultural relations of the two Habsburg monarchies and their elites respectively, it additionally aims at contributing to the ongoing debate of early modern cultural transfer processes. Although Spanish influences in the Austrian territories receive prominent treatment in this study, occasional references to French or Italian influences will also be made.

Finally, the use of the notions »Spain« and »Austria«, as well as »Spanish« and »Austrian« aristocracy, demand some comments. For the seventeenth century it is certainly problematic to talk about Spain and Austria. Both were composite monarchies that included different territories where different ethnic groups lived, and which had independent administrative bodies.¹³ The Spanish monarchy also included territories outside of the Iberian Peninsula, like the kingdoms of Sicily and

¹² Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1981.

¹³ On composite monarchies see the seminal studies by John Elliott, *A Europe of Composite Monarchies*. In: *Past and Present* 137 (1992), pp. 48-71.

Naples and the provinces in the Netherlands. Regarding the notion of »Austria«, in contemporary sources it mainly appears in connection with the »Casa de Austria«, thus the House of Habsburg, whereas the people who lived in the Austrian Habsburg monarchy or to be more precise, those who lived in German-speaking territories, are often called very generally Germans (*Teutsche*). Being aware of this problem, the notions of »Spain« and »Austria« should be understood as follows: the term Spain refers to the territories of the Iberian Peninsula, Portugal excluded, which only briefly was part of the Spanish Habsburg monarchy. The term Austria refers to the *Erblande*, thus the archduchies above and below the Enns, as well as the Inner Austria territories Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola.¹⁴ Regarding the notion of »Austrian aristocracy«, this term refers to the court aristocracy of the Austrian Habsburg monarchy. Bohemian, Moravian, Hungarian aristocrats, and also aristocrats from the Empire, certainly were involved at the imperial court and belonged to the court society. The aristocracy of the different territories was also closely related through kinship, and they possessed property in different territories of the monarchy, and likewise were members of Estates of the Lords outside their native territories. As we will discuss in Chapter 2.2, a new court aristocracy emerged in the seventeenth century, that descended from different areas of the monarchy and beyond, and that identified itself purely with the dynasty.

Overall, this study pays attention to the high aristocracy, a rather small group within noble society, which was however very active regarding the cultural development of the country and thus, coined the cultural landscape. Nonetheless, a choice had to be made regarding the families that receive particular attention in this study. Without having the intention to write a history of the Harrach family, members of this family, particularly Ferdinand Bonaventura and his wife Johanna Theresia, receive a prominent place in this study, which is justified by the excellent documentation of their life in Madrid, as well as the abundant archival sources that survive.

¹⁴ Here I followed Laferl's definition as found in *Die Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 11-13.

PART I.

**CULTURAL TRANSFER AND EARLY MODERN ARISTOCRACY:
METHODOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK**

1. Methodological Framework: Cultural Transfer in Early Modern Period

»The history of all cultures is the history of cultural borrowing.«¹⁵

Edward Said

The concept of cultural transfer was developed by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner in the late 1980s. Coming from the field of literary and cultural studies, the scholars investigated eighteenth and nineteenth centuries German-French relations and they aimed at discovering German cultural elements in French culture, and Germans contribution to the development of French national culture, respectively, and vice versa. In other words, they regard French and German culture not from the perspective of unified entities, closed within themselves, but rather as a blend of different foreign influences, that led to the formation of what we now call French and German culture.¹⁶ Their research was guided by the idea of breaking »open national categories and boundaries in historiography«.¹⁷ According to Espagne transfer research aims at providing an »alternative to comparison«, which entailed an intensive debate among the advocates of both sides. In Espagne's opinion, comparison proceeds too much from self-contained units, which are mainly linked to a national framework, whereas transfer research, he argues, aims at deconstructing the image of homogenous cultures, but it stresses the various links that exist between cultures. Advocates of comparison encountered this criticism by

¹⁵ Cited in Peter Burke, *Kultureller Austausch*, Frankfurt/Main 2000, p. 9.

¹⁶ Michel Espagne – Michael Werner, *La construction d'une référence allemande en France. Genèse et histoire culturelle*. In: *Annales* 1987, pp. 969-992. Ibidem, *Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer als Forschungsgegenstand. Eine Problemskizze*. In: *Comparativ* 2 (1992), pp. 100-120. Wolfgang Schmale too pioneered this approach, focusing on cultural transfer from France to Saxony in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Wolfgang Schmale, *Historische Komparatistik und Kulturtransfer. Europageschichtliche Perspektiven für die Landesgeschichte. Eine Einführung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sächsischen Landesgeschichte*, Bochum 1998. Additionally Ibidem (ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, Innsbruck 2003.

¹⁷ Michel Espagne, *Kulturtransfer und Fachgeschichte der Geisteswissenschaften*. In: *Comparativ* 19 (2000), pp. 42-61; Ibidem, *Sur les limites du comparatisme en histoire culturelle*. In: *Genese* 17 (1994), pp. 112-121.

emphasising that comparison does not necessarily need »to restrict itself to the nation as sole unit of examination, nor does it ignore relations of interdependence or cross-national influences«. ¹⁸ Moreover, transfer history also includes a comparative dimension. »In order to recognize what happens in cultural transfer processes, historians are forced to compare the old state of the examined object with its new one«, Johannes Paulmann argues. ¹⁹

What crucially distinguishes cultural transfer research from early studies that investigated cultural influences on a particular culture is, however, the change in perspective. Whereas earlier attention was placed on the *Ausgangskultur* (source culture) and its influence on another cultural space, cultural transfer research proceeds from an active processes of adoption, thus it shifts attention to the *Zielkultur* (host culture). It gives attention to the carriers and mediators of cultural transfer and it asks about the motivation that lay behind the adoption of foreign cultural elements. Why are individuals or social groups interested in foreign culture? What purpose does the adoption of foreign cultural goods serve, and what are the mechanisms of transfer and diffusion? Cultural transfer research, hence, poses an opposition to, what in German historiography is labelled as »*Einflussgeschichte*«. ²⁰

¹⁸ Heinz-Gerhard Haupt – Jürgen Kocka, Comparative History: Methods, Aims, Problems. In: Deborah Cohen – Maura O’Conner (eds.), *Comparison and History. Europe in cross-national perspective*, New York – London 2004, pp. 23-39; here p. 32. On the ongoing debate of comparison versus transfer history see Hartmut Kaelble – Jürgen Schriewer (eds.), *Vergleich und Transfer. Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, Frankfurt/Main 2003; Matthias Middell, *Kulturtransfer und Historischer Vergleich*. In: *Comparativ* 10 (2000), pp. 7-41; Johannes Paulmann, *Internationaler Vergleich und interkultureller Transfer. Zwei Forschungsansätze zur europäischen Geschichte des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Historische Zeitschrift* 267 (1998), pp. 649-685. Jürgen Kocka, *Comparison and Beyond*. In: *History and Theory* 42/1 (2003), pp. 39-44, and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, *Comparative history – a contested method*. This online article was consulted at the following link. <http://www.iue.it/HEC/ResearchTeaching/20072008-Autumn/SS-readings/haupt-comparative-history.pdf> (02.02.2009).

¹⁹ Paulmann, *Internationaler Vergleich und interkultureller Transfer*, p. 681. See also Michael Werner – Bénédicte Zimmermann, *Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der Histoire croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen*. In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28 (2002), pp. 607-636, here p. 615.

²⁰ Michel Espagne – Michael Werner, *Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des CNRS*. In: *Francia* 13 (1985), pp. 502-510; *Ibidem*, *Transferts. Les relations interculturelles dans l’espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe et XIXe siècle)*, Paris 1988.

»An important precondition for transfer is the interest in the foreign.«²¹ It is often the desire for change and modernisation that induces the adoption of foreign cultural goods, technologies and cultural practises.²² According to Espagne and Werner, cultural import has two vital, though oppositional, functions: »either to justify and enhance existing conditions or to question established circumstances«. ²³ In the case of seventeenth-century aristocracy, the interest in foreign cultures, as in cultural matters in general, served to maintain the aristocracy's social position and claim to cultural superiority, which was increasingly being questioned by urbane classes. One of the main arguments of this study is that, due to the constant strive for distinction, but also in order to meet the requirements of the time, early modern Austrian aristocracy increasingly looked abroad and adopted foreign cultural trends. Moreover, it was the aristocracy's need for representation, what made them, as I suggest, important promoters of cultural transfer.

In general, transfer history focuses on the interaction of three processes: first, the process of selection; second, the process of transfer; and third, the process of reception.²⁴ A central position occupies the figure of mediator; actors that move between cultural spaces and that transmit novelties, new ideas and goods. Single persons, such as travellers, scholars, artists, diplomats and the like, but also social groups as religious refugees, or whole institutions can act as agents in cultural transfer processes. They crucially partake in cultural transfer, not only in the sense

²¹ Rudolf Muhs – Johannes Paulmann – Willibald Steinmetz, *Brücken über den Kanal? Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien im 19. Jahrhundert*, Bodenheim 1998, p. 18. Also Bernd Roeck, Introduction. In: Hermann Roodenburg (ed.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. Vol. IV: Forging European Identities, 1400-1700*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 1-29, here p. 37.

²² See for instance Wolfgang Schmale, *Kulturtransfer im thesesianischen Zeitalter?* In: Franz M. Eybl (ed.), *Strukturwandel kultureller Praxis. Beiträge zu einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Sicht des thesesianischen Zeitalters*, Vienna 2002, pp. 95-109.

²³ Muhs – Paulmann – Steinmetz, *Brücken über den Kanal?*, p. 25. Quoted in Michel Espagne – Michael Werner, *Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer*, pp. 22-23.

²⁴ Bernd Kortländer, *Begrenzung – Entgrenzung. Kultur- und Wissenschaftstransfer in Europa*. In: Lothar Jordan – Bernd Kortländer (eds.), *Nationale Grenzen und internationaler Austausch, Studien zum Kultur- und Wissenschaftstransfer in Europa*, Tübingen 1995, pp. 1-19, here, pp. 6-7.

of transfer or transmission itself, but also in terms of selection, thus what they transfer and the choice they make as regards news or goods they spread.²⁵

As regards to the reception of foreign culture, different forms must be distinguished that, depending on their intensity, range from adaptation and imitation to the total integration of foreign cultural elements in the recipient culture.²⁶ Moreover, the transfer of cultural goods usually involves a change in the symbolic meaning of the transferred good. The transferred good »is usually adjusted to the needs of those who adopt it«. ²⁷ Renate Pieper illustrated the changing meaning of goods by quoting the example of parrots, which in the Caribbean originally were used as food, whereas in Europe they became traded as luxury objects among the elite.²⁸

In recent decades an intensive debate emerged regarding the possibilities as well as the limits of transfer research. With a glance at the literature it becomes evident that the methodological debate for a long time was dominated by the »national« dimension of the approach, or »non-national«, respectively, depending on the perspective from which it is regarded. To put it another way, central in this debate is the question of to what extent transfer research is indeed successful in its claim to overcome national boundaries, or boundaries in general, and more importantly, whether it offers a feasible approach for studying cultural relations and exchange processes without relating the process of exchange to a transfer between two or more strictly defined cultures in the sense of national cultures. »Something first of all has to be recognized as foreign or different«, the scholars Muhs, Paulmann and Steinmetz argue, which is why in their opinion »the precondition of any transfer is

²⁵ Michel Espagne, Die Rolle der Mittler im Kulturtransfer. In: Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink – Rolf Reichardt (eds.), Kulturtransfer im Epochenbruch, Frankreich – Deutschland 1770 bis 1815, Leipzig 1997, pp. 309-329, here, p. 323.

²⁶ See Kortländer, Begrenzung – Entgrenzung, pp. 8-9; also Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Kulturtransfer – methodisches Modell und Anwendungsperspektiven. In: Ingeborg Tömmel (ed.), Europäische Integration als Prozess von Angleichung und Differenzierung, Opladen 2001, pp. 213-226, here, pp. 216-219.

²⁷ Burke, Kultureller Austausch, p.13. Also Roeck, Introduction, pp. 16-17.

²⁸ Renate Pieper, Kommentar zum Beitrag von Martin Muslow. In: Schmale, Kulturtransfer, pp. 145-147, here p. 145.

the definition, or implicit assumption, of boundaries between two entities among which transfer occurs«. ²⁹

Helga Mitterbauer and Federico Celestini, in contrast, precisely consider the mainly linear analysis of a transfer between two unities and the strong accent on *Ausgangs-* and *Zielkultur* as a weak point of cultural transfer research done so far. In their opinion, this implies the need of a precise definition, or at least imagination, of exact definable culture and cultural spaces. ³⁰ They emphasise that cultural transfer is, however, not »merely an outside phenomenon but takes place already within cultures«. Studying cultural transfer from this angle questions the concept of national cultures, but stresses the *dynamic* of cultural transfer processes. ³¹ For this reason, the scholars propose to include approaches which come from the field of post-colonial studies. Helga Mitterbauer regards three aspects especially as being useful for analysing the complexity of cultural transfer processes: »First the idea of hybrid cultures; second, the idea of hybrid subjects; and third, the imagination of a “third space”, in which cultural differences are translated and disputed«. ³² According to her, this gives more attention to the process of cultural transfer itself and its dynamic, and does avoid the affiliation of culture within a specific space or nation, as was the original idea of the concept. Also for the present study this approach to cultural transfer seems reasonable, not least because in many cases a strict affiliation of a cultural good to a particular cultural space is not always easy to make, thus, in the case of the present study, whether it is purely »Spanish« or not. Especially regarding a transfer of art objects, precise cultural attributions prove difficult to decipher. Taking the example of the painter Jusepe de Ribera, though he ranks among the best known Spanish baroque painters, most of his life was spent in

²⁹ Muhs – Paulmann – Steinmetz, *Brücken über den Kanal?*, p. 18. Also Roeck, Introduction, pp. 7-8.

³⁰ Federico Celestini – Helga Mitterbauer (eds.), *Ver-rückte Kulturen. Zur Dynamik kultureller Transfers*, Tübingen 2003, p. 12.

³¹ Celestini – Mitterbauer (eds.), *Ver-rückte Kulturen*, p. 12.

³² Helga Mitterbauer, *König Harlekin oder die Degeneration. Zur Position zweier Budapester Autoren im europäischen Fin de Siècle*, pp. 72-84, here, p. 75. This online article was consulted at the following link: http://www.kre.hu/rektori/files/studiacikkek/2004.1.szam/08Helga_Mitterbauer_Ny.pdf (03.2009).

the Kingdom of Naples, where he was employed as court painter at the court of the Duke of Osuna, the Viceroy of Naples. Influences of Italian painting in his work are unquestioned. A precise affiliation of his painting to a cultural space, hence, is hardly possible to make, neither is it crucial for transfer research in my opinion.

Coming back to the pros and cons of transfer research in the ongoing scientific debate, another reaction to it is *Histoire croisée*, as developed by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann. Their criticism addresses both transfer history as well as comparison. As regards transfer research, they too regard the »frame of reference« as the main problem of transfer research, thus the focus on two poles (*Ausgangs-* and *Zielkultur* or as the Werner and Zimmermann put it, a point of departure and arrival) between those transaction takes place. »Any description, any analysis of transfer«, it is argued, »presupposes a beginning and an end through which the process under study becomes intelligible and interpretable«. ³³ In addition, transfer implies, according to Werner and Zimmermann, a »one-dimensional perspective«, whereas *histoire croisée* argues in favour of »a multidimensional approach« that takes different perspectives into account. It directs attention to the multiple influences in both directions and the complexity of entanglement of the objects of study. ³⁴

Histoire croisée and transfer history clearly pursue different targets, which distinguish one from the other. Whereas *histoire croisée* devotes attention to the mutual influence of the object under scrutiny, cultural transfer research focuses on the reception of foreign culture. However, transfer research is not as one-dimensional as it seems at first glance. On the contrary, in many cases more levels of transfer are involved in the process. For instance, Lüsebrink remarked that »the eighteenth-century German reception of English culture was a reaction to French

³³ Michael Werner – Bénédicte Zimmermann, *Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity*. In: *History and Theory* 45/1 (2006), pp. 30-50, here p. 39. Ibidem, *Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung*, p. 614; Ibidem *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée*, Paris 2004.

³⁴ Ibidem, *Beyond Comparison*.

cultural hegemony».³⁵ In addition, the reception of foreign culture occurs not necessarily always by a direct route, but via an intermediate stage. Spanish baroque literature, for instance, was received in German speaking territories as well as in French, Italian or Latin translations.³⁶ Thus, in many cases a third level is involved and goods, ideas or trends are adopted »second-hand«. Furthermore, the transferred objects, as well as individuals or social groups that participate in cultural transfer, are to be studied not in an isolated fashion but linked to their socio-cultural and political environment. One of the main arguments in the present study is that the growing interest of early modern aristocracy in cultural issues including cultural borrowing was closely linked to external factors, as religious, political as well as social changes. This cultural interest was part of noble's assimilation into a new situation in which its traditional ideals and values more and more became questioned by its environment. In general, cultures – in a geo-cultural as well as in a socio-cultural sense – cannot be regarded isolated and detached from their environment, but their development is always a result of interaction with other cultural practices.

In recent years, studies like for instance that of Wolfgang Schmale, or more recently the contributions in the series *Cultural exchange in early modern Europe* demonstrated that, despite the initial concerns, the concept of cultural transfer can very well be applied to studies on the early modern period. Art historians have always questioned a close connection between culture and nation. Examining artistic styles and the impact of artists on others, or the impact of whole epochs on artistic trends, one inevitably has to deal with cultural transfer processes.³⁷ Just like »high« culture like literature or visual art, every-day culture, clothing, eating, dancing, and cultural behaviour in general, result from transfer processes. Bernd Roeck has argued very convincingly that »exchange processes are an elemental

³⁵ Lüsebrink, Kulturtransfer, p. 220.

³⁶ For translation in a literal sense, but also in a broader sense of translating culture in the process of exchange, see the contributions in Peter Burke – R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2007.

³⁷ Monika Holzer-Kernbichler, *Das Konzept des kulturellen Transfers aus kunsthistorischer Sicht*. In: Celestini – Mitterbauer (eds.), *Ver-rückte Kulturen*, pp. 137-150, here, p. 138, 140.

precondition of every culture. No culture arises autonomously [...] without some type of communication«, which is why the concept must not be reduced to transfers and exchanges between “national cultures”«. ³⁸ He suggests however distinguishing between two levels of diffusion; a horizontal level and a vertical level. Whereas a horizontal cultural transfer describes transfer processes »among people of a comparable social standing, and which occurs over a spatial distance«, vertical transfer processes address »a transfer that transgresses social borders, thus diffusion from one social group to another«. ³⁹ Admittedly, both levels of transfer can occur more or less simultaneously as well. Roeck himself emphasises that this differentiation is rather an »analytical construct, resulting from practical research reasons, and which helps to make the complexity of transfer processes and cultural development more comprehensible«. ⁴⁰ Following this distinction this study deals with *horizontal spatial* transfer processes, focusing on aristocratic society and culture.

Having thus far examined culture in a very abstract way, we shall briefly define how the notion is to be understood in this study. There is no doubt that »culture« is one of the most complex terms in our language. ⁴¹ In this study the notion of culture is used according to the anthropological definition, which describes culture as a set of codes, symbols, behaviour as well as its symbolic representation, which is practiced by individuals to assign them to a certain social group and to signalise the membership to a particular society. ⁴² Acting according to acknowledged, traditional, and common patterns, norms and codes, indicates the belonging or closeness to an »imagined community«, to borrow the notion from Benedict Anderson. ⁴³ In short,

³⁸ Roeck, Introduction, p. 3.

³⁹ Ibidem, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 24.

⁴¹ See Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture*, Oxford 2000.

⁴² Clifford Geertz, *Dichte Beschreibung. Beiträge zum Verstehen kultureller Systeme*, Frankfurt/Main 1983, p. 46. For the reception of Geertz ideas by historians see for instance William H. Sewell Jr., *Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History: From Synchrony to Transformation*. In: *Representations* 59 (1997), pp. 35-55.

⁴³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism*. London 1983. On identity see Rogers Brubaker – Frederick Cooper, *Beyond “Identity”*.

culture can be understood as a »collective but group specific semiotic concept of meanings, values and its material presentation«. ⁴⁴ The emphasis in this definition is on the word *shared* cultural practice that expresses a *Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl*, a sense of belonging together, be that in a regional, social, religious or ethnic sense. Regional features in cultural behaviour are unchallenged, which is often described as »mentality« especially in order to describe non-material culture, symbols, values, rites and habits. On the other hand, cultural transfer processes, especially those on the horizontal level, also produce shared, cross-territorial cultural practices of a social group, as is the case of early modern European aristocracy which established a shared taste and common cultural behaviour that characterised them as European elite. ⁴⁵ At the same time, distinct behaviour set the elites apart from the rest of the population. Cultural transfer was crucial, I argue, in the formation of a distinct aristocratic culture.

While in this study the Spanish and Austrian Habsburg monarchies have been chosen as the geographical framework, the core of analysis is, however, the aristocracy of the two monarchies, thus social groups within these political systems that share a similar social standing. Consequently, culture is regarded from the perspective of a group specific behaviour with its regional colouring, rather than as characteristic of geographical regions, which due to political circumstances appear as units; an approach which in my opinion is suitable for all periods, including those in which we actually can draw on national cultures. Also in nation states diverse social groups practice different cultural customs, and regions within a state have their own cultural particularities. The limitation of cultural transfer to political boundaries, be that in form of national frontiers or in form of territorial frontiers in pre-national periods, hence, is questionable in general. Against this background, the focal point in the present study is on the seventeenth-century Austrian aristocratic society, and its reception of foreign culture.

In: *Theory and Society* 29, 1 (2000), pp. 1-47, who discuss several alternatives (like closeness, groupness or connectness) for the notion »identity«.

⁴⁴ Laferl, *Die Kultur der Spanier*, p. 18.

⁴⁵ Roeck, *Introduction*, p. 24.

1.1. Cultural Transfer and Social Networks

It has been stressed in the previous section that transfer research devotes attention to the process of distribution, and in particular to the role of mediators in this process. In order to study a broader diffusion of foreign cultural goods among members of a social group, or in a region respectively, it seems reasonable to focus not only on single individuals that act as mediators, but also on their social environment, on the constellations and configurations they are embedded in, thus the networks to which they belong, or have access to, respectively. Links and cross-territorial networks of the Austrian aristocracy are considered, on the one hand, as invisible bridges over those a cultural transfer occurred, and on the other, as, what Helga Mitterbauer has suggested, a »third space« in which cultural differences were reflected and translated.

The notion of *network* is omnipresent in our contemporary world and every-day language. In the scientific context, however, the notion is precisely defined and is now well-established in the field of *social network analysis*. One of the pioneers of social network research, the social anthropologist James Clyde Mitchell, defines a network as the following: »a set of linkages among a defined set of persons with the additional property that the characteristics of these lineages as whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved«. ⁴⁶ Certainly, the study does not aim at presenting a social network analysis in the sense of sociological studies, as the title of the chapter might suggest initially. If we apply today's narrative of *networks*, the notion is used metaphorically, referring to a set of actors that are tied by different kinds of relations, as kinship, friendship, relations on a professional as well as on a private level. Also different forms of communication among individuals, as correspondence, are subsumed under this umbrella. In these networks, I argue, cultural novelties and goods circulate and consequently are spread more widely. The idea that lies behind this approach is to give attention to

⁴⁶ James Clyde Mitchell (ed.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations*, Manchester 1969, p. 2.

the entanglement of the social group that participates in the reception of foreign culture.

In addition, »ties between actors are channels for the transfer or flow of material as well as non-material resources«, argue the scholars Wassermann and Galaskiewicz, an argument which corresponds very well to the logic behind this study.⁴⁷ In the period under review relationships were often used to attain desired goods or information from abroad, especially if it involved goods which were not easy to acquire or which were not provided by established trade, as was the case of exotica or luxury goods such as chocolate for instance. Foreign luxuries, on the other hand, were an important resource that enabled nobles to emphasise and to display of superiority and cosmopolitanism. They communicated their belonging to the European elite. As we will discuss in more detail, due to the lack of local chocolate trade in Vienna in the seventeenth century, Austrian aristocrats relied on their relations with persons in Spain who organised the acquisition of the good. Pierre Bourdieu very convincingly describes the belonging to networks as social capital that provides advantages and privileges in society.⁴⁸

A special form of personal relations in early modern society is patronage. Here too, the exchange of resources is a central feature. Shmuel N. Eisenstadt described such a relation as the following: Patronage first of all refers to dyadic relations between a patron and a client. It is secondly, characterised by the exchange of different resources; whereas the patron offers support, financial aid, assistance in forwarding a carrier, protection, and the like, the client owes his patron loyalty and services. Thirdly, this involves an inequality of power, and a sort of dependency on the patron by his client. According to Eisenstadt such relations are additionally mostly coined by a certain durability based on reciprocal obligations.⁴⁹ Sharon

⁴⁷ Stanley Wasserman – Joseph Galaskiewicz (eds.), *Advances in Social Network Analysis. Research in Social and Behavioral Sciences*, London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi 1994, p. xii.

⁴⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital*. In: Reinhard Kreckel (ed.), *Soziale Ungleichheiten*, Göttingen 1983, pp. 183-198.

⁴⁹ See the introduction by Eisenstadt in the work by Verena Burkolter, *The Patronage System. Theoretical Remarks*, Basel 1976, pp. VII-XII. This issue is discussed more generally in Hans-

Kettering, one of the leading scholars in the field of patronage research at the moment, also stresses the dyadic and personal character of patronage relations as constitutive.⁵⁰ On the other hand, she emphasises however that patronage leads almost unavoidably to the formation of clientele networks, hence, relation systems, in which more than two actors are involved.⁵¹ In the mid-1970s, scholars such as Verena Burkolter argued that patronage systems are more complex and cannot be reduced to dyadic relations. For this reason, Burkolter suggested adopting methods from network analysis and to shift attention from bipolar relations to multiple relation systems among a set of actors. One person can be the patron of many clients, and a client can be, at the same time, a patron of other individuals, which creates a network of relations. Moreover, links between actors do not necessarily always follow patterns of patronage, thus they do not exclusively involve asymmetrical ties between a powerful patron and persons that depend on him, but can be also established on a horizontal level among persons of a similar social standing.⁵²

Regarding transfer research, cultural mediators could certainly also exist in a classic patron-client relation to the person they provided with foreign cultural goods, as was the case frequently in early modern art patronage. However, patrons, as well as their clients, are embedded in other relations as well and these links also offer important channels for the distribution of cultural goods. As we will see in this study, family links played a central role in the distribution of new fashions and

Heinrich Nolte, Patronage und Klientel: Das Konzept in der Forschung. In: *Ibidem*, Patronage und Klientel. Ergebnisse einer polnisch-deutschen Konferenz, Köln 1989, pp. 1-17; Antoni Maczak (ed.), Klientelsysteme im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit, München 1988; Ronald G. Asch - Adolf M. Birke (eds.), Princes, Patronage and the Nobility. The court at the beginning of the modern age, c. 1450-1650, Oxford 1991.

⁵⁰ Sharon Kettering, Patronage in Early Modern France. In: *French Historical Studies*, 17 (1992), pp. 839-862, here p. 844. Additionally, see *Ibidem*, Gift-giving and Patronage in Early Modern France. In: *French History* 2 (1988), pp. 131-151, where she argues that the reciprocity in patron-client exchange was »disguised and governed by the rules and language of courtesy. Gift-giving was a euphemism for patronage, the material assistance and protection of a patron«. (p. 131). See also her other studies on the topic: *Ibidem*, Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-century France, Oxford 1986, and *Ibidem* Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France. In: *French Historical Studies* 16 (1989), pp. 408-435.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France, Oxford 1986, pp. 3-4.

⁵² Burkolter, *The Patronage System*, pp. 6-7.

cultural practices, as did the networks at the court, or friendships established in the course of travels and the like. In addition, as regards the close entanglement of Viennese court society, Katrin Keller emphasised recently that the model of patronage-clientele relations is questionable in general. Although relations, »which aim at mutual assistance regarding access to courtly recourses«, are evident, the »basis of these relations were, however, in the first place kinship, friendship and regional provenance«. ⁵³

In the late 1970s, Wolfgang Reinhard expanded network analysis in German historiography and based his model of *Verflechtungsanalyse* precisely on the categories Katrin Keller stressed in the context of the imperial court, adding as a fourth category patronage. These four relational systems (*Verwandtschaft*, *Freundschaft*, *Landmannschaft*, and *Patronage*) are closely entangled and according to Reinhard, they are the basic patterns characteristic of early modern social structure. ⁵⁴ While Reinhard's study was beyond any doubt path-breaking in this respect, a central point of critique on his model is that the types of relations Reinhard brings together, are of different qualities and guided by different interests, and therefore should be distinguished, as scholars such as Droste or Kettering argue. Social relations are characterised by different patterns. Some are closer than others; some established and maintained through personal and regular contact whereas others are maintained through correspondence or exist via a third party. Others are based on common values and external factors that create a feeling of belonging together. ⁵⁵

As convincing as these arguments are, in practice, however, a clear differentiation of relation systems proves difficult to decipher. Relations of friendship can result in kinship relations and vice versa and relations established at

⁵³ Katrin Keller, *Frauen in der höfischen Gesellschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts: Amtsinhabere und Netzwerke am Wiener Hof*. In: *zeitblicke* 4 (2005), Nr. 3 [13.12.2005], p. 28. This online article was consulted at the following link: <http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2005/3/Keller> (10.06.2008)

⁵⁴ Wolfgang Reinhard, *Freunde und Kreaturen. „Verflechtung“ als Konzept zur Erforschung historischer Führungsgruppen Römische Oligarchie um 1600*, Munich 1979, pp. 32-41.

⁵⁵ Heiko Droste, *Patronage in der Frühen Neuzeit – Institution und Kulturform*. In: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 30 (2003), pp. 555-590, here, pp. 566-567.

the court can likewise not clearly be separated from other forms of relation. On the contrary, seventeenth-century court society was closely related through family bonds. Though different forms of relations are governed by different interests, boundaries between relation systems are, however, fluid. For this reason, it seems more appropriate, in the context of this research, to proceed from the idea of overlapping networks, described by the sociologists Wellman and Berkowitz. They suggest that »network analysis does not begin with an a priori classification of the observable world into a discrete set of categories based on attributes, but rather with a set of relations, from which they derive maps and typologies of social structures.«⁵⁶ This approach should provide a feasible way of dealing with the complexity of social relations. It allows, on the one hand, focusing on more than one actor and, on the other, examining precisely those networks which are of particular importance for cultural transfer research.

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the notion of network is used in a literal sense, addressing various ties between aristocrats, on a regional as well as on a trans-regional level. The first level addresses kinship and different networks systems at the court, whereas the second places emphasis on the links, central protagonists of this study have established on an »international« level, either during travels as for instance the Grand Tour, or in the course of diplomatic missions. As to this study, particular attention is devoted to relations the Austrian aristocracy had established with the Hispanic world. In answering one of the central questions of the research, namely the extent to which aristocratic networks were important for the diffusion of foreign culture, the character of the relations in question is, in my opinion, of minor importance.

A precondition for any cultural transfer is a social and cultural encounter. Besides the courts as social and cultural melting-pots, ambassadors played a central role in early modern intercultural communication and hence, in cultural transfer processes. Embedded in both the Spanish and the Austrian aristocratic society, the imperial

⁵⁶ Barry Wellman – Stephen D. Berkowitz (eds.), *Social Structures: A Network Approach*, Cambridge-New York-Port Chester-Melbourne-Sydney 1991, p. 647.

ambassadors in Spain were important intermediaries of »ideas and contents of European culture«. ⁵⁷ In their correspondence they transmitted images of other cultures and novelties and likewise acted as agents of material culture, conveyed books, art objects or even mediated artists. The social network of the imperial ambassadors at the court in Madrid receives significant attention in this study therefore.

1.2. Cultural Transfer, Consumption, and Social Distinction

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the German writer and scholar Johann Basilius Küchelbecker gave the following account on the consumption of foreign luxuries in Vienna and its consequences: »Demand for luxury goods has grown enormously in Vienna and increases from year to year. One copies all the French and foreign fashions, wears nothing other than foreign fabrics, clothes, laces, and other gallant items. Dresses have to be made, as much as it is possible, *à la française*. Above all, noblemen (and ladies) and distinguished people lavishly consume these goods, although the ordinary man too has adopted the foolishness of spending all the money on luxuries. [...] In order to meet the increasing demand, manufactures developed imitations of foreign goods, like silk stockings and porcelain. The copies are so good that one can hardly recognise any difference with the original.« ⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Heiko Droste, Unternehmer in Sache Kultur. Die Diplomaten Schwedens im 17. Jahrhundert. In: Thomas Fuchs – Sven Trakulhun (eds.) Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen. Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500-1800, Berlin 2003, pp. 205-226, here p. 205.

⁵⁸ »Der Luxus ist zu Wien sehr eingerissen, und nimmt fast von Jahr zu Jahren mehr zu. Man imitiret alle Französische und ausländische moden; man träget nichts als auswärtige Etoffes, Tücher, Spitzen, und Galanterie=Waren; die Kleider müssen, so viel es möglich, a la francoise gemacht werden; und sonderlich exceediren die Vornehmen hierinnen am meisten, wiewohl das gemeine Volck auch auf diese Thorheit schon gerathen ist, so ein Vermögen meistentheils, wie jener Philosoph, mit sich an dem Leibe herum träget. [...] Man hat auch seint nicht gar zu vielen Jahren allhier unterschiedliche Fabriquen angeleget, allwo allerhand ausländische Waren sehr fein und schön nachgemacht werden, dergestalt, daß man zwischen solchen und denen ausländischen fast keinen Unterschied spühret« Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, Allerneuesten Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hofe, nebst einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der kayserlichen Residenz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Örter. Theils aus den Geschichten, theils aus eigener Erfahrung zusammen getragen und mit saubern Kupffern ans Licht gegeben, Hannover 1730, p. 396 and p. 713.

As Martin Muslow emphasised, examples like this can be interpreted from two angles: cultural transfer on the one hand, and consumption history on the other.⁵⁹ Whereas transfer history deals, as illustrated above, with processes between cultures, consumption history asks in the first place about the function of consumerism in one particular culture and how consumption changes social practises, economy, and politics.⁶⁰ The work by John Brewer, Neil McKendrick and John H. Plumb *The Birth of a consumer Society* is frequently quoted as a landmark in consumption research. These scholars argue that eighteenth-century England first witnessed a consumer revolution; a development which they link to eighteenth-century industrialisation. Contrary to traditional historical approaches to the eighteenth-century industrial revolution, they focus on the »demand-side«, thus the consumer, than on the »supply-side«. At the core of their analysis are the new demands and desires of middle-class consumers, which brought about the decline of court-centred consumption of the previous centuries.⁶¹ According to these scholars, this development was linked to the rising number of goods as well as their availability, which means that goods could be bought in more places than before. By the nineteenth century then, the development of department stores opened up new consumer possibilities. These entities took over the function of diffusion, which was done by agents in earlier times. Thus, from an economic historical perspective

⁵⁹ See therefore Martin Muslow, *Konsumtheorie und Kulturtransfer. Einige Perspektiven für die Forschung zum 16. Jahrhundert*. In: Wolfgang Schmale, *Kulturtransfer*, pp. 131-143.

⁶⁰ We refer here to only a small portion of the consumption literature. For a general overview see Grant McCracken, *Die Geschichte des Konsums. Ein Literaturüberblick und Leseführer*. In: Günther Rosenberger (ed.), *Konsum 2000: Veränderungen im Verbraucheralltag*, Frankfurt/Main 1992, pp. 25-53, as well as Franz Xaver Eder, *Geschichte des Konsumierens – Ansätze und Perspektiven der (historischen) Konsumforschung*. In: Susanne Breuss – Franz X. Eder, (eds.), *Konsumieren in Österreich – 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Vienna-Innsbruck-Bolzano 2006, pp. 9-41. See also John Brewer – Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London-New-York 1993; John Brewer – Ann Bermingham (eds.), *The Consumption of Culture. Word, Image and Object in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, London-New York 1995; Jaume Torras Elías – Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla (eds.), *Consumo, condiciones de vida y comercialización: Cataluña y Castilla, siglos XVII-XIX*, Valladolid 1999; *Ibidem*, *Historia del consumo e historia del crecimiento. El consumo de tejidos en España, 1700-1850*. In: *Revista de Historia Económica* 21 (2003), pp. 17-41. Hannes Siegrist – Hartmut Kaelble – Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Europäische Konsumgeschichte. Zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des Konsums (18. bis 20. Jahrhundert)*, Frankfurt/Main-New York 1997; Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, *Konsum und Handel. Europa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2003.

⁶¹ Neil McKendrick – John Brewer – H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England*, London 1982. The contribution by McKendrick is particularly significant.

the emergence of (mass) consumer societies is connected with the development of stores and a market controlled diffusion of goods and services.⁶²

In contrast, early modern historians like Linda Levy Peck, Woodruff Smith, Sara Pennell and Daniel Roche, to mention only a few, challenged prevailing paradigms in consumption history. They argue that major alternations in consumer behaviour occurred much earlier in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶³ In studying English consumer society, Grant McCracken emphasised that »consumer revolution as a whole needs to be seen as part of a larger transformation in western societies, which began in the sixteenth century«. ⁶⁴ According to him, a crucial factor, vital for a consumer boom in late sixteenth-century England, was »the social competition that took place among Elizabethan nobility«. Queen Elizabeth I more and more demanded a participation of the nobility at court in order to strengthen her power. While at their country seats nobles acted as rulers and unquestioned masters over their subordinates, at the court they found themselves among equals that pursued the same purpose: closeness to the Queen and her favour. »Drawn to the court, the nobleman was suddenly one of a number of individuals with a claim to pre-eminence«. ⁶⁵ This competition led to a conspicuous display of what was considered an aristocratic lifestyle. In order to demonstrate status, the aristocracy spent much of their fortune on material culture, on palaces, wardrobe, artworks, rarities and exotica, and the like.

Linda Levi Peck too emphasised that the »intense curiosity, appetite for news at home and abroad, interest in the new and the extraordinary, whether marvellous or monstrous, permeated early seventeenth-century culture and helped to underpin

⁶² Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption. New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*, Bloomington-Indianapolis 1988, p. 29. Roman Sandgruber too locates the origins of Austrian consumer society in the eighteenth century. Roman Sandgruber, *Die Anfänge der Konsumgesellschaft. Konsumgüterverbrauch, Lebensstandard und Alltagskultur in Österreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1982.

⁶³ Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour. Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, Cambridge 2005; Woodruff Smith, *Consumption and the making of Respectability, 1600-1800*, New-York-London 2002; Sara Pennell, *Consumption and Consumerism in Early Modern England*. In: *Historical Journal* 42 (1999), pp. 549-564; Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things. The birth of consumption in France, 1600-1800*, Cambridge 2000.

⁶⁴ McCracken, *Culture and Consumption*, p. 13.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

the creation of new wants that were at the heart of the expansion of luxury goods«. ⁶⁶ Moreover, ever-growing demand for luxuries evoked a number of economic changes. It enhanced local trade and promoted domestic manufactures, and shops where luxuries could be bought became more in number, and this increased the demand for skilled labourer. Again and again the scholar stresses the importance of cultural borrowings in this context. In order to create »a domestic industry that would meet the luxury needs of the well-to-do« the English king ordered among others »the import of skilled workers and designers from Italy, France, and the Low Countries. [...] The success of English industry depended on the transfer of skills and technologies from abroad«, Levy Peck argues. ⁶⁷ As the initial account of Küchelbecker as cited reveals, a similar development took place in Vienna as well; though not to the extent as it did in England and with some delay, in Vienna too, luxury industry, new shops and handcrafts developed.

Though economic factors are evidently of great importance as regards consumption, in this study we are interested in socio-cultural aspects of consumption. The longing for social distinction had a crucial impact on early modern noble consumer behaviour. As Peter Burke emphasised, »goods often are acquired not because they are necessary and indispensable for life but to compete with others. [...] They are considered to be acquired not for themselves but for what they symbolize, for their associations, for their contribution to a particular image of ourselves«. ⁶⁸ Even by the end of the nineteenth century, Thorsten Veblen pointed to the profound socio-cultural significance of consumption, and he coined the notion of »conspicuous consumption«. In his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*,

⁶⁶ Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour*, p. 113. For luxury consumption see Reinhold Reith – Torsten Meyer (eds.), „Lexus und Konsum“ – eine historische Annäherung, Münster-New York-Munich-Berlin 2003; Maxine Berg – Helen Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury. Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650-1850*, Manchester 1999; Maxine Berg, *Luxury and pleasure in eighteenth century Britain*, Oxford 2005; Jan de Vries, *Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in Theory and Practice*. In: Maxine Berg – Elizabeth Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, Basingstoke 2003, pp. 41-56.

⁶⁷ Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour*, pp. 73-111, here p. 76.

⁶⁸ Peter Burke, *Res et verba: conspicuous consumption in the early modern world*. In: John Brewer – Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London-New York 1993, pp. 148-161, here p. 149.

Veblen argued that the consumption of goods served, besides satisfying basic needs, also to indicate the consumer's social status and wealth. Proceeding from the assumption that the lower classes aim at imitating higher class lifestyle, Veblen and scholars who follow his theory such as Georg Simmel for instance, argue that the social elite constantly changed its consumption behaviour, followed new trends and invented new fashions, in order to keep social distance from lower social classes upright.⁶⁹ In the early modern period, sumptuary laws supported the claim of nobles for distinction in appearance. Even more than half a century before Küchelbecker criticised the ostentatious consumption of foreign goods and the imitation of all sorts of new fashions by the wealthy as well as by the ordinary folk, Emperor Leopold I had reacted to the luxury consumption of his subjects. Under economic pretexts he enacted a sumptuary law in 1671 which aimed in the first place in reinforcing social boundaries and reserving the consumption of foreign luxuries to the nobility.⁷⁰

Veblen's theory about conspicuous consumption was exposed to various points of critique.⁷¹ One of the issues that runs against Veblen's theory is that it implies that »culture flows from the top of the social pyramid downwards, thus it reinforces the political view that culture is the province of the elite«, as Ann Bermingham remarked.⁷² Bermingham belongs to the group of scholars who privilege, in this context, Bourdieu's theory of class differences in taste. While Bourdieu agrees with Veblen and his followers that distinction is a central component in social life, *distinction* has however a different meaning in his work. According to Bourdieu, distinction is closely related to a set of »dispositions«, or habitus, acquired through

⁶⁹ Thorsten Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Boston 1973 (first published in 1899). See also Georg Simmel, *Fashion*. In: *The American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (1957), pp. 541-558.

⁷⁰ Annemarie Bönsch, *Adelige Bekleidungsformen zwischen 1500 und 1700*. In: *Adel im Wandel*, pp. 169-193, here p. 174. Further Gertraud Hampel-Kallbrunner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kleiderordnungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Österreichs*, Vienna 1962.

⁷¹ See for instance Colin Campbell, *Romanticism and the Consumer Ethic: Intimations of a Weber-Style Thesis*. In: *Sociological Analysis* 44 (1983), pp. 279-295, and *Ibidem*, *Conspicuous Confusion? A Critique on Veblen's Theory of Conspicuous Consumption*. In: *Sociological Theory* 13/1 (1995), pp. 37-47.

⁷² Ann Bermingham, *Introduction*. In: *Ibidem* – John Brewer (eds.), *The consumption of Culture 1600-1800. Image – Object – Text*, London-New York 1995, pp. 1-22, here, p. 12. See additionally Susanne Friese, *Self-concept and Identity in a consumer society*, Marburg 2000.

family, upbringing and education, and which indicates a person's social position in society. In his famous work *La distinction* he was particularly interested in taste as an expression of habitus. »Taste and acquired "cultural competence"«, he argues, »is used to legitimise social differences. Moreover, taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier«. ⁷³ He relates conspicuous consumption less to individual competition but rather to self-identification and class definition.

Though the nature of conspicuous consumption is certainly complex, in my opinion both individual competition and self-identification cannot be strictly separated, but are instead closely entangled. Nonetheless, Bourdieu's approach is indeed appealing for the purposes of this study. It certainly has to be remembered that both theories, that of Veblen as well as that of Bourdieu, were developed for analysing social structures in modern periods, and thus in times in which consumption was already a socially wide-spread activity. As pointed out above, goods were more easily accessible by consumers and also the variety of goods increased. Class barriers too, lost their intensity and became much more flexible and more permeable than in earlier centuries and social advancement became much easier than it was even in the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, the principal ideas that underlie these theories are also convenient for studying seventeenth-century aristocratic consumption behaviour.

This study examines conspicuous consumption and its relevance for cultural transfer from the angle of the meaning of consumption in the process of early modern »noble re-invention«. ⁷⁴ As we will see, the consumption of foreign goods and the adoption of foreign lifestyle identified early modern aristocrats as cosmopolitan, and it enabled them to demonstrate their knowledge of the latest fashion in France, Italy and Spain. In addition, conspicuous consumption enabled aristocrats to make the belonging to the social elite visible, to strengthen and to maintain its social position, and which inherently included a »god-given« distinction

⁷³ Here the German translation is used: Pierre Bourdieu, *Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft*, Frankfurt/Main ¹⁰1998.

⁷⁴ Ronald Asch argued that late sixteenth and seventeenth-century nobility was confronted with a set of challenges that almost forced noblemen and –women to re-invent themselves. Asch, *Nobilities in Transition*, p. 2.

to the ordinary folk in noble world view. The display of good taste in all matters of every-day life, be that fashion, art, food, lifestyle in general, became a central feature that distinguished a nobleman.⁷⁵ A remark once made by Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein, in all respects reflects this view: »The ordinary man does not appreciate beauty or rare and artistic things due to his simple nature. A nobleman, in contrast, who has the ability to distinguish between the beautiful and the ugly or ordinary, and thus who possesses taste and acquired competence, has to value and demand what is beautiful and rare.«⁷⁶ Taste became an indicator of education, it »indicated virtue and implied a fitness to rule«, a conclusion, which certainly was emphasised most vehemently by the aristocracy.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Roland Asch, Zwischen defensiver Legitimation und kultureller Hegemonie: Strategien adliger Selbstbehauptung in der frühen Neuzeit. In: *zeitenblicke* 4 (2005), Nr. 2 [2005-06-28]. This online article was consulted at the following link. <http://www.zeitenblicke.de/2005/2/Asch>.

⁷⁶ »*Dan da bei dem Adel kein Curiositet, zu schätzen und zu lieben, was schen, vornehm und kunstreich, und consequenter rar, so ist von selbigem kein unterschied zwischen dem gemeinen man und ihme, dan der gemeine man schätzt es auch nicht wegen niderigkeit seines gemiedts, der Edelman aber, so den verstandt erleuchtet hat, mues distinguieren vom schlechten zum bessern und es also achten und schätzen und das rare zu haben verlangen.*« Liechtenstein, *Werk von der Architektur*, p. 193.

⁷⁷ Dana Arnold, *The Illusion of Grandeur? Antiquity, Grand Tourism and the Country House*. In: *Ibidem* (ed.), *The Georgian Country House*, Stroud 1998, pp. 100-116, here p. 115.

2. Historical Framework: Madrid, Vienna, and the Austrian Aristocracy, 1550-1700

2.1. Spanish-Austrian Relations, 1550-1700

As is well known, after the abdication of Emperor Charles V in 1555/1556, the Habsburg dynasty was divided into two separate branches with their two centres Madrid on the one hand and Vienna or Prague on the other. The election of Charles' brother Ferdinand as King of the Romans in 1531 was a key moment, which according to Friedrich Edelmayer had already induced a »gradual emancipation of the Austrian Habsburgs from the Spanish«. ⁷⁸ Yet the history of the two monarchies remained closely connected in the hundred and fifty years that followed. The two monarchies were linked by the dynastic ties and a closely-woven fabric of relationships between influential figures at both courts. In the following pages we will briefly sketch the framework of relations that connected the two European regions which were geographically so far away from one another.

To start with the dynastic links, in 1548 the marriage of Ferdinand I's eldest son, the later Emperor Maximilian II, and Infanta Maria, daughter of Charles V, was celebrated in Valladolid. Three years later the couple moved to Austria where Maximilian took over the reign of the Bohemian and Hungarian territories. Their sons Rudolf and Ernst were sent to Spain to be educated at the strict Catholic court of their uncle Philip II. ⁷⁹ This period undoubtedly influenced the young Habsburg Princes, and above all incited within Rudolf a passion for collecting art, which he shared with his uncle Philip. Later, his court in Prague would become one of the most attractive cultural and spiritual centres in Central Europe. ⁸⁰ Maximilian's

⁷⁸ Friedrich Edelmayer, *Kaisertum und Casa de Austria. Von Maximilian I. zu Maximilian II.* In: Alfred Kohler – Friedrich Edelmayer (eds.), *Hispania-Austria. Die Katholischen Könige, Maximilian I. und die Anfänge der Casa de Austria in Spanien. Akten des Historischen Gespräches – Innsbruck, Juli 1992 / Los Reyes Católicos, Maximiliano I y los inicios de la Casa de Austria en España*, Vienna-Munich 1993, pp. 156-171, here p. 170.

⁷⁹ Erwin Mayer-Löwenschwerdt, *Der Aufenthalt der Erzherzöge Rudolf und Ernst in Spanien, 1564-1571*, Vienna 1927.

⁸⁰ See for instance the contributions in *Prag um 1600. Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II*, vol. 2 ed. by the Kulturstiftung Ruhr, Freren 1988; Zdeněk Hojda, *Prag um 1600 als multikulturelle Stadt: Hof – Adel – Bürgertum – Kirche*. In: Evamaria Engel – Karen Lambrecht – Hanna Nogossek (eds.),

daughter Anna married her uncle Philip II in 1570,⁸¹ and the offspring of this marriage, Philip III, continued the kinship relations with the Austrian branch. In 1599 he married the Inner Austrian archduchess Margarete, and two of their children followed the family tradition; Infanta Maria Anna became the wife of the later Emperor Ferdinand III, and her brother Philip IV married his niece Mariana of Austria in 1649.⁸² Finally, the marriage between Leopold I and Infanta Margarita Teresa in 1666 completed the circle.⁸³

It is unquestioned that the marriage alliances should strengthen the dynastic unity of the House Habsburg. As is well known, when in 1700 King Charles II of Spain died without an heir, the Austrian Habsburgs claimed the Spanish throne. Archduke Charles, second born son of Emperor Leopold I and contracted heir of the Spanish Monarchy, moved to Spain in order to defend his rights as successor against France who likewise claimed the succession. In his testament, King Charles II had appointed Philip d'Anjou, the grandson of Luis XIV, as his heir. The sudden death of his elder brother Joseph I in 1711, forced Charles to return to Vienna in order to succeed the imperial throne. Three years later, the victory of France in the Spanish War of Succession quenched Charles' dreams of a universal Empire. In historiography he is

Metropolen im Wandel. Zentralität in Osteuropa an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit, Berlin 1995, pp. 225-232. See also the studies by Pablo Jiménez Díaz, *El coleccionismo manierista de los Austrias. Entre Felipe II y Rodolfo II*, Madrid 2001 and Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists. Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts 1517-1633*, London 1976, which clearly demonstrate the close artistic connection between Madrid and Prague in this epoch.

⁸¹ See Bianca M. Lindorfer, *Ana de Austria. La novia de un hijo y la esposa de un padre*. In: *Actas de la VIII Reunión Científica de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna*. (Madrid, 2-4 de junio de 2004), vol. 1: *La reina Isabel y las reinas de España: Realidad, modelos e imagen historiográfica*, ed. by María Victoria López-Cordón Cortezo and Gloria Angeles Franco Rubio, Madrid 2005, pp. 411-426. See also Karl Vocelka, *Habsburgischen Heiraten 1550–1600. Kulturgeschichtliche Studie zum manieristischen Repräsentationsfest*, Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1976.

⁸² Johann Rainer, *Die Hochzeit der innerösterreichischen Prinzessin Margarethe mit König Philipp III. von Spanien 1598/99*, Graz 1998.

⁸³ Helga Widorn, *Die spanischen Gemahlinnen der Kaiser Maximilian II., Ferdinand III. und Leopold I.*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Vienna 1959; See also Christiane Thomas, *Diplomatie im eigenen Haus. Geheime dynastiebezogene Vereinbarungen der Casa de Austria*, In: Gerhard Pferschy (ed.), *Siegmund von Heberstein. Kaiserlicher Gesandter und Begründer der Russlandkunde und die europäische Diplomatie*, Graz 1989, pp. 27–41; Wencelao R. de Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España y Austria durante el reinado de la emperatriz Doña Margarita Infanta de España, esposa del emperador Leopoldo I*, Madrid 1905.

frequently described as a man who had never recovered from the loss of the Spanish Crown.⁸⁴

Yet the dynastic ties also had important cultural consequences, as Joseph Patrouch rightly emphasised. They »facilitated cultural communication between the Iberian lands and the Danubian lands. The Habsburg princesses who travelled between Iberia and Central Europe provided institutional contexts, their courts, for the advocacy of reformed Catholic ideas and general social and cultural trends originating in Iberia. They implemented religious reforms, founded convents, bankrolled propagandists and artists, and brought their geographically separated worlds together«. ⁸⁵ Spanish courtiers, artists, dancing masters, musicians, cooks, tailors, physicians, and scholars came to Vienna in the course of the Austrian-Habsburg marriage alliances and they contributed to the »Hispanic« atmosphere at the imperial capital. Spanish clerics, in particular, had an enormous impact on the spiritual and religious life of Vienna. The first Jesuits settled in the Austrian territories as early as the sixteenth century under the reign of Ferdinand I. As mentioned, they had been particularly influential in the field of education and in the teaching of the nobility. Jesuit schools and universities were founded which became the centres of Catholic ideals and Spanish moral philosophy and ideas. A tight network of Jesuit colleges developed over the decades, stretching across the whole of central Europe.⁸⁶ It is commonly acknowledged in historiography that the Jesuits

⁸⁴ Virginia León Sanz, *Carlos VI. El emperador que no pudo ser Rey de España*, Madrid 2003; *Ibidem*, *Entre Austrias y Borbones. El Archiduque Carlos y la Monarquía de España (1700-1714)*, Madrid 1993. On Austria's position in the Spanish War of Succession more general see Friedrich Edelmayer, *La política de los Austrias durante la Guerra de Sucesión española*. In: *L'Apostol Catalana a la Guerra de Successió (1705-1707)*. Actes del Congrés celebrat a Barcelona del 3 al 5 de novembre de 2005 al Museu d'Història de Catalunya, Barcelona 2007, pp. 85-90.

⁸⁵ Joseph F. Patrouch, *The Archduchess Elizabeth. Where Spain and Austria Met*. In: Conrad Kent – Thomas K. Wolber – Cameron M. K. Hewitt (eds.), *The Lion and the Eagle. Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries*, New York-Oxford 2000, pp. 77-90, here p. 78 and p. 86.

⁸⁶ See therefore the contributions in Herbert Karner – Werner Telesko (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Wien. Zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Ordensprovinz der "Gesellschaft Jesu" im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 2003. Also Gernot Heiss, *Die Jesuiten und die Anfänge der Katholisierung in den Ländern Ferdinand I.*, Vienna 1986, and Robert J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550-1700. An Interpretation*, Oxford 1979, here especially pp. 124-127.

had been central actors in the revitalisation of Catholic faith during the Counter-Reformation.⁸⁷

The dynastic links undoubtedly provided important channels for cultural exchange. In various studies Andrea Sommer-Mathis has revealed the impact Spanish theatre had on Viennese theatre life in the seventeenth century. For instance, in 1633 Lope de Vega's drama *El Vellochino de oro* was performed by the Spanish court ladies of Infanta Maria Anna on the occasion of the birthday of her husband Ferdinand (III).⁸⁸ Under the reign of Leopold I and his wife Margarita Teresa the reception of Spanish drama, and especially the works of Calderón, saw their heyday.⁸⁹ Another outcome of this period is the famous artwork of the Spanish Princesses and Princes by the painter Velázquez. Sent to Vienna during the course of the Habsburg marriage negotiations, these paintings now serve as one of the main attractions in the art historical museum of Vienna.

In addition, exotica and objects from the New World, jewellery, relics, precious art objects and many other luxury goods were exchanged between the members of the ruling houses. Gift exchange was of utmost significance in early modern society. It was part of an elaborate »cultural diplomacy« that intensified relations and supported friendship.⁹⁰ In a letter written to his ambassador in Spain, Leopold I once commented on his wife's pleasure at the gallant and precious gifts she had

⁸⁷ Robert Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*. Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini S. J. and the Formation of Imperial Policy, Chapel Hill 1981. More general on the impact of the Jesuits on the Thirty Years War *Ibidem*, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, Cambridge 2003.

⁸⁸ A detailed description of the performance is provided by Andrea Sommer-Mathis – Mercedes de los Reyes Peña, *Una fiesta teatral en la corte de Viena (1633): El vellochino de oro de Lope de Vega*. In: "Otro Lope no ha de haber". *Atti del convegno internazionale su Lope de Vega (10-13 febbraio 1999)*, ed by Maria Grazia Profeti, Florence 2000, vol. 2, pp. 201-251.

⁸⁹ See for instance Mercedes de los Reyes, *Relaciones teatrales españolas y austriacas durante el reinado de Leopoldo I y Margarita de Austria (1663-1673)*. In: José M. Díez Borque – Karl F. Rudolf (eds.), *Barroco español y austriaco. Fiesta y teatro en la Corte de los Habsburgo y los Austrias*, Madrid 1994, pp. 59-86.

⁹⁰ Almudena Pérez de Tudela – Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, *Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors: Exotica, Princely Gifts and Rare Animals Exchanged between the Iberian Courts and Central Europe in the Renaissance (1560-1612)*. In: Helmut Trnek – Sabine Haag (eds.), *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance*, Mainz 2001, pp. 1-22. On early modern exchanges of gifts in general see Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, Oxford 2000, and also recently Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving. Informal Support and Gift-exchange in Early Modern England*, Cambridge 2008.

received from the Spanish Queen, among them earrings in the latest Spanish fashion. »[...] *allein möchte ich wohl wissen, was die spanischen damas jezo vor ohren haben müessen, dass sie solche ohrengähg, que llaman tirantes tragen können; so auch ein guete etymologiam haben, mientras bien tiran las orejas*«, he wrote to Count Pötting.⁹¹ On another occasion the Spanish Queen sent jewels of emeralds, a precious board game made of gold and crystal, as well as an »Indian« coffer (*Indianische Truchen*) containing tableware and fine tablecloths, and a chest of chocolate, and other expensive items to her Austrian relatives.⁹² Thus, as Magdalena Sánchez emphasised »there was always a material connection between the two Habsburg branches, one from which the Austrian Habsburgs benefited«. ⁹³ As we will see in this study, the imperial ambassadors to Spain were crucially involved in cross-cultural communication and the procurement and transmission of cultural goods from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Europe. From the middle of the sixteenth century, a permanent diplomatic representation was established at the courts in Central Europe and in Iberia and they fostered the links between the two monarchies.⁹⁴

On the political level the relations between the two monarchies are most clearly reflected in Spain's intervention in the happenings in the Holy Roman Empire in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁹⁵ In a time which was marked by the religious conflict as well as the permanent threat of the Ottoman Empire, one of the most

⁹¹ Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna, 1672 June 15. In: Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, vol. 2, pp. 227-240, here p. 238.

⁹² »[...] *Ir Mt. die konigin schücken ihren enkel der Ehgn Maria Antonia ein kleinodt von grossen smaragden mit rauten gefast undt 4 schließ darzue, der konig ein predtspiel von mit cristal in goldt gefast, ihr Mt. die königin der Ehgn. Anna ein indianische trugen mit filagrana beschlagen, darin ein recado zu der chicolate als 12 cocos, 12 tassen, 12 leffel, 12 tiechel alles von filagrana undt goldt gearbeit, sambt einer truchen chicolate, der aya ein roßenkranz undt eine truchen chicolate [...]*« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 171v.

⁹³ Magdalena S. Sánchez, *A Woman's Influence. Archduchess Maria of Bavaria and the Spanish Habsburgs*. In: Kent – Wolber – Hewitt (eds.), *The Lion and the Eagle*, pp. 91-107, here p. 100.

⁹⁴ Friedrich Edelmayer - José Carlos Rueda Fernández, *Del caos a la normalidad. Los inicios de la diplomacia moderna entre el Sacro Imperio y la Monarquía hispánica*. In: Pablo Fernández Albaladejo (ed.), *Monarquía, Imperio y pueblos en la España Moderna. Actas de la IV Reunión Científica de la Asociación Española de Historia Moderna*, Alicante, 1997, pp. 631-640.

⁹⁵ General here Bohdan Chudoba, *Spain and the Empire, 1519-1643*, Chicago 1952.

important goals of the Austrian Habsburgs was to gain financial and military assistance from their Spanish relatives. Already by the summer of 1618, the year of the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the Emperor received the respectable sum of 300,000 ducats from Spain, and the subsidies payments increased to six million gulden until the end of the reign of Philip III.⁹⁶ Don Baltasar de Zúñiga, who, due to his protracted role as Spanish ambassadors to Vienna was well acquainted with the tense situation in the Empire, was crucially involved in Spain's decision to intervene in the Bohemian revolt. Being convinced that »only vigorous military action by Spain could save the Catholic cause and the House of Austria from disaster«, it was he who was decisive in Spain's actions in Bohemia and the Empire.⁹⁷ Zúñiga's position was shared by the king's favourite the count-duke of Olivares, who controlled domestic and foreign policy of Spain over more than two decades.⁹⁸

Spain's interest in supporting the Austrian Habsburgs in their struggle with the rebelling Protestants was, however, by no means as unselfish as it might seem at first glance, but it was part of a much more complex program of »restoring Spain's glory and authority in the world«, which had characterised the reign of Philip II.⁹⁹ The reign of his less gifted successors, who left the political business chiefly in the hands of their *validos*, was characterised by a profound domestic crises, and calls for reforms and renewal increased.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the occupation of the Valtelline

⁹⁶ Geoffrey Parker, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg*, Frankfurt/Main 1991, p. 118. See also Hildegard Ernst, *Madrid und Wien 1632-1637. Politik und Finanzen in den Beziehungen zwischen Philipp IV. und Ferdinand II.*, Münster 1991.

⁹⁷ John H. Elliott, *Foreign Policy and Domestic Crisis: Spain, 1598-1659*. In: Konrad Repgen (ed.), *Krieg und Politik 1618-1648. Europäische Probleme und Perspektiven*, Munich 1988, pp. 185-202, here pp. 188-189.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*. See further Peter Brightwell, *The Spanish origins of the Thirty Years War*. In: *European Studies Review* 9 (1977), pp. 409-431.

⁹⁹ Elliott, *Foreign Policy*, p. 189. *Ibidem*, *A Question of Reputation? Spanish Foreign Policy in the Seventeenth Century*. In: *The Journal of Modern History* 55 (1983), pp. 475-483, which is an excellent review on the studies by Robert A. Stradling, *Europe and the Decline of Spain*; Eberhard Straube, *Pax et Imperium*; and Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World*, who all three broached the issue of Spain's foreign policy related to its domestic development. On the Count-Duke of Olivares see John H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline*, New Haven-London 1986.

¹⁰⁰ John H Elliott, *Self-perception and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain*. In: *Past and Present* 74 (1977), pp. 41-61. Spain's »crisis« of the seventeenth-Century is well studied. Here exemplary the contributions in Thompson – Yun-Casalilla (eds.), *The Castilian crisis of the seventeenth century*. See also John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598-1700*, Oxford-Cambridge (Mass.),

and the Rhenish Palatinate in 1620 by Spanish troops was of great significance for Spain since it secured the military corridor (*el camino español*) between the Spanish territories in Italy and Flanders, which again became of utmost importance when a year later Spain renewed the war in the Netherlands.¹⁰¹

In this crucial period the close cooperation between Vienna and Madrid was beneficial to both monarchies. During all of the war Spanish troops were decisively involved and fought on the side of the Emperor. Thus, Spain played a prominent role in the Counter-Reformation in Central Europe and its military presence and diplomatic interventions in the Empire was of the greatest significance for the progression of the war, as the Czech scholar Joseph Polišensky highlighted.¹⁰² In addition, foreign militaries and officers acquired property in Bohemia and other parts of the Empire. The military commander Don Baltazar de Marradas acquired a large property in Bohemia, and later in his career he became crucially involved in the downfall of Wallenstein. Others such as Martin de Huerta, Piccolomini, Bucquoy de Longueval or de Souches also received Bohemian or Moravian estates as part of their reward.¹⁰³ As we will elaborate in more detail in the following chapter, especially in Bohemia and Moravia large tracts of property changed hands after the victory of the imperial troops at the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620; a restructuring processes from which Habsburg loyal families profited.

Yet it was not only the ruling houses that cultivated close relations; also the aristocracy of the respective territories participated in the intensifying relationship between the two monarchies. In his study *Söldner und Pensionäre*, Friedrich Edelmayer has revealed the close networks of relations Philip II of Spain had established in the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg territories, which was

1992 and Henry Kamen, *Crisis and Change in Early Modern Spain*, Aldershot-Brookfield 1993. On the *validos* (especially Lerma under the reign of Philip III and Olivares under the reign of Philip IV) see Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *Los validos en la monarquía española del siglo XVII*, Madrid ²1983.

¹⁰¹ Geoffrey Parker, *The army of Flanders and the Spanish road, 1567-1659. The Logistics of Spanish victory and defeat in the Low Countries' War*, Cambridge ²1994.

¹⁰² Josef Polišensky, *War and Society in Europe 1618-1648*, Cambridge-London-New York-Melbourne 1978, p. 80.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 81 and p. 84.

aimed at supporting his special political interests. Philip II paid pensions to various members of the aristocracy of the Holy Roman Empire, assumed god parenthoods and thereby created a friendly atmosphere within the Empire.¹⁰⁴ Pavel Marek, who has recently studied Spain's clientele network at the imperial court in Prague at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, pointed to the central role the Spanish ambassador Guillén de San Clemente and his successor Baltasar de Zúñiga played in this respect. One of their tasks was to seek the assistance of influential persons in the environment of the Emperor.¹⁰⁵

The aristocracy of the Austrian Habsburg territories benefited from the Spanish approaches made to them and attempted to intensify its contacts with the Spanish Crown to gain even more from the situation. Some families preoccupied themselves intensely with the interests of the Spanish monarchy; as was the case of the house of Dietrichstein, which may serve here as an example. When Adam of Dietrichstein was sent to Madrid as ambassador of Maximilian II, and when he was tutor of the archdukes Rudolf and Ernst, he used the opportunity to establish close contact with the court in Madrid, which was beneficial for the entire family for a long period of time. It was not only Adam who was admitted to the military order of Calatrava and who was vested with the religious commandary of Alcañiz (Teruel) in Aragón, as was his son Maximilian. The religious commendam of Cañaverol, which Maximilian was vested with, remained in the possession of the Dietrichstein family until the late seventeenth century.¹⁰⁶

In the sixteenth century, one of the strategies pursued by the aristocracy in order to intensify the links with the Spanish monarchy included the conclusion of advantageous marriages with the high nobility of Castile and Aragón. As we will

¹⁰⁴ Friedrich Edelmayer, *Söldner und Pensionäre. Das Netzwerk Philipps II. im Heiligen Römischen Reich*, Vienna-Munich 2002.

¹⁰⁵ Pavel Marek, *Klientelní strategie španělských králů na pražském císařském dvoře konce 16. a počátku 17. století*. In: *Český časopis historický* 105/1 (2007), pp. 40-88.

¹⁰⁶ Ana Muri i Raurell, *Austríacos en las Órdenes Militares españolas en el siglo XVI*. In: Krömer (ed.), *Spanien und Österreich in der Renaissance*, pp. 81-95. Also Friedrich Edelmayer, *Extranjeros en las Órdenes Militares*. In: *Torre de los Lujanes* 49 (2003), pp. 177-186. For the three military orders Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara see José Ignacio Ruiz Rodríguez, *Las Órdenes Militares Castellanas en la Edad Moderna*, Madrid 2001.

discuss further, this would change in the seventeenth century. The aforementioned Adam Dietrichstein married the Aragónese high aristocratic lady Margarita de Cardona; an alliance which had enormously increased the social reputation of the family Dietrichstein. Margarita's father, Antonio de Cardona, was Viceroy of Sardinia, and from maternal side – her mother was María de Requesens – Margarita was even distantly related to the House of Aragón.¹⁰⁷ Margarita herself was a lady-in-waiting of Empress Maria, and as part of the entourage of the Empress had come to Vienna. The social rise, allied to this prestigious marriage, enabled Dietrichstein to marry off all his daughters to Grandees of the Spanish monarchy. Adam's son Franz, born and educated in Spain, became Bishop of Olomouc and was one of the most important figures in Moravia in this epoch. Together with Cardinal Harrach, the Archbishop of Prague, Franz Dietrichstein ranked as one of the most vehement supporters of the Counter-Reformation in the kingdom of Bohemia. Closely attached to Spain, he became a »pillar of Spanish influences«.¹⁰⁸ Well aware of Cardinal Dietrichstein's importance regarding the promotion of Spanish affairs at the imperial court, San Clemente wrote the following lines to the Spanish King:

»El Cardenal Dietri[ch]stein procede muy bien, y con gran devoción al servicio del Emperador, y también de vassallo, pues nació en España. Si V. Mag[esta]d uese servido, creo yo que para él sería mucho favor que V. Mag[esta]d le escriviese una carta, en que le dijese que tiene mucha satisfacción de veras con que se emplea en estos negocios«.¹⁰⁹

But it is not only the family Dietrichstein that can be named as an example in this respect; other families, like for instance the Pernstein and Lobkowitz families in

¹⁰⁷ Friedrich Edelmayer, *Ehre, Geld, Karriere. Adam von Dietrichstein im Dienst Kaiser Maximilians II.* In: *Ibidem – Alfred Kohler (eds.), Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, Vienna-Munich 1992, pp. 109-142, here pp. 114-115.

¹⁰⁸ Chudoba, *Spain and the Empire*, p. 182. On Cardinal Harrach see the profound study by Alessandro Catalano, *La Boemia e la Riconquista delle Coscienze. Ernst Adalbert von Harrach e la Controriforma in Europa Centrale (1620-1667)*, Roma 2006.

¹⁰⁹ Guillén de San Clemente, *Correspondencia inédita de don Guillén de San Clemente, embajador en Alemania de los Reyes don Felipe II y III, sobre la intervención de España en los sucesos de Polonia y Hungría 1581-1608*, Zaragoza 1892, pp. 270-271. Quoted in Marek, *Klientelní strategie španělských králů*, p. 84.

Bohemia, or the Harrach and Eggenberg families in the Austrian hereditary lands likewise cultivated close contacts with the Spanish monarchy. They all belonged to the so-called Spanish party, which was a group of influential personalities that supported the political interest of Spain at the imperial court. In Prague, the pro-Spanish aristocracy was grouped around Vratislav Pernstein, or more precisely around his wife, the Spanish noble lady María Manrique de Lara. Like the aforementioned Margarita Cardona, she too was a lady-in-waiting of Empress Maria before she married Count Pernstein in 1555. When in 1581 Empress Maria decided to return to Spain, five years after her husband Maximilian had died, she was accompanied by two Pernstein daughters; Luisa Pernstein who later became Prioress of the Carmelite monastery in Madrid, and Johanna Pernstein who married Fernando de Aragón, Duke of Villahermosa. The daughter of this latter couple, Maria Luisa, married Carlos de Borja, the son of the former ambassador to Vienna Juan de Borja.¹¹⁰

Members of these families were admitted to the prestigious order of the Golden Fleece, and similar honours or pension payments were received by members of the Houses of Liechtenstein, Khevenhüller, Rumpf zum Wielroß, and Fürstenberg for defending the Spanish king's interests in international circles. And once again, it was the admittance to the Spanish military orders, which was highly coveted by the aristocracy of the Habsburg countries. Wolf Rumpf zum Wielroß, for instance, was admitted to the order of Santiago. Due to his excellent knowledge of Spain, which he acquired during two long stays in Madrid, as well as the relations he established during this time with Spanish nobles, he became one of the »experts for all matters concerning Spain at the imperial court«.¹¹¹ Many of these families we will come across again in this investigation.

¹¹⁰ Jindrich Růžička – Charlotte Fritz, *El matrimonio español de Wratislao de Pernestán de 1555*. In: *Ibero-Americana Pragensia* 8 (1974), pp. 163-169, here p. 163.

¹¹¹ Friedrich Edelmayer, "Manus manum lavat". *Freiherr Wolf Rumpf zum Wielroß und Spanien*. In: Erwein H. Eltz – Arno Strohmeyer (eds.), *Die Fürstenberger. 800 Jahre Herrschaft und Kultur in Mitteleuropa*. (Exhibition Catalogue), Korneuburg 1994, pp. 235–252.

2.2. The Austrian Aristocracy in a Period of Social and Cultural Upheaval

In the Austrian Habsburg monarchy, like elsewhere in Europe, the aristocracy had to face structural changes that influenced almost all sectors of noble life from the late sixteenth century onwards. In historical literature the changing conditions of early modern noble society traditionally have been described as »crisis of aristocracy«, referring in the first place to an economical crisis but also to the socio-political changes the nobility had to deal with at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹¹² Following Norbert Elias' analysis of the French court society, scholars emphasised the reduction of political power of the nobility in this period. Embedded in the broader debate of absolutism, the increasing orientation towards the princely courts by the early modern aristocracy has been regarded as noble domestication, pursued by the ruler to exert absolute power.¹¹³ In recent decades, however, a more critical reflection on Elias' theory has emerged, and a number of scholars have shed new light on the challenges the European aristocracy was exposed to in this epoch. Above all the court, as a place of noble domestication has been questioned.¹¹⁴ Recent works instead point to the possibilities the court offered

¹¹² Amongst the flourishing literature on this topic see here Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641*, London-Oxford-New York 1967, and Charles Jago, *The "Crisis of aristocracy" in seventeenth-century Castile*. In: *Past and Present* 84 (1979), pp. 60-90. Regarding the international discussion on the crises of the 17th Century in general see the contribution by Helmut G Koenigsberger, *Die Krise des 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 9 (1982), pp. 143-165. In studying French nobility J. Russell Major vehemently argued against a decline of high aristocrat's power, especially from the point of view of their material and economical power. J. Russell Major, *The Crown and the Aristocracy in Renaissance France*. In: *The American Historical Review* 69/3 (1964), pp. 631-645, also *Ibidem*, *Noble Income, Inflation, and the Wars of Religion in France*. In: *The American Historical Review* 86/1 (1981), pp. 21-48.

¹¹³ Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt/Main ⁴1989. Elias's model was adopted by Hubert Christian Ehalt, *Ausdrucksformen absolutistischer Herrschaft: Der Wiener Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Munich 1980. On the debate on absolutism see John Miller (ed.), *Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, London 1990, and Roland G. Asch – Heinz Duchhardt (eds.), *Der Absolutismus - ein Mythos? Strukturwandel monarchischer Herrschaft in West- und Mitteleuropa (ca. 1550-1700)*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 1996.

¹¹⁴ See for instance, Jeroen Duindam, *Norbert Elias und der frühneuzeitliche Hof. Versuch einer Kritik und Weiterführung*. In: *Historische Anthropologie* 6 (1998), pp. 370-389; and more elaborated in *Ibidem*, *Myths of Power. Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court*, Amsterdam 1995 as well as Claudia Opitz, *Höfische Gesellschaft und Zivilisationsprozess. Norbert Elias' Werk in kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 2005, here especially the contribution by Roland G. Asch, *Hof, Adel und Monarchie: Norbert Elias' Höfische Gesellschaft im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, pp. 119-142.

for aristocrats in order to maintain both power and influence. The service at the court became essential in supplying nobles with social, cultural and symbolic capital, which then again allowed them to access more benefits.¹¹⁵ Recent studies additionally place more emphasis on the reciprocal interaction of political, social, economical, and cultural changes of the time and scholars such as Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, Thomas Winkelbauer, and Ronald Asch, to mention only some, investigated early modern nobility from the perspective of transformation, and they point to early modern aristocracy's ability to adjust to the new political and cultural climate, which enabled it to reassert its social and cultural hegemony.¹¹⁶ Even more, scholars no longer regard the seventeenth century as a period of a general noble decline, but on the contrary, as a period of transformation and re-aristocratisation, in which many families could strengthen their power.¹¹⁷ Following the argument of these scholars, I suggest that this process of transformation was a vital breeding-ground for cultural transfer processes.

Even on the eve of the Thirty Years' War, a social and economic restructuring took place within the Austrian and Bohemian aristocratic landscape that paved the way for the development of a cosmopolitan aristocracy that was orientated towards the imperial court in Vienna.¹¹⁸ The religious tolerance, which had been characteristic for the reign of Maximilian II gradually turned into a reinforcement of

¹¹⁵ On the imperial court see for instance Andreas Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre. Höfischer Adel am Kaiserhof Karls VI*, Darmstadt 2003, Karin J. MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage in Habsburg Austria. The Social and Cultural Dimension of Political Interaction, 1521-1622*, New York 2003.

¹¹⁶ See Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla who emphasised that: »[...] *la aristocracia del Antiguo Régimen – o, mejor, las aristocracias- se deben entender como un grupo dinámico en constante remodelación de sus componentes, de sus representaciones sociales, de sus imágenes políticas y, por tanto, de su acción social*«. Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, *Economía moral y gestión aristocrática en tiempos del Quijote*. In: *Revista de Historia Económica* 23 (2005), pp. 45-68, here p. 51. Ibidem, *Crisis de Antiguo Régimen y "crisis de la aristocracia"*. In: *AYER* 48 (2002), pp. 41-57. Also Winkelbauer, *Krise der Aristokratie?*, and Asch, *Nobilities in Transition*.

¹¹⁷ Asch, *Zwischen defensiver Legitimation und kultureller Hegemonie*.

¹¹⁸ Hans Jürgen Jüngling, *Die Heiraten des Hauses Liechtenstein im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Konnubium und soziale Verflechtungen am Beispiel der habsburgischen Hocharistokratie*. In: Volker Press – Dietmar Willoweit, (eds.), *Lichtenstein - Fürstliches Haus und staatliche Ordnung. Geschichtliche Grundlagen und moderne Perspektiven*, Vaduz-Munich-Vienna ²1988, pp. 329-345, here p. 331.

religious boundaries under the reign of Rudolf II and Matthias. In the sixteenth century the majority of the Austrian nobility had converted to one of the Protestant creeds. The Habsburg rulers had to concede the Protestant nobility religious privileges throughout the whole century, since they depended on the financial and military support of wealthy and powerful families, not least due to the constant threat of the Ottoman Empire. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, the more or less peaceful coexistence of Protestant and Catholics became more and more replaced by an uncompromising religious policy. Now the Crown »made effective use of Court patronage to undermine the political position of Protestant nobles. The period after 1600 was marked by the emergence of a Catholic party, dominated by magnates who had staked their fortunes on an alliance with the Crown«. ¹¹⁹ Protestant nobles became increasingly excluded from the top positions at the court and in the territorial administration. The religious tensions reached its climax when Ferdinand from Inner Austria assumed power after the death of the heirless Emperor Matthias. As a devout Christian, the Counter-Reformation was his major concern. The Archduchy of Inner Austria had been successfully re-catholicized already, and he sought to realise this goal in the rest of the monarchy as well. The Jesuit Guillaume Lamormaini was one of Ferdinand's closest confidants and he crucially influenced the Emperor in his confessional-political position. ¹²⁰ As a consequence of this policy, many Protestant nobles converted to the Catholic faith even by 1600. ¹²¹ According to Heinz Schilling, who in numerous studies examined the consequences of Austrian Habsburgs re-Catholicization policy at the beginning

¹¹⁹ James van Horn Melton, *The Nobility in the Bohemian and Austrian Lands, 1620–1780*. In: Hamish M. Scott (ed.), *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2. vols. Northern, Central and Eastern Europe, London 1995, pp. 110–143, here p. 112. See also the study by Karin J. MacHardy, *The Rise of Absolutism and Noble Rebellion in Early Modern Habsburg Austria, 1570 to 1620*. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34/3 (1992), pp. 407-438; also the contributions in Robert J. Evans – T. V. Thomas (eds.), *Crown, Church and Estates. Central European Politics in the sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, New York 1991, and especially the contribution by Robert Bireley, *Ferdinand II: Founder of the Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 226-244, as well as the contribution by Georg Heilingsetzer, *The Austrian Nobility, 1600 – 1650: Between Court and Estates*, pp. 245-260.

¹²⁰ Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, p. 73.

¹²¹ The reasons for conversions are discussed in detail by Thomas Winkelbauer, *Karrieristen oder fromme Männer? Adelige Konvertiten in den böhmischen und österreichischen Ländern um 1600*. In: *Frühneuzeit-Info* 10/1 (1999), pp. 9-20.

of the seventeenth century, this development contributed to the »rise of confessional identities and boundaries«. ¹²² In many cases, confessional boundaries divided families into two parts as some family members converted whereas others remained Protestant, as was the case of the families Liechtenstein, Starhemberg, Khevenhüller, Eggenberg, Dietrichstein, and many others.

The starting point of the conflict, which at the end led to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, was in Bohemia where religion became increasingly used as a weapon in the political conflict between the centralisation tendencies of the Habsburg rulers and the power-political claims of the local estates. ¹²³ Simultaneously the Upper and Lower Austrian estates revolted and a large number of nobles supported the Bohemian rebellion. ¹²⁴ The victory of the Catholic army at the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620 encouraged the Emperor to continue his uncompromising religious policy. From this moment onwards, the Emperor demanded absolute loyalty which became equated with Catholicism. ¹²⁵ Protestants had an option either to convert or to emigrate. The latter was chosen by a surprisingly large number of nobles. »In Inner Austria some 800 nobles went into exile between 1628 and 1630«, including members of the Khevenhüller, Dietrichstein, Eggenberg families and many others. ¹²⁶ In Austria above the Enns the situation was not so different. Members of leading families left their native country

¹²² Heinz Schilling, *Confessionalisation and the rise of Religious and Cultural Frontiers in Early Modern Europe*. In: Eszter Andor – István György Tóth (eds.), *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400-1750*, Budapest 2001, pp. 21-35, here p. 22.

¹²³ Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815*, Cambridge-New York 1994, pp. 23-52.

¹²⁴ See MacHardy, *The Rise of Absolutism*. For a variety of excellent articles regarding nobility and political, social, cultural, daily life and religious issues see *Adel im Wandel. Politik – Kultur – Konfession 1500-1700*. Katalog der Niederösterreichischen Landesausstellung auf der Rosenberg 1990, Vienna 1990.

¹²⁵ Robert Bireley described this policy as »confessional absolutism« Robert S. J. Bireley, *Confessional Absolutism in the Habsburg Lands in the Seventeenth Century*. In: Charles W. Ingrao (ed.), *State and Society in Early Modern Austria*. West Lafayette 1994, pp. 36-53. A general outlook of the consequences of the White Mountain on culture is given by Robert J. Evans, *The Significance of the White Mountain for the Culture of the Czech Lands*. In: *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971), pp. 34-54.

¹²⁶ Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, p. 71.

and migrated to Protestant territories in the Empire, like members of the families Jörger and Starhemberg had for instance.¹²⁷

A consequence of the Protestant defeat was a wave of confiscations of Protestant property, which was distributed among Catholic and Habsburg loyal aristocrats. In the Crown of Bohemia more than half of noble property changed hands in the decade that followed, which profoundly transformed the Bohemian and Moravian Estate of the Lords (*Herrenstand*).¹²⁸ Among the beneficiaries of the confiscations in the Crown of Bohemia were many aristocrats, who had originally descended from the Austrian hereditary lands, like for instance the Styrian noble Hans Ulrich Eggenberg, who received the Bohemian dominion Krumlov. In the Margraviate of Moravia the Dietrichstein and Liechtenstein families were the leading beneficiaries of the expropriations.¹²⁹ Besides Bohemia and Moravia, the territories of Upper and Lower Austria were also affected by the re-structuring of noble property after 1620.¹³⁰

Those aristocrats, who adapted to the new political and religious climate, or in other words, those who converted to Catholicism in time and thereby confirmed loyalty to the Crown, could strengthen their political and economical power. Ferdinand II had realised that he depended on the local noble elite to enforce religious uniformity, and he was aware that he needed to concede political rights and social privileges in order to gain support. He was therefore eager to integrate

¹²⁷ See Gustav Reingrabner, *Protestanten in Österreich. Geschichte und Dokumentation*, Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1981.

¹²⁸ Van Horn Melton, *The Nobility in the Bohemian and Austrian Lands*, pp. 110-143, here p. 112; Also Petr Mat' a, *Der Adel aus den böhmischen Ländern am Kaiserhof 1620-1740. Versuch, eine falsche Frage richtig zu lösen*. In: *Opera Historica* 10, pp. 192-196, Polišenksy, *War and Society*, pp. 202-216, Karl Richter, *Die böhmischen Länder von 1471-1740*. In: Karl Bosl, (ed.), *Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder. Vol. II. Die böhmischen Länder von der Hochblüte der Ständeherrschaft bis zum Erwachen eines modernen Nationalbewusstseins*, Stuttgart 1974, pp. 99-414, here pp. 241-249; and recently also the contribution by Tomáš Knoz, *Die Konfiskationen nach 1620 in (erb)länderübergreifender Perspektive. Thesen zu Wirkungen, Aspekte und Prinzipien des Konfiskationsprozesses*. In: Petr Mat' a – Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620 bis 1740. Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismusparadigmas*, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 99-130.

¹²⁹ Thomas Winkelbauer, *Wandlungen des mährischen Adels um 1600. Comenius' gesellschaftliches und wirtschaftliches Umfeld*. In: Karlheinz Mack (ed.), *Jan Amos Comenius und die Politik seiner Zeit*. Vienna-Munich 1992, pp. 16-36, here p. 18.

¹³⁰ Ignaz Hübel, *Die Ächtung von Evangelischen und die Konfiskationen protestantischen Besitzes im Jahre 1620 in Nieder- und Oberösterreich*. In: *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 58 (1937), pp. 17-28.

the most influential and loyal families at his court and to give high offices to them in order to acquire allies. While in earlier epochs the nobility identified itself mainly with its native territory, in the seventeenth century a new aristocracy had emerged that orientated itself towards the imperial court and that »identified itself purely with the dynasty«. ¹³¹ The inner circle of this new court aristocracy included the most prestigious families of the country, such as the Dietrichstein, Trautson, Harrach, Breuner, Liechtenstein, Lamberg, Trauttmanstorff, Schwarzenberg and Khevenhüller families. ¹³² Far from losing their political and economical power, this group of high aristocrats controlled the key positions in the monarchy, and many of them possessed property in more than one territory of the monarchy.

Yet, the winds of changes also embraced the cultural climate of the epoch. The early modern conception of nobility underwent profound changes. One of the most characteristic features is the shift from warrior to courtier, which as a consequence, set off a process of redefining noble values and ideals, including new forms of representation and symbols of status. As Ronald Asch emphasised in his study on *Nobilities in Transition*, »noblemen and –women were almost forced to re-invent themselves. Their traditional virtues and claims to privilege were in danger of becoming obsolete«. ¹³³ Although inherited titles, landed wealth and ancestry continued to be of utmost significance in the social world of the nobility, nobles nonetheless had to face growing criticism from urbane classes that challenged the nobility's socio-political dominance. Nobles had to develop new ideals and forms of self-representation in order to reassert their cultural and social hegemony.

¹³¹ Robert Douglas Chesler, *Crown, Lords, and God: The establishment of secular authority and the pacification of Lower Austria, 1618-1648*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Princeton University 1979, pp. 241. Also Ingraio, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 41-44; Robert Evans, *The Austrian Habsburgs. The Dynasty as a Political Institution*. In: A. G. Dickens (ed.), *The Courts of Europe. Politics, Patronage, and Royalty, 1400-1800*, London 1977, pp. 121-145. On the imperial court as central administrative institution see Volker Press, *The Habsburg Court as Center of the Imperial Government*. In: *Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986), pp. 23-45.

¹³² Chesler, *Crown, Lords, and God*, pp. 241-242.

¹³³ Asch, *Nobilities in Transition*, p. 3.

The basic pillar of noble's essence, as we find it defined in all contemporary writings on nobility, was virtue. »There is no true nobility but the one that proceeds from virtue and good morality; nobility of birth is empty and stupid talk if it is not accompanied by virtue«, argued a sixteenth-century French writer.¹³⁴ Similarly the German scholar Cyriacus Spangenberg, who also insisted in his *AdelsSpiegel* published in 1591 that nobility – though instituted by God in order to council rulers – »is not derived from right of birth, but it is virtue that leads to distinction«. ¹³⁵ Numerous other contemporary philosophers and writers argued in a similar vein. Traditionally noble virtues were associated with chivalry and emphasis was placed on military merits and knightly bravery. Changes in military art, technical innovations but also the fact that early modern armies increasingly were composed by paid soldiers constituted a rupture with traditional noble role in society. The nobility had to face a gradual loss of former feudal and military functions, and albeit single aristocrats still benefited from military merits, aristocracy for the most part took over functions in administration, diplomacy, and at court. A visible sign of the shift from knightly warrior to courtier is, among others, the use of carriages by noblemen. In earlier epochs the horse was the distinguished sign of a noble. Riding the horse communicated noble values and it was part of noble self-representation. In the seventeenth century luxuriously equipped carriages became a princely symbol of status.¹³⁶

Even more challenging was that since Renaissance humanists and lettered men increasingly regarded virtue »as a product of learning, thus the education in

¹³⁴ Cited in Ellery Schalk, *The Appearance and Reality of Nobility in France during the Wars of Religion: An Example of How Collective Attitudes Can Change*. In: *The Journal of Modern History* 48/1 (1976), pp. 19-31, here p. 20. See also *Ibidem*, *From Valor to Pedigree. Ideas of Nobility in France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Princeton 1986.

¹³⁵ Cyriacus Spangenberg, *AdelsSpiegel*. *Historischer Ausführlicher Bericht: Was Adel sey und heisse, woher er komme, wie mancherley er sey, und was denselben ziere und erhalte [...]*, vol. 2, Schmalkalden 1594, p. 172: »Nicht von Geburt recht Adel kömpt, sondern die Tugend macht berühmt. Wer sich der Tugend stets befließt, derselb rechten Adels beweist. Wer liegt in lastern wie ein Schwein, der kann fürwar nicht Edel sein.« Quoted in MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage*, p. 178.

¹³⁶ See Alejandro López Álvarez, *Poder, lujo y conflicto en la Corte de los Austrias coches, carrozas y sillas de mano 1550-1700*, Madrid 2007; also Rudolf Wackernagel, *Zur Geschichte der Kutsche bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Achse, Rad und Wagen. Fünftausend Jahre Kultur- und Technikgeschichte*, Göttingen 1986, pp. 197-235.

humane letters and the liberal arts«. ¹³⁷ Learned men from the urbane classes, poets, lawyers and theologians criticised nobility's arrogance towards the world of book-learning. In almost all parts of Europe learned men campaigned against uncultured and uneducated nobles who saw the source of their social standing in their ancestry and the glorious deeds of their forbearers. In a speech given in 1578 at the University of Tübingen the scholar Nikodemus Frischling (1547-1590) for instance described the nobility as a »bunch of crude creatures that are lacking any sense of culture and morality«. ¹³⁸ Other examples can be called on that similarly criticized the evident lack of education and the rude and uncivilised comportment of the nobility. Even writers, who aimed at defending the nobility, such as the German theologian Markus Wagner (1528-1597), had to admit that the nobility generally had a bad reputation which was caused by morally corrupt members. ¹³⁹

Indeed, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, nobility for the most part had still some reservations towards the world of books and learning. Over the course of the century, this attitude changed significantly. As career and service at the court became more important, nobles realised the importance of educational qualifications and cultural skills in order to achieve high offices at the court. ¹⁴⁰ Moreover, university degrees offered commoners »opportunities for social

¹³⁷ James Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona. Patrician culture and class relations, 1490-1714*, Princeton 1986, Chapter Five: [104-105]. Available online at the following link: The Library of Iberian Resources online: <http://libro.uca.edu/amelang/hcb.htm>. (17.03.2008). On early modern discourse about nobility and how to legitimise its status and privileges see Klaus Bleek – Jörg Garber, *Nobilitas: Standes- und Privilegienlegitimation in deutschen Adelstheorien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Daphnis* 11 (1982), pp. 49-114.

¹³⁸ Ronald Asch, *Europäischer Adel in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 2008, p. 134. On Frischling's speech see *Ibidem*, *Bürgertum, Universität und Adel. Eine württembergische Kontroverse des Späthumanismus*. In: Klaus Garber (ed.), *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 1, Tübingen 1998, pp. 384-410. Also H. C. Erik Midelfort, *Adeliges Landleben und die Legitimationskrise des deutschen Adels im 16. Jahrhundert*. In: Georg Schmidt (ed.), *Stände und Gesellschaft im Alten Reich*, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 245-264, on case of Frischling especially pp. 251-254.

¹³⁹ In his work entitled *Von des Adels Ankunft oder Spiegel*, Wagner wrote: »[...] *das leider im Adelsstande der grässeste hauff ein wüest wilt, roh vollk, das nur prangen, stoltzieren, puchen, trotzen, schinden, wunden und marten kann*«. Quoted in Asch, *Bürgertum, Universität und Adel*, p. 394.

¹⁴⁰ See for instance Gernot Heiss, „Ihro keiserlichen Mayestät zu Diensten ... unserer ganzen fürstlichen Familie aber zur Glorie“. *Erziehung und Unterricht der Fürsten von Liechtenstein in der frühen Neuzeit*. In: Evelin Oberhammer (ed.), *Der ganzen Welt ein Lob und Spiegel. Das Fürstenhaus Liechtenstein in der frühen Neuzeit*, Vienna-Munich 1990, pp. 155-181. Also J. H. Hexter, *The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance*. In: *Ibidem*, *Reappraisals in History*, London 1961, pp. 45-71.

achievement«, and they increasingly occupied important positions in administration, at the court, and as princely advisors. In order to compete with them, nobles realised that knowledge in law, mathematic, foreign languages and rhetoric became indispensable.¹⁴¹ »Neglecting [studies] or quitting them prematurely means the decline of nobility«, a German nobleman argued.¹⁴² Following the French and Italian model, noble academies (*Ritterakademien*) had been founded in the Empire, where the young noble elite should be prepared for the courtly spheres.¹⁴³ Also the Grand Tour as final step in noble education experienced its glory days in the seventeenth century, but we will return to this aspect in the following chapter. As education became increasingly equated with virtue, it became a central criterion that authorized and legitimised rule. Clearly articulated is the newly-established ideal of education as precondition for rule by the Austrian nobleman Adam Jörger, who argued that there is hardly any difference

»zwischen adelichen tugenten und pauernknecht so ainer nichts khan oder erlernet [hat]. Wie will dan einer andere regieren der selbst nichts khan, nichts versteht, noch erfahren hat.«¹⁴⁴

Against this background the display of erudition became essential in seventeenth-century aristocratic self-representation, which is reflected most clearly in noble libraries or art collections. Thus, in order to meet the requirements of the time the nobility »adapted aspects of humanism and the world of learned urban classes«.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage*, p. 172. See also Klaus Garber, *Zur Statuskonkurrenz von Adel und gelehrtem Bürgertum im theoretischen Schrifttum des 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Daphnis* 11 (1982), pp. 115-143. As to university attendance by young noblemen see Rainer A. Müller, *Aristokratisierung des Studiums? Bemerkungen zur Adelsfrequenz an süddeutschen Universitäten im 17. Jahrhundert*. In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 10 (1984), pp. 31-46.

¹⁴² Quoted in Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400-1800*, Cambridge 1996, p. 154.

¹⁴³ On the foundation of noble academies see Norbert Conrads, *Ritterakademien der Frühen Neuzeit. Bildung als Standesprivileg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1982. On the Grand Tour see Chapter 3.1.

¹⁴⁴ Adam Jörger to Wolf von Schallenberg, Wels, 1577 May 5. Quoted in Gernot Heiss, *Standeserziehung und Schulunterricht. Zur Bildung des niederösterreichischen Adligen in der frühen Neuzeit*. In: *Adel im Wandel*, pp. 391-407, here p. 392.

¹⁴⁵ Asch, *Zwischen defensiver Legitimation und kultureller Hegemonie*.

Yet, to maintain the distance from the urban classes, but also to be acknowledged by fellow aristocrats as equals, learning was linked with distinct noble habitus. A spate of literature on conduct emerged that elaborated at length on noble manners, gestures, comportment, and appropriate appearance. The most influential and most popular was Baldesar Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (1528). This work was a reaction to the image of the uncivilised and uncultured noble. Castiglione urged the courtier to be knowledgeable in the fine arts and familiar with the world of studies, and likewise ought to be skilled at arms. The courtier should be trained in rhetoric and be able to converse in sophisticated way, and he should also have expertise in dancing and music. His posture and gestures should be self-controlled and elegant, and everything he does, he should do with grace and *sprezzatura*, thus with ease and naturalness. Already by his appearance he should be recognised as noble. As James Amelang emphasised, »this treatise sought to resolve the aristocracy's crisis of confidence by proposing a new social role of public spectacle and display. In Castiglione's view education, manners, and demeanour not only distinguished nobles from commoners, but also lent renewed justification to the social hierarchy inherited from the past. Every detail of aristocratic life was thus to be governed as if nobles were actors in a spectacle whose audience was society at large«. ¹⁴⁶

Castiglione's treatise became a bestseller and it is unsurprising that it was widely disseminated in the Austrian aristocracy also. Until 1700 several editions in Latin were printed and the book was translated into different European vernaculars. Even in 1535 it could be read in Spanish, and three years later a French edition was published. The first German edition appeared in 1565/1566, and a further one was published in 1593. ¹⁴⁷ Many writers drew heavily on Castiglione's model, like for

¹⁴⁶ Amelang, Honored Citizens of Barcelona, Chapter Five [106]. See also Aldo Scaglione, *Knights at Court. Courtliness, Chivalry, and Courtesy. From Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford 1991, and especially Chapter Eleven: From Courtly Knights to Noble Courtiers pp. 279-312.

¹⁴⁷ Peter Burke, *The Courtier Abroad: Or, the Use of Italy?* In: Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier. The Singleton Translation* ed. by Daniel Javitch, New York-London 2002, pp. 388-400, here p. 391; and in more detail in *Ibidem The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano*, Pennsylvania 1996.

instance Nicolas Faret in his *L'honnête homme, ou l'art de plaire à la cour* (1630). Also in Antonio Guevara's famous *Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos* (1539) the reception of Castiglione, though less explicit than in the work by Faret, is evident. Like the *Book of the Courtier*, their writings too had been very popular and much-read by Austrian aristocrats. The great influence of this literature on noble formation is reflected in numerous instructions, aristocrats wrote for their son's education. Fathers urged their sons to pay attention to being self-controlled, modest and at the same time being graceful in appearance in everything they did.¹⁴⁸

Thus, the aristocracy responded to the challenges of the epoch by adopting values of urban and literary culture. A new powerful aristocracy had emerged that placed emphasis on cosmopolitan appearance, refined comportment, conspicuous consumption, and magnificent representation. Well situated aristocrats »subscribed to a new ideal of high culture which set them apart more radically than in the past from their own tenants«,¹⁴⁹ and which at the same time associated them with the European ruling elite. The »crisis« the aristocracy had to face, if we want to regard this period of upheavals as such, hence had an enormous impact on the development of aristocratic baroque culture, as it is displayed in its magnificent architecture, gardens with exotic plants and trees, universal libraries and art collections founded by high-ranking aristocrats. There is no doubt that the ability to adjust to new standards enabled large tracts of the nobility to defend their social position in society and to reassert their cultural hegemony.

¹⁴⁸ See for example the instruction of Johann Maximilian Lamberg to his sons Franz Joseph and Georg Sigmund. Following Castiglione's advise of modest and pleasant conversation, he urged his sons that they should always »mit bedacht reden, und nit alles herauß sagen was ihnen in den mund komt, sich in sonderheit von allen unzüchtigen und schandlichen reden leuchtfertigen liedern und ungebührlichen worten, die contra bonos mores sein enthalten, andere, die etwas erzelen, nit in die red fallen, sondern mit geduld und attention anhören und alles formlich und mit bedacht und gutter manier beantworten, niemand verachten und von kainer nation übel reden, auch der schmeichlichen worten sich enthalten. [...]«. OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 1232, Fasz. 21, Nr. 332, here point 5.

¹⁴⁹ Asch, *Nobilities in Transition*, p. 150.

PART II.

**CHANNELS OF TRANSFER: ARISTOCRATIC NETWORKS AND CROSS-
CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS**

3. Acquiring Contacts Abroad: Austrian Aristocrats as Travellers and Ambassadors

3.1. Young Noblemen Explore the World: Education and Cultural Contacts during the Grand Tour

»Le embiaremos, Dios queriendo, a Italia que vaya un poco a veer el mundo. Despues buelto veremos donde le podremos casar con la gratia y bendition de Dios. El tiene agora 16 años y 3 meses. Antes se vaya passara unos 5 meses. Toma quasi unos 17 años. Quedado un poco fuera, bolverado 18 años, y despues, yendo para 19 años y empecara poner barbas, se podra casar.«¹⁵⁰

Zdeněk Vojtěch Lobkowitz

Social and cultural encounters are vital preconditions for any sort of transfer and cultural exchange, and what provides better than the exchanges that take place in the realm of travel. Scholars such as Thomas Grosser and Bernhard Struck have already pointed to the close relationship between travel and cultural transfer.¹⁵¹ Also, Werner Paravicini recently highlighted the »fundamental significance of noble mobility for the development of a pan-European culture of behavioural forms and standards, of representation, and of art and science«. This mobility constituted a

¹⁵⁰ Zdeněk Vojtěch Lobkowitz to Polyxena Lobkowitz, Vienna, 1625 April 26. In Pavel Marek (ed.), *Svědectví o ztrátě starého světa. Manželská korespondence Zdeňka Vojtěcha Popela z Lobkovic a Polyxeny Lobkovicové z Pernštejna*, České Budějovice 2005, p. 395.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Grosser, *Reisen und Kultur-Transfer. Deutsche Frankreich-Reisende 1650-1850*. In: Michel Espagne – Michael Werner (eds.) *Transferts. Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe et XIXe siècle)*, Paris 1988, pp. 163-228; Bernhard Struck, *Reise und Kulturtransfer. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen eines Forschungskonzepts*. In: Gesa Stedman –Margarete Zimmermann (eds.), *Höfe – Salons – Akademien. Kulturtransfer und Gender im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hildesheim 2007, pp. 213-240. See also the contributions in Michael Maurer (ed.), *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung*, Berlin 1999, especially the contributions by Wolfgang Behringer, *Reisen als Aspekt einer Kommunikationsgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (pp. 65-96), and Thomas Grosser, *Reisen und soziale Eliten. Kavaliertour – Patrizierreise – bürgerlicher Bildungsreise* (pp. 135-176). Further the contributions in Arnd Bauerkämper – Hans Erich Bödeker – Bernd Struck (eds.), *Die Welt erfahren. Reisen als kulturelle Begegnung von 1780 bis heute*, Frankfurt/Main 2004, here especially the one by Joachim Rees, *Die Fürstenreise als Transfersystem. Formen und Wandlungen im Alten Reich, 1740-1800*, pp. 191-218.

central part of the »communication among the European courts«. ¹⁵² This chapter draws on the Grand Tour as a particular form of noble voyage in early modern age. The Grand Tour was a wide-spread cultural activity of the social elite in the seventeenth century. Other forms of travel, such as pilgrimages or trips to spas and therapeutic bathes, surely were of similar importance in this respect. Yet the explicit purpose of the Grand Tour was to experience the world, as the opening quote of Prince Lobkowitz clearly indicates. Aged around seventeen, young nobles from all corners of Europe embarked on the ambitious project of discovering the world and becoming familiar with the cultural standards of the ruling elite. ¹⁵³

The journey usually took the young cavaliers to Italy, France, and the Netherlands. Also, Spain and England were visited occasionally by young Austrian nobles. Gundaker von Liechtenstein even deemed a journey to Spain as »the most important and most useful among all travels«. ¹⁵⁴ He recommended his grandson Maximilian to spend at least three months at the Spanish court, where he should cultivate contacts with the royal family and Grandees of Spain. ¹⁵⁵ Gundaker's nephew, Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein, also advised his son to spend two or three weeks in Madrid to see the sights, the palaces and the Escorial, and of course, he also should be present at the court. He then should journey through »this beautiful

¹⁵² Werner Paravicini, Vom Erkenntniswert der Adelsreise: Einleitung. In: Rainer Babel – Werner Paravicini (eds.), Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert. Akten der internationalen Kolloquien in der Villa Vigoni 1999 und im Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris 2000, Ostfildern 2005, pp. 11-20, here p. 12.

¹⁵³ Several scholars analysed the Grand Tour from the perspective of *rites de passage* or *liminal periods*, and thus as a period that should prepare the young nobles for a further career. See Arnold van Gennep, *Übergangsriten*, Frankfurt/Main 1999. Further developed was van Gennep's model of rites de passage by Victor Turner, *Betwixt and Between. The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage*. In: Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols. Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, London 1967, pp. 98-99; *Ibidem*, *Das Ritual. Struktur und Anti-Struktur*, Frankfurt/Main 1989, especially pp. 94-111. Turner's model was picked up by Antje Stannek for her study on seventeenth-century courtly educational travels. Antje Stannek, *Telemachs Brüder. Die höfische Bildungsreise des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt-New York 2001. Scientific literature on the Grand Tour has proliferated in recent decades. See for instance Mathis Leibetseder, *Die Kavalierstour. Adlige Erziehungsreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 2004; Eva-Maria Csáky-Lobenstein, *Studien zur Kavalierstour österreichischer Adelliger im 17. Jahrhundert*. In: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 79 (1971), pp. 408-434; and the contributions in Babel – Paravicini (eds.), *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur*.

¹⁵⁴ Die Reise nach Spanien sei „*die allernotwendigste unnd nuzlichste unter allen raisen*“. Quoted in Thomas Winkelbauer, *Fürst und Fürstendiener. Gundaker von Liechtenstein ein österreichischer Aristokrat des konfessionellen Zeitalters*, Vienna-Munich 1999, p. 483.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 483.

country, which deserves being called the garden of Europe for all the exotic fruits and plants that grow there due the hot climate«. ¹⁵⁶

The Grand Tour was the peak of noble education, which would equip the young noblemen with all skills and cultural competences necessary for a career at the courtly stage, or as the Austrian noble Hartmann von Liechtenstein put it: that »today or tomorrow they can become *ministros*«. The young men should therefore »study carefully the good manners and customs of the foreign countries they visit, as well as observe the ways in which the regions they pass are ruled«, Hartmann von Liechtenstein advised. ¹⁵⁷ They should gain experience in courtly conduct and establish contacts. As Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach remarked on the advantages of his son Karl's forthcoming Grand Tour:

»Durch diese undt andere gelegenheit wirdt er anlaß haben mit andern vornehmen cavalieren bekandt zu werden und auch vornehme damas zu visitiren, in deren conversation er etwas lehrnen und sich faconiren kan«. ¹⁵⁸

Besides training in physical and knightly skills, such as riding, fencing and dancing, the young nobles should receive some university training in law, mathematics, fortification technology and other academic subjects, which in this epoch were best studied at one of the famous universities in Italy (Bologna, Siena, and Padua), but also the city Dôle in Burgundy was known for its university. In addition, young nobles were advised to study geography and history; the latter also included visits to ancient sights and monuments, as well as historical places. During the Grand Tour, the young men were expected above all to acquire and refine their

¹⁵⁶ Heiss, *Ihro keiserlichen Mayestät zu Diensten*, p. 164.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 162.

¹⁵⁸ »*Etliche punctn welche in wehrendten raysen meines sohnes zu beachten seindt*« Reiseinstruktion des Gf. Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach für den Hofmeister Johann Bilek, s. d. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 677, sin fol. Quoted also in Heiss, *Bildungsreisen österreichischer Adelliger in der frühen Neuzeit*, p. 261.

language skills.¹⁵⁹ Austrian nobles in general placed much importance on the linguistic education of their sons and daughters. Count Johann Maximilian Lamberg, for instance, advised his sons to study Latin, which he considered as both the most distinguished and most useful of all languages.¹⁶⁰ But also knowledge in French, Spanish and Italian were standard, and Bohemian aristocrats frequently urged their sons also to learn Czech in order to be able to communicate with their subjects.¹⁶¹ Count Lamberg was delighted that his granddaughter Josepha Harrach spoke Spanish and French very well at the age of eleven.¹⁶² The close kinship relations of the Habsburg rulers with Italy and Spain, and the influx of families from these countries made competences in these languages indispensable.¹⁶³

Apart from the educational program, the most important purpose of the Grand Tour was the integration of the young men into the courtly circles of Europe. They were instructed by their fathers to establish an »international network of friends and patrons«, which was vital for a future political career.¹⁶⁴ The cavaliers were eager to get in touch with the leading personalities of the respective residence, with diplomats and scholars. Gundaker von Liechtenstein explicitly articulated that it was »in the family's interest that the young Princes Hartmann and Karl Eusebius make a

¹⁵⁹ The tutor of Count Maximilian Trauttmansdorff informed the father of his protégé from Paris that Maximilian »*prosequirt seine exercitien und studia, wie Ihr Gn. soll wünschen undt begheren, hat so wol zugehomen in die franstoyische sprach, daß er alles zimligs wol redet, wirt sich innerhalb etliche monathen perfectionieren*«. Quoted in Csáky-Loebenstern, *Studien zur Kavalierstour*, pp. 429-430. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach informed his uncle that he had started Italian classes in Rome: »*heüdt den sprachmesiter komen lassen undt angefangen die walsche sprach zu lernen*«. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Cardinal Ernst Adalbert Harrach, Rome, 1659 January 29. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Harrach Gf. Ferdinand Bonav. I, fol. 99r.

¹⁶⁰ »[...] *vor allem aber sollen sie sich in der lateinischen sprach in reden und schreiben fleißig üben, dieselbe alß die vornemste und nottwendigste schätzen und derselben alle andere nachsetzen*.« wrote Count Lamberg regarding the language education for his sons. Instruction für seine beiden Söhne Franz Joseph und Georg Sigmund, Madrid, 1656 April 5. OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 1232, Fasz. 21, Nr. 332, (point 13).

¹⁶¹ Heiss, *Standeserziehung und Schulunterricht*, p. 395.

¹⁶² »*Die Joseffü hadt dem heren vater miesen spanisch und franzesisch singen, er sagt, sie redt bade sprachen haubt guet, er erfrei sich, daz er so ein gelerdte dochter hadt*«, wrote Johanna Theresia Harrach to her husband. Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura, Vienna 1677 Mai 18. AVA FA Harrach, Carton 350. Quoted also in Susanne Claudine Pils, *Schreiben über Stadt. Das Wien der Johanna Theresia Harrach, 1639-1716*, Vienna 2002, p. 152.

¹⁶³ Csáky-Loebenstern, *Studien zur Kavalierstour*, p. 410.

¹⁶⁴ MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage*, p. 172.

good impression at all important courts and establish relations from which they can benefit in the future«. ¹⁶⁵ In addition, friendly contacts with high ranking ministers, and influential personalities abroad increased the reputation of the family. Later Hartmann von Liechtenstein himself instructed his son's tutor that he should make sure his son used the Grand Tour for socialising and establishing relations. Only extended contacts with compatriots should be avoided, since they impacted negatively on the acquisition of foreign languages, some fathers advised. ¹⁶⁶ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach urged his son Karl to »escape the company of German cavaliers as much as politeness allows, since he will not learn anything from them what he does not know already anyway, but on the contrary, they would seduce him to drink and gamble and get him into all kinds of trouble. He is better advised to search the company of distinguished and elderly people from whom he can learn something«. ¹⁶⁷

In the company of a tutor the young nobles often travelled together with elder brothers or cousins, or with sons of acquainted families. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, for instance, travelled with his relatives Baron Karl Franz Schärffenberg and Baron Seifried Christoph Breuner. The young men travelled first to Dôle, where they met the Counts of Dietrichstein and Trauttmandorff, who also studied at the University of Dôle. ¹⁶⁸ Two Counts of Lamberg were also in town and it is most likely

¹⁶⁵ Herbert Haupt, Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein 1611-1684. Erbe und Bewahrer in schwerer Zeit, ed. by Johann Kräftner, Munich-Berlin-London-New York 2007, p. 39.

¹⁶⁶ See for instance the instruction of Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach for his son Thomas Aloys Raimund: »befindnen sich gemainiglich in dem frembten ländtern viel teutsche cavalier. Mit disesen solle mein sohn nur so viel die höflichkeit erfordert umbgehen, in übriger aber allzeit in solcher gesellschaft seyn, darmit er wenigst die französische Sprach üben und sonsten guette Sitten und tugenden erlernen kann.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 115, Konv. Länderreise, fols. 33r-42v. (Wien, den 14. July 1686). See also Katrin Keller, Von der Nützlichkeit des Reisens. Bemerkungen zu Erscheinungsbild und Konsequenzen der Kavaliertour am Beispiel kursächsischer Befunde. In: Babel – Paravicini (eds.), Grand Tour, pp. 429-454, here p. 437.

¹⁶⁷ »So soll er auch, so viel möglich undt es die hofflichkeit zuelasset, die teütschen cavallier gesellschaft fliehen, alß vor der er nichts lehrnen kann, so er nit ehe waiß, undt bey welcher er nur in das truncken und spielen von selben aber in handel undt ungelegenheit gerathen kann, dahero soll er alzeit gesellschaft suechen, wo vornemmere undt ältere leüth sein alß er, von denen er was zu lehrnen undt ehr zu haben verhoffet.« Instruction undt puncten wie mein Sohn Carl in ländern solle gehalten werden. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 677, Konv. Karl (1662-1684), Länderreise, sin fol.

¹⁶⁸ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Albrecht Harrach, Paris, 1657. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 443, Konv. 1657, fols. 13r-14v.

that Harrach was in contact with them as well.¹⁶⁹ From the next destination of Paris Harrach informed his uncle about contacts with the Count of Lodron and other foreign travellers who resided in Paris.¹⁷⁰ Thus, young cavaliers established acquaintances with other travelling nobles from home and abroad, and they cemented relations which had already been established by their fathers and relatives.¹⁷¹ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach greatly benefited from close relations his family had cultivated over generations with the Burgundian elite. In Dôle the procurator-general paid him a visit the day after Ferdinand Bonaventura arrived, which was a great honour since the gentleman ranked among the most distinguished of authorities of the city, and he usually did not visit young cavaliers from abroad. But it was they who had to ask for an audience in the procurator-general's house, the young Harrach wrote to his uncle. Yet, the young Count Harrach possessed the necessary social capital to ease access to the local elite society. Some forty years earlier, the procurator-general of Dôle was well acquainted with Harrach's relatives in Vienna, and when one of his own sons stayed in Vienna, he had received great honours. This was why he felt obliged to demonstrate this generosity to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach and his companions as well.¹⁷²

In the course of his later career, Ferdinand Bonaventura not only benefited from acquaintances made in his youth, but he also intensified relations with high ranking aristocrats from all parts of Europe, especially during his diplomatic missions in France and Spain. When his son Karl embarked on the Grand Tour and visited Paris

¹⁶⁹ Stannek, *Telemachs Brüder*, p. 121.

¹⁷⁰ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Albrecht Harrach, Dôle, 1655 July 3. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 443, Konv. 1653-1655, fols. 9r-10v.

¹⁷¹ Keller, *Von der Nützlichkeit des Reisens*, pp. 437-444. Also Mathis Leibetseder, *Attici Vetter in Paris. Pietismus, Jansenismus und das Netz von Bekanntschaften auf der Kavalierstour*. In: Babel – Paravicini (eds.), *Grand Tour*, pp. 469-484.

¹⁷² [...] *gleich den andern tag nach unserer ankunft ist der procurator generalis, Hr. Prescia, welcher nach präsidenten alhier der fürnembste ist undt sonsten niemandt an erst zu besuechen pflegt, komen unß die visita zu geben. Hat vor 40 jahn den Gf. Lienhart seel. undt Hr. Seyfridt Lienhart Preiner wohl gekennt, auch sein sohn einen nacher Wien vor 15 jahren geschükt, welchen alda so grosse ehr wiederfahren, das er nicht anderß können, alß solche ehr den teutschen cavallirn widerumb anzuethuen.*« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Albrecht Harrach, Dôle, 1655 July 3. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 443, Konv. 1653-1655, fols. 9r-10v.

later on, Ferdinand Bonaventura was entirely convinced that his name would be sufficiently well-known (*»genugsam bekant«*), and that he would not have any problem in getting in touch with the royal family and the French court society.¹⁷³

The princely courts certainly offered the best possibilities for establishing relations with peers. Visits to the important courtly centres of Europe were therefore a top priority. The participation in courtly life, visits to musical and theatrical performances, hunts, masquerades, and other social events provided occasions to have contact with the courtly society of the respective country. In Italy Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach for instance almost daily attended the opera or a *comedia*.¹⁷⁴ From Venice and Rome he reported to his relatives on the carnival masquerades and spectacles, including a great fireworks display which the Spanish envoy to Rome had organised on the occasion of the birth of the Spanish Prince.¹⁷⁵ In addition, the viewing of art collections occupied a prominent place in the sightseeing program of the young men.¹⁷⁶ On the one hand, collections provided excellent places for encounter and sociability. They constituted a friendly environment for making contact with aristocratic collectors and connoisseurs. On the other hand, they constituted an ideal framework in which to introduce the young nobles to the world of collection and connoisseurship. In their correspondence we can find frequent descriptions about outstanding collections and about exotica, rarities and amazing artworks, and the young cavaliers contributed thereby at the same time to the transmission of collecting patterns, as

¹⁷³ Quoted in Heiss, *Bildungsreisen österreichischer Adelige*, p. 261. In examining the network of relations the young cavaliers established abroad and their access to networks, Leibetseder underscored: *»Das Rückgrat dieses Netzes von Bekanntschaften war das personale Netzwerk der Familie, welches durch verwandtschaftliche, religiöse und körperschaftliche Bindungen geformt wurde.«* Leibetseder, *Attici Vettern in Paris*, p. 482.

¹⁷⁴ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, for instance, attended the opera or a comedy almost daily during his stay in Italy. For instance, in Rome on the 30th of January 1659: *»[...] auf den abendt seindt wir al ordinario in die comedi«*. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Korrespondenz Kardinal Ernst Adalbert, Gabrielli – Ferdinand Bonaventura I, fol. 99r.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, fol. 103v and fol. 106v.

¹⁷⁶ Jill Bepler, *Travelling and posterity: the archive, the library and the cabinet*. In: *Babel – Paravicini (eds.), Grand Tour*, pp. 191-203, here p. 196.

Irene Baldriga examined recently more generally on the role of correspondence in the development of early modern museums and collecting standards.¹⁷⁷

The Grand Tour was beyond doubt guided by the motto »to see and to be seen«. Until the mid-seventeenth century, the papal court in Rome enjoyed the reputation of being the ideal place to establish international contacts. »There the whole world congregates, and in a single day one can meet more people in Rome than elsewhere in one month«, an Austrian nobleman observed. His son was therefore well-advised to stay in Rome for a while.¹⁷⁸ Under the reign of Louis XIV the French court society, more and more, became the ideal of courtly lifestyle, and noble parents sought to send their sons to Paris, where they could observe noble conduct and display, study fashions and courtly practices. They could internalise the symbols of distinction and acquire taste and social competence.

»Die französische nation [sei] die beste schule einen jungen cavallier zu fassionieren, gute manier in allen thun, eißerlich und innerlich, [zu erlernen]. Je länger sie zu Paris verbleiben und selbigen adel und die fürsten practiciren und den königlichen hoff zum öffteren sehen, je feiner sie in ihren moibus werden«,

remarked Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein about the benefits of a longer stay in Paris. He was convinced that the longer his sons stayed in Paris, the better it would be for their personal development.¹⁷⁹ In order to be introduced to the courtly society Prince Liechtenstein had advised his sons' tutor to contact the Duke of

¹⁷⁷ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach reported from Rome that he visited the Vatican library »*welche gar vil rariteten hat, under andern 2 oder 3 gar künstlich bücher von migniatür gemahlen*«. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Cardinal Harrach, Rome, 1659 February 24. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Korrespondenz Kardinal Ernst Adalbert, Gabrielli – Ferdinand Bonaventura I, fol. 116v. See Irene Baldriga, The role of correspondence in the transmission of collecting patterns in seventeenth-century Europe: models, media and main characters. In: Francisco Bethencourt – Florike Egmond (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. Vol. II: Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 187-216.

¹⁷⁸ »*weiln allda die ganze welt concorirt und [...] man dort an ein tag mehr als an ein andern ort in einem monath lehren kann*«. Julius III. von Hardegg to Karl Közler (tutor of his son), Vienna 1647 May 21. Quoted in Gernot Heiss, Integration in die höfische Gesellschaft als Bildungsziel: Zur Kavaliertour des Grafen Johann Sigmund von Hardegg 1646/50. In: *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich NF 48/49 (1982/83)*, pp. 99-114, here p. 100.

¹⁷⁹ Quoted in Heiss, *Ihro keiserlichen Mayestät zu Dienste*, p. 164.

Lorraine, who for several years had lived in Vienna and was a close friend of the family. The Duke would act as mediator, arrange meetings and introduce the young Princes to the French King.¹⁸⁰ The aforementioned Karl Harrach also greatly benefited from extensive connections his father had at the French court. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach instructed his son's tutor to approach the Spanish ambassador to Paris, the Marquis de la Fuente, as well as other influential friends of the family at the French court, such as Maximilian de Béthune and Bernardin Gigault de Bellefonds. These individuals would introduce Karl to the royal family and local society.¹⁸¹ Harrach's former valet, Pierre-Alexandre Bergeret, who was by that time in the service of Madame la Dauphine, was contacted on this matter as well.¹⁸² In general, the young nobles used long-established links in order to become embedded in an intensive network of relations. Needless to say, not all the interaction that took place over these years evolved into friendship and was maintained over time. However, the Grand Tour was a common pursuit of the European elite, and the shared experiences had at this crucial time of life connected aristocrats all across Europe. Since many nobles entered the diplomatic service after the Grand Tour, it can be assumed that earlier acquaintances were re-made again in the diplomatic setting.

Yet, the Grand Tour also offered the optimal conditions for cultural transfer. Young men learned about foreign cultural standards and they informed their

¹⁸⁰ Ibidem, p. 261.

¹⁸¹ »An dem franzoschischen hoff recomendier ich ihme meinen sohn an dem spanischen Pottschafter Marques de la Fuente, der aldorten residirt, dann an den Marechal de Belfond undt Marquis de Bethune, an die ich ihme schreüben mitgebe, undt sie bitte, meine sohn unter ihren schuz zu nehmen, undt den ersten werden sie immer zue in seinem hauß undt naher hoff aufwarten, auch absonderlich ersuchen, das er meinen sohn den konig, konigin, undt ubrigen konigl. Herschaft presentire.« Instruction undt puncten wie mein Sohn Carl in ländern solle gehalten werden. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 677, Konv. Karl (1662-1684), Länderreise, sin fol.

¹⁸² »So ist auch zu Paris mein gewester camerdiener Alexandre Bergeret, so anizo Premier vales de chambre de Mad. La Dauphine ist, der wirdt in anderen sachen ihnen auch woll an die handt gehen können.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 677, Instruction, sin fol. There is also vast correspondence between Bergeret and Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach in AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 217. For details regarding the Grand Tour of Karl Harrach and his stay in Paris see Gernot Heiss, Bildungs- und Reiseziele österreichischer Adeliger in der Frühen Neuzeit. In: Babel – Paravicini (eds.), Grand Tour, pp. 217-235, here pp. 228-229.

relatives at home about the latest fashions and trends in the Parisian and Italian courts. They spread information of new technologies and innovations that they came across in their travels, and contributed to a transfer of know-how. During his stay in Würzburg, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach for instance, inspected two newly built grinding mills, as well as a new hospital and an orphanage which had been opened in the city.¹⁸³ Prince Lichtenstein urged his son to study the fortresses and the newly established ports in the Netherlands, and he also urged him to observe the exotica and rarities that arrived there from overseas.¹⁸⁴ In addition, trips of this nature were used for the purchase of books, rarities, clothes and fashionable accessories, or other luxury goods. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach bought silk stockings for his uncle, Cardinal Harrach, in Paris,¹⁸⁵ and in Brussels he inquired as to the prices of fine laces, which the Cardinal demanded.¹⁸⁶ Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein explicitly instructed his son Johann Adam to purchase books, clothes, precious textiles, and clocks, as well as engravings of antique monuments, fortresses or natural wonders. In Spain the young Liechtenstein was compelled to buy horses for the family's stud-farm, which was widely known for its precious horses. Lichtenstein attached particular importance to collectibles and his son was obligated to search for valuable paintings, sculptures and other art objects in Italy. In addition, Johann Adam Liechtenstein was asked to seek out an accomplished architect in Rome or Genoa.¹⁸⁷

However, not all contemporaries were equally enthusiastic about the impact of the Grand Tour on the maturing of the young men. Opponents of the Grand Tour especially criticised the *dolce vita* during the travels, as well as the danger that the

¹⁸³ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Cardinal Harrach, Würzburg, 1658 August 12, AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Korrespondenz Kardinal Ernst Adalbert, Gabrielli – Ferdinand Bonaventura I, fol. 74r.

¹⁸⁴ Heiss, *Ihro keiserlichen Mayestät zu Diensten*, p. 164.

¹⁸⁵ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Albrecht Harrach, Brussels, 1657 March 13. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 443, Konv. 1657: Korrespondenz Franz Albrecht Harrach und Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, fol. 11r.

¹⁸⁶ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Albrecht Harrach, Brussels, 1657 February 17. *Ibidem*, fol. 3r.

¹⁸⁷ Heiss, *Ihro keiserlichen Mayestät zu Dienste*, p. 166.

young nobles might adopt »bad habits of foreign nations«. ¹⁸⁸ A Saxon author lamented for instance that, instead of extending and refining their manners, the young nobles only frequent coffee houses, wine cellars, operas and theatre performances, and on their return they know little outside the fact than that in Holland tobacco is especially good, that in England one can drink genuine champagne, and that it is in France that the best comedians can be found. ¹⁸⁹ It was the growing adoption of French standards that received an increasingly prominent place in this debate. ¹⁹⁰

It is difficult to determine exactly to what extent the encounter with foreign cultures moulded the cultural practice of the young cavaliers. Nonetheless, the importance and influence of the Grand Tour in noble socialisation can not be denied. Familiarised with the noble habitus, with the symbols of noble culture and the lifestyle of a cosmopolitan elite, as well as equipped with contacts and useful relationships, young men were exposed to the best prospects to advance a courtly career or in the diplomatic service when they returned home.

¹⁸⁸ Heiss, *Standeserziehung und Schulunterricht*, p. 402.

¹⁸⁹ »besuchen davor die Caffée-Häuser, Wein-Keller, Opern und Comödien, und wissen denn hernachmahls bey ihrer Zurückkunft ins Vaterland nicht viel anders zu erzehlen, als daß auf einer Holländischen Treckhyte das Pfeiffgen Toback überaus wohl schmecke, man in Engelland den Ceenarien-Sect unverfälscht haben könne, die Comödianten in Frankreich überaus wohl agiren [...]« Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Staats=Klugheit oder: Vorstellung wie christliche und weise Regenten zur Beförderung ihrer eigenen und ihres Landes Glückseligkeit ihrer Unterthanen zu beherrschen pflegen*, Leipzig 1718, p. 507. Quoted in Heiss, *Standeserziehung und Schulunterricht*, p. 402.

¹⁹⁰ Katrin Keller, *Der sächsische Adel auf Reisen. Die Kavalierstour als Institution adliger Standesbildung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. In: *Ibidem – Josef Matzerath (eds.), Geschichte des sächsischen Adels*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 1997, p. 259.

3.2. Ambassadors as Mediators between Cultural Spaces

»Yezo vernimb ich aus einem schreiben von Sevilla, das man die indianischen Rephühner alberait für mich neben ainem gar schönen Khazl bekhomen, underlasse auch nit, mich in Portugal und andern orten umb frömbde sachen zu bewerben.«¹⁹¹

Hans Khevenhüller

With the development of permanent embassies in the different European countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Europe acquired a network of ambassadors.¹⁹² Historiography, for a long time, has approached diplomatic history from a political perspective. Recent studies however, increasingly focus on diplomacy »as form of cultural transfer«, and scholars have shifted their attention to the cultural activities of ambassadors and scholars point to their central role as cultural agents.¹⁹³ Early modern ambassadors were mediators of ideas and news; they transferred goods and acted as art dealers; they intermediated between artists and their patrons, and they organized the import of skilled craftsmen. As Heiko Droste argues, »the organization of the inflow of foreign goods, experts and expertise must be seen as part of their job«. ¹⁹⁴ Hans Khevenhüller, imperial ambassador to Spain under the reign of Rudolf II, frequently mentioned rarities in

¹⁹¹ Bericht des kaiserlichen Botschafters Hans Khevenhüller, Madrid 1576 August 26. HHStA Vienna, Spanien, Dipl. Korr. Carton 9 (Khevenhüller 1575-1576), fol. 283v. See also Manfred Staudinger, Documenta Rudolphina: <http://free.pages.at/staudinger/Regest/Index.html> (02.03.2009).

¹⁹² Literature on early modern diplomacy has proliferated in recent decades. See Matthew S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450-1919*, London-New York 1993, who offers an overview of the literature. In the context of the present work see particularly the contributions by Friedrich Edelmayer, who focused on the incipencies of the Spanish-Austrian diplomatic relations in the second half of the sixteenth century: Friedrich Edelmayer, *Habsburgische Gesandte in Wien und Madrid in der Zeit Maximilians II. Ein Vergleich der innerhabsburgischen Begegnung auf der Ebene der Diplomatie*. In: Wolfram Krömer (ed.), *Spanien und Österreich in der Renaissance. Akten des Fünften Spanisch-Österreichischen Symposions 21.-25. September 1987 in Wien*, Innsbruck 1989, pp. 57-70.

¹⁹³ Heiko Droste, *Diplomacy as means of cultural transfer in early modern times – the Swedish evidence*. In: *Scandinavian Journal of History* 31 (2006), pp. 144-150; Sven Externbrink, *Internationale Beziehungen und Kulturtransfer in der Frühen Neuzeit*. In: Fuchs – Trakulhun (eds.), *Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen*, pp. 227-248.

¹⁹⁴ Heiko Droste, *Diplomacy as means of cultural transfer*, p. 146.

his correspondence, as well as exotica from overseas such as Indian artworks made of feathers, or marvellous objects like rhinoceros horns, or unknown animals or plants which he endeavoured to purchase for the Emperor. In all corners of the Iberian Peninsula Khevenhüller had his agents and informants who were in a constant hunt for the objects that filled the *Wunderkammer* of Rudolf II. In their study of luxury goods and princely gift exchange between the Iberian Courts and Central Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century, Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend pointed to Hans Khevenhüller's »quintessential role as artistic agent, who made it his duty and obligation to procure for his Habsburg patrons the best animals and luxury wares for sale in Iberia, thereby acting as an important bridge between northern and southern Europe«. ¹⁹⁵

The pages that follow shed some light on the imperial ambassadors to Spain in the seventeenth century, focusing on a.) Franz Christoph Khevenhüller (1588-1650), imperial ambassador in the first third of the seventeenth century; b.) Johann Maximilian Lamberg (1600-1682), who held the post in the 1650s and finally c.) Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach (1636-1706), who represents the second half of the century. The first part of this section aims at introducing these men and it addresses their social background, while the second part focuses on the social networks and cultural activities in Spain.

3.2.1. Imperial Ambassadors in Spain in the Seventeenth Century

In studying the social background of the imperial ambassadors, several common features can be noticed. Firstly, they all descended from long-established and respectable families of the Austrian Habsburg monarchy, who had been in the service of the Habsburg rulers for generations. Secondly, they usually descended from well-off families, which was of importance since most of the time the

¹⁹⁵ Pérez de Tudela – Jordan Gschwend, *Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors*, p. 9.

ambassadors had to finance large parts of their stay abroad themselves, or at least advance the money. The Emperor in general expected that his ambassadors and envoys would use their own financial resources, as the contemporary Lünig noted:

»Weil auch die Absendung eins Extraordinair Ambassadeurs sehr kostbar fällt so pflēget man maistens Leute von hoher Geburth und Reichthum darzu zu employren, damit der Principal etwas an Unkosten erspahren möge.«¹⁹⁶

Thus, only wealthy and high-level aristocrats came into consideration for the diplomatic service. Although the diplomatic service called for an enormous financial effort, it was a rewarding investment since it was an important stepping stone for achieving higher offices at the imperial court. In studying the imperial ambassadors, Klaus Müller concluded that between 1646 and 1740 forty five percent of the leading positions at the imperial court were in the hands of aristocrats who had been assigned to diplomatic posts earlier on.¹⁹⁷ Last but not least, the imperial ambassadors all shared a similar educational background, including a Grand Tour. Thus, they were familiar with the courtly standards and had acquired sufficient social and cultural competences in order to represent the Emperor abroad. Generally, these men belonged to the Austrian court society and they could revert to a well-established network at home and abroad.

¹⁹⁶ Johann Christian Lünig, *Theatrum Ceremoniale Historico-Policum oder Historisch und Politischer Schauplatz aller Ceremonien [...]*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1719, p. 368.

¹⁹⁷ Klaus Müller, *Das kaiserliche Gesandtschaftswesen im Jahrhundert nach dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648 - 1740)*, Bonn, 1976, p. 194. On the reign of Charles VI. Pečar came to a similar conclusion. Of the 29 nobles that had been ambassadors in London, Paris, Rome or Madrid, 16 held one of the leading offices at the imperial court on their return to Vienna. Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre*, p. 46.

a.) Franz Christoph Khevenhüller

Franz Christoph Khevenhüller descended from one of the most renowned and well-off noble families in Carinthia.¹⁹⁸ Born in 1588, he was the son of Bartholomäus Khevenhüller and his second wife, Bianca Ludmilla von Thurn-Valsassina. The reputation the family enjoyed can be seen from the large numbers of noble guests that attended the wedding of Bartholomäus and his first wife Anna von Sternberg in 1570; including members of the most notable families of Carinthia and Styria, like the Dietrichsteins, the Herbersteins and the Sauraus.¹⁹⁹ Little is known of Franz Christoph's childhood. Like his parents, he was raised in the Protestant faith, and after a Grand Tour to Italy, France, England and the Netherlands, he entered the imperial service. Around 1610 he converted to the Catholic faith. While initially his conversion was most probably driven by political ambitions, rather than by religious conviction, by the end he had become an ardent Catholic who was convinced that he was advocating the right side in the religious conflict. For instance, in a letter written from Madrid in 1618, Khevenhüller asked Cardinal Khlesl whether he could send him a book he had seen in Germany, which dealt with the subject of why Catholic parents should not marry their children to non-Catholics. »*Will hier vieles gutes damit richten und es einmal euer hf. Gn. wieder verschulden*«, he ensured Khlesl.²⁰⁰ Khevenhüller himself was first married to Barbara Teufel, who descended from a Protestant family, but she converted shortly after the marriage to Khevenhüller. After her death, Khevenhüller married Susanne Eleonore Kollonitsch in 1637.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ For the origins of the Khevenhüller family see Wilhelm Neuman, Zur Frühgeschichte der Khevenhüller. 2. Teil Die Besitz- und Standesentwicklung. In: Neues aus Alt-Villach 16 (1979), pp. 7-37.

¹⁹⁹ Karl Dinklage, Kärnten um 1620. Die Bilder der Khevenhüller-Chronik, Vienna 1980.

²⁰⁰ »*Ich weiß mich zu erindern in Teutschland ein discus, warumb die catholischen ihre kinder mit den uncatholischen nit verheiraten sollen, gesehen zu haben. Mir zweifelt nit, euer hf. Gn. wird es bekannt sein. Bitt dieselbig ganz unterthänigist anzubefehlen, damit es mir geschickt werde*«. Franz Christoph Khevenhüller to Cardinal Melchior Khlesl, Madrid, 1618 April 4. HHStA, Vienna, FA Khevenhüller, Carton 219 (gebundene Briefbücher 1618), fols. 214r-215r, Nr. 239.

²⁰¹ Bernhard Czerwenka, Die Khevenhüller. Geschichte des Geschlechtes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des XVII Jahrhunderts, Vienna 1867.

In 1616 Franz Christoph Khevenhüller was appointed imperial ambassador to Spain, a post which his uncle, Hans Khevenhüller, held for over thirty years. He arrived in Madrid in April 1617 and lived there with two short interruptions until 1631. His tenure as ambassador was shadowed by the Thirty Years' War, and it is not surprising that the military happenings in the course of the war and the religious clash were the central issues discussed in his correspondence. The religious conflict concerned Khevenhüller personally also, since part of his family was Protestant, and some members even actively supported the Protestant side in the conflict, like his uncle Heinrich Matthias Count Thurn-Valsassina, who was one of the leading figures in the Bohemian revolt.²⁰² His half-brother Johann and his cousin Paul entered the service of the Swedish Crown and fought against the Emperor.²⁰³ His sister Salome Windischgrätz also preferred to migrate instead of converting.

Outside of political issues Franz Christoph Khevenhüller was in charge of the negotiations for the marriage of Ferdinand (the latter Emperor) and Infanta Maria Anna. The negotiations proved difficult as Spain simultaneously negotiated also with England. The Spanish mentality, to which Khevenhüller had to grow accustomed, made negotiating additionally difficult. In a letter to Khlesl he complained:

»[...] wer hier negociern will, mues auß dem tag ein nacht, und auß der nacht ein tag machen, welches mir auf unsern drausigen gebrauch selzam vorkhumbt.«²⁰⁴

²⁰² In a letter to Count Trauttmandorff he wrote: »[...] wie hoch mich der schädlich und weit aussehende handel Beheims betrübt, kann ich nit genugsam schreiben. Gott schicks zum besten, sonst wirts ein setzame wisch abgeben. Dass herr Gf. von Thurn, den ich als meinen vettern respectier und lieb, sich dafür brauchen lasst und nach allen avisa das haupt ist, macht mir das herz bluten und kann mirs nit einbilden, dass dieser herr so für sein person und für seine voreltern so ansehnlich und das hochlöß. haus Österreich verdient, jetzt auf einmal wider sie und sogar sein pflicht und aidt vergessen haben soll. [...]« Khevenhüller to Trauttmandorff, Madrid, 1618 July 20. HHStA Vienna, Spanien Dipl. Korr., Carton 15 Konv. 12, pp. 395-396. The Bohemian rebellion is described extensively in his *Annales Ferdinandei*, vol. IX.

²⁰³ Dinklage, Kärnten um 1620. As to Paul Khevenhüller see Johann Karl von Schroeder, *Aus Kärnten nach Schweden. Paul Freiherr von Khevenhüller (1593-1655). Ein Österreicher in baltischen Ahnentafeln*. In: *Genealogisches Jahrbuch* 37/38 (1998), pp. 43-51.

²⁰⁴ Franz Christoph Khevenhüller to Cardinal Melchior Khlesl, Madrid 1617 Mai 15. HHStA, Vienna, FA Khevenhüller, Carton 219 (gebundene Briefbücher), fols. 53rv.

A recurrent topic in the correspondence of the imperial ambassadors was the »slowness« of the Spaniards in everything they do. In a letter to Hans Ulrich Eggenberg, Khevenhüller remarked:

»Mein herr schwager khändt den hof und der nation
langsambkheit und das sie landt und leuth dardurch
verlohren wan mans nun nit sollicitiert [...].²⁰⁵

Also, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach once complained to his uncle that he had »never seen such slowness before in his life [as he had seen in Spain]«. ²⁰⁶ This stereotype was common in the Austrian territories, not least because of the image the ambassadors transmitted. When, in the spring of 1673, Empress Margarita Teresa died unexpectedly and months later still nobody came from Spain in order to offer condolences, Emperor Leopold remarked cynically: »*Das zum pesame noch kein Person eligirt worden, ist die gewöhnliche spanische Geschwindigkeit. Warten sie noch ein etlich monat, so kann man vielleicht pesame y enhorabuena zuegleich geben.*« ²⁰⁷ To return to Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, after long and at times tiresome marriage negotiations, he finally was successful, and in 1630 he returned with the future Empress to Austria.

As mentioned above, the diplomatic post in Madrid demanded an expensive lifestyle. As deputy of the Emperor, ambassadors had a representative function and they were forced to keep an adequate household. ²⁰⁸ In Madrid, the household of

²⁰⁵ Franz Christoph Khevenhüller to Hans Ulrich Eggenberg, Madrid, 1617 August 27. HHStA, Vienna, FA Khevenhüller, Carton 219 (gebundene Briefbücher), fols. 231r-233., Nr. 240.

²⁰⁶ »[...] *solhe langsamkeit habe ich meine tag nit gesehen*«. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Albrecht Harrach, Madrid, 1665 September 10. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 443 (Konvolut 1665), fols. 64r-65v.

²⁰⁷ Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Laxenburg, 1673 July 14. Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I.*, vol. 2, p. 329.

²⁰⁸ See Lünig, *Theatrum Ceremoniale Historico-Policum*, p. 386: »*Seine Pracht muß er erweisen in seiner Wohnung, Tafel, Domestiquen, Equipage etc. Denn weil ein Ambassadeur die Person seines Principalen vorstellen, seine Hoheit und Reichthum außerhalb des Landes zeigen, und ihn bey den Ausländern in großen Credit setzen soll; so kann es gar nicht anders seyn, als daß er sich sehr prächtig aufführen muß*«. Also Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre*, p. 44.

Khevenhüller's uncle Hans included, for instance, 51 servants.²⁰⁹ Also, the expensive furnishings, conspicuous consumption and grandiose banquets the ambassador had to organise cost a fortune. A recurrent topic in the correspondence of the ambassadors was therefore the financially difficult situation they were found in. The imperial payments came, if at all, late and they were most of the time not sufficient.²¹⁰ In his autobiography, Khevenhüller remarked theatrically at one point that he often woke up in the morning without knowing how he would feed his family.²¹¹

Countess Khevenhüller remained in Austria for the time being. Her husband insisted however that she should follow him to Madrid, not least because he was worried that the Protestant environment, in which she moved in Austria, could influence her in terms of religious considerations.²¹² In May 1618, she finally arrived in Madrid and Khevenhüller happily noted the great welcome she received from Spanish aristocrats. Don Balthasar de Zúñiga, his wife, and a number of gentlemen and noble ladies welcomed her outside the city and had organised a splendid entry.²¹³ In most cases, the family of the ambassador came along to Spain, and they

²⁰⁹ HHStA Vienna, AVA, FA Harrach, Carton 718, Konv. Khevenhüller. Similar numerous were the household of Johann Maximilian Lamberg and Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach. For Lamberg's household in Madrid see OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 1228, Fasz. 17 Nr. 266/16: »Verzeichnus derjenigen persohnen, dern euer Ex. sich in Hispanien ohne maßgeben mögen zu bedienen und wie einen jeen derselben zu tractirern haben«. On the residence Count Harrach kept in Spain see AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 336.

²¹⁰ Regarding the sixteenth century see the example of Dietrichstein, studied by Edelmayer, *Habsburgische Gesandte*. A similar situation was seen with the ambassadors in the eighteenth century as Andreas Pečar described in *Die Ökonomie der Ehre*, and also the Swedish envoys faced a similar situation. See therefore Heiko Droste, *Im Dienst der Krone, Schwedische Diplomaten im 17. Jahrhundert*, Münster 2006, p. 193.

²¹¹ Harald Tersch, *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit (1400-1650)*. Eine Darstellung in Einzelbeiträgen, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar 1998, p. 697.

²¹² »[...] daß ich sie ohne mein ungerm daraus laß, hab ich billiche ursach, nit das ich ihr was böse zutraue, sondern allein, daß ich sie nit gern unter soviel luterisch freunden hab, die dann alle tentationes wegen der religion zu geen nichts unterlassen« Khevenhüller to Cardinal Melchior Khlesl, Madrid, 1617 August 22. HHStA Vienna, Spanien, Dipl. Korr., Carton 15, Konv. 11, fol. 266. See also the letter from August 18th 1617, in which he argued that he is only shortly married and therefore with reason has a longing for his wife. Khevenhüller to Cardinal Melchior Khlesl, Madrid, 1617 August 18. HHStA, Vienna, FA Khevenhüller, Carton 219 (gebundene Briefbücher), fols. 221v-223v., Nr. 232.

²¹³ »[...] mein weib ist gottlob glücklich hieher angelangt und ob ich wohl vermeint bei der nacht und in der stillen hereinzukommen, so bin ich doch von vielen unterschiedlichen cavallieren ein halbe tagreis vonhier und hernach bei der stadt von Hr. Don Balthasar de Zuniga und seiner gemahel mit etlichen andern cavallieren und Frauen empfangen und also mit vielen rossen und carossen in die

were usually well integrated into the courtly society of Madrid. The wife of Count Pötting, Maria Sophia Dietrichstein, for instance, almost daily visited the Spanish Queen during her time in Madrid in the 1660s. Together with her husband, she attended theatrical performances,²¹⁴ received visitors and was invited by Spanish aristocratic ladies. They both visited the Escorial in April 1664 to see »*las cosas grandiosas de este lugar*«. ²¹⁵ In his diary, Count Pötting also mentioned frequent gifts his wife received from guests, like a »*muy lindo quadro*«, which the papal nuncio to Spain, Cardinal Bonelli, presented her, ²¹⁶ or the »*lindo papagallo*«, she received from another friend. ²¹⁷ In detail, he described the Rose of Jericho, which his wife received at one of these invitations. ²¹⁸ Luxurious gifts were a »form of cultural diplomacy« which intensified relations, maintained friendships and confirmed status. ²¹⁹ Certainly, Countess Dietrichstein's name was not unknown in Spain, and she surely benefited from the close kinship relations her family had cultivated with the Spanish aristocracy in the past. As regards the life of Countess Khevenhüller in Madrid, unfortunately we know very little, since none of her private documents survived. We can assume however, that she received similar honours as those of Countess Dietrichstein. It is also most likely that the ladies maintained contacts with their families and friends back home via correspondence, and, like

stadt und mein losament begleitet worden.« Khevenhüller to Cardinal Melchior Khlesl, Madrid, 1618 June 2. HHStA Vienna, Spanien, Dipl. Korr., Carton 15, Konv. 12, pp. 283-287, here pp. 285-266. To the Emperor Khevenhüller wrote: »*Vergangenen Samstag bin ich mit meinem weib glücklich hieher gelangt und ist seiner ksl. Mt. wegen uns etliche ansehnliche cavalleros mit vielen rossen und wägen entgegen kommen und uns stattlich herein begleitet.*« Khevenhüller to Emperor Matthias, Madrid, 1618 Mai 28. HHStA Vienna, Spanien, Dipl. Korr., Carton 15, Konv. 12, p. 281-283, here p. 283.

²¹⁴ For instance, on the 19th of February 1664 Pötting noted: »*Fui en compania de mis Señora a veer una comedia en el Corral, era la historia de aquel famoso bandolero de Barcelona.*« Miguel Nieto Nuño (ed.), *Diario del conde de Pötting, embajador del Sacro Imperio en Madrid (1664-1674)*, 2 vols. Madrid 1990, here vol. 1, p. 19.

²¹⁵ Nieto Nuño, *Diario del conde de Pötting*, vol. 1, pp. 31-32.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. 1, p. 30.

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, vol. 1, p. 22

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*, vol. 1, p. 26: »*Planta que arroja en la cima un globo a manera de pina, compuesto de muchos ramitos parecidos a los de albiznaga, aunque mas gruessos, los cuales al secarse se cierran y quedan de color de oro baxo, con la propiedad de abrirse puestos en aqua y volverse a cerrar cuando los apartan de ella.*«

²¹⁹ Pérez de Tudela – Jordan Gschwend, *Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors*, p. 5. Natalie Zemon Davis who underscored that gifts were »part of the complicated history of obligations and expectations between persons and households of roughly the same status, including those of kin, and between superiors and inferiors«. Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, p. 56.

their husbands, acted as cultural mediators as well. However, in many cases their correspondence did not survive, and we know very little about their role in the cultural transfer processes.

In 1630 the Khevenhüller family finally returned to Vienna and Franz Christoph became *Obersthofmeister* of Empress Maria Anna. In 1650 he died in Baden near Vienna. Today Franz Christoph Khevenhüller is above all known as the author of the famous *Annales Ferdinandeï*, a comprehensive historical work of the period of Ferdinand II.²²⁰ In studying the *Annales Ferdinandeï*, Henry Schwarz described the personality of Franz Christoph Khevenhüller as the following: »Khevenhüller was an earnest, agreeable, but superficial man, loyal to the person of the Emperor and a rather over-simplified conception of the prerogatives of the Crown. But he had no conception that he was living in revolutionary times«. ²²¹

b.) Johann Maximilian Lamberg

Johann Maximilian Lamberg held the post of Ambassador to Spain in the 1650s. He was the second son of Georg Siegmund Lamberg and his third wife, Johanna della Scala.²²² In the seventeenth century the Lamberg family had its main domicile in Austria above and below the Enns.²²³ They belonged to the few noble families of the Austrian lands who had always adhered to the Catholic faith. After his Grand Tour to Italy, France and to Spain Johann Maximilian entered the imperial service and became chamberlain to Ferdinand III in 1634. One year later, he married Judith Rebecca Wrba, whose father, Count Georg Wrba, was one of the Bohemian rebels. After his death, Judith Rebecca had come to Vienna and became a court lady

²²⁰ Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, *Annales Ferdinandeï*, vol. 1-12; Conterfet Kupferstich, T. 1 u. 2, Leipzig 1721-1737. Extensively described in Tersch, *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse*, pp. 678-703, as well as in Kurt Peball, *Zur Quellenlage der "Annales Ferdinandeï" des Grafen Franz Christoph Khevenhüller-Frankenburg*. In: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 9 (1956), pp. 1-22.

²²¹ Henry Frederick Schwarz, *The Imperial Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century. With a supplement: The Social Structure of the Imperial Privy Council, 1600-1674* by Henry F. Schwarz and John I. Coddington, Cambridge Mass. 1943, p. 255.

²²² Johanna della Scala was the widow of Siegmund Dietrichstein.

²²³ Klaus Müller, *Habsburgischer Adel um 1700: Die Familie Lamberg*. In: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 32 (1979), pp. 78-108.

of the archduchesses. It was at the imperial court that she met her future husband, and in 1635 the marriage was celebrated pompously in the presence of the imperial family. Among the high ranking guest were Elector Maximilian of Bavaria and Prince Kasimir of Poland. The high social standing of the Lamberg family is also seen by the prominent godfathers of all of Johann Maximilian's children, ranging from members of the imperial family to high aristocrats and distinguished diplomats.²²⁴

In 1643 Johann Maximilian Lamberg took over his first diplomatic mission, as one of the imperial envoys at the peace congress in Westphalia, and there he became familiar with the diplomatic sphere and established contacts with foreign envoys and ministers. Contemporaries described his diplomatic competences, however, as moderate. The Venetian ambassador for example noted in his relations that Lamberg was young and of mediocre skills,²²⁵ and also later, after he had gained experience in diplomatic affairs and at the imperial court, his political significance was described as rather average.²²⁶ A French traveller described him as the following:

»C'est un petit home maiger, agé de plus 60 ans, d'une physonomie ordinaire, doux, sans ambition, bienfaisant, hōnnete et homme de bien. Il n'a amassé que des biens médiocres, quoiqu'il ait beaucoup de part aux bonnes graces et à la confidence de son maitre, que estime sa fidelité et sa probité.«²²⁷

²²⁴ Katrin Keller, Hofdamen. Amtsträgerinnen im Wiener Hofstaat des 17. Jahrhunderts, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar 2005, p. 339.

²²⁵ Joseph Fiedler (ed.), Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs über Deutschland und Österreich im siebzehnten Jahrhundert, vol. 1: Kaiser Mathias bis Kaiser Ferdinand III., Vienna 1866, p. 296.

²²⁶ In 1661, the Venetian ambassador wrote: »[Lamberg] *e un cavagliere d'ingenui costumi et che attaversar non può il corso di sua fortuna appresso l'imperatore.*« 1671 Zorzi wrote »*il talento è moderato. Il suo voto è zelante; inclina alla placidezza*« and only three years later, a further Venetian ambassador referred to his: »[...] *non eccedente capacità et il zelante talento.*« In Joseph Fiedler (ed.), Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs über Deutschland und Österreich im siebzehnten Jahrhundert, vol. 2: Kaiser Leopold, Vienna 1867, p. 50 (1661), p. 130 (1671), p. 150 (1674).

²²⁷ Alfred Francis Pribram, Aus dem Berichte eines Franzosen über den Wiener Hof in den Jahren 1671 und 1672. In: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichte 12 (1891), pp. 270-296, here p. 279. Also Schwarz, Privy Council, p. 275.

It was probably precisely this moderate appearance that the Emperor liked about Lamberg, and which was conducive to Lambergs' career at the imperial court. »He belonged to the group of men whom the Emperor Leopold preferred to have about him: men who were honest, cultivated, modest, and not too brilliant«, Henry Schwarz suggested.²²⁸ Also during his time at the embassy in Spain he did not particularly distinguish himself as a brilliant diplomat. The main project in Madrid concerned the negotiations surrounding a marriage between Emperor Leopold and Infanta Margarita Teresa, which turned out to be as difficult as that of Franz Christoph Khevenhüller and it was only Lamberg's successor, Count Pötting, who was finally able to bring the negotiations to a positive conclusion.²²⁹ It is not surprising that the Emperor was little pleased about how long the negotiations took and that the Spaniards found all sorts of reasons to postpone the marriage. In a letter written to Count Pötting in 1664, thus, ten years after Lamberg had started the negotiations, Leopold remarked:

»[...] dann wahrlich ich lasse mich in die Länge von den herrn Spaniern nit foppen, und will nit Jacob sein, so um die Rachel 14 Jahr hat geduld haben müssen, wollet also sin fine antreiben und sollicitiren überall.«²³⁰

Regarding family interests, Johann Maximilian Lamberg was more gifted and he was able to increase the family's fortune and property considerably. Before he went to Spain, he clearly defined the conditions under which he would accept the office, and he addressed the economic aspects that came with the post. For the journey to

²²⁸ Schwarz, Privy Council, p. 275. When Emperor Leopold entrusted Lamberg with the Spanish correspondence he wrote the following to Count Pötting, which clearly illustrated that he preferred Lambergs modest and not too brilliant nature: »*Mein ich werd es nit übel getroffen haben, dann 1. ist er ein wirklicher Cavalier, hat kein Dependenz oder passio und kann ihm gewiss wohl trauen. 2. weiss er gleichwohl viel darum und hat ziemliche notitia de negotiis hispanicis, 3. will ich doch selbst das meiste einrichten und thuen*« Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, vol. 1, 105, 109.

²²⁹ See therefore Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*. Further Alfred F. Pribram, *Die Heirat Kaiser Leopolds I. mit Margaretha Theresia von Spanien*. In: *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 77 (1891), pp. 319-375.

²³⁰ Leopold I. To Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna, 1664 November 26. In: Pribram - Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopold I*, vol 1, pp. 88-91.

Spain as well as for the acquisition of tapestries, carriages, canopies, carpets, beds, and other furniture and commodities, he asked for a sum of 35,000 gulden from the imperial Chancery Chamber. One part needed to be paid before his departure and the remaining amount was needed as soon as he arrived in Madrid. He additionally asked for an annual payment of 30,000 gulden, ignoring the fact that Lamberg wanted to hold the post for no longer than four years.²³¹

In 1653 the Lamberg family left for Spain and stayed there until 1660, instead of for the original plan of four years. Similar to the case of Countess Khevenhüller, little is known about the life of Lamberg's wife and her activities in Spain, and also her correspondence has so far gone unfound. Lamberg's daughter, Johanna Theresia, became a lady of the court of the Spanish queen, and she married Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach in 1665.

After Johann Maximilian Lamberg returned from Spain he was appointed imperial *Oberstkämmerer*, and in 1675, after the dismissal of Prince Lobkowitz, he succeeded Lobkowitz in the post of mayor-domo. Besides political offices, Lamberg received other honours. He was admitted to the Order of the Golden Fleece, and even by 1657 he was appointed Privy Councillor. Already by 1636 Lamberg was raised to the rank of *Reichsgraf*. The family was closely related to the Austrian court aristocracy. Lamberg's daughters married into the Starhemberg, Harrach, Portia, and Sinzendorf families, and his son and heir married Anna Maria Trauttmansdorff. Lamberg himself was the half-brother of Prince Maximilian Dietrichstein, the grandchild of the aforementioned Adam Dietrichstein.²³² To summarise, he ranked beyond any doubt among the most respectable of individuals of his time, although he belonged to the »second-rate of politicians« as regards his political abilities.²³³

²³¹ Usually an annual payment of 20,000 gulden (fl.) was paid to the imperial ambassadors. Lamberg justified his claims of 30,000 fl. a year with the explanation that the living costs in Madrid were much higher than elsewhere and it would be impossible for an ambassador in Spain to get by on 20,000fl. Ibidem, point 3-9.

²³² Ibidem, p. 82.

²³³ Johann Maximilian Lamberg, *Diarium Lamberg 1645-1649*, ed. by Herta Hageneder, Münster 1986, p. XXVIII.

c.) Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach

Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach had the best of qualifications for the diplomatic service. He descended from a family that belonged to the top of the social hierarchy of the Habsburg elite in the seventeenth century. His ancestors occupied high offices at the imperial court, they were knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Privy Councillors and they were, not least due to a strategic marriage policy, integrated into the highest circles of the aristocratic society. Besides his uncle, Cardinal Ernst Adalbert Harrach, Ferdinand Bonaventura ranked as the most prominent personality of the family in seventeenth century. Born in 1637 as son of Otto Harrach and Lavinia Thekla Gonzaga, widowed Countess Fürstenberg, Ferdinand Bonaventura was educated after the early death of his parents by his two uncles, Cardinal Adalbert Harrach and Franz Albrecht Harrach, and he enjoyed extensive education. The first crucial experience for the young Harrach, in terms of his future career, was in 1658 when he accompanied Leopold to the coronation to Frankfurt. In Frankfurt he met the most important princes and electors of the Empire, and he was obviously impressed by the pomp of the ceremonies. In numerous letters he described the splendid entries of the electors, the festivals, ballets and theatre performances which had been organised in honour of Leopold.²³⁴ The events in Frankfurt were additionally important for Ferdinand Bonaventura as he made acquaintance with the Spanish and French envoys and their noble entourage that attended the coronation as well. Many of them he later joined in the course of his diplomatic missions.²³⁵

²³⁴ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Gf. Ferdinand Bonaventura an Kardinal Harrach, fols. 34r-73v.

²³⁵ In a letter to his uncle he described the jolly banquet the French envoy Antoine Duc et Maréchal de Gramont (1604-1678) organised and at which the Spanish ambassador was also present. »Der Marechal de Gramont hat heundt sein schon lengst angesteltes panket gehalten, der Kf. von Mainz undt auch der von Heydelberg seundt darzue komen, wie auch der Prince Maurice, Mgf. von Baden, F. von Homburg undt andere mehr. In mitten der mallzeit haben sein edleute einen ballet gedanzet, nach welchen das sauffen angangen, der M. de Grammont nachdem er einen zumblichen rausch schon gehabt, hat er mit dem Prince Maurice bruderschaft getrunken, dessen gutschy komen lassen undt darvon gegangen, das man also nit weis wie ers aufgenommen. Die spanischen pottschafter haben derweil Kf. Thrir und Sachsen in einen nit weit entlegnen waltlein tractirt und seindt auch gar lustig gewesen [...]« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Ernst Adalbert Harrach, Frankfurt 1658 April

In 1661 Ferdinand Bonaventura travelled to Spain, where he met his future wife, the aforementioned Johanna Theresia Lamberg. Undoubtedly, the marriage was prearranged by the two families. However, in reading their letters and private documents one gets the impression that a deep emotional bond, tied the couple.²³⁶ Shortly after his arrival in Madrid in June 1661, Ferdinand Bonaventura intended to meet Johanna Theresa, who as mentioned, had been a court lady of the Spanish Queen. He approached the confessor of the Queen on this matter, who he hoped would inform the Queen of his desire.²³⁷ In October, the marriage was celebrated in the royal palace in Madrid in presence of the royal family and the entire Spanish high aristocracy.²³⁸ Shortly afterwards, the couple travelled back to Austria.

Ferdinand Bonaventura's political career was moulded by several diplomatic missions abroad. In 1665 he set out again for Spain, this time in order to deliver the imperial treasuries (*Kleinodien*) for the imperial bride, Margarita Teresa. On his return from Spain he took over a mission to Paris, followed by two diplomatic missions to Spain; the first from 1673 until 1676, and again from 1697 until 1698.²³⁹ Before embarking on his first mission in Spain, he well prepared for this new task; for instance he asked his uncle for a copy of the »*spanischen naturaleza, dann selbe wirdt darinnen nottig sein*«. ²⁴⁰ Though he did not specify what he meant by »*spanischen naturaleza*«, he probably referred to one of the manuscripts on Spanish history which survived in the family archive.²⁴¹ He also asked his uncle for

23. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Gf. Ferdinand Bonaventura an Kardinal Harrach, fol. 52r.

²³⁶ See Susanne Claudine Pils, „daz er mih nidt halb so lieb hadt als wie ich ihm ...“. Liebe und Sexualität im ehelichen Nicht-Alltag von Johanna Theresia und Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach. In: Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 52/53 (1996/97), pp. 397-414.

²³⁷ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Albrecht, Madrid, 1661 June 24. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 443, Konv. 1661, fols. 25rv.

²³⁸ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 204, sin fol. Also Raimund Magis, Pracht, Ehre, Hitze, Staub. Ferdinand Bonaventura Graf Harrach und seine Spanienreise im Sommer 1673, unpublished Masters thesis, Vienna 1996, p. 69.

²³⁹ See Ferdinand Menčík (ed.), Ferdinand Bonaventura Graf Harrach: Tagebuch über den Aufenthalt in Spanien in den Jahren 1673-1674, Vienna 1913, and Magis, Pracht, Ehre, Hitze, Staub. Based on Harrach's diary, Magis focused mainly on the journey to Spain.

²⁴⁰ Ferdinand Bonaventura to Cardinal Harrach, Vienna, 1665 June 12. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, fol. 191r, and Ibidem, fol. 198r (Vienna 1665 July 5).

²⁴¹ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 50 (Besides copies of letters and poems, this manuscript includes notes about Spanish history under Philip II); also Hs. 467: *Kurze Geschichte Spaniens*,

recommendation letters to have access to the royal family as well as to Spanish high-ranking aristocrats.²⁴² His father-in-law, Count Lamberg, apparently had prepared himself in a similar way. In the Lamberg family archive a document, entitled »*Relaciones de los Grandes de España del año de 1638*« survives, which possibly allowed Lamberg to become familiar with the Spanish aristocracy.²⁴³

In 1673, Johanna Theresia and the children accompanied Harrach to Madrid. As former a court lady, Johanna Theresia was familiar with the Spanish court and local customs, and she was well integrated into the local society. Like her predecessor, Countess Dietrichstein, she too participated actively in court life. In his diary, Ferdinand Bonaventura noted that the Queen received his wife immediately after they had arrived in Madrid.²⁴⁴ The two women established a close friendship, proven by four decades of consistent correspondence between the two.²⁴⁵ In front of her husband, Johanna Theresia described herself as »*valida*« of the Spanish Queen.²⁴⁶ Ferdinand Bonaventura certainly benefited from his wife's close relationship with the Spanish Queen. When he was admitted to the Order of the Golden Fleece, he was convinced that he owed this honour to his wife, as she had repeatedly written to the Queen about the matter, and he considered the admission to the prestigious Order as a sign that his wife was in the queen's favour.²⁴⁷ He was admitted to the Order not only because of his wife's closeness to

Madrid 1661, and Hs. 172: *Bericht über den spanischen Hof in italienischer Sprache, gerichtet an einen Fürsten*.

²⁴² Ferdinand Bonaventura to Cardinal Harrach, Vienna, 1665 July 5. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, fol. 198r. From the Emperor too he received recommendation letters. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 337, sin fol.

²⁴³ OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 1228, Fasz. 17, Nr. 267.

²⁴⁴ Menčík, Ferdinand Bonaventura Graf Harrach, p. 31.

²⁴⁵ Several hundred letters that the Spanish queen sent to Countess Harrach are archived in the state archive in Vienna, where the Harrach family archive is located. (AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 321 and Carton 322).

²⁴⁶ »*ich soll ihr [= the Spanish queen] nur fleisih schreiben, sie will son saun, daß sie mir andtwordten kan, da siht er [= Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach], ob ich nidt ein rehte valida bin*«. Johanna Theresa Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, Vienna, 1665 November 26. Quoted in Susanne Claudine Pils, *Hof/Tratsch. Alltag bei Hof im ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert*. In: *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 53 (1998), pp. 77-99, here p. 86.

²⁴⁷ »[...] *Ihr Mt. die königin haben mir die gnadt gethan undt den tuson bewilligt [...] Diese gnadt habe ich ihr [= Johanna Theresia] zuzuschreiben, dann sie mir erstlich wegen ihr geben worden, das ich mich mit ihr verheyraht, iecz aber den würcklichen effect erlangt, weillen sie der konigin so oft geschriben undt wegen meiner gebetten und ist das ein zeichen, das sie bey ihr gar guet in gnaden*

the Queen, but also due to the merits of the family in general and of Cardinal Harrach in particular.²⁴⁸ Yet Johanna Theresia's knowledge of the Spanish court and courtly society was undoubtedly in many respects beneficial for her husband.

To conclude, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach was clearly a capable politician and »one of the most notable diplomats in the Habsburg service in the latter half of the seventeenth century«.²⁴⁹

3.2.2. Social Networks and Cultural Activities in Madrid

In this section we shift our attention to the social environment for the ambassador in Madrid. What was life like for an imperial ambassador in Madrid? By taking the example of Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, we can shed some light on the daily routine of a seventeenth-century ambassador in Spain. Count Harrach is particularly suitable for this study, since his time in Madrid is exceptionally well documented. Numerous letters, account books, and personal records paint a vivid picture of the period and the society in which he moved. During both ambassadorial roles he kept a diary in which he accurately noted the daily routine of each single day. He wrote frankly about his contacts with other aristocrats, about his impressions of social, political and cultural spheres, as well as about the Spanish court and costumes.²⁵⁰

stehet.« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Johanna Theresia Harrach, Madrid, 1665 December 3. AVA Vienna FA Harrach, Carton 321, sin fol.

²⁴⁸ See therefore the account by Don Luis de Oyanguren, who remarked: »*Hallandose el Conde de Harrach el año de 1661, en esta Real Corte. Y considerandose la Magestad del señor Rey Don Felipe Quarto (que santa Gloria aya) la calidad lustre de su Casa, y los servicios del Cardenal de Harrach su tío, le hizo merced de las insignia del Tuson de oro, como por papel, su fecha de 4. de Noviembre de 1661. [...]*« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 334 sin fol.

²⁴⁹ Schwarz, Privy Council, p. 241.

²⁵⁰ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6 which refers to the years 1673–1676 and Hs 134, which refers to the years 1697 and 1698. On Harrach's second embassy in Madrid see also Arnold Gaedeke, *Das Tagebuch des Grafen Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach während seines Aufenthalts am spanischen Hof in den Jahren 1697 und 1698*. In: *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 48 (1872), pp. 163–304, and Laura Oliván Santaliestra, *Pinceladas políticas, marcos cortesanos: el diario del conde de Harrach, embajador imperial en la Corte de Madrid, 1673-1677*. In: *Cultura Escrita & Sociedad* 3 (2006), pp. 113-132.

Harrach and his family arrived in Madrid the 26th of August 1673, and the very next day they were hosted by Count Pötting and his wife, who Harrach had succeeded in the post. In the days that followed several noble ladies who Johanna Theresia knew from her days as court lady, announced visits. However, the Harrachs' had to postpone these because they were, as Ferdinand Bonaventura noted, »noch so schlim eingerücht, das wir die ehr nit annemen können«.²⁵¹ As mentioned above, the ambassadors were urged to keep an adequate household that demonstrated their social status as an envoy of the Emperor, and Count Harrach placed particular importance on aristocratic representation. In his diary he frequently described the interior of the palaces in which he was invited.²⁵² He was particularly interested in rarities or outstanding art treasures, such as the clock he had seen in the house of the Almirante of Castile, which was as big as a church clock.²⁵³

Apart from the Almirante of Castile, the Duke of Alburquerque ranked among the closest friends of Harrach in Madrid. The Duke was one of the wealthiest aristocrats in Spain and due to his post as mayor-domo of the Queen he was also one of the most influential Grandees. A good relationship with Alburquerque was thus of great value for Harrach. He also cultivated close contacts with Francisco Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, who had been envoy in Vienna in 1651, and who was a close friend of the Harrach family.²⁵⁴ As we will see further below, both men shared a great passion for painting, and Harrach enjoyed the visits to Castel Rodrigo's house, also because of the many paintings the Marquis had gathered.

Harrach's days followed more or less the same routine every day. He attended mass, took care of correspondence, received visitors and paid visits. He had a

²⁵¹ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 65r.

²⁵² For instance, after a visit to the house of the Duke of Alburquerque he noted in his diary: »[...] Hat ein schöne filada von zimern mit gueten niederlandischen tapezereyen, goldt stukenen doselen undt kasterln, viel schreübtisch, escaparaten undt spüegeln. Hat mich in ein cabinetl gefürth, alwo etliche truchen von indianerholz mit filagrana beschlagen, so gar schön seindt« Ibidem, fols. 144v-145r.

²⁵³ Ibidem, fols. 136v-137r.

²⁵⁴ See the forthcoming edition of Cardinal Harrach's Tagzettel published by Katrin Keller and Alessandro Catalano. In these Tagzettel Harrach frequently mentioned Castel Rodrigo and other important Spanish diplomats and Grandees with those his nephew cultivated close contacts later in Spain.

particular liking for theatre and during the theatre season he almost daily attended a *comedia*, about which he also kept precise notes in the diary.²⁵⁵ His post also called on him to cultivate contacts with other diplomats who resided in Madrid. Shortly after he had arrived in Madrid the papal nuncio to the Spanish Court, Galeazzo Marescotti, paid him a visit. Both already knew each other from an earlier encounter in Poland.²⁵⁶ Besides the nuncio, diplomats and envoys from Denmark, England, and Venice were frequent guests to his house. Noteworthy is that on these occasions he served his guests chocolate, biscuits and marzipan; expensive luxury goods, which were conspicuously used for displaying social status and wealth. He spent a fortune, particularly on chocolate, during his stay in Madrid.²⁵⁷ Meetings with Spanish aristocrats and foreign diplomats served, of course, in the first place for a forum to discuss political affairs.²⁵⁸ Yet, at times these visits were less official and one could talk about private issues and exchange all kinds of news, as for instance when Harrach met the Count Santisteban del Puerto, the former Viceroy of Sicily, »who knew all kinds of gossip from the different courts abroad.«²⁵⁹

In reading his diary one can not help noting that Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach was impressed by the cultural atmosphere of the Spanish capital. Again and again

²⁵⁵ Regarding the play by Lope de Vega, *La fortuna adversa del Infante Don Fernando de Portugal*, performed in Madrid in July 1674, he noted for instance: »[...] *die Comedi von dem Infante Don Ferd[inando] de Portugal, so in aria angefangen worden [...], welhe an sich sehbst gar beweglich undt guet, aber nit zum besten von denen comedianten representirt worden, diese ist ein neye truppen, welhe unterdessen hier exhibirt, biß die andere zurück komet, welhe in hier umbliedten orthen die Antos und comedien spilet.*« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 211v.

²⁵⁶ »[...] *bey mir ist der pabstliche nuntius Monsig. Marescoti gewest, undt bey vierthab stundt geblieben. Wir haben einander in Pollen gekant, alwo er nuntius war, alß ich den könig den tuson gegeben.*« Ibidem, fol. 67.

²⁵⁷ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 2979 (Rechnungen Madrid und Varia), sin fol.

²⁵⁸ See for instance the entry in his diary on the 17th October 1673, where he noted the following about the visit of the Duke of Alba: »[...] *nachmittag ist der Duque de Alba zu mir komen undt gleich nach den ersten compliment über hiesige governo gesimpft undt uber den Gf. von Pötting gekreïn. Ist einer von denen malcontenten, so auf das Don Juan de Austria seüten gewest, ist ganz grau undt ein so vornemer herr, undt in nichts gebraucht worden, undt daher ubel zufriden.*« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 85v.

²⁵⁹ For example, about the meeting with the former viceroy of Sicily Count Santisteban del Puerto, Harrach noted: »[...] *er ist von gar guetem discours undt waiß vil von unterschiedlichen höfen zu reden [...].*« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 134, p. 381.

he visited the royal art collections.²⁶⁰ He toured through the royal and aristocratic parks,²⁶¹ and made notes about gardens, sculptures, and splendid trick fountains. All this sightseeing, served not only to satisfy his own curiosity, but it was also part of his diplomatic duties. Early modern ambassadors and envoys were frequently instructed by their sovereigns to inform them about current fashions and cultural standards at the foreign courts. They had to inspect art chambers and collections of paintings and inform their princes about collecting patterns. They inquired about musicians, artists, skilled craftsmen, as well as after theatre plays, books, and art objects.²⁶² As Heiko Droste described it very tellingly in the case of seventeenth-century Swedish diplomats, they were »*Unternehmer in Sache Kultur*, a role which was grounded in their knowledge of cultural affairs and their extensive social networks«.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ »Das curioseste meinen gedunken nach waren 2 waffen aus China von schiepen eines meerfisch undt allerley farben panzer«, he noted for instance about the visit in the royal armory. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 134r.

²⁶¹ See for instance his description of the Casa del Campo. »[...] Gleich zum eingang ist ein große statua, so den Kg. Phelipe el Tertero zu pferdt representirt, so sehr schön ist, stehet auf einen pie de stallo von marblstein ohne einige inscription undt sagt man ein Großherzog von Florenz hatte sie hieher geschückt. Weiter in den garten ist ein brunn von weißen marblstein so gar guete statuen undt muscheln hat, man sagt, seye denen türken mit eroberung eines schiff abgenommen worden. Es seindt noch andere brün mehr vorhanden, so aber schlecht undt schon ganz zu grundt gehen, auch von keiner consideracion undt alle ohne wasser, welhes auch denen grotten abgehet, so in ubrigen vollig zu grundt gehen. Die auftheilung des garten bestehet in bloßen pluemen bettel oder parterre, wie man es in Frankreich nennet, hat zübliche guete gang mit sehr hohen undt großen baumen. An disen garten ist ein sehr große huerta, so gar woll mit fruchtbaren baumen besetzt undt sagt man, das sie trefflichens obst tragen. In dem hauß haltet man einen lebendigen leben [Löwen], den ich aber nit gesechen.« Ibidem, fol. 117v.118r.

²⁶² See for instance the *Neben-Instruktion* for Rudolf Wilhelm Krauße, envoy of Saxon-Weimar in 1660, in which the envoy was instructed to »search for new music compositions, paintings and engravings; he should describe the imperial falconry as well as the current fashion at the imperial court. If possible he should additionally hire a qualified cook«. Quoted in Katrin Keller, Reich, Territorium, Hof: Sachsen-Weimar und der Kaiser. In: Katrin Keller – Martin Scheutz – Harald Tersch (eds.), *Einmal Weimar – Wien und retour. Johann Sebastian Müller und sein Wienbericht aus dem Jahr 1660*, Vienna-Munich 2005, pp. 165-178, here p. 173.

²⁶³ Heiko Droste, *Unternehmer in Sache Kultur*, p. 205. See also Arno Strohmeier, *Kulturtransfer durch Diplomatie: Die kaiserlichen Botschafter in Spanien im Zeitalter Philipps II. und das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie (1560-1598)*. In: Schmale (ed.), *Kulturtransfer*, pp. 205-230, as well as Ursula Lehmkuhl, *Diplomatiegeschichte als internationale Kulturgeschichte. Theoretische Ansätze und empirische Forschung zwischen Historischer Kulturwissenschaft und Soziologischem Institutionalismus*. In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27 (2001), pp. 394-423.

4. Family Networks and the Court as a Setting for Encounters

4.1. Family Networks and Marriage Markets of the Austrian Aristocracy

*»In Heyrathen kann ein Edelmann
auf verschieden Art sein Glück
machen.«²⁶⁴*

Johann Michael von Loen

Kinship played an essential role in early modern noble network systems. For transfer research, family networks are of great importance as they offer excellent channels for a broader diffusion of novelties and cultural goods from abroad. Marriage celebrations, baptisms and other family festivals were events at which family members and friends came together and novelties from the imperial court and from abroad were exchanged. In addition, far-flung family members usually maintained contacts with each other in the form of correspondence. Aristocrats, who resided abroad in the course of a diplomatic mission or other official duties, frequently informed their relatives at home about the latest news and current trends at foreign courts. They were also frequently approached by family members who desired goods from abroad, as we will discuss in more detail further below.

With regard to cultural transfer processes from Spain to Austria in the sixteenth century, direct family links between the nobility of these two monarchies existed that furthered the spread of Spanish cultural elements in the Austrian territories. For instance, the aforementioned María Manrique de Lara y Mendoza is given credit for having brought the famous statue of the Infant Jesus (*Pražské Jezulátko*) to Bohemia. She received the statue as a wedding gift from her mother, and when years later, in 1603, her daughter Polyxena married Prince Lobkowitz, she presented the statue to her daughter as a gift. After her husband's death in 1628, Polyxena Lobkowitz bequeathed the statue to the Carmelites in Prague. As Howard

²⁶⁴ Johann Michael von Loen, *Der Adel*, Ulm 1752, p. 225.

Louthan emphasised, »within three decades this statue was transformed from an object of private devotion to the center of a public cult, a transition that was effected almost exclusively through the patronage of the nobility«. ²⁶⁵ Today the *Pražské Jezulátko* is located in the Church *Panny Marie Vítězné* (Church of Our Lady Victorious) in Malá Strana in Prague, and it ranks among one of the most famous landmarks of the city. Also, many nobles who had followed Ferdinand I to Austria early in the sixteenth century had established family links with local noble families; such as Juan de Hoyos and Pedro Laso de Castilla who both married into the family Ungnad. Gabriel de Salamanca established kinship relations with the Eberstein and Baden families. Except for the Hoyos family that still lives in Austria, all of these families died off before the end of the sixteenth century. ²⁶⁶

Despite the steady influx of Spanish nobles to the Austrian territories in the course of the dynastic links, Spanish-Austrian noble kinship relations were not continued in the seventeenth century, outside some few exceptions. This was also the case for the Dietrichstein family, which is often quoted in literature as a prime example of the Spanish-Austrian relations. The marriage of Adam Dietrichstein to Margarita de Cardona, and those of his daughters to Spanish aristocrats, remained an exception. All his sons and their progeny focused on family links with the new emerging Austrian court aristocracy. The links to Spain clearly had been abandoned in favour of relations to influential families in Central Europe, like the Liechtensteins, the Lobkowitzs, the Kaunitzs, the Schwarzenbergs, the Montecuccolis, the Mansfelds and the Trauttmansdorffs. Most of the ladies that came to Vienna in the entourage of the Spanish princesses returned to Spain after they had completed their service at the imperial court.

In the following pages we will draw attention to the marriage circles of the Austrian aristocracy and the changing marriage patterns at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In early modern noble society, marriage alliances were of

²⁶⁵ Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia. Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation*, Cambridge 2009, p. 61. See also Kurt Augustinus Huber, *Katholische Kirche und Kultur in Böhmen*, ed. by Joachim Bahlcke – Rudolf Grulich, Münster 2005, p. 398.

²⁶⁶ Laferl provides intensive biographical data about the Spanish-Austrian noble marriages under the reign of Ferdinand I, Laferl, *Die Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 210-215.

utmost importance. They served not only to guarantee the continuity of a family, but also to increase its economical, political and social power, and the choice of the marriage partner consequently was a carefully considered decision. Love and personal affections usually played a minor role. On the contrary, noble marriages were no private affairs but were instead arranged by the families of the young noblemen and noble ladies.²⁶⁷ The aim was to establish marriage alliances with families of the same rank or, if possible, with families of higher rank, in order to increase the social reputation of the family.²⁶⁸ In addition, family and friendship links were one of the most important instruments, which were used by the aristocracy in pursuing career plans. The right choice of marriage partners could decisively contribute to the social and political rise of a family. As regards the marriage patterns of the Austrian aristocracy, one of the most distinctive features is the geographical extension of marriage circles at the turn of the seventeenth century.²⁶⁹ There was a growing inclusion of Bohemian and Moravian families in the marriage circle of the Austrian aristocracy, as well as families originally stemming from the Empire, and Italy. The Bohemian aristocrat Wilhelm Slawata once remarked that he wished his first son would marry an aristocratic lady from Bohemia, his second son a lady from Moravia, and his third son a lady descending from the Austrian territories.²⁷⁰ It certainly would be a mistake to conclude from Slawata's remark that the aristocracy in the Austrian Habsburg monarchy in general followed a regional principal in the choice of the marriage partners; of course, more factors were decisive, such as economical benefit, social rank, and, as indicated

²⁶⁷ In several studies Beatrix Bastl broached the issue of love and sexuality in the framework of noble marriages. Beatrix Bastl, *Tugend, Liebe, Ehre. Die adelige Frau in der frühen Neuzeit*, Vienna 2000; *Ibidem*, *Wan Ich nur bei dier sein mecht / würden mier alle beschwerden leichter. Zur Bedeutung von Ehe und Liebe innerhalb des Österreichischen Adels in der Frühen Neuzeit*. In: *Unsere Heimat* 66 (1995), pp. 4-14.

²⁶⁸ Jüngling, *Die Heiraten des Hauses Liechtenstein im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, p. 333; Evelin Oberhammer, *Gesegnet sei dies Band. Eheprojekte, Heiratspakten und Hochzeiten im fürstlichen Haus*. In: *Ibidem* (ed.), *Der ganzen Welt ein Lob und Spiegel. Das Fürstenhaus Liechtenstein in der frühen Neuzeit*, Vienna-Munich 1990, pp. 182-203, here p. 182.

²⁶⁹ Jüngling, *Die Heiraten des Hauses Liechtenstein im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, p. 333. Similar conclusions are drawn in Lawrence Stone, *Marriage among the English Nobility in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 3/2 (1961), pp. 182-206 and *Ibidem.*, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, London 1977.

²⁷⁰ Quoted in Winkelbauer, *Fürst und Fürstendiener*, p. 40.

already, religion. It also needs to be mentioned that family alliances between the Austrian nobility and the Bohemian nobility also existed in earlier periods, and especially in border areas; thus, they were of course not an entirely new phenomenon in the seventeenth century.²⁷¹

However, the seventeenth century saw an increasing shift from regional to trans-regional marriage circles of the nobility of the Austrian hereditary lands; a development which was closely intertwined with the socio-political changes in the course of the conflictive upheaval at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. As we have seen already, by patronising Catholic and Habsburg loyal families, the imperial policy set in motion a process that resulted in the formation of a new aristocracy, particularly in Moravia and in Bohemia. Many families from the hereditary lands acquired property outside their native region, including Bohemia, Moravia, and even in Hungary. They became members of the Estates of the Lords in these territories. The social and economic restructuring of the noble landscape, which started around 1600 but increased after 1620, had a crucial impact on the geographical extension of the marriage market of the Austrian aristocracy. While prior to 1620 families contracted marriage alliances mainly within the native territory, in the decades after the White Mountain battle, »marriages began to tie together a "Habsburg" aristocracy across the frontiers«. ²⁷² As mentioned earlier, a new cosmopolitan and courtly aristocracy had emerged that »strengthened its position through marriage alliances that helped unite the diverse strands of the new elite«. ²⁷³ The imperial court as a meeting place of the high aristocracy from all areas

²⁷¹ Over centuries, the Bohemian Rosenberg family cultivated close family links to Upper and Lower Austrian families such as the Schaunbergs, the Hardeggs, the Starhembergs, the Roggendorfs, and the Liechtensteins. Anna Kubíková, *Familienbeziehungen der Rosenberger zu österreichischen Adelsfamilien*. In: Thomas Winkelbauer (ed.), *Kontakte und Konflikte. Böhmen, Mähren und Österreich: Aspekte eines Jahrtausends gemeinsamer Geschichte. Referate des Symposiums „Verbindendes und Trennendes an der Grenze III“ vom 24. bis 27. Oktober 1992 in Zwettl, Horn-Waidhofen an der Thaya 1993*, pp. 121-124.

²⁷² Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, p. 93. Evans mentions here the family links of the Lobkowitz with Batthyány, Hoyows, Starhemberg, Salm; Zrinyi with Rožemberg and Kolovrat; Stubenberg with Kinský, Smiřický, Erdódy; etc.

²⁷³ Chesler, *Crown, Lords, and God*, p. 258.

of the monarchy and beyond constituted an ideal place for establishing kinship relations with families of the same social standing.

What is striking is that, in many cases, the acquisition of property in the Bohemian lands preceded, and was often independent of marriage arrangements. Family relations to the local elite served for the integration into the new territory, and enabled the new families to strengthen their position within the local elite. The result was a symbiosis of old and new families in the Bohemian territories. In many cases the acquisition of property was also linked to a social rise of a noble family, which enabled families to advance to higher marriage circles.

Nothing better indicates this development than the marriage patterns of the Inner Austrian Eggenberg family, who, originally descending from the bourgeoisie of Graz, could continuously increase its social status from the late fifteenth century onwards. In the sixteenth century members of the family were involved in the local administration of Inner Austria. They belonged to the »leading citizens and financiers of Graz«. ²⁷⁴ Though of bourgeois background, its wealth and the profitable marriage of Seifried Eggenberg with the daughter of the Imperial War Councillor Galler brought the family »into higher social and political circles«. ²⁷⁵ Kinship relations to old Styrian families, like the Herbersteins for instance, point to the family's growing social reputation. Yet the family still had not gained cross-regional reputation, which is clearly indicated by the marriage circle in which the family moved. In the period between 1555 (the year the Peace of Augsburg was contracted) and 1620 (the year of the Protestant defeat at the White Mountain), seven of nine marriages were with Styrian noble families. The only exceptions in this period were marriage alliances with families from the neighbouring territories of Austria below the Enns (Harrach) and Salzburg (Thannhausen).

Hans Ulrich Eggenberg marks a turning point in the history of the family. He was married to Sidonia Thannhausen, who descended from a Protestant family from

²⁷⁴ Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, p. 172. See also Walther Ernst Heydendorff, *Die Fürsten und Freiherren von Eggenberg und ihre Vorfahren*, Graz, 1965.

²⁷⁵ Schwarz, *Privy Council*, p. 228. Heydendorff, *Die Fürsten und Freiherren zu Eggenberg*, pp. 56-59.

Salzburg.²⁷⁶ Like his parents, Hans Ulrich too was raised in the Lutheran faith, but he converted around 1594 to the Catholic faith, and shortly after his conversion he entered the archducal service in Graz.²⁷⁷ The nobility of Inner Austria, which was still predominantly Protestant, caustically criticised his conversion, which they regarded as a betrayal of the true faith on the false basis of advancing a courtly career.²⁷⁸ His later career was indeed remarkable. When in 1619 Archduke Ferdinand of Inner Austria succeeded Emperor Matthias to the imperial throne, Hans Ulrich Eggenberg followed him to Vienna and became his most trusted advisor and confidant. As first minister and *Obersthofmeister* of Ferdinand II, Hans Ulrich Eggenberg was the most influential person in the monarchy after the Emperor, and he established a wide network of relations which included the lustrous personages of the day.

The Madrilenian court could not have overlooked Eggenberg's influence in Vienna, and the Spanish King was undoubtedly eager to gain his allegiance and to include Eggenberg in his network of allies at the imperial court. Even earlier in his career, Eggenberg had established contacts in Spain in the course of two trips to Madrid; the first in 1598 and the second in 1606. As noted earlier, the Spanish monarchy frequently paid pensions to foreign aristocrats to secure their loyalty, and Eggenberg also received such payments, and he was admitted to the honourable Order of the Golden Fleece in 1620.²⁷⁹ Two years after the Battle at the White Mountain, Eggenberg received the dominion Krumlov in Bohemia, and only one year later, he was promoted to the status of *Reichsfürst*. After Krumlov was made a Duchy in 1628, Eggenberg received the title of Duke of Krumlov. His courtly career catapulted the family to the top of the aristocratic society.

²⁷⁶ On the Thannhausen family see Friedrich W. Leitner, *Gabrielus Bucelinus und die Genealogie der Freiherren bzw. Grafen von Thannhausen*. In: *Carinthia I* 189 (1999), pp. 663-703.

²⁷⁷ Winkelbauer, *Karrieristen oder fromme Männer?*, p. 9-20.

²⁷⁸ »*Er ist zu einem mamaluggen worden und umb des diensts willen zum Teufel gefahren*«, it was mocked. Quoted in Fritz Popelka, *Geschichte der Stadt Graz, im Anhang Häuser- und Gassenbuch der Stadt Graz von Luschin-Ebengreuth*, vol. 1, Graz 1928, p. 108.

²⁷⁹ Hans von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, *Ulrich Fürst von Eggenberg. Freund und erster Minister Kaiser Ferdinand II.*, Vienna 1880.

All this opened up new perspectives regarding marriage alliances. His children and grandchildren ranked undoubtedly among the most favoured marriage candidates at the international marriage market, and they married into the most distinguished families of the monarchy, such as the Dietrichsteins and the Liechtensteins, who both dominated the political landscape of Moravia. Other families like the Trauttmansdorffs, the Harrachs, the Althans, the Schwarzenbergs, and the Montecuccolis also belonged to the Eggenberg family network.²⁸⁰ In 1639 Hans Ulrich's son Johann Anton married the daughter of Margrave Christian of Brandenburg-Bayreuth and Duchesses Maria of Prussia. Although this marriage was certainly a prestigious alliance due to the high rank of the Margrave, from the confessional point of view, it was however quite an unwise choice since Christian of Brandenburg-Bayreuth was a very staunch advocate of the Protestant faith. He had been one of the leaders of the Protestant union and had fought on the side of Sweden against the imperial troops. It is little surprising that the Emperor was not particularly pleased about the alliance between Eggenberg and the Protestant princess. Prince Gundaker of Liechtenstein refused to allow, precisely because of the confessional concerns, a marriage alliance between his daughter Maria Anna and the Protestant Duke of Saxony. In a letter to the Duke he referred to the Emperor's displeasure about the marriage of Johann Anton Eggenberg:

»[...] Weil ihre Mayestät ein sonderbares mißfallen darob gehabt, das des fürsten von Eckenberg selig sich mit einer unkatholischen fürstin verehelicht haben und daß dannhero viel übler von mir aufnehmen würden, wenn ich, dero geheimer rath, der da dergleichen abrathen und in diesen ihr Mt. wohlgegründeten willen sekundieren solle, [solche] mit meinem leiblichen kind selbst vornehme«.²⁸¹

This example brings us to another central issue in aristocratic marriage strategies: religion. More than in the past, confessional affiliation was now of vital

²⁸⁰ See Johann Siebmacher, *Siebmachers grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch...* Vol. IV. (Oberösterreichischer, niederösterreichischer und steiermärkischer Adel), Nürnberg, 1904, 1918-1921.

²⁸¹ Quoted in Oberhammer, *Gesegnet sei dies Band*, p. 184.

importance in aristocratic marriage policy, as the following example of Maria Magdalena Jörger once more reveals. Maria Magdalena was the daughter of Helmhard IX Jörger and Anna Maria Khevenhüller, a sister of Franz Christoph Khevenhüller. Her father had played a prominent role in the revolt of the Protestant Estates in Upper Austria and after his imprisonment in 1621 large parts of his estates had been confiscated.²⁸² After the death of Maria Magdalena's parents, Franz Christoph Khevenhüller and Heinrich Wilhelm Starhemberg took over the guardianship, and both campaigned for a conversion which would pave the girl's way to the imperial court, as well as for a favourable marriage. In a letter written to Ferdinand (III) in 1633, her uncle Franz Christoph Khevenhüller remarked that he »never had wished anything else than to bring the girl back to the Catholic faith, and to marry her to a fine man and loyal servant of the Emperor, and not to a disagreeable and unfaithful person«.²⁸³

It is little surprising that Maria Magdalena's Protestant relatives did not share Khevenhüller's view. Especially her aunt, Salome Windischgrätz, tried everything in her power to avoid her niece's entry in the service at the imperial court, or in other words, to protect her from the Catholic environment.²⁸⁴ She had, above all, concerns regarding the strong influence the Spanish court ladies would have on the girl, and the foreign language and costumes the girl would be exposed to in the environment of the Spanish court of Empress Maria Anna.²⁸⁵ Yet, all her arguments

²⁸² Heinrich Wurm, *Die Jörger von Tollet*, Graz-Cologne-Linz 1955, pp. 179-182.

²⁸³ »[...] *ich diß orts mehrers nie gesucht, alß das sie [Maria Magdalena] zu der catolischen religion gebracht und khunftig mit so ansehnlich guet, euer ksl. Mt. getreuen diener einen und nit etwan widerwertigen verheirath wurde*«. Franz Christoph Khevenhüller to Ferdinand (III), 1633 March 22, OÖLA, HA. Kammer, Hs. 1, fol. 115r.

²⁸⁴ To her brother Franz Christoph, she wrote: »[...] *weil ich mier leichtlich die gedanckhen machen khan, es khäme denselbigen [Franz Christoph Khevenhüller], wan er der ksl. intention nach die Anna madl zu sich nemen solte, nit woll anderst, dan grosse ungelegenheit beschehen, in erwegung, das madl ja noch sehr khindtisch und der stätten zucht bedürftig, benebens leitschirch, pletens gesicht und gähen zueständen underworfen ist. [...] die Anna Magtallena den ksl. hof, darzue sie ja ainmal zuwenig geschickht, nicht zu nahe khome [...]*«. Salome Windischgrätz to Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, Linz 1633 February 22, OÖLA, Linz, HA Kammer, Hs. 1, fol. 71v.

²⁸⁵ »[...] *wurde auch meines wenigen beduncken, sowoll die spänische frau hofmaisterin meines herrn brueders liebe khinder schwer ankhoben, sich umb die Anna Magtalena deren sprach ir unbekhandt, anzunemen, also auch die Anna madl sich zu ungewandte sprach und siten zu finden [...]*«. Salome Windischgrätz to Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, Linz 1633 February 22, *Ibidem*, fol. 72r.

were of no avail. In the end, the Emperor decided that the girl should stay with her uncle Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, and Maria Magdalena entered the service of Empress Maria Anna. With the support of the Empress, Khevenhüller succeeded in marrying his niece to Franz Albrecht Harrach, a Catholic and loyal servant of the Emperor.²⁸⁶ Like Khevenhüller himself, the Harrachs belonged to the pro-Spanish circle at the imperial court, and they cultivated kinship relations to families that shared their political and religious orientation.

As religion became increasingly important in the marriage policy of the Austrian court aristocracy, one might assume that this provided ideal conditions for marriage alliances with the Spanish ladies at the Viennese court. In addition, the imperial court turned into one of the most important marriage markets of seventeenth century aristocracy. Studying the imperial Privy Council, Henry Schwarz and John I Coddington pointed to the close kinship relations among its members.²⁸⁷ Particularly for unmarried noble ladies, the service at the court offered the prospect of advantageous marriages. As Hartman of Liechtenstein observed:

»da dehnen freulein [...] solange sie in diesen standt ist [unmarried], kein ander luft tauglich als der hof- und stattluft.«²⁸⁸

Church visits, balls or other courtly events, offered adequate situations for ladies to make contact with young cavaliers. For young nobles, a marriage with a court lady, on the other hand, offered opportunities to advance a courtly career, since the ladies could favourable support family interests due to their access and personal ties to the Empress. In her recent study on the court ladies at the imperial court, Katrin Keller came to the conclusion that in the period between 1611 and 1657, 118 noblemen wed a court lady. From these 118 men, twenty percent came from

²⁸⁶ Katrin Keller, *Das Frauenzimmer. Zur integrativen Wirkung des Wiener Hofes am Beispiel der Hofstaaten von Kaiserinnen und Erzherzoginnen zwischen 1611 und 1657*. In: Petr Mat' a – Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620-1740. Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismusparadigmas*, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 131-157, here p. 146.

²⁸⁷ Schwarz, *Privy Council*, p. 395.

²⁸⁸ Quoted in Oberhammer, *Gesegnet sei dies Band*, p. 188.

Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. According to the scholar, it is reasonable to assume that many of them used the marriage to a court lady as an opportunity to integrate themselves into the court and to establish connections with the courtly society. Similarly, Italian nobles who held office at the imperial court sought to »intensify their networks via marriage alliances with court ladies«. ²⁸⁹ Yet as mentioned earlier, marriages with Spanish ladies were not established. Cultural differences clearly played a role. In addition, families from the Austrian hereditary lands focused increasingly on marriage alliances with Central European families, rather than with nobles from far away. And likewise the Spanish aristocracy had little interest in marriage alliances with families from such distant territories as the Austrian Habsburg monarchy; they instead focused on family alliances with Portuguese and Italy families. ²⁹⁰ However, despite the absence of Spanish-Austrian kinship relations, the family networks of the Austrian aristocracy are of central importance for the present study, since they constituted bridges from the courtly centre in Vienna to the periphery of the monarchy, and hence, contributed to the regional transfer processes.

²⁸⁹ Keller, Hofdamen, p. 79. Additionally see Beatrix Bastl, Das Österreichische Frauenzimmer. Zum Beruf der Hofdame in der Frühen Neuzeit. In: Jan Hirschbiegel – Werner Paravicini (eds.), Das Frauenzimmer. Die Frau bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit. 6. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 355-371, here p. 358. Bastl analysed 25 marriage treaties of courtiers under the reign of Leopold I. Of 25 brides, 24 had been court ladies of the Empress.

²⁹⁰ See Ángeles Redondo Álamo – Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, “*Bem visto tinha...* Entre Lisboa y Capodimonte. La aristocracia castellana en perspectiva “trans-nacional” (ss. XVI-XVII). In: Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla (ed.), *Las redes del Imperio. Elites sociales en la articulación de la Monarquía Hispánica, 1492-1714*, Madrid 2009, pp. 39-63.

4.2. The Imperial Court: An »International« Meeting-point

»Zu hof ist [...] alß was hendt und fieß
hat gehabt [zusammenkommen].«²⁹¹

Johanna Theresia Harrach

In an instruction to his son Johann Adam, Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein advised him to spend a month at the imperial court twice a year. The Liechtenstein family's main residence was on the border areas of Lower Austria and Moravia in Feldsberg, and there the Prince lived a very quiet life, yet with all the pomp and splendour of a wealthy magnate. Nonetheless, Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein saw presence at the imperial court, although not permanently, as an absolutely necessity for a prince, as it offered the best of possibilities for cultivating social contacts with influential ministers and for reviving old friendships and acquaintances. Liechtenstein urged his son therefore to use these two months for networking and to cajole the ministers, as well as to endear himself to the court society. In Liechtenstein's opinion, dinner invitations and splendid banquets were the best events for his son to spoil his guests with all kinds of exquisite dishes. Last but not least, Liechtenstein saw that longer stays at the imperial court were profitable since his son would again adopt the good manners of the court society, and he would learn about news, and about the current clothing fashion.²⁹²

Liechtenstein's advice clearly shows the importance of early modern courts in general, and the imperial court in particular for both establishing and intensifying networks, as well as for cultural transfer processes. The princely courts had always been important places for the nobility to meet. Yet the growing orientation of the

²⁹¹ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol. (Tagzettel: February 11th 1677).

²⁹² »In selbiger Zeit erzeugest du ihro ksl. Mt. dein schuldigkeit, erfrischest dich widerum ein wenig unter dem adl, nimest ihre gute maniren widerum an, siehest was neües, und die mode von kleydern, caressirest bey hof die ministros und deine gutte freünd, und machest dich geliebt von allen. Wan du aldorten seyn wirst, gegen jedermann du dich sehr höflich ergnügen sollest, sie in deinen hauß zu gast tractiren sollest, welches allen wohl gefällig ist, und besonders in diesen deütschen ländern gebräuchlich, alle in seinen hauß bey der taffl zu caretzieren.« Haupt, Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein, p. 61.

European nobilities towards the princely centres increased the value of the courts as a social and cultural meeting point. Due to its political position, the imperial court was literally a social and cultural melting-pot, which crucially shaped the city landscape.²⁹³

As is well known, during the reign of Rudolf II Prague was the courtly centre of the monarchy, and the city experienced cultural prosperity in this epoch. Ferdinand II again appointed Vienna as his imperial residence. Yet, as a result of frequent travels by the Emperor and the Empress, the court remained itinerant, or at least semi-itinerant, during the first half of the seventeenth century.²⁹⁴ Ferdinand II frequently stayed for longer periods in Graz, Prague (1627 and 1635), Hungary (1625), and in the Empire, where he attended the imperial diet (*Reichstag*) or the coronation of his son Ferdinand III in 1636 in Regensburg. Under the reign of his son Ferdinand III, Vienna as the imperial residence was likewise often shunned. Both the Emperor and the Empress frequently visited the imperial diet in Regensburg (1640/41) or the Hungarian diet (1646/47).²⁹⁵ In 1634, Empress Maria Anna travelled to Passau in order to meet her brother, the Cardinal-Infant, and she was accompanied by a large number of court ladies.²⁹⁶ In addition, during the conflictive years of the Thirty Years' War the imperial court was frequently forced to take refuge in Linz or in Graz. This recurrent absence of the imperial family and its entourage from Vienna, as well as a number of aristocrats who left Vienna along with the Emperor, certainly had consequences for the city, not only in economic terms, but also in cultural respects. Andrea Sommer-Mathis argued that besides the frequent deaths in the imperial family in the first half of the century, above all the

²⁹³ See the recent contribution by Dorothea Nolde – Elena Svalduz – María José del Río Barredo, *City Courts as Places of Cultural Transfer*. In: Donatella Calabi – Stephen Turk Christensen (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Vol. II: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 254-285.

²⁹⁴ Regarding the impact of the imperial court on the city, its architectural character including the emergence of four- and five-storey buildings, and the rise of noble urban residences, and finally, the transformation of Vienna in a »capital in the modern sense« see the study by John P. Spielman, *The City and the Crown. Vienna and the Imperial Court 1600-1700*, West Lafayette 1993.

²⁹⁵ Mark Hengerer, *Kaiserhof und Adel in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte der Macht in der Vormoderne*, Konstanz 2004, pp. 130-132.

²⁹⁶ HHStA Vienna, *Ältere Zeremonialakten, Carton 2 (1611-1639)*.

recurrent absence of the court explains the lacking diversity of music and theatre events in Vienna in this period.²⁹⁷

The reign of Leopold I in contrast, was characterised by cultural prosperity, and Vienna became a centre for music and theatre, not least due to the Emperor's passion for these arts.²⁹⁸ Festival culture, theatre and music increasingly became an instrument for the display of power, or as the Austrian historian Karl Vocelka put it: »[...] the fight between the Habsburgs and the French monarchies for European hegemony took place not only on the battlefield, but also in the theatre halls of the residences«. ²⁹⁹ Certainly, Leopold also undertook several trips during his reign. He visited the diet in Hungary (1659) and the imperial diet in Regensburg (1663/64), and in 1680 he stayed in Prague for several months. Yet overall, the court was much more present in Vienna than it was under the reign of his predecessors. In the

²⁹⁷ Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *Ein pícaro und spanisches Theater am Wiener Hof zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*. In: Andreas Weigl (ed.), *Wien im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Bevölkerung - Gesellschaft - Kultur – Konfession*, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar 2001, pp. 655-694, here p. 663. As regards the court as a cultural centre, above all the court in Prague in the era of Rudolf II has been the centre of interest among historians and art historians. Comparatively well investigated are the courts in Graz and Innsbruck also. The courts of Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III, in contrast, have little attracted historians interest so far. Remarkable exceptions in this respect are the studies by Herbert Seifert, *Der Sig-prangende Hochzeit-Gott. Hochzeitsfeste am Wiener Hof der Habsburger und ihre Allegorik 1622-1699*, Vienna 1988, for example. On the court in Innsbruck see Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck*, Innsbruck 1954. Regarding the cultural activities at the court in Graz: Josef Wastler, *Das Kunstleben am Hofe zu Graz unter den Herzogen der Steiermark, den Erzherzogen Karl und Ferdinand*, Graz 1897.

²⁹⁸ This passion is frequently mentioned by different diplomats or envoys, who sent communications and descriptions of Emperor Leopold to their home courts. See for instance *Relationen der Venetianischen Gesandten*: »*Leopoldo primo Imperatore figliuolo di Ferdinando 3° e di Maria della Casa di Spagna hoggi regge l'Imperio. L'età sua è d'anni 21 terminati à 9 di Giugno passato, è di statura più tosto bassa, ch'alta, scarmo di corpo, e di temperaento non molto robusto, pieno di sangue però talhora colerico. Gode salute perfetta, perche l'età gle la dona, non perche il uigore della compassione la facci sperar come sarebbe desiderabile più consistente. [...] Sua particular inclinazione è alla Musica. Compone perfettamente, l'intende, e la gusta à segno, che tal hora trà la Chiesa, e la stanza, compresoui il tempo della tavola ancora, impiegando in essa giornate intiere, m'hà piu uolte ditto, non stancarsi mai d'essa.*« In: Fiedler (ed.), *Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs*, vol. 2, p. 48. Also the Swedish envoy Pufendorf mentioned in his diary the music passion of Leopold and that the Emperor does not save money in this respect. See Oswald Redlich, *Das Tagebuch Esaias Pufendorfs, schwedischen Residenten am Kaiserhofe von 1671 bis 1674*. In: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 37 (1917), pp. 541-597, here p. 569.

²⁹⁹ Karl Vocelka, *Glanz und Untergang der höfischen Welt. Repräsentation, Reform und Reaktion im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat. Österreichische Geschichte 1699-1815*, ed. by Herwig Wolfram, Vienna 2004, pp. 185-186.

following pages we draw attention to the imperial court as a point of contacts and encounter, in terms of both social as well as cultural exchange.

4.2.1. Office holders, Diplomats, and Travellers

Regarding the imperial court as a meeting-point for the aristocracy, first and foremost the growing influx of aristocrats from the different territories of the monarchy is significant. Besides aristocrats from the hereditary lands, aristocrats from the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary were also increasingly present at the imperial court in Vienna.³⁰⁰ Also many aristocrats, originally descended from the Empire were in the service of the Emperor and therefore were resident at the imperial court. The Mansfelds, the Schwarzenbergs, and the Fuggers, to mention only some, settled in the Austrian territories and members of these families achieved high offices at the imperial court.³⁰¹ As mentioned elsewhere, during the Thirty Years' War nobles from other European countries fought on the side of the Emperor and many of them settled in the Austrian Habsburg monarchy, like for instance the Spaniards Baltasar de Marradas and his nephew Bartholomeo. Both came to Austria in the entourage of a relative, the Spanish ambassador Don Guillén de San Clemente and they joined the imperial forces at the outbreak of the war.³⁰² Another example is the military leader Ottavio Piccolomini. Descending from an old Tuscan family he entered the imperial service, together with his brother Aeneas, and he fought under the aforementioned Marradas, as well as under Buquoy and Wallenstein. In 1634, Piccolomini became Field Marshal and just five years later he

³⁰⁰ See the contributions in Václav Bůžek – Pavel Král (eds.), *Šlechta v habsburské monarchii a císařský dvůr (1526-1740)*, České Budějovice 2003.

³⁰¹ Mansfeld (1576-1644) was in the service of Emperor Ferdinand II and Emperor Ferdinand III and as *Oberstallmeister* (from 1620 till 1637) he was permanently at the imperial court. His brother Wolfgang Mansfeld was for several years in the service of the Protestant Elector of Saxony. Around 1620 he converted to the Catholic faith and entered the imperial service. Between 1632 and 1638 he was imperial Privy Councillor. Schwarz, *Privy Council*, pp. 294-295. See also Richard Perger, *Der Adel in öffentlichen Funktionen und sein Zuzug nach Wien*. In: *Adel im Wandel*, pp. 269-275.

³⁰² Schwarz, *Privy Council*, pp. 295-297.

was appointed Privy Councillor.³⁰³ And similarly Annibale Gonzaga, who also had a military career in the service of the Emperor, became part of the imperial court society. Certainly, due to their military function these aristocrats were not permanently present at the Viennese court. Furthermore, the main residence of Marradas, like that Piccolomini, was in Bohemia and Moravia. Nonetheless, as Privy Councillors they were embedded in the network of the Viennese court society. In the case of Piccolomini, his wide-stretched network is also visible in the enormous amount of correspondence which he kept with the important aristocratic families of the day.³⁰⁴

Overall, a large number of foreign aristocrats were actively involved at the imperial court. A research group at the University of Vienna investigated the regional backgrounds of office holders at the imperial Court under the reign of Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III and they came to the conclusion that 32 percent of the imperial councillors came from Austria above and below the Enns; 16 percent from Inner Austria; 17 percent from Bohemia; three percent from the Tyrol; 21 percent from the Empire; ten percent from Italy; and one percent from Hungary. Similarly in the case of the chamberlains; 22 percent descended from the nobility of Austria above and below the Enns; 20 percent from Inner Austria; 15 percent from Bohemia; two percent from the Tyrol; 17 percent from the Empire; 15 percent from Italy; and nine percent from Hungary.³⁰⁵

Additionally, a large number of foreign diplomats and envoys resided at the imperial court. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, the Spanish monarchy was represented at the imperial court by an ambassador. As »*embajadores de la familia*« they claimed a privileged position within the court ceremonial, which frequently provoked disputes and disagreements especially with the deputies of the

³⁰³ Ibidem, pp. 318-320.

³⁰⁴ On Piccolomini's role as art patron see the forthcoming study by Alessandra Becucci, *The art of politics and the politics of the Arts. Francesco Ottavio Piccolomini: a case of patronage in Thirty Years War Europe.*

³⁰⁵ Patronage und Klientelssysteme am Wiener Hof:

<http://www.univie.ac.at/Geschichte/wienerhof/wienerhof2/grafiken/regio1.htm> (03.05.2007).

French monarchy.³⁰⁶ Also the Pope and the Republic of Venice were permanently represented at the Viennese court by diplomatic deputies,³⁰⁷ and Princes from the Empire or other European countries also sent envoys to Vienna. To give only few examples: In 1657 a delegation from the Polish Crown was in Vienna, and in 1659 and again in 1689 a delegation of the Ottoman Empire resided in Vienna for several months. In 1660 the Duke of Saxe-Weimar dispatched a delegation to the imperial court. His envoy, Johann Sebastian Müller, mentioned the arrival of several further delegations from the Empire, as well as the arrival of a Tatar delegation in April of that year, in his travelogue.³⁰⁸ Between 1671 and 1674, the Swedish envoy Pufendorf resided in Vienna,³⁰⁹ and between 1680 and 1683 Justus Eberhard Passer, envoy of Hesse-Darmstadt, was present at the imperial court.³¹⁰ In his diary, Passer mentioned among others the presence of the Dutch envoys and the arrival of a Muscovite delegation.³¹¹ In short, a remarkable number of foreign ministers, envoys, ecclesiastic and secular dignitaries were present at the imperial court. »At no other court will you find so many foreign envoys than at the imperial court«, remarked the contemporary Lünig.³¹²

³⁰⁶ Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre*, pp. 211-214. Rank order in the courtly ceremonial at the Viennese court was also the topic of a contribution by Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *Theatrum Ceremoniale. Rang- und Sitzordnung bei theatralischen Veranstaltungen am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Jörg Jochen Berns – Thomas Rahn (eds.), *Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Frühen Neuzeit*, Tübingen 1995, pp. 511-533, here especially pp. 521-525.

³⁰⁷ Fiedler (ed.), *Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs*, vol. 2; Artur Levinson (ed.), *Nuntiaturreportagen vom Kaiserhofe Leopolds I.* In: *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 103 (1913), pp. 547-841.

³⁰⁸ Keller – Tersch – Scheutz (eds.), *Einmal Weimar – Wien und retour*. As to the Tatar delegation see also Christoph Augustynowicz, *Tatarische Gesandtschaften am Kaiserhof des 17. Jahrhunderts – Protokoll und Alltag*. In: Marlene Kurz – Martin Scheutz – Karl Vocelka – Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie. Akten des internationalen Kongresses zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung Wien, 22.-25. September 2004*, Vienna-Munich 2005, pp. 315-340.

³⁰⁹ Redlich, *Das Tagebuch Esaias Pufendorfs*, pp. 541-597.

³¹⁰ Ludwig Baur, *Berichte des Hessen-Darmstädtischen Gesandten Justus Eberhard Passer an die Landgräfin Elisabeth Dorothea über die Vorgänge am kaiserlichen Hofe und in Wien von 1680 bis 1683*. In: *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 37 (1867), pp. 271-377.

³¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 343 and 355. On the arrival of the Muscovite delegation see the description by Lünig, *Theatrum Ceremoniale*, p. 530 and p. 537.

³¹² »[...] *an keinem Hofe so viel Envoyés sind, als an dem Kayserlichen, weilen so viele grosse und kleine Fürsten, weltliche und geistliche, so gar gefürstete Äbte, Prälaten, Äbtibinnen und Grafen aus dem Reich, auch Deputirte von der immediaten Ritterschaft, und von Reichs=Städten am Kayserl. so viel zu negitiiren haben [...]*.« Lünig, *Theatrum Ceremoniale*, vol. 1, p. 452.

Most of these diplomats maintained a large household, and the entourage they brought along from their countries contributed decisively to the multicultural ambience at Vienna. Moreover, the concentration of such a large number of high-ranking nobles from all different European countries, and their display of prestige and social status, left its mark in many ways. The German scholar Paul Jacob Marperger, for instance, regarded the culinary diversity at the imperial court, and the fact that the best cooks and chefs from the world could be found in Vienna, as a result of the large number of foreign princes living in Vienna, who were all eager to surpass each other in sumptuous representation. In his work »*Vollständiges Küch- und Keller-Dictionarium*«, published in 1716 he wrote:

»An dem Kayserlichen Hofe selbst seynd die Spanische, Teutsche, Welsche und Ungarische Koch-Arten gleichsahm concentrirt, [...] Ich werde auch nicht irren, wann ich sage, daß vielleicht in Oesterreich die besten Köch und Köchinnen der Welt anzutreffen, und zwar aus Ursache des Kayserlichen Hoffs, und der an solchen sich aufhaltenden vielen ausländischen Fürsten und Ambassadeurs, die ihre eigenen Köche mehrenteils bey sich führen, welche, weil ihre Herren große Staaten führen, und stattliche Tractirungen ausrichten müssen, untereinander certiren, wer die besten Speisen zur Tafel bringen möge; einer siehet, lernet und erfähret es von andern, der Teutsche von Italiänern, der Frantzose von Englischen, und so nimmt hernach das Bürgerliche Frauenzimmer auch davon an.«³¹³

Daily visits to the court, the participation in court festivals, concerts, ballets and theatre performances, as well as attendance at church solemnities offered possibilities for the foreign and local nobility to meet. For instance, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach frequently played cards with the Emperor, the Spanish

³¹³ Quoted in Roman Sandgruber, *Österreichische Nationalspeisen: Mythos und Realität*. In: Hans Jürgen Teuteberg – Gerhard Neumann – Alois Wierlacher (eds.), *Essen und kulturelle Identität. Europäische Perspektiven*, Berlin 1997, pp. 179-203, here p. 187.

ambassador, and other friends and acquaintances.³¹⁴ Similarly his wife, Johanna Theresia, also went almost daily to the court where she played cards with the Empress and her ladies.³¹⁵ Foreign deputies participated at hunts, at turns in the Prater, and in tournaments. In winter, the Emperor and the Empress frequently organised sleigh rides, in which the whole court participated. In a letter written to Count Pötting in 1667, Johann Maximilian Lamberg related details of this event at which the impressive number of some sixty sleighs were involved. Afterwards, the court society met in the *Ritterstuben*, and a German dance was performed. Lamberg also invited the Spanish ambassador and his wife to this event as they would be able to see the German dance, he wrote to Pötting.³¹⁶ Altogether, sixty seven cavaliers attended the event, including the Margrave of Baden, Prince Dietrichstein, Count Colloredo, Marques de Spinola, Count Khevenhüller, Count Lesli, Marques de Grana, Count Hoyos, the Counts Trautson, Harrach and Trauttmanstorff, to name only some.³¹⁷ These joyrides followed a strict ceremonial and it was a particular honour to be invited to participate.³¹⁸

All this get-togethers served to cultivate contacts and to establish and to intensify relations. They also signaled membership of the illustrious circle of the court aristocracy. A very characteristic description of the different networks at the imperial court was provided by the aforementioned Swedish envoy, Pufendorf, who remarked: »There are three *Fractiones* at the imperial court, including one around Prince Dietrichstein which is the most powerful, and to which Count Montecuccoli

³¹⁴ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach Carton 335 (Ferdinand Bonaventura, Biographisches 1667-1673), Konv. 1672-1694 Kartenspiel bei Hof, sin fol.

³¹⁵ Pils, Hof/Tratsch, pp. 77-99; Laetitia Gabriel, Zur Lebenswelt adliger Frauen am Wiener Hof im 18. Jahrhundert, unpublished Masters thesis, Vienna 1994, p. 56.

³¹⁶ »Gestern haben ihr Mt. ein schlittenfahrt gehalten mit etlichen und 60 schlitten, ir Mt. die kayserin und spanische damas seind ohne guarda infanta mitgefahren, die camara major aber mit den anderen frauen hinder allen schlitten in ainen glösten wagen und darauf ist in der ritterstuben ein teutscher dantz gehalten worden, darzu ich herrn spanische potschafter und sein gmahl zum zusehen geladen [...].« Johann Maximilian Lamberg to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna 1667 January 4. HHStA Vienna, Spanien Varia, Carton 19, b. (Korr. von Lamberg), fol. 137v.

³¹⁷ HHStA Vienna, Ältere Zeremonialakten, Carton 8, Konv. Schlittenfahrt des Kaisers und deren Teilnehmer 1667. The court ladies are not mentioned in this list but we know from the cited letters that they attended as well.

³¹⁸ See the article by Beatrix Bastl, Feuerwerk und Schlittenfahrt. Ordnungen zwischen Ritual und Zeremoniell. In: Wiener Geschichtsblätter 51 (1996), pp. 197-229, here p. 221.

and Count Pötting belong«. ³¹⁹ Both were closely related to Ferdinand Dietrichstein through kinship; Pötting was married to Sophie Dietrichstein and Montecuccoli to Margareta Dietrichstein, both sisters of Ferdinand. The second network mentioned by Pufendorf, was the one surrounding the court chancellor Hoher and the imperial confessor, and the third was the group established around the widowed Empress Eleonore, to which the Spanish ambassador Marquis Balbases, Margrave of Baden and Count Albrecht Zinzendorf belonged. ³²⁰ Certainly, the length of the stay of foreign visitors, envoys, travellers and ambassadors at the Viennese court was variable, and also the Austrian aristocracy was not permanently present at the imperial court, except those who held an office that demanded a permanent presence. Nonetheless, the imperial court, like early modern courts in general, was a »privileged place of encounter, where individuals of different provenience met and exchanged ideas«. ³²¹

4.2.2. The Courts of the Empresses Maria Anna and Margarita Teresa

The female court of the Empress played a major role in cross-cultural communication and the transfer of ideas, moral concepts as well as material culture. With the Habsburg marriages to Italian and Spanish princesses the influx of noble families, skilled labours, artists and clerics from these countries increased. Yet, as Katrin Keller examined, the Spanish princess Maria Anna brought a much larger entourage to Vienna than the Gonzaga-Empresses. Only eight percent of the ladies in the court of her successor, Empress Eleonora Gonzaga, came from Italy. In the court of Empress Maria Anna, in contrast, 17.1 percent of the court ladies were Spanish noblewomen. ³²² Altogether, Maria Anna's court consisted of 102 Persons

³¹⁹ Redlich, *Das Tagebuch Esaias Pufendorfs*, p. 570.

³²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 570.

³²¹ Andrea Grewe, *Margarete von Navarra und der Hof von Nérac*. In: Stedman – Zimmermann (eds.), *Höfe – Salons – Akademien*, pp.19-40, here p. 22.

³²² Empress Anna had 18 court ladies, Maria Anna had 33 and Eleonora Gonzaga d. J. had 25 court ladies. Keller, *Hofdamen*, pp. 57-58. It has to be mentioned that Katrin Keller focused in her study

(50 women and 52 men); including the court ladies, as well as a confessor, physicians and medical personal, a pharmacist with his assistants, a sommelier with his assistants, chefs and kitchen personal, a tailor, a dancing master and other servants.³²³

Negotiations regarding the number of court ladies and servants the Spanish princesses should be allowed to take along to Vienna, turned out to be difficult in the cases of the marriage negotiations of Maria Anna as well as that of Margarita Teresa. The discord between the Spanish and Austrian sides about the composition of the court was in both cases one of the reasons the marriage negotiations took several years. In November 1628 Ferdinand II gave his ambassador in Spain, Franz Christoph Khevenhüller the following instruction regarding the Spanish court ladies of his son's fiancée:

»[...] Viertens erachten wir der camerdienerin und camerdiener anzahl der zeit zu übermäßig gestellt zu sein, angesehen, das sich auch in unserer gemahl L. hoffstatt würcklich nicht sovil befinden, als das man dieselbige baiderseits auf vier persohnen, nemblich zwo teutsch und zwo spänische camerdienerin und so viel camerdiener restringiern möchte, solte aber ins konffttig erscheinen, das man derselben mehrer bedürftig, wurden solche alzeit nach wolgefallen weiters können aufgenomben werden.«³²⁴

Ferdinand further decided that the two chamber musicians, who Infanta Maria Anna wanted to take to Vienna, were unnecessary since he presumed that they are would only be skilled in singing and playing the guitar and therefore would not be suitable for the music tradition in Vienna.³²⁵ Just as his grandson Leopold I would

exclusively on the court ladies. Thus, other servants, like cooks and kitchen assistants, medical personell, confessors etc., are therefore not taken into account.

³²³ HHStA Vienna, OMeA SR 75, 1-5: Hofrechnungen und Hofstaat der Kaiserin Maria Anna 1631-1632, here Nr. 1 (1631; Akten, betreffend den Hofstaat von Kgn. Maria Anna).

³²⁴ HHStA Vienna, OMeA SR 75, Nr. 1, fol. 25r. Originally Ferdinand II wanted allow only 19 Spanish court ladies. Maria Anna, however, asked for 29 ladies to come with her to Vienna.

³²⁵ »weilen sie zweiffels ohne allain des gesangs zu der gitara kundig, und dahero zu der herausigen music nicht tauglich sein wurden« Ibidem, fol. 25r.

later, Ferdinand II was eager to keep the Spanish influence at his court as minimal as possible.

From 1625 till 1630, when the marriage between Ferdinand III and Maria Anna finally was arranged and the royal bride moved to her new country, Khevenhüller constantly mentioned the efforts he made regarding the composition of Maria Anna's court in his correspondence.³²⁶ A central position was occupied by the question about the *camarera mayor*. The first choice was Beatrice de Mondéjar, a sister of Cardinal Dietrichstein.³²⁷ Raised in the Austrian territories and married to a Spanish noble, she was familiar with Spanish culture, rites, and language as well as with Austrian Habsburg traditions and noble society. Moreover, since she had relatives in the Austrian monarchy, it would be easier for her to become integrated into the Viennese court society, Khevenhüller argued. Indeed, this point turned out to be one of the main problems of the Spanish court members at the imperial court. However, Beatrice de Mondéjar did not wish to return to the country she had left at the age of twenty two. In a letter written to Infanta Margarita de la Cruz she mentioned her bad health which would not allow her to accept this post.³²⁸ Finally, Doña Victoria de Toledo y Colona, Condessa de Siruela accompanied Maria Anna to Austria for this function. After the Countess died in 1638, Marquésa de Flores d'Avila was sent to Vienna to take over the post. After the Empress' death in 1646,

³²⁶ See HHStA, Vienna, Spanien Varia 6 (a), Khevenhillers Verrichtung in anno 1625 in Heyratssachen des Königs Ferdinand und der Infantin Dona Maria aus Hispanien, pp. 1-88.

³²⁷ »Hab im mitl andeuten wellen und mehrmaln erindern, damit, wann die infantin heut oder morgen sollte heraus khumben, deroselben durch e. Ex. befürderung und instanz die Marquesa de Monteja, des cardinals von Dietrichstein schwester, zu obersten cammerfrau möchte vorgenommen werden«, wrote Questenberg to Khevenhüller, on the 14. January 1626. Ibidem, p. 7.

³²⁸ »[...] En el mesmo negocio a apretarme diciendome la honra y merc. que el emp. deseava, que el rey, dios le guarde, me hiciesse, de mandare fuesse sirviendo a su Ex. en el officio de camarera mayor a Alemana, que cierto me fuera, muy particular consuelo obedecer a su Mag, en esto, si mi poca salud me diera lugar a ello pero certifico a V.Ex. con toda verdad, que de unos anos a este parte, so tan continuadas mis indisposiciones que los mas dias no puedo levantarme de la cama mi estar para audir a cosa ninguna, y tanta de la flaqueta de la cabeza y un carriminto allas caderas que tres meses no me puedo enderecar, comiendo siempre carne los viernes y sabados. [...]« Marquesa de Mondéjar to Infanta Margarita. HHStA, Vienna, Spanien Varia 6 (a), Khevenhillers Verrichtung, p. 23.

she joined the court of Archduchess Maria Anna, later the queen of Spain, and in her entourage she returned to Spain two years later.³²⁹

Equally important was, according to Khevenhüller, that an interpreter, who was familiar not only with the German language but also with the customs and rites at the imperial court, also came to Vienna. And likewise should the secretary of the Empress be familiar with »*die draus und herinige leut, sitten und gebräuch*«, and he should also have some knowledge of German.³³⁰ Khevenhüller recommended a certain Anthonio de Castro for this post, an experienced and widely travelled man, who had already fulfilled earlier missions to satisfaction, as Khevenhüller was informed by his informants in Madrid. De Castro had lived in France for some years and in the service of Don Baltasar de Zúñiga he had gathered experience in the Empire, where he lived for over ten years. On several occasions he travelled to the archducal court in Graz, as well as to Italy and to Poland. Therefore, he would be the appropriate secretary for the Empress who had sufficient language skills and was familiar with the local customs. In addition, he was married to a Bohemian lady, and would therefore probably not mind staying at the imperial court, Khevenhüller argued.³³¹

In general, the Emperors aimed at keeping the number of Spaniards who followed the Spanish princesses to Austria as low as possible. Initially, Ferdinand approved of only nineteen persons to go to Vienna. The number increased however up to twenty-nine and later seventeen more were permitted by the Emperor. Thus, altogether forty-six accompanied Maria Anna to Austria as well as the servants and family members the court ladies took along to Austria. The Spanish *camarera mayor*, for instance, had nine female and twelve male servants at her personal

³²⁹ Keller, Hofdamen, p. 275.

³³⁰ HHStA Vienna, Spanien Varia 6 (a), Khevenhillers Verrichtung, p. 17.

³³¹ »Dieses secretaryamt wie ich verstehen, will Anthoni de Castro iher ksl. Mt. rath und secretary der embaxada pretendieren. Meines erachtens ist heir zu keiner deutung, als er dann er und seine partes draus und hierinnen bekannt. Ist mit Don Baltasar de Zuniga in Frankreich in der umb zehn jahr allein in Deutschland gewest, da er mit commissionen zu mehr malen nach Grätz zu der jezigen ksl. Mt. damals erzherzogen und zu chur und anderen fürsten ins Reich auch in Italia und gar in Polen geschickht, die er alle zur satisfaction verricht. Seines weibs halber, weil sie eine böheimin ist, wirdts auch wegen der hinausreise kein difficultet haben.« HHStA Vienna, Spanien Varia 6 (a), Khevenhillers Verrichtung, pp. 17-18.

disposal. Forty two further women and twenty two men belonged to the entourage of the Spanish princess in Vienna.³³² Thus, Maria Anna eventually ended up with a much a larger entourage than the Emperor had wished.

The number and composition of the court ladies was also a central point in the negotiations of the marriage between Leopold I and Margarita Teresa. In 1663 Leopold instructed his ambassador Count Pötting, that he should do everything in his power to keep the number of Spanish women as low as possible. Pötting would probably well remember the inconvenience the Spanish women had provoked in the past, the Emperor argued.³³³ In addition, Pötting should also take care that not too many male servants would accompany the princess to Vienna and that he should arrange that in the case that a member of the Spanish entourage dies in Vienna, he or she would not be automatically replaced by another Spaniard, unless the Emperor explicitly ordered it.³³⁴ This last point was related to past experiences. In the court of Empress Maria Anna, several Spaniards were employed who did not belong to her original court when the princess had arrived in Vienna but they had followed her later. This was also the case for the aforementioned Flores d'Avila, or Lady Inéz de Llinas who only came to Vienna in 1643.³³⁵

Finally, Margarita Teresa arrived with an entourage of 282 persons, of which twenty-three females and twenty males were designated to stay with her in Vienna, including Countess Erill as *camarera mayor*³³⁶, several Doñas de honor, a Guarda

³³² HHStA Vienna, OMeA, SR 75, Nr. 1: *Lista der ienigen personen, so der zue Hungern und Böhaimb Königin aus Spanien mit sich zubringen und in irem dienst zu behalten, das erste mahl bewilliget worden.*

³³³ »Von Weibern bin ich wohl zufrieden, dass ein camarera mayor id est Obersthofmeisterin, ein ander zwei donas, ein, zwei oder drei damas, ein azafata, ein paar ayudas de camara kommen, aber mehr wollte ich wohl nit, ist es möglich; ist es dann nit möglich, das wenigst, das sein kann, dann es wird euch selbst noch vielleicht wohl bekannt sein, was einer mit die spanische Weiber für ungelegenheit haben muess.« Leopold I to Count Pötting, Laxenburg, 1663 Mai 22. In: Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I.*, vol. 1, pp. 12-14.

³³⁴ »Von Männern wollte ich doch auch, dass nit gar zu viele kämen. Vor allem aber wollte ich, dass Ihr es schaut dahin zu richten, dass wann etwan ein Person von den Spanischen heraußen sterben sollen, kein andere an deren Stelle herausgeschickt würden, außer wann ich solches selber verlangen und begehren thäte.« Leopold I to Count Pötting, Laxenburg, 1663 Mai 22. In: Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I.*, vol. 1, pp. 12-14.

³³⁵ Keller, *Hofdamen*, p. 57.

³³⁶ A French traveller described Countess Erill as the following: »Elle est veue du comte d'Eril de la maison de Cardonne, et si les ministres lui permettaient, ou que l'impératrice eut du pouvoir, elle

Mayor de las damas, chamber ladies and chamber servants, as well as a confessor, a secretary, a physician, a treasurer, and other servants. The rest of her court was provided from the Austrian side.³³⁷ The coexistence of the Spanish and Austrian female court members was by no means free of conflicts, which complicated the integration of the Spanish ladies in the Viennese court society.³³⁸

As mentioned earlier, in the seventeenth century almost none of the Spanish court ladies integrated themselves in her new environment by marriages. The significant integration of Spanish nobles in the Austrian Habsburg monarchy through family links took place only under the reign of Ferdinand I. The Spanish nobles that accompanied Ferdinand to his new territories were mainly male nobles who saw the possibility for social mobility in the service of the future King of the Holy Roman Empire and many of them married into local noble families.³³⁹ Yet in the seventeenth century the situation had changed for various reasons, and almost all of the Spanish ladies returned to Spain, although the Emperor Leopold made individual attempts to marry some of them to Austrian nobles. Already in May 1668 he mentioned this intention to his ambassador in Spain, Count Pötting.³⁴⁰ Shortly afterwards he informed Pötting about Count Saurau's intention to marry a Spanish lady:

s'en servirait avec avantage. Mais son crédit est renfermé dans l'appartement de sa maitresse, ou elle a souvent beaucoup de chagrin par le peu d'utilité qu'elle tire de sa charge et le peu de moyen qu'a l'Empereur de lui faire du bien. Comme elle était pauvre en Espagne, elle a amené toute sa famille en Allemagne, c'est-à-dire un fils, à qui on a donné une compagnie de cavalerie, et deux filles, qui sont auprès de l'impératrice, et semblent y devpir demeurer longtemps par le peu d'inclination qu'ont les courtisans allemands à épouser les Espagnoles. La countesse d'Eril est une petite femme brune ou plutot noire, fort maigre, âgée de 50 ans. La marquise de Lancerot à peu près de meme age, mais d'une figure plus agréable est maitresse d'hotel, c'est-à-dire gouvernante des filles d'honneur espagnoles qui sont au nombre de 4, et la vielle Comtesse de Portia gouvernante des filles d'honneur allemandes, qui doivent etre 12.» Pribram, Aus dem Berichte eines Franzosen, pp. 285-286.

³³⁷ HHStA Vienna, Ältere Zeremonialakten, Carton 7 (1663-1666), Konv. 27: Hofstaat ihrer Mt. der Kaiserin 1666, fols. 377r-382v; and Konv. 28: Spanischer Hofstaat der Kaiserin Margaretha 1666.

³³⁸ Regarding the courts under the reign of Leopold I see additionally the contribution by Stefan Siennel, *Die Wiener Hofstaate zur Zeit Leopold I.* In: Klaus Malettke – Chantal Grell (eds.), *Hofgesellschaft und Höflinge an europäischen Fürstenhöfen in der Frühen Neuzeit (15.-18. Jh.)*, Münster 2001, pp. 89-111.

³³⁹ See therefore Laferl, *Die Kultur der Spanier*.

³⁴⁰ »Villichet schickt es sich auch, daß wir bald ein spanische dama anbringen« Leopold I an Pötting, Laxenburg, 1668, Mai 23. In Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, vol. 1, pp. 384-385.

»[...] dass ich hoffe ein anfang zue machen, die spanische damas zue verheiraten, indem der landmarschall und jezige statthalter zue Graz, Georg Christian Graf von Saurau, ein intention auf die Monroy hat.«³⁴¹

Although Empress Margarita Teresa too supported this alliance, she wanted to permit the marriage only when the Spanish Queen also gave her permission. On behalf of the Emperor, Pötting was to approach the Spanish Queen on this matter to try to solve the issue as soon as possible, since Count Saurau, as a widower, wished to remarry quickly.³⁴² In the following months, Pötting frequently mentioned this in his correspondence, informing the Emperor that some of the Queen's ministers were difficult regarding the *dispacho* for the court lady in question. In October 1668, the *dispacho* finally arrived in Vienna and the marriage could be celebrated.³⁴³ Marriages between Spanish court ladies and Austrian noblemen, hence, turned out not to be as easy since besides the family of the respective court lady, the Spanish Queen also had to agree, not least because the Emperor asked for some financial support for the severance payment of the court lady. In addition, the Spanish court ladies were not very popular. Contemporary sources frequently mention the dislikes and negative attitudes the Austrian court aristocracy had for the Spanish ladies. The Swedish envoy at the imperial court reported, for instance, that the aforementioned Countess Erill was hated.³⁴⁴ Arrogant behaviour, as well as the total rejection of the German language by the Spanish ladies was often criticised, and which could not have worked in favour of marriage alliances.

³⁴¹ Leopold an Pötting, Vienna, 1668 July 4, Ibidem, pp. 392-394.

³⁴² »daß ihr auch diligenter sollicitiren sollet, damit man mercedes gebe, doch solche, welche in fatti e non parole bestehen, daß man auch es bald despachire und wo müglich die despachos mit der antwort auf diese brief einschicke, dann Saurau ist viduus, wird nit gar lang [warten wollen].« Ibidem, pp. 392-394.

³⁴³ Leopold I an Pötting, Ebersdorff, 1668 Oktober 10. In: Ibidem, pp. 414-415. In his correspondence with Pötting, Leopold mentioned one further marriage of a Spanish court lady. Ibidem, pp. 419-421.

³⁴⁴ Pufendorf, Berichte über Kaiser Leopold, p. 61

To conclude, the imperial court as a social and cultural melting-pot left its traces on local society and on the cultural development of the country. The influx of aristocrats from different European countries contributed to a cosmopolitan atmosphere in Vienna. Besides the wide social networks of the aristocracy, it was undoubtedly the imperial court that furthered cultural transfer processes most actively. The Spanish Empresses played an important role in this respect. Empress Maria Anna for instance, promoted the importation of fashionable articles from Spain, such as fans and fine Spanish leather gloves.³⁴⁵ The latter were much sought-after luxury goods in this epoch. Clerics in the entourage of the Empresses also had an enormous impact on the spiritual and religious life in Vienna. For instance, Fray Benito Peñalosa y Mondragón, from the Benedictine order in Montserrat, who in 1629 came as confessor of Empress Maria Anna to Austria, founded a branch of the Benedictines of Montserrat in Vienna shortly after his arrival. Due to the black habit, the Spanish monks were called by the Viennese people »Schwarzspanier«, and even today the street where the convent was located is called *Schwarzspanierstraße*.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ HHStA Vienna, OMeA, SR 74, Nr. 4 (Hofrechnungen Kg. Maria 1631/32).

³⁴⁶ Opll –Rudolf, *Spanien und Österreich*, p. 129. In 1640 Peñalosa became professor at the University of Vienna. He is known especially for his socio-critical work *Libro de las cinco excelencias del español que despueblan a España para su mayor potencia y dilatacion*, published in Pamplona in 1629. There he discussed the consequences of Spain's political and military interventions in Europe, and above all propagated an improvement of the socio-political situation of peasant society. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *El Antiguo Régimen: Los Reyes Católicos y los Austrias*, Madrid³2001, p. 352, and John Lynch, *Los Austrias (1516-1700)*, Barcelona 2000, p. 580.

PART III.

**CROSSING BOUNDARIES: THE TRANSFER OF GOODS AND THEIR IMPACT
ON ARISTOCRATIC SOCIETY**

5. Collecting Paintings: The »Gräflich Harrach'sche Gemäldegalerie« and its Early Acquisitions in Madrid

»Geld kan jeder haben, dergleichen gemahl aber nicht. Dan findet [man] soliche nicht allezeit, indehme jeder curioser, was er selbst rares hat, behalten will und thuet.«³⁴⁷

Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein

Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein once remarked that a nobleman could never have enough paintings and precious artworks, even if he already owns thousands of pieces. On the contrary, whenever he has the opportunity he should seek to acquire a valuable piece, and decorate all his palaces and homes with precious objects. Even more, he should establish collections of paintings, which should be treasured more than gold and silver.³⁴⁸ Liechtenstein ranked among the most eager of collectors in the seventeenth-century Austrian Habsburg monarchy. His enthusiasm for collecting of paintings is characteristic of the aristocratic society in seventeenth-century Europe. By the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries the status of paintings increased remarkably and was promoted, among other things by the passion for collecting by members of the ruling European dynasties; such as Emperor Rudolf II, Philip IV of Spain, and Charles I of England.³⁴⁹ The aristocracy also

³⁴⁷ Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein, *Buch von der Architektur*, p. 192-193. See also, Herbert Haupt *Rara sunt cara. Kulturelle Schwerpunkte fürstlichen Lebensstils*. In: Oberhammer, *Der ganzen Welt ein Lob und Spiegel*, Vienna-Munich 1990, pp. 115-137.

³⁴⁸ »Danhero, alwo nur ein vornehmes Stuk zu erfragen und zu erlangen ist, sie solches erkaufen und ihre Gallerien, so man in Deutschlandt die Kunstkammer nennet, anfillen und dehren gleichsamb nicht genueg haben können, da sie gleich dehren etlich tausent Stuk hetten. Dan die Raritet ist so gross, dass es niemahls lauten kan bei dergleichen Curiosen: ich hab genug oder zu vil. Dan wan sie ein Schlos oder Wohnung angefillt haben, so heben sie in dem andern an, alle ihre Heuser, das ist Schlessen und Wohnungen, mit dergleichen Rariteten zu ziehren und Gallerien mit Gemahlen zu haben, welches sie iber Goldt und Silber und dessen Schatz schätzen.« Liechtenstein, *Werk von der Architektur*, p. 192.

³⁴⁹ Literature on early modern collecting of paintings has flourished recently. An excellent overview of the topic and further literature is provided in the study by Jonathan Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs. Collecting Art in Seventeenth Century Europe*, Washington 1995. Focusing on the Spanish and English royal art collections, Brown provides insights on the artistic relations between the

quickly recognised the symbolic value of large collections of paintings as indicator of social status and a »marker of cultural enlightenment«. ³⁵⁰ Ambitious courtiers like for instance the Earl of Arundel and the Duke of Buckingham in England, or the Marquis of Leganés, the Marquises of Carpio, the Duke of Alcalá, and the Admirals of Castile in Spain and many others followed in the example of their sovereigns and established impressive collections of paintings. As Marjorie Swann emphasised, collecting became an »activity of such social importance that by the seventeenth century Europe was being swept by a veritable picture-mania with huge collections founded by voracious collectors«. ³⁵¹

As a result of the recent upsurge in scholarship in this field, we now know a great deal about early modern aristocratic collectors, the contents of their collections and how they established such extensive collections. ³⁵² Apart from the art collections of members of the Austrian Habsburg dynasty, Austrian aristocratic collections are however comparatively understudied to date. ³⁵³ This chapter therefore sheds some

two monarchies as well as the emergence of aristocratic collectors in the environment of the royal collectors Philip IV and Charles I. See additionally Jonathan Brown – John Elliott (eds.), *La Almoneda del Siglo. Relaciones artísticas entre España y Gran Bretaña, 1604-1655*, Madrid 2002. On the collection of Charles I of England see Arthur MacGregor (ed.), *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions, and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, Oxford 1989. Regarding the royal collection in Spain see Jonathan Brown – John Elliott (eds.), *A Palace for a king. The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*. New Haven 2003. The shift from encyclopaedic art collections and curiosity chambers to collections of paintings is the topic of the studies by José Miguel Morán Turina – Fernando Checa Cremades, *El coleccionismo en España. De la Camara de Maravillas a la Galeria de Pinturas*, Madrid 1985. Also Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *From Treasury to Museum: The Collections of the Austrian Habsburgs*. In: John Elsner – Roger Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting*, Chicago 1994, pp. 137-154. On Rudolf II see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II*, Chicago 1988.

³⁵⁰ Jonathan Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs*, p. 229. See more in Chapter 8.3.

³⁵¹ Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts. The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England*, Philadelphia 2001, pp. 16-17.

³⁵² On seventeenth-century Spanish aristocratic collectors see Mary Crawford Volk, *New Light on a Seventeenth-Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganés*. In: *The Art Bulletin* 62 (1980), pp. 256-268; Miguel Ángel Elvira Barba – Marta Carrasco Ferrer, *El Marqués del Carpio, político coleccionista del Siglo de Oro*. In: *Historia* 16, 227 (1995), pp. 39-46; Jonathan Brown – Richard L. Kagan, *The Duke of Alcalá: His collection and its Evolution*. In: *The Art Bulletin* 69/2 (1987), pp. 231-255; María Jesús Muñoz González, *La estimación y el valor de la pintura en España, 1600-1700*, Madrid 2006. On the English collector Lord Arundel see David Howarth, *Lord Arundel as a Collector and Patron*, New Haven-London 1985. On French collections see Antoine Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle. Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1994.

³⁵³ Exceptions are the contributions in the art magazine *Parnass*. The February 2005 issue deals with aristocratic collections. Additionally see Johann Kräftner (ed.), *Liechtenstein Museum Wien. Die Sammlung (Anlässlich der Eröffnung des Liechtenstein Museum Wien am 28. März 2004)*, Munich 2004.

light on the origins of one of the most important aristocratic collections in Austria today: The *Gräflich Harrach'sche Gemäldegalerie* (The gallery of the Harrach family).

The foundation of the collection was laid in the mid-seventeenth century and it was closely linked to the diplomatic assignment of Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach in Spain. Inspired by the art collections of fellow aristocrats in Spain, Harrach began to assemble a significant number of paintings during his time spent as imperial ambassador in Madrid. His interest in paintings was continued by his son Aloys Thomas Raimund, who expanded the collection considerably, most particularly with paintings by Neapolitan painters. He too spent many years abroad; first as an imperial envoy to Spain (1697-1700) and from 1728 till 1733 as Viceroy in Naples. The collecting activities of both father and son thus were closely linked to their political posts abroad, a feature which we can observe in the cases of many of the great aristocratic collectors of this period, who used their stays abroad to amass works of art.³⁵⁴

Thus, the Harrach collection reflects not only part of seventeenth century's art history, but it also represents part of the family's history. Moreover, in seeking traces of Spanish culture in Austria, it is almost impossible to ignore the role of this collection, which includes a large number of paintings by famous Spanish painters such as Murillo, Carreño de Miranda, Sánchez Coello, Ribera, as well as works by Neapolitan painters such as Solimena and Giordano. Even more, »the concentration of paintings by Spanish and Neapolitan masters in this collection is unique outside Spain and Italy«. ³⁵⁵ It is comparable only to the gallery of ancestral portraits of the Lobkowitz family, which is located in the Castle of Raudnice north of Prague and which includes a large quantity of portraits of Spanish high-ranking aristocrats of the late sixteenth century, mostly painted by the court painter of Philip II, Sánchez Coello, and his pupil Pantoja de la Cruz. Originally, these portraits belonged to

³⁵⁴ Mary Crawford Volk, *New Light on a Seventeenth-Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganés*. In: *The Art Bulletin* 62 (1980), pp. 256-268, here p. 256. See also the article by Brown – Kagan, *The Duke of Alcalá*.

³⁵⁵ Heinz Althöfer, *Reopening of the Harrach Gallery*. In: *The Burlington Magazine*, 102 (1960), pp. 260-263, here p. 263.

María Marnrique de Lara. Throughout all her life in Bohemia, she maintained close contacts with her family and friends in Spain, who sent their portraits to Bohemia. With the marriage of her daughter Polyxena and Prince Lobkowitz, this collection came into the possession of the Lobkowitz family to which it still belongs.³⁵⁶

Galleries of ancestral portraits were a frequent phenomenon in early aristocratic society and they served to illustrate the family's history. When Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach met the famous French portrait painter Rigaud in Paris in 1698, he decided to let himself be portrayed by the master, who enjoyed an esteemed reputation in France and who had also painted the French king. Harrach's family had already urged him for some time to commission a portrait in order that a representation of his image would remain in the house.³⁵⁷ To have a portrait painted by a painter as renowned as Rigaud was surely also a matter of prestige. Portraits were also often exchanged or sent to friends and relatives, especially when family members were scattered throughout the country or they lived abroad. Count Pötting, for instance, commissioned a portrait when he was ambassador in Madrid, »*para mandar el retrato en Alemania*«,³⁵⁸ and Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach did the same when he travelled to Spain in 1674.³⁵⁹ Harrach sent another portrait to his daughter Maria Josepha in 1699, whereupon she replied:

³⁵⁶ Max Dvořák, Spanische Bilder einer österreichischen Ahnengalerie. In: *Ibidem*, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte, München 1929, pp. 208-226. See additionally Pavel Štěpánek – Eva Bukolská, Los retratos españoles en la colección Lobkowitz en Roudnice. In: *Ibero-Americana Pragensia* 7 (1973), pp. 115-142.

³⁵⁷ »[...] *in deme mich die meinigen offters geplaget haben, mich mahlen zu lassen, damit mein contrefait zur gedachtnus im hauß verbleibe, habe ich mich endlich resolvirt undt heündt vormittag dem Rigaut, welcher vor etl. monathen den konig sehr wohl getroffen, zu sizen. Bin von halbe 10 bis 1 bey ihme gewesen undt will, ich solle noch 2 mahl komen.*« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 134, p. 475 (Entry: 5th of November 1698).

³⁵⁸ See the entry from the 15th of October 1664 in the diary of Count Pötting. Nieto Nuño, *Diario del conde de Pötting*, vol. 1, p. 60.

³⁵⁹ »*Mein contrafe, so ich zu Genua für die Frau obristcamerin mahlen lassen, weilten es nicht truckhen (trocken) war, hat es mit dem Christoph nicht vortgeschickht warden khüenen. Er schreibt mir aber des Pestaluz aldortigen correspondent, daß er es mit ehister gelegenheit ihme adressiren werde, dahero ich hoffen will, es werde zu Wien nunmehr schon angelangt sein oder doch wenigst bald dahin khomben [...]*«. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Wirth, Madrid, 1674 February 28. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 315.

»Habiendo recibido los dias passados su retrato de V. Ex. que me hizo merced de enbiarme, y siendo regalo de tanta estimacion mia, no puedo dejar de darle por esta carta muy humildes grazias, y de assiguarle que aunque lo tengo siempre muy presente en mi coracon y en mi memoria, que me sirve de grandissimo consuelo el tener un retrato de V. Ex. tan parecido tambien delante los ojos, en particular teniendo tan raras vezes el [placer] de verlo en persona [...]«. ³⁶⁰

Thus, portraits were sent to relatives and friends in order to remain present in their minds and to keep relations alive. Depending on the social rank of the family or the political position of some of its members, such galleries could also include the portraits of rulers and important personages of the time.³⁶¹ Galleries of ancestral portraits, hence, more or less grew naturally over the generations.

Collections of painting, in contrast, were more systematically established and often in a comparatively short space of time. The collection of the Harrach family does, of course, also include portraits. It has, however, all the features of a systematic collection of paintings which consists for the most part of paintings with religious or mythological themes, as well as landscapes and still-life paintings.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ Maria Josepha Kuenburg (born Countess Harrach) to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, 1699 August 13. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 262, Konv. Maria Josepha Kuenburg, sin fol.

³⁶¹ See the inventory of Castle Lamberg in Steyr. Besides numerous portraits of family members there are also those of different Habsburg Emperors and Empresses (Rudolf II, Ferdinand II and Empress Eleonore, Emperor Ferdinand III, Emperor Leopold I and Empress Margarita Teresa), as well as a portrait of Elector Maximilian of Bavaria and his wife Maria Anna archduchess of Austria, a portrait of Ferdinand Maria Duke of Bavaria and his wife Henriette Adelheid of Savoy and many others are mentioned in the inventory. OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 401, Fasz. 696, Nr. 15: *Verzeichnuß derjenigen mobilien, so sich im Gartenhauß der herschaft Steyr befündten und beschriben worden den 15. Februar Anno 1684*, sin fol. It is most likely that Johann Maximilian Lamberg received many of these portraits in the course of his political functions as imperial envoy at the peace negotiations in Münster and Osnabrück and as imperial ambassador in Spain. On collecting portraits see Fernando Bouza, Letters and portraits: economy of time and chivalrous service in courtly culture. In: Francisco Bethencourt – Florike Egmond (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*. Vol. II: Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700, Cambridge 2007, pp. 145-186.

³⁶² The actual collection of ancestral portraits of the Harrach family is installed separately in Castle Prugg. See therefore Alexandra Maria Löff, *Die Ahnengalerien der Grafen Harrach. Bestandsaufnahme und Analyse der Porträts in den Schlössern Rohrau, Prugg und Hrádek*, unpublished Masters thesis, Vienna 2007.

Today the collection still belongs to the Harrach family and is located in the Castle Rohrau in Lower Austria.

The collection and its early acquisitions are not entirely unknown in historiography.³⁶³ Yet, detailed studies from a social-historical perspective are still absent. In what follows, particular attention will be paid therefore to the cultural and social environment of its founder Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach (5.1.), and to how he operated in order to establish his collection (5.2.). As we will see, Harrach's collecting activities demonstrate many similarities with the collecting practice of many of the great collectors of his day.

5.1. Harrach's Contacts to the Spanish World of Art

As indicated, the serious collecting activities of the Harrach family began with Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach when he was an ambassador in Spain in the 1670s. Our knowledge of this time is based on his diaries, which were already referred to. In these diaries he described in detail his impressions of the cultural life in Madrid, his visits to different pinacotecas and art collections, his contacts with collectors and artists as well as his tours through the *almonedas* in Madrid, where he acquired most of the paintings he gathered in Spain. The diaries resemble art guides of seventeenth-century Madrid and its surrounding. In Madrid, Count Harrach came across a very active cultural scene, especially as regards the promotion of fine arts. With reason the Spanish seventeenth century is called the Golden Age in which the cultural prosperity of the monarchy reached its heyday. »The concentration in Madrid of a leisured elite with money to spend had opened up brilliant opportunities for aspiring artists and men of letters in search of what they needed most – patrons and a public«, Brown and Elliott observed of the cultural

³⁶³ The importance of Harrach as a collector connected to his post as ambassador is mentioned in José Luis Colomer, Introducción: Los senderos cruzados del arte y la diplomacia. In: *Ibidem* (ed.), *Arte y Diplomacia de la Monarquía Hispánica en el siglo XVII*, Madrid 2003, pp. 13-32, here p. 19. Additionally see Johann Kräftner (ed.), *Unter dem Venus. Kunst und Künstler vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert in Neapel und seinem Umfeld aus der Sammlung Harrach. (Anlässlich der Ausstellung im Liechtenstein Museum vom 17. November 2006 bis 19. März 2007, München 2006.*

atmosphere in Madrid in the first half of the seventeenth century.³⁶⁴ Philip IV was an especially avid collector of paintings and excelled in this respect even beyond his famous forbearers.³⁶⁵ His ambassadors at the different European courts were in charge of purchasing paintings, and the acquisition of art objects from abroad became almost a diplomatic matter during his reign.

Inspired by the king's enthusiasm for collecting, many Spanish courtiers followed his example. Moreover, sharing the king's passion for art was like an invisible bond of confidence that could facilitate access to the king. The standards set by the king »through his own impressive efforts as collector, had made the pursuit of paintings fashionable. By example, the king educated the taste of an entire generation of Spanish nobleman«. ³⁶⁶ The collecting-mania of the Spanish aristocracy, indeed reached its high point during the reign of Philip IV, and Madrid developed to become one of the most lively art markets in Europe.³⁶⁷ Thus, in the period Harrach lived in Madrid many Spanish nobles had already established vast collections in their palaces.

Harrach was acquainted with many of the great art collectors in Spain and during his ambassadorial stints he cultivated close personal contacts with them. In the years 1674 and 1675 he was a frequent guest in the house of Francisco de Moura, the third Marquis of Castel Rodrigo. On these occasions, Harrach again and again admired the paintings the Marquis had assembled.³⁶⁸ The Marquis' father, Don

³⁶⁴ Brown – Elliott, A palace for a king, p. 42.

³⁶⁵ Regarding the political significance of the large collection of Philip IV see Fernando Checa Cremades, The Political Significance of Philip IV's Collection of Paintings at the Alcázar Palace in Madrid. In: Klaus Bußmann – Heinz Schilling (eds.), 1648: War and Peace in Europe. Münster/Osnabrück 24.19.1998 – 17.1.1999, vol. II: Art and Culture, Münster 1998, pp. 81-86.

³⁶⁶ Quoted in Brown, Kings & Connoisseurs p. 118.

³⁶⁷ Jonathan Brown, Painting in Spain 1500-1700, New Haven 1998, p. 173.

³⁶⁸ After Harrach had visited Castel Rodrigo for the first time in his sommer palace in February 1674, he noted in his diary. »[...] *er bauet noch stettig an desen hauß und garten, so gar schön zue geruht und mobilirt ist, hat 5 oder 6 zimer nacheinander mit niderländischen tapetereyen undt bilder, [dekoriert sind]. [...] dieser garten undt hauß ligt an dem Rio Mancanares also das in somer er von seinen zimer auß den ganzen passeio sehen kann man sagt der luft sey sehr ungesund alda undt sicht man es an ihme selbst als der alleweil krank undt seindt uber 24 diner aldorten gestorben, seit 3 oder 4 jahr, das er da wohnet.*« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol 133v. On the collection of Castel Rodrigo see José Luis Barrio Moya, Las colecciones de pintura y escultura de Don Francisco de

Manuel de Moura, had already distinguished himself as an art patron. Don Manuel was ambassador to the Holy See and imperial court, and he served as a governor in the Netherlands. During these missions aboard he purchased paintings, mostly on behalf of the king, but also for his own collection. Jonathan Brown and Elliott could reliably prove that it had been Don Manuel who had assembled a series of famous landscape paintings by Roman artists for the royal palace; paintings Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach admired during one of his first visits at the Buen Retiro.³⁶⁹

Harrach evidently enjoyed the company of the elderly Marquis, whose *»conversation sehr lustig undt guet gewest«,*³⁷⁰ as he noted once after a visit. Although Harrach never explicitly mentioned conversations about art and painting with his friend, we can assume that they discussed the works Castel Rodrigo had assembled.³⁷¹ *»The ability of talking in an intellectual way about art was a mark of a person's quality«,* Jonathan Brown emphasised.³⁷² It enabled aristocrats to present themselves as erudite and cosmopolitan connoisseurs. As deputy of the Emperor, Harrach was even more obliged to represent himself as a person with excellent knowledge of the cultural standards of his time. When he met the envoy of Milan, for instance, they first talked about painting for a while, before they switched their conversation to political subjects.³⁷³

Count Harrach was also friends with the Almirante of Castile, the Duke of Medina del Río Seco; another distinguished collector of the seventeenth century.³⁷⁴ His

Moura, tercer Marqués de Castel Rodrigo (1675). In: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando 82 (1996), pp. 295-332.

³⁶⁹ *»[...] seindt viel landschaften von einem mahler von Rohm, so gar guet. Der alte Marques Castel Rodrigo hat sie geschüket, als er pottschafter zu des Urbani 8. zeiten war [...].«* AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6, fols. 195rv. (Entry 8th of June 1674). See Jonathan Brown – J.H. Elliott, *The Marquis of Castel Rodrigo and the Landscape Paintings in the Buen Retiro*. In: *The Burlington Magazine* 129 (1987), pp. 104-107.

³⁷⁰ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6, fol. 133r. (Entry 7th of February 1674).

³⁷¹ In the diary Harrach frequently made references to the collection of Castel Rodrigo, and he also noted his opinion of them. For instance: *»[...] die ubrigen zimer seindt alle mit bildern gezihrt, welhe mir aber nit sonderlich gefallen, undt wollen sie mir eines von Van Deic, undt andere von Rubens gewisen, so hab ich doch daran gezweiflet.«* AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6, fol. 178v. (Entry 7th of May 1674).

³⁷² Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs*, p. 244.

³⁷³ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 312r. (Entry 9th of March 1675).

³⁷⁴ Juan Gaspar Enríquez de Cabrera, sixth duke of Medina del Río Seco (1625-1691) was the tenth Almirante de Castilla.

elaborate collection seemingly left a deep impression on Harrach. The Duke owned a remarkable number of superlative masterpieces by Titian, Tintoretto, Van Dyck, Rubens, Ribera, Breughel, Raphael, Veronese, as well as paintings by different Spanish painters like El Mudo, and Carreño de Miranda.³⁷⁵ »The paintings are so beautiful that one desires to see them again and again«, Harrach noted in his diary.³⁷⁶

Harrach was already knowledgeable in the arts, although his heyday as an active collector and connoisseur had yet to come. Numerous trips abroad and stays at the most important courts in Europe contributed to Harrach's humanistic formation and, as it seem, also to his growing interest in art. Yet the collection of the Almirante exceeded everything Harrach had seen before. In his opinion, the quantity as well as the quality of the paintings assembled by the Almirante surpassed even the collection of the Emperor.³⁷⁷ This was indeed an excellent compliment for the collection of the Almirante, if we remember that the imperial collection included the remarkable collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. More than twenty years later, when Harrach stayed again in Madrid and visited the Almirante of Castile, now the son of the aforementioned Duke, he was still overwhelmed by the beauty and richness of this collection. He hardly could imagine, as he wrote later, that apart from the Spanish king himself, any other prince owned as splendid a collection.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁵ »[...] Nachmittag in das Almirante garten gangen undt sein gemähl gesehen [...] die zimer [hat er] gar woll abgetheilet, eines mit lauter stucken von Titian, ein anderes von Tintoret, eines von Van Dück, eines von Rubens, in welhen 2 pauren stuck mit landtschaft undt kleinen figuren so gar galant, ein anders von Spagnole, so sie hier Don Joseph de Ribera nennen, ein cabinet mit lauter kleinen stucken von Breugl dann andere zimer von unterschiedlichen als Raphael, Paul Veronese Palma undt leczlichen ein zimer von lauter gemahl unterschiedlichen spanischen mahlern, als Mudo, Velasco, Careño undt dergleichen. [...]«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 183r. (Entry: 16th of May 1674)

³⁷⁶ »[...] nachmittag aber mit dem Graf Franzen in des Almirante garten, alwo wir die gemahl undt alles anderes besüchtiget, is alles so schön, das einer sich nit ersättiget es öffter zu sehen [...]«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/2, fol. 68r.

³⁷⁷ »[...] sein gemähl [the paintings of the Almirante] gar schöne seindt, von denen besten meistern undt in grosser menge, also das mich geduncket, des kaysers galleria von dem Erzherzogen Leopoldt gleiche disen nit in der menge der gueten bilder«. Ibidem, fol. 183r.

³⁷⁸ »Ich bin heündt vormittag in des Almirante garten gefahren undt seinen bilder gesehen, so wohl uberauß schön seindt, obwollen der iezige viel in sein hauß genomen undt der vorige vil in ein nonnen kloster, so er gleich darneben fundirt undt gebauet, geben hat, so ist doch noch ein solhe

Besides aristocratic collectors, Harrach also cultivated contacts with artists and painters in Madrid. In the 1670s, he frequently met the royal court painter Carreño de Miranda, who guided Harrach through the royal collection at the Buen Retiro.³⁷⁹ Apparently, the painter also advised Harrach on his acquisitions. During one of their tours through the royal collection, Harrach selected four paintings by Guido Reno and two by Correggio to be copied by his personal painter.³⁸⁰ The inventory of the Harrach collection from 1753 lists three paintings which imitated works of Guido Reno as well as two paintings which copied paintings by Correggio.³⁸¹ It is very likely that the entries in the inventory refer to the paintings Harrach had seen in the royal collection in Spain. At least we can be certain about one painting after Guido Reno, since Harrach's painter, Jakob Habrecht, noted that he had paid 64 reales for a canvas, which he bought in order to copy »die Judith von Guido«. ³⁸² Several further entries in the account book of Count Harrach, as well as the painter's notes of expenses for canvas, colour and other utensils, provide evidence that Jakob Habrecht was in charge of copying paintings by famous painters, like for example Titian's »Venus«, or the »Judgement of Paris« by Veronese.³⁸³

menge von gueten originalien da, das ich nit glaube, das außer des konigs ein anderer Monarqu dergleichen habe. Undt ist auch das hauß so wohl außgetheilt mit saalen groß undt kleinern zimerln, cabineten undt galerien, das nichts schönens kann gesehen werden.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 134, p. 290. (Entry: 8th of July 1697).

³⁷⁹ »[...] nacher hof gangen, die kgl. zimer zu sehen. [...] von gemahlen ist ein solhe menge, absonder aber von Titiano, das nit alles zu beobachten, oder zu merken möglich gewest. [...] der kgl. Camer mahler Careña hat mir alles gezeigt undt herumb geführt.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fols. 177v-178r. (Entry: 3rd of May 1674).

³⁸⁰ »Don Juan Careño kgl. Mahler herumb gefürth, einige stuk außzusuechen, die mein mahler copire, habe 4 von Guidreno [Guido Reni] erwöhlet undt 2 von Coreggio, so klein aber gar guet sein [...]« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 311r. (Entry: 4th of March 1675).

³⁸¹ Inventarium über innen benannte in meinen Gf. Ernst Harrachischen auf der Freyung in Wienn situirten Majorat=hauß befindliche Mobilien, Effecten undt Mahlereyen, welche ich an des ksl. Reichs=hof=Raths=Präsidentens, herrn herrn Ferdinand Bonaventura Gf. von Harrach Excellenz /: P.T. ./ Craft getroffenen hauß Bestand Contract zum gebrauch überlassen habe, here entries Nr. 20, Nr. 21, Nr. 23, Nr. 48 and Nr. 61. AVA Vienna FA Harrach, Carton 775, Konv. Kunst undt Wissenschaft, Gemälde: Inventar der Einrichtung des Palais 1753, sin fol.

³⁸² AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 774, Konv., Habrecht Jakob, Maler, sin fol.

³⁸³ For instance in the year 1675: »Mahlers verzeichnuß, waß er zum abcopiren gekauft hat: Erstlich ein leinwath umb die Venus von Dician zu machen, 23 Reales, mehr vor die Lucrecia von Lucheto, 23 Reales, Vor ein frauen bild mit dem kindl, 8 Reales, mehr eins vor Nuestra Senora de su Soledad zu machen, 8 Real [...]« On June 30 he noted: »Verzeichnus was ich kauft hab: Erstlich ein leinwath umb das stüickl von Leonhart zu copirn, 8 Reales, mehr eins umb ein Pater zu machen, 8 Reales, vor ein stuck von Pusson zu copirn, 18, mehr eins umb unser lieb frau zu copirn, 8 Real [...]« In 1676 he noted: »Verzeichnus was ich kauft hab: Erstlich vor ein stüickh von Dician mit 3 figurn zu

To commission copies of great masterpieces was a frequent practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Studying the vast collection of the Duke of Lerma, Jonathan Brown revealed for instance, that the Duke amassed 1431 paintings in only seven years, including numerous copies of famous masterpieces. Although a copy was »considered as inferior to the original«, Brown argues, it nevertheless was regarded as »a valuable record of an admirable composition or invention« as well.³⁸⁴ Besides, genuine works by renowned contemporary painters or famous masters of the sixteenth century were not easy to acquire, since they were much sought after by collectors in general.

Apart from Carreño de Miranda, Harrach also had personal contact with the Neapolitan painter Luca Giordano, who he encountered when the later stayed in Madrid in the 1690s. Giordano had started his career in the artistic environment of Ribera in Naples and had made his mark as a fresco painter. In Italy, he had worked for many famous aristocratic families.³⁸⁵ In 1690, he was invited to Spain by King Charles II to work on several frescos and paintings for the Royal Palace and the El Escorial.³⁸⁶ Harrach, again in Madrid, availed of the opportunity to meet the painter, whose paintings he already knew from different collections he had seen. At one of their get-togethers Giordano worked on a fresco at the Retiro, which was to represent the Spanish Monarchy and which Harrach considered as one of the best works done by Giordano. Inquiring about the meaning of the motives the painter replied that they were »hieroglyphs« and that he could not talk too much about their meaning, since not everybody would be pleased about it.³⁸⁷

copirn leinwath, 24 Reales, mehr vor eins von Paulo Verones das Urtheil von Pares, 24 Reales [...]«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 774, Konv., Habrecht Jakob, Maler, sin fol. See additionally the entries in the account book of Ferdinand Bonaventura, where he noted for instance: »Para una copia dela Virgen 97 reales«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 2979, Konv. Madrid Rechnungen 1675/76, sin fol.

³⁸⁴ Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs*, p. 111.

³⁸⁵ Fernando Checa Cremades (ed.), *Velázquez, Bernini, Luca Giordano. Le corti del barocco*, Milan, 2004.

³⁸⁶ Manuela Mena Marqués, *El napolitano Luca Giordano en El Escorial*. In: Mario di Giampaolo (ed.), *Los frescos italianos de El Escorial*, Madrid 1993, pp. 203-214; Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Luca Giordano y España*, Madrid 2002.

³⁸⁷ »Ich bin heüdt frühe in den retiro gefahren, den brüembten mahler von Napoles Lucas Jordan mahlen zu sehen. Er war in einen saal welhen der konig bauen lassen undt den er mit dem gewölb

Harrach apparently had followed the artistic development of Giordano over the years, and from the entries in his diaries it becomes clear that he preferred the painter's earlier period.³⁸⁸ After many years as an active collector, Harrach was beyond doubt experienced, and had acquired artistic competence and knowledge. Reading his diaries from the 1670s makes one believe that he had absorbed the cultural fruits of the Spanish capital and that this period was a time of development by following the example of sophisticated aristocrats in Spain. Twenty years later, he represented himself as a self-confident and learned connoisseur who observed the art objects and trends he encountered in Spain more critically. For Harrach the fact that Giordano's new style of painting enjoyed such popularity in Spain demonstrated ignorance and a lack of knowledge about painting, as he noted in his diary:

»Mich bedunkt er [= Giordano] erkenne das man dahier die mahlerey undt deren kunst wenig verstehet, das man die frischen farben und die geschwindigkeit estimirt und daheroylet er mit seinem mahlen und verfartiget keines recht.«³⁸⁹

*undt halben theil der mauer fartig hat es sehr wohl undt schon in fresco alles gemahlen das gewölb representirt die Monarquía in ihren trohn mit einen löcain undt trahen sambt allerley reichtumer undt schaz zu ihren fuessen undt auf der seüten unterschiedliche sclaven in der mitten ist die sphaea mit denen sternern undt weüetter seindt in einen grupo alle die konigreiche, iede mit ihrem coses d'armes angekleidt, so gar inen gueten efect machet. Mir hat alles sehr wohl gefallen, undt gedünket mich es seye das beste was ich noch von ihme gesehen habe, er glaubt aber, das die stüegen so er im Esurial gemahlet, disen gleiche wo nit ubertrefe. Diese mahlerey ist hieroglyphen sagte aber, das er nit sagen darfe, was alles bedeüete, dann die explication nit allen gefallen wurde.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 134, p. 501. (Entry: 1st of December 1697). As regards the representation of power see Fernando Checa Cremades, *Imágenes para el fin de una dinastía: Carlos II en El Escorial*. In: *Ibidem* (ed.), *Arte barroco e ideal clásico: Aspectos del arte cortesano de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII*, Madrid 2004 pp. 69-87; Brown – Elliott, *A palace for a king*.*

³⁸⁸ »[...] *Im zurückfahren bin ich in die kkirchen de las religiosas de San Jago gegangen, so ney undt sehr wohl gebauet ist, [...] das altar blat ist von Jordan, hat mich aber gar nit contentirt undt gefallet mir seine alte manier zu mahlen besser alß die neye, wie dann in des Almirante garten stük seindt, die man nit vor ihme hielte, wann nit sein name darbey stundte, undt mann es wuste [...].« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 134, p. 291. (Entry: 9th of July 1697). See therefore also the discussion Harrach and Giordanos' former patron in Naples had: »[...] *bin ich zu dem Conde de San Issevan [Count de Santisteban del Puerto] gefahren, der ein ney gebautes undt mit bildern wohl mobilirtes hauß hat, die meisten bilder seindt von dem Jordan, der vor ihme gemahlen als er vyrey de Napoles gewesen undt glaubt, das die mahlerey besser seye, als er es ietzt mahet [...].« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 134, p. 381. (Entry: 18th of August 1697).**

³⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 292. (Entry: 9th of July 1697).

Numerous other examples could be given that illustrate the great interest Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach had in painting and it becomes all too understandable that the flourishing world of art in Madrid reinforced Harrach's desire to establish his own gallery of paintings and to distinguish himself as a collector as well. In addition, Harrach had established a network in Madrid, which included many of the great collectors and connoisseurs of fine art that time. As will be demonstrated, these contacts became quite useful with regard to the purchase of paintings. Admittedly, Harrach had previously shown some interest in buying paintings. In 1670 an art collection was placed on sale in Vienna, where paintings by Rubens, Van Dyck, Tintoretto, Breughel, Veronese, Titian and many others were offered. In the archive of the Harrach family a catalogue of this auction survives, which most probably belonged to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach.³⁹⁰ However, no evidence exists that would point to purchases at this auction in Vienna. Harrach's journey to Spain in 1674 clearly marks a turning point. In the following years he was in a constant hunt for paintings.³⁹¹

5.2. Acquisitions of Paintings in Madrid

Shifting our attention to the paintings which Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach collected, it is difficult to gauge the exact extent of his acquisitions, since the available inventories date from later periods. The earliest surviving inventory of the collection dates from the year 1753 and was compiled by Count Ernst Guido Harrach, a great grandson of Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach.³⁹² Count Ernst Guido,

³⁹⁰ *Catalogus von unterschiedlichen Rarem, kunstlichen und von den besten Meistern verfertigten Gemälden, alle Original Stuk, welche auß einem Glucks=Hafen den 21. April 1670 sollen in der ksl. Residentz=Statt Wienn bey Alexander Hartung außgehoben werden, mit zulassung ihrer röm. ksl. Mt. und angesetzten hochansehnlichen herren Commißarien.* AVA Vienna FA Harrach, Carton 775, Konv. Kunst und Wissenschaft, Gemälde: Inventar der Einrichtung des Palais 1753, sin fol.

³⁹¹ A painting by Van Harp »*Ein stüchl klein, wie ein soldat mit der bäuerin buldt*«, was acquired by Ferdinand Bonaventura probably around 1668. Cited in Günther Heinz, *Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna 1960, p. 39.

³⁹² AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 775 (Inventarium über innen benannte in meinen Gf. Ernst Harrachischen auf der Freyung in Wienn situirten Majorat=hauß befindliche Mobilien, Effecten und Mahlereyen, welche ich an des ksl. Reichs=hof=Raths=Präsidentens, herrn herrn Ferdinand

an ambitious collector as well, had inherited the collection from his grandfather Aloys Thomas Raimund Harrach. In 1753, when Ernst Guido rented the family palace at the Freyung in Vienna, where the collection was originally located, he prepared an inventory of all the commodities at the palace, including all the paintings collected by himself as well as his forbearers. Another inventory of the collection dates from 1889, and in the twentieth century two catalogues of the collection were established, each depicting the present state of the collection.³⁹³

Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach apparently had compiled inventories of his purchases as well (*»Mein Gemäll«* and *»Specification über die Mallerey«*), yet despite thorough research in the family archive, these inventories could not be found among Harrach's documents.³⁹⁴ Reconstructing Harrach's collection proved to be difficult also because entries in Harrach's account book, though pointing to acquisitions of paintings, mostly do not specify the works purchased, but instead merely record the price Harrach had paid for paintings.³⁹⁵ Nonetheless, by means of other sources, like correspondence and the aforementioned diaries, it was possible to reconstruct his collection at least to some extent. What is even more important in the context of this study is how the detailed annotations in Harrach's diaries amplify our knowledge of his collecting practice. Thus in some parts we know how he proceeded in order to establish his collection. Apart from the aforementioned copies produced by his painter, Harrach established his collection by means of three major sources: Firstly, paintings obtained as gifts from friends and acquaintances;

Bonaventura Gf. von Harrach Excellenz /: P.T. ./ Craft getroffenen hauß Bestand Contract zum gebrauch überlassen habe).

³⁹³ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 53. Hermann Ritschl, Katalog der erlaucht gräflich Harrach'schen Gemälde=Galerie in Wien. I., Freyung 3, Vienna 1926; Heinz, Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie.

³⁹⁴ The inventories are quoted in the catalogue compiled by Günther Heinz. However, Heinz did not know the original inventories, but he possessed a handwritten transcription of them, which the former director of the gallery Dr. Dernjač had made. Heinz, Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie.

³⁹⁵ See for instance the list of the expenses in October 1675. Several entries refer to the purchase of paintings. *»[...] den 4. umb fünf stückh mahlerey so auß gnädigen befelch vom stallmaister gekhaufft worden, bezahlt 420 Reales. [...] den 11 umb ein klein stückh mahlerey mit einen eben holtz rahmb behalt aus gnd. Befelch 517 Reales. Den 12. umb ein stückh mahlerey auß gnd. Befelch bezahglt 48 Reales. [...].«* AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 355 (Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, Finanzielles 1673-1680), sin fol.

secondly, paintings purchased in an *almoneda* in Madrid; and thirdly, the paintings acquired via art agents.

We begin with a brief look at the paintings Harrach received as gifts. In 1676 the envoy of Lorraine presented Harrach with an altarpiece by José de Ribera, which he received in exchange for his services. During his role in the embassy in the 1670s, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach supported Lorraine's political interests at the Spanish court, and this piece was intended to express the duchy's gratitude.³⁹⁶ Originally, this painting belonged to the former Viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Aragón, who brought the painting to Spain in 1672 and from whom the envoy of Lorraine eventually bought the painting.³⁹⁷ Harrach too was acquainted with Don Pedro de Aragón and in 1676 and 1677 they frequently met. The inventory of the collection from the year 1889 records nine paintings by Ribera. Apart from the altarpiece, however, only one further painting by the master can be linked with certainty to Harrach's acquisitions.³⁹⁸ Harrach also received paintings from his maternal uncle, the Duke Giulio Cesare Gonzaga, who left Harrach four paintings by the French battle painter Jacques Curtois.³⁹⁹ Prince Johann Adam Liechtenstein also presented Harrach a painting on one occasion.⁴⁰⁰ Additionally, in August 1677, when Harrach returned to Austria, he received a farewell present from Charles II of Spain, who gave Harrach a portrait of King Philip IV and one of Queen Mariana, both

³⁹⁶ »Den 10. Juni [1676] schenkt mir die Lothringische Nation, die ich hier protegirt, ein Bildt: Unser Frauen Himmelfart, Original von Guiseppe Ribera oder Spagnoletto, welche sie um 40 Doppien gekauft«, noted Harrach in his account book. Quoted in Heinz, Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie, p. 100.

³⁹⁷ Kräftner, Unter dem Vesuv, pp. 64-65.

³⁹⁸ »Den dito [30th of April 1676] ein anderes bildt kauft Sankt Joseph von Jusepe Rivera 3 Dobles 15 R.« Quoted in Heinz, Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie, p. 62.

³⁹⁹ »Vormittag haben wir endtlich die brief von der italianischen post bekommen, unter welchen einer von dem Conte Camillo Gonzaga meinem vettern war, in welchem er mir die nachricht gibt, das mein tio, Conte Giulio Cesare Gonzaga ihme zum erben eingesezt, mir aber zur gedechtnuß ein sülberes rauchfaß mit aller zuegehör undt 4 bilder von Borgognone [=Jacques Curtois] verschafft, welhe er nacher Wien geschükt hat.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/2, fol. 228r. (Entry: 8th of February 1677).

⁴⁰⁰ »[...] wir seindt in des Cardinal großen wagen zu dem Marco Ant. Francischino mahler gefahren, dieser arbeit gar vil vor den Fürsten Adam von Lichtenstein undt hat das bildt »Die Carita« mit wasserfarben gemahlet, welches der Fürst mir geschenckt hat, undt in meiner galeria hencket, er mahlt aniezo ein altar bildt La Morte di San Pietro Celestino, so gar schön ist. [...]«. (Entry: Bologna 16th of April 1697). AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 134, fol. 135r.

painted by Carreño de Miranda.⁴⁰¹ It was very common for ambassadors to receive portraits of the rulers at whose court they were resident, as acknowledgment of their services. Harrach's father-in-law, Count Johann Maximilian Lamberg, also owned portraits of members of the Spanish royal family. An inventory of the family's holdings in Castle Lamberg in Steyr, compiled two years after Johann Maximilian's death, records numerous portraits of European rulers, including also a portraits of Philip IV of Spain and one of Queen Mariana as well as one of Infanta Maria Teresia, later the wife of Louis XIV.⁴⁰² We can assume that, like Harrach, Lamberg also received portraits from the Spanish King as a gift when he left Spain. In any case, these examples point to the prestige painting gained in the course of the seventeenth century and that they were greatly appreciated in aristocratic circles.

Besides the royal portraits Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach received as gifts, he acquired a portrait of Philip II and one of Isabella de Valois, both painted by Alonso Sánchez Coello.⁴⁰³ The catalogue from the year 1889 records three additional royal portraits, a portrait of Infanta Maria Anna, later the wife of Emperor Ferdinand III, and a portrait of her brother Philip IV. These works are listed without any indication of the painter involved in their production. The third was a portrait of a Spanish prince wearing a cardinal's habit, which today is identified as a portrait of the Cardinal-Infant, painted by Velázquez.⁴⁰⁴ Harrach acquired another painting by

⁴⁰¹ »[...] *Des konigs mahler Juan Careño hat mir beeder ihro kgl. Mtt. Contrafe geschickt, welche sie ihme vor mich anbefohlen [...].*« (Entry: Mandes, 4th of August 1677). AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/2, fol. 359r. See also the entries in the inventory from the year 1889. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 53, Nr. 292, p. 129-130 (Philipp IV. König von Spanien im Ornate des goldenen Vließ); Nr. 318, p. 140 (Bildniß der Donna Maria Anna de Austria zweiten Gemahlin des Kgs. Philipp IV. von Spanien).

⁴⁰² OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 401, Fasz. 696, Nr. 15 (Verzeichnis der im Gartenhaus im Hofgarten befindlichen Mobilien 1684).

⁴⁰³ »*Memoria de lo que han costada las pinturas siguientes, los dos retrados de Alonso Sánchez.*« quoted in Ritschl, Katalog, 119. The portraits are also mentioned in the catalogue from the year 1889, Hs 53, Nr. 307, p. 136 and Nr. 329, pp. 145-146. This catalogue includes two further royal portraits, one of Infanta Doña Maria, sister of Philip IV (Nr. 302, p. 133) and the other is a portrait of Philip IV (Nr. 309, p. 137).

⁴⁰⁴ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs. 53, Nr. 306, p. 135. See also Ritschl, Katalog, p. 119.

Velázquez, a portrait of an unknown man.⁴⁰⁵ Today, both masterpieces by this great painter are no longer in the collection.

The second and by far the most important source for acquiring paintings was the *almoneda*, a sort of public auction where the legacy of nobles was sold.⁴⁰⁶ It was a common practice in Spain that the collections of nobles, including whole libraries, furniture, other commodities and art objects, were placed on sale after the owners' death, especially when the family was in debt or in order to pay off the debts of the deceased. Also, the imperial ambassador Hans Khevenhüller, who died in Madrid in 1606, instructed by will that all his belongings, including the many paintings he had assembled in his house and which were all authentic works and of high value, should be sold »according to the Spanish custom per *almoneda*«. ⁴⁰⁷ Only two paintings by Tintoretto he bequeathed to Emperor Rudolf II.⁴⁰⁸ Thus, the *almonedas* were the ideal place to acquire paintings of high value and most of the time also at an acceptable price. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach regularly frequented the *almonedas* of fellow aristocrats; sometimes he went there daily in order to compare

⁴⁰⁵ »Conterfait, Bruststück von einem Mann im grauen Wams mit dunklen Ermeln, kleinen Überschlag mit Spitzen von Velasca«. Ritschl, Katalog der erlaucht gräflich Harrach'schen Gemälde=Galerie, p. 129-130. Although the spelling of the painters' name is somewhat irritating, the art historian Carl Justi too ascribed the painting to Velázquez. Justi recognised a similarity in style and manner of painting between the portrait and a portrait of the Duke of Wellington, the latter of which was attributed to Velázquez with certainty. Carl Justi, *Diego Velázquez und sein Jahrhundert*, vol. II, Bonn 1923, p. 260.

⁴⁰⁶ Probably one of the best known examples in history of a large-scale sale was the Whitehall or Commonwealth sale in the middle years of the seventeenth century, where the collection of Charles I of England was sold after his execution, most tellingly described by Brown and Elliott as the Sale of the Century. Brown – Elliott, *La Almoneda del Siglo*. On Spain's art market see recently María Jesús Muñoz González, *El mercado español de pinturas en el siglo XVII*, Madrid 2008.

⁴⁰⁷ »[...] da aber zue fürderlicher entrichtung und bezalung meiner schulden und legata, so in meinem testament und diesem codicil begriffen, nit sobald geld zue bekommen were, [...] ist mein farnuß außser des silbergeschir, so ich hab, und darmit in meinem testament auf ander weg disponiert, und auch vinculiert worden, per almoneda spanischem brauch nach, ordenlich, sauber und treulich verkauft werde [...].« Testament Hans Khevenhüllers, errichtet zu Valladolid am 12. August 1605, published in Georg Khevenhüller-Metsch (ed.), *Hans Khevenhüller kaiserlicher Botschafter bei Philipp II. Geheimes Tagebuch 1548-1605*, Graz 1971, pp. 321-326. The inventory of the auction, held in Madrid on the 2nd of November 1607, is located in the family archive in Vienna. It includes also the price of each single item, as well as the names of the persons who bought it. HHStA Vienna, FA Khevenhüller, Carton 219.

⁴⁰⁸ HHStA Vienna, OMeA, SR 367 Varia, Nr. 7 (1606 Memoriale von Barlmä und Augustin Khevenhüller, die testamentarische Schenkung zweier Bilder von Tintoretto an den Kaiser betreffend), fols. 28r-29v. Also Khevenhüller-Metsch, *Geheimes Tagebuch*, p. 324.

prices, or simply to enjoy the atmosphere. Beyond doubt, he met like-minded people there, with whom he could share his passion for paintings. Moreover, the *almonedas* were surely places where connoisseurship was exercised and elaborated, or as Brian Cowan put it, they were »arenas of connoisseurship«.⁴⁰⁹

Included in the Spanish artworks Harrach purchased at one of these auctions were two still-life paintings by Francisco de Palacio, a pupil of Velázquez,⁴¹⁰ a painting of Sancta Catherina of Córdoba by Juan de Alfaro y Gómez,⁴¹¹ and a painting of Sancta Magdalena by Juan Fernandez Navarrete, known as »El Mudo«.⁴¹² In addition, three paintings by José de Ledesma belong to the collection of the family, and all were probably purchased by Ferdinand Bonaventura.⁴¹³ During his last stay in Spain he acquired a painting by El Greco (»*Saint Francisco*«), and one by Alonso Cano (»*Sancta Dorothea*«) both purchased, according to an entry in his account book, in the year 1697.⁴¹⁴ The latter was a pupil of the famous Sevillian painter and art theorist Francisco Pacheco.⁴¹⁵

Another Spanish painter represented in the collection is Bartolomé Estebán Murillo. The inventory from the year 1889 records two paintings, one entitled »*Lentil dish*«, and the other »*Christ at the Cruz*«.⁴¹⁶ In August 1677 Harrach travelled

⁴⁰⁹ Brian Cowan, *Arenas of Connoisseurship: Auctioning Art in Late Stuart England*. In: Michael North – David Ormrod (eds.) *Art Markets in Europe 1400-1800*, Aldershot 1998, pp. 153-166.

⁴¹⁰ »*Zwei bilder auf leinwand von obst, brot, confect und krug von Francisco de Palacios, beide umb 2 Dobles [gekauft]*«. Quoted in Heinz, *Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie* pp. 55-56.

⁴¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 11. See also AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 53, Nr. 340, p. 150.

⁴¹² »*Ein bildt, die hl. Magdalena auf holz gemahlen, schaut mit dem kopf in den himmel und schließt die arme unter dem knie. Rechter hand eine landschaft, rechts ein totenkopf und buch von dem Mudo, spanischen mahler, hoch 3 schuch 11 zoll, breit 2 schuch 10 zoll.*« Quoted in Ritschl, *Katalog*, p. 104.

⁴¹³ »*Nuestro Señor en el sepulco, algunos angeles mayores y menores a entrambos, la dos amor algunos flores y todo en un tapiz de Joseph de Ledesma, de alto 2 pies, 1 zoll, de ancho 2 pies, a 350 Reales de Vellon a 60 Real de Doblón 5 dobl. 50 Reales*«. Note from Ferdinand Bonaventura (s.d.). Quoted in *Ibidem*, p. 132.

⁴¹⁴ »[...] *den 19. Juli ein bildt von Griego den heiligen Francisco gekauft, bezahlt 6 dobl. [...]den 19. August ein bildt die hl. Dorothea von Cano gekauft 5 doblen.*« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 774, Konv. Velázquez, sin fol.

⁴¹⁵ On Pacheco see Enrique Valdivieso, *Francisco Pacheco*, Seville 1990.

⁴¹⁶ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach Hs 53, Nr. 270, p. 120 (Esau verkauft sein Erstgeburtsrecht an Jacob um das Linsengericht); Nr. 337, p. 149 (Christus am Kreuz).

to Seville where he first learned about the painter and his paintings.⁴¹⁷ It is quite possible that Ferdinand Bonaventura met Murillo personally in Seville, and that he bought a painting at the artist's studio, although he did not mention an encounter with the painter in his diary. As regards the painting entitled »Lentil dish«, Charles Berwick Curtis suggested that it originally belonged to Count Thurn, who had acquired it in Naples, and that it came into the possession of the Harrach family only later.⁴¹⁸ However, there is some evidence to suggest that Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach owned at least one painting by Murillo. It concerns a painting of a woman for which Harrach commissioned a picture frame.⁴¹⁹ Today, none of Murillo's paintings belong to the collection.

A painting by another famous Sevillian painter can be linked firmly to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach purchases. In September 1676 Harrach noted that he had paid six dobles for the painting »Assumption of Mary« by Juan de Valdés Leal.⁴²⁰ The inventory from 1889 also includes a number of paintings which are not attributed to a particular painter but merely listed under the category »Spanische Schule« (Spanish School of Painting).⁴²¹

Harrach's interest was by no means limited to Spanish painters, or to painters he knew personally. Besides the copies his painter made from paintings of known Italian masters of the sixteenth century, Harrach endeavoured to gather authentic works by Italian and Flemish painters whenever an occasion arose. Soon after his arrival in Madrid he visited the *almoneda* of the ambassador of Lucca, where he was

⁴¹⁷ »[...] wir haben auch auch das kloster besichtigt, so zwey schöne große claustra hat, [...] in einen kleinen gang haben sie mir gewisse bilder von einen maller Morillo genannt gezeigt, so noch hier lebet undt seindt gar guet [...]«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/2, fol. 375v. (Entry: Seville 22nd of August 1677).

⁴¹⁸ Charles Berwick Curtis, Velázquez and Murillo. A descriptive and historical catalogue of the works of Don Diego de Silva Velázquez and Bartolome Esteban Murillo, London 1883, p. 286.

⁴¹⁹ »Rechnung vom 27. Mai 1705: Verzeichnus, was der Tischler vor die trei Rammen begeret: Erstlich vor die große zu dem Frauenbildt von Morillo 2 fl. 30 kr., zu dem Stuck von Basano 1 fl. 15 kr.; vor die kleine Venus von Honig ebenso 1 fl. 30 kr.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 3801, sin fol.

⁴²⁰ »Den 27. September [1676] kaufe ich ein Himelfarth unser Frauen mit denen Aposteln und vielen Engeln umb 6 Doblen ist hoch 1 schuch 7 zoll, braidt 1 schuch 1 zoll«. Quoted in Heinz, Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie, p. 78.

⁴²¹ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach Hs 53, Nr. Nr. 308, p. 136 (Kopf eines alten, bärtigen Mannes mit einer Pelzmütze); Nr. 301, p. 133 (Kopf eines alten, bärtigen Mannes mit weisem Haar und Bart); Nr. 161, p. 73 (Der heilige Nicolaus als Bischof in vollem Ornat).

interested in a painting by the early sixteenth-century Florentine painter Andrea del Sarto, as well as in three paintings by Titian. However, he was not entirely sure as to whether they would agree on a price.⁴²² A painting by del Sarto as well as one painting by Titian are recorded in the inventory of the collection and they are with utmost probability the paintings Harrach was interested in at the indicated *almoneda*. Additionally, in the *almoneda* of the Marques of Aguilar, which took place in June 1676, he acquired the painting »*The Good Samaritan*« by Giordano.⁴²³ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the collection included ten paintings by the Neapolitan master. Besides the aforementioned painting Ferdinand Bonaventura had bought in Madrid, in the case of four paintings we have reliable evidence that they were collected by Harrach's son Aloys Thomas Raimund, who acquired them in Naples.⁴²⁴ The remaining five could have been added to the collection later on also.

Harrach also gathered some Flemish masterpieces; among them a work by Van Dyck,⁴²⁵ one attributed to the studio of Cranach,⁴²⁶ and two genre paintings by David Teniers the Younger.⁴²⁷ The latter became famous through the brilliant gallery paintings of the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, in whose service Teniers was during the 1640s.⁴²⁸ Also, Ferdinand Bonaventura acquired a copy which dates

⁴²² »[...] auf den abendt naher Atocha undt habe des Luches Pottschafter (lucceischer Botschafter) almoneda gesehen, so ausser etlicher bilder nichts rechts hat. Ich hab befohlen um 4 zu handeln, als eines von Andrea del Sarto, undt 3 von Titian, waiß nit ob wir unß vergleichen werden [...]« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fols. 151v-152r. As to the paintings see AVA Vienna, Hs 53, Nr. 125, p. 56 and Nr. 330, p. 146.

⁴²³ Ritschl, Katalog, pp. 105-106.

⁴²⁴ Kräftner, Unter dem Vesuv.

⁴²⁵ Annotation from Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach: »*Ein kopf original von van Deik 10 ½ breit 12 ½ hoch auf leinwath*« Quoted in Heinz, Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie, p. 30.

⁴²⁶ Annotation from Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach: »*Die Herdiodes von Lucas Granich Original [gekauft]*« Ibidem, p. 29.

⁴²⁷ Ritschl, Katalog, pp. 17-18.

⁴²⁸ On the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm see Jozef Mertens – Franz Aumann (eds.), *Krijg en Kunst. Leopold Willem (1614-1662), Habsburger, Landvood en Kunstverzamelaar*, Alden Biesen 2003; Karl Schütz, *The Collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm*. In: Bußmann – Schilling (eds.), *1648: War and Peace in Europe*, vol. II, pp. 181-190. On Teniers see Jane P. Davidson, *David Teniers the Younger*, London 1980 and recently the catalogue to the exhibition on Teniers in London, Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen – Margret Klinge (eds.), *David Teniers and the Theatre of Painting (Exhibition at the Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London 19. October 2006 – 21. January 2007)*, London 2006.

from 1656.⁴²⁹ Six further paintings by Teniers himself are mentioned in the inventory. Today only the copy of the archducal collection still is located in the collection in Rohrau.⁴³⁰ Harrach also owned the painting series »*The five senses*« by the Flemish painter Hendrik Martensz Sorgh, a pupil of Teniers, which he acquired in the *almoneda* of Don Juan Gonzalez in 1674.⁴³¹ Besides the aforementioned paintings, he purchased a further fifteenth paintings at this auction.⁴³² Another record refers to the acquisition of a painting which depicts a »*Dutch funfair*« (Holländische Kirmes) and which today is attributed to the painter David Vinckboons.⁴³³ Thus, in the case of the Harrach collection a transfer of Flemish art partly took place via Madrid. One of the most precious paintings in the collection is »*The Three Girl-musicians*« by an anonymous Flemish painter in the late sixteenth century, today known as the Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The painting depicts three Lady Musicians in a courtly environment, singing a song that could be identified as a poem by the French court poet Clement Marot (1496-1544).⁴³⁴ The painting was purchased in Madrid in 1697.⁴³⁵ Today it is one of the prizes of the

⁴²⁹ AVA Vienna FA Harrach, Hs 53, Nr. 61: *Die Erzherzogliche Kunst Camer in klein von Teniers.*

⁴³⁰ Ibidem, Nr. 37, 38, 53, 54, 55, and 56.

⁴³¹ »*Den 1. October kaufe ich aus vorbemelpter almoneda 5 kleine figuren, die fünf sünne bedeuten, sollen von dem van Bozi sein, 125 Reales eines in ebenhoczener ram. Hoch 6 zoll, braidt 5 zoll.*«. Quoted in Heinz, p. 72. Heinz mistakenly dates the *almoneda* to 1694, which he apparently has taken from Ritschl (p. 13). Harrach, however, did not live in Madrid then, nor was the *almoneda* held at that time. The correct year was 1674.

⁴³² »[...] *nach mittag aber in die Almoneda des Don Joseph Gonzales gefahren, alwo sie die bilder umb die halbe taxa gelassen, habe 15 stuk außgesuecht, so mich wolfeill gedunkt.*«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6, fol. 240r. (Entry: 27th of September 1674). On earlier visits to this *almoneda* see Ibidem, fols. 224v-225r.

⁴³³ »*Ein hollandische Kürchmess auf kupfer gemahlen, von unbekandter handt.*«. Annotation from Ferdinand Bonaventura, quoted in Heinz, Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemädegalerie, p. 81.

⁴³⁴ See therefore the following passage in Clement Marot, Les Oeuvres de Clement Marot, Lyon 1597, p. 405 (Chanson III: »*L'Adolescence*«), which corresponds with the poem depicted in the painting: »*Joissance vous donneray / mon ami, et si vous menneray / La ou pretend vostre esperance / Vivante ne vours laisseray / encores quant mort seray / sy vous auray en souvenance.*«. The music apparently is an early sixteenth century chanson by Claudin de Sermisy. See H. Colin Slim, Paintings of Lady Concerts and the Transmission of »*Jouissance vous donneray*«. In: *Imago Musicae* (1) 1984, pp. 51-64, here p. 51.

⁴³⁵ The description in his diary is slightly different, but it refers clearly to the mentioned painting »[...] *nachmittag habe ich eine almoneda in meiner gassen besichtigt undt ein bildt von 4 kündern, deren eines auf den instrument schlägt, gekauft.*«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 134, p. 457. (Entry: 14th September 1697).

collection and is often quoted in the context of the collection's sumptuous masterpieces.

As regards the themes of the paintings collected by Ferdinand Bonaventura, the inspirations range from genre paintings to religious to mythological images. It is striking that he also gathered quite a number of paintings that represent historical battle scenes, mostly painted by Flemish painters. The genre of battle paintings predominated in the Netherlands and had its heyday in the first half of the seventeenth century. Apart from Philip IV, who used the representation of warlike scenes to »glorify the war politics of the Monarchy«, the Spanish aristocracy showed little interest in this genre.⁴³⁶ According to Karin Hellwig this could be one of the reasons why in Spain the genre was taken up only by a small number of painters. The famous Spanish art theorist Antonio Palomino mentioned in his work *El Museo Pictórico y Escala óptica* only Juan de la Corte (app. 1597-1660), Estebán March (1610-1668) and Juan de Toledo (1611-1665) as »*pintores de batallas*«. ⁴³⁷ The latter is also represented in the collection of Ferdinand Bonaventura with a painting that illustrates a battle during the Thirty Years' War.⁴³⁸

Alongside the aforementioned paintings by Juan de Toledo and the five paintings by the French painter Courtois which he had received from his uncle and which depict scenes from the Ottoman war, Harrach owned the painting »*Siege of Valenza del Po (1635)*« by Pieter Snayers, which he bought in the *almoneda* of the Duke of Peñaranda in February 1677.⁴³⁹ The picture depicts one of the great Spanish victories during the Thirty Years' War. Today the painting belongs to the German Historical Museum in Berlin.⁴⁴⁰ It can be assumed that Harrach was familiar with the

⁴³⁶ Karin Hellwig, *Art Politics, Art Production and Artists' Daily Lives at the Time of the Thirty Years' War in Spain*. In: Bußmann – Schilling (eds.), 1648: *War and Peace in Europe*, vol. II, pp. 87-94, here p. 88.

⁴³⁷ Ibidem, p. 90. On Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco see Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain 1500-1700*, Yale 1998, pp. 250-251.

⁴³⁸ Ritschl, *Katalog*, p. 112.

⁴³⁹ »[...] vormittag bin ich mit dem Gf. von Trautson in des Peñaranda almoneda gefahre, ich habe ein bild die belagerung Valenciens von Shneyers 13 Teller und 5 Reales gekauft, er aber gar nüchts [...]« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/2, fol. 235v. (Entry: 23rd of February 1677)

⁴⁴⁰ The painting must have been sold before 1889 since the inventory from this year does not mention it, whereas other battle paintings by Snayers are listed.

paintings by Snayers from the imperial collection, which included several paintings by this master that illustrate the imperial and Spanish victories during the Thirty Years' War.⁴⁴¹ Five further paintings of battle scenes by Snayers were added to the collection of Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach in the course of the marriage of his daughter Rosa Angela Harrach and Count Emanuel Bucquoy de Longueval. Originally, the paintings belonged to a relative of the groom, the military leader Count Karl Bonaventura Bucquoy de Longueval, who is illustrated in three of the mentioned paintings.⁴⁴² Altogether Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach owned more than a dozen of paintings of this genre, among them also works by Cornelis de Waels,⁴⁴³ Jan Ossenbeeck⁴⁴⁴ and Willem von Herp. Whether Harrach pursued a particular strategy or whether he was simply interested in gathering pictures by renowned painters regardless of their topic is difficult to evaluate. It has to be mentioned, however, that this genre represents only a small sector of the collection. In fact, most of the paintings of the collection have religious and mythological themes.

In reconstructing the collecting practice of Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach it becomes evident that Harrach belonged to a network of collectors; a circle in which information about paintings for sale, as well as artworks more generally available, was circulated. Numerous acquisitions came out of his contacts with collectors from all over Europe. He bought, for instance, four paintings from the Florentine envoy to Madrid.⁴⁴⁵ Another time it was the Venetian ambassador who offered assistance, when Harrach wanted to buy paintings in the *almoneda* of a Venetian banker.

⁴⁴¹ Matthias Pfaffenbichler, The Early Baroque Battle Scene: From the Depiction of Historical Events to Military Genre Painting. In: Bußmann – Schilling (eds.), 1648: War and Peace in Europe, vol. II, pp. 493-500.

⁴⁴² Ritschl, Katalog, pp. 46-47.

⁴⁴³ Notes from Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach: »Den 28. September kaufe ich deren vieren nieder oder holländische stuk, 2 battallen oder marsch, undt 2 meerstuk, eines pro 500 Reales, die vier pro 2000 Reales«, and »4 stuk, eines ein schiffbruch, das andere mit etlichen schiffen, das dritte ein rendesvous und das vierte ein marsch von Cornelio de Waal, [gekauft]«. Quoted in Heinz, Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie, pp. 82-83.

⁴⁴⁴ Ritschl, Katalog, p. 80.

⁴⁴⁵ »[...] Ich hab den florent. Residenten besuecht undt aldorten etlich gemahl gesehen, von denen ich 4 stuck gekauft habe [...]«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 232r. (Entry: 1st of September 1674).

Harrach found the location of the *almoneda* inconvenient as everybody passing the building could watch him, which he noted in his diary. The Venetian ambassador therefore offered to get the paintings to his house, and since he was acquainted with the late banker he also offered to negotiate the price for Harrach.⁴⁴⁶ On another occasion Prince de Bozzolo arranged for the acquisition of a painting for Harrach; one painted by the Prince's court painter Agostino Bonisoli.⁴⁴⁷

As we have seen, Harrach personally purchased most of the paintings during his both ambassadorial stints in Madrid. Yet Harrach, like many other collectors, also employed art dealers. In the seventeenth century, painters increasingly worked as art dealers for their patron. Their professional knowledge of painting and their contacts with other painters made them ideal for this task.⁴⁴⁸ The imperial painter Johann von Spillenberger for instance, frequently offered his services to Prince Liechtenstein.⁴⁴⁹ Contrary to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein spent most of the year away from the court at his country seat in Feldsberg, and therefore depended even more on art dealers in order to augment his collection.⁴⁵⁰ But there is also some evidence to suggest that Ferdinand

⁴⁴⁶ »Ich habe vormittags eines gewissen Barquero Bertani genandt, almoneda sehen wollen, so waren aber die bilder in einen caguan, wo man von allen vorbeygehenden auf der gassen gesehen können werden, bin also gleich wider weggegangen undt dem vened. pottschafter besucht, bey ihme 2 gemahl zu sehen, die er umb 12 dobles gekauft, undt glaubt 100 werth zu sein, dann er eines von dem Caravachio undt das andere von den Guido Reni haltet, welches mich zwar nit gedunkte, habe ihme erzehlet, das ich diese almoneda sehen wollen aber das orth nit comodo darzue were, er sagte gleich seye bekandt, dann dieser verstorbene Bersoni seye ein venediger gewest, er wolle sie in sein hauß bringen lassen, alwo ich sie mit gelegenheit sehen können undt er selber wolle unterhandler sein, damit ich sie wohlfeil bekomme, welche hofflichkeit ich angenommen. [...]« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach Hs 134, p. 466. (Entry: Madrid, September 17th 1697).

⁴⁴⁷ »Das bildt, so mir der Principe di Bozolo verschafft hat, ist in der Länge 2 Schuh 6 Zoll in Höhe 1 Schoh 11 Zoll. Die histori von Laban undt Jacob wie sie unter etlichen baumen undt bey einer steinernen cistern die schaft theilen seyndt 7 figuren undt auf jeder seiten 8 schaft. Vom mahler Bonisol in einer großen vergülten ram«. Quoted in Heinz, Katalog der Graf Harrach'schen Gemäldegalerie, p. 19.

⁴⁴⁸ Brown, Kings & Connoisseurs, p. 232.

⁴⁴⁹ For instance in October 1677, Spillenberger offered Liechtenstein some 60 paintings, including paintings by Spillenberger himself and also paintings by Breughel, Guido Reni, Ossenbeeck, Bussion and many others. Haupt, Von der Leidenschaft zum Schönen. Quellenband, p. 214-243. On the painter see Ruth Baljühr, Johann von Spillenberger (1628-1678) Ein Maler des Barock, Weissenhorn 2003. Other painter-agents in the service of Liechtenstein were the Flemish painter Megan Renier (1637-1696), who lived in Vienna in the 1670s, as well as lesser known painters like Andreas Ruef and Johann Bernhard Weiller. Ibidem, pp. 254-256 and p. 265.

⁴⁵⁰ Therefore Reinhold Baumstark, Traditionsbewußtsein und Kennerschaft. Zur Geschichte der Sammeltätigkeit der Fürsten von Liechtenstein. In: Ibidem, Meisterwerke der Sammlungen der

Bonaventura Harrach made use of art dealers as well. In the context of this study, a letter written from Venice in 1678, by a certain Antonio Saurer, is of particular interest. In this letter Saurer expressed his deepest regrets that he could not be of any help on the acquisition of a particular art object. He ensured Harrach, however, of his further service and he proposed acquiring a different object, emphasising that many valuable artworks were available in Venice.⁴⁵¹ Harrach apparently had contacted Saurer to commission him as an art agent in Venice. The contact with this man is interesting as Saurer was also art agent for several Spanish aristocratic collectors at the same time, such as the Marquis de la Fuente who was ambassador to Venice from 1666 to 1676, and who was a close friend of Harrach. Saurer also worked for the Marquis of Carpio, who ranked together with the Marquis of Leganés as one of the most outstanding collecting personalities in Spain. Fernando Checa Cremades studied the correspondence between the agent in Venice and the Marquis of Carpio and he revealed that Saurer acquired several paintings by Titian and by Tintoretto for the Marquis.⁴⁵² Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, on the other hand, was acquainted with the Marquis of Carpio, whose collection he was familiar with and who he met occasionally in Madrid between 1674 and 1677. Although we have no hard evidence, it seems likely that the contact with Saurer was established by either the Marquis of Carpio or the Marquis del Fuente, or that Harrach heard about the agent when in the presence of these two individuals. Unfortunately no further letters between Saurer and Harrach survive and we have therefore no information as to whether they continued to work together.

Fürsten von Liechtenstein: Gemälde, Zürich-Munich 1980, pp. 7-14. See also Dwight C. Miller, Marcantonio Franceschini and the Liechtensteins. Prince Johann Adam Andreas and the Decoration of the Liechtenstein Garden Palace at Rossau-Vienna, Cambridge 1991.

⁴⁵¹ *»Aunque no tengo la dicha de haver servido a V. Ex. en nada, por genio era sido i soi antiguo serm. de V. Ex. aun en tipo de los Ser. Marqueses de la Fuente viejo y presente y era deseado siempre ocasiones de rezivir las ovras de V. Ex. estimo infinito la que meda el portador destas pues poniendome a sus pies , suplico a V. Ex. le onre y favorezca en lo que ahi se le ofreziere, siendo sugeto que en su profession savra desempeñarse y yo recibire dela mano de V. Ex. toda la merced que le iriere V. E. cuya excelentissima casa guarde dios. Venecia y Nov. 26 de 1678«.* AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 297 (Konv. Antonio Saurer), sin fol.

⁴⁵² Fernando Checa Cremades, El Marqués del Carpio (1629-1687) y la pintura veneciana del Renacimiento. Negociaciones de Antonio Saurer. In: *Anales de Historia del Arte* 14 (2004), pp. 193-212.

Summarising the evolution of the Harrach collection, it can be said that Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach decisively moulded the appearance of the collection. Due to the missing inventories it is not possible, however, to draw any conclusions on the number of paintings Harrach collected. With the existing evidence the number of Ferdinand Bonaventura's acquisitions lies somewhere between fifty and seventy authentic paintings, mostly collected in Spain. Additionally, there are the items copied by his painter, on which we have, however even less information. The number of paintings was augmented remarkably by his son who patronised mostly Neapolitan artists during his tenure as Viceroy in Naples.

Originally, the paintings were installed in the Viennese City Palace at the Freyung near the Hofburg. The exhibition of the assembled artworks served, beyond any doubt, in the first place to impress fellow aristocrats and visitors. Overall, collections of paintings were not established merely to satisfy the personal passion for painting, but also in order to communicate the social prestige of the owner. Similar to the case of cabinets of curiosities or libraries, they demanded an audience in order to fulfil their purpose. Special places, so-called galleries, were created in noble palaces where the paintings could be displayed adequately and most effectively. Whether the collection of Ferdinand Bonaventura made a similar impression on the Austrian aristocrats who visited the Harrach Palace, like the Spanish collection had made on Harrach himself, is however difficult to judge with the present state of knowledge. Also the question as to whether Harrach acted as art agent as well, for instance, on behalf of the Emperor or fellow collectors in Austria, still remains unanswered and demands further research. So far, only a small part of his vast correspondence was analysed. It is unquestioned however that the collection reflects Harrach's close and personal ties to the Spanish world of art and it ranks as one of the greatest testimonies of Spanish culture in Austria today. Although far outpaced in quantity by the collections of collectors in Spain, or the one of his compatriot Prince Liechtenstein, the collection of Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach nonetheless fulfilled its purpose; the display of economic capital linked to cultural and symbolic capital.

6. Exhibiting Knowledge: Spanish Literature in Aristocratic Libraries

»Des Parede Buech ist mir gar lieb gwest. Wann immer mal allda was neues von spanischen büechern zue finden, so sin gran embarazo könne auf der post oder sonsten herausgeschickt werden, so wird es mir allzeit gar lieb sein.«⁴⁵³

Emperor Leopold I

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Johann Basilius Küchelbecker provided the following account on the growing number of public and private libraries in Vienna: »Since nowadays education (*studia*) has increased in significance, high ranking and noble persons realise that the sword alone no longer is sufficient in order to make your fortune in the world and to serve your Lord at court and in war. They therefore attach more importance to the *belles lettres* and *studia*, than they had done in previous epochs. And since they had recognised that Mars and Pallas match very well, they do not consider it as a disgrace to assemble libraries.«⁴⁵⁴

Küchelbecker tellingly explains the motivation that lay behind the increasing interest of the European nobility in establishing private libraries. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries books became increasingly seen as being »collectible objects«.⁴⁵⁵ The establishment of vast libraries was one of the features of the collecting vogue that is so characteristic for early modern noble society. Certainly, the preceding centuries »saw a great increase in the number of private or individual

⁴⁵³ Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna, 1669 December 14, Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, vol. 2, pp. 54-56.

⁴⁵⁴ »Und weil zu diesen Zeiten, da die *studia* auf den höchsten Grad gestiegen, große Herren und vornehme Standes=Personen sehen, daß es heut zu Tage nicht allein mit dem Degen ausgerichtet ist, wenn einer sein Glück in der Welt machen, und großen Herren so wohl bey Hofe als im Kriege dienen will, so appliciren sich dieselben anietzo mehr auf die *belles lettres* und *studia*, als vordiesen. Und weil Dieselben wohl erkennenet, daß Mars und Pallas sich gar wohl zusammen schicken, so haben dieselben sich vor keine Schande gehalten, zu Dero Passe-terms eine Bibliothek anzulegen«. Küchelbecker, *Allerneuesten Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hofe*, p. 688.

⁴⁵⁵ Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, p. 3.

collectors of books«. ⁴⁵⁶ In the fifteenth century, humanists and individual noble families, like the Medicis or the Dukes of Este in Italy had already assembled remarkable libraries in their palaces. Nevertheless, as a consequence of profound changes in noble values and the emergences of the ideals of the humanistic educated nobles, serious preoccupation with books and literary culture gained increasing in importance in noble society in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Prince Liechtenstein ordered for instance that his son should occupy himself with »useful things«, and he recommended the »reading of scientific and historical books as well as books about art and politics. Above all, works by ecclesiastical writers should be read, since their life and conduct can serve as model for a godly life«. ⁴⁵⁷

As »repositories of knowledge«, as Marjorie Swann has put it, books were the objects par excellence for demonstrating erudition. Similar to the case of collections of painting or chambers of curiosities, the ownership of libraries was part of the program of early modern aristocratic self-representation, in which the display of cultural superiority allied with humanistic education and worldly appearance played a central role. Case studies of individual nobles and their bibliophile interest have already contributed to our knowledge of early noble libraries and their significance in noble culture. ⁴⁵⁸ To study noble libraries is to explore not only the intellectual

⁴⁵⁶ Pearl Kibre, *The Intellectual Interests reflected in Libraries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*. In: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 7/3 (1946), pp. 257-297, here p. 257.

⁴⁵⁷ »Andere curiose und nutzliche occupations könne auch seyn stat des spilens in beshung und ordinirung curioſer sachen, lesung schöner bücher, allerley wissenschaften und künsten, historicorum politicorum und aller besten und vortrefflichsten Scribenten und authoren [...] Geystliche authores, billiche, gerechte und wahrhafftige seynd zu lesen und zu haben, so justitiam docent und zu Gott fiehren durch einen aufrichtigen wandl und lehr [...]«. Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein, *Instruction vor unseren geliebten sohn*. Quoted in Herbert Haupt, *Fürst Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein*, pp. 266-267.

⁴⁵⁸ On Austrian nobles see for instance the studies by Georg Heilingsetzer, *Heinrich Wilhelm von Starhemberg (1593-1675). Ein österreichischer Adeliger der Barockzeit*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Vienna 1970; *Ibidem*, *Die andere Barockkultur. Erasmus der Jüngere von Starhemberg (1595-1664). Literatur, Protestantismus und Toleranz*. In: *Oberösterreich* 26/2 (1976), pp. 17-22; Otto Brunner, *Adeliges Landleben und europäischer Geist. Leben und Werk Wolf Helmhards von Hohberg 1612-1688*, Salzburg 1949. A good overview of the outstanding book collections in the first half of the seventeenth century is provided in the study by Alfred Kohler, *Umfang und Bedeutung Historisch-Geographischer Werke in Oberösterreichischen Adelsbibliotheken des 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Mitteilungen des Oberösterreichischen Landesarchivs* 13 (1981), pp. 221-248. A number of Czech scholars have studied noble libraries in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. See for instance Petr Mašek, *Les bibliothèques des châteaux en Bohême, en Moravie et en Silésie, reflets de la culture européenne*.

trends of the period, as Otto Brunner emphasised in the late 1960s.⁴⁵⁹ The bibliophile patterns also demonstrated cultural transfer processes. This chapter therefore seeks to explore Spanish literature in Austrian aristocratic libraries.

It is unquestioned in scholarly debate that »Spanish literature experienced a continuous and intensive reception in the German-speaking world from the mid-sixteenth till the mid-eighteenth centuries«. ⁴⁶⁰ Travellers, scholars, poets, nobles, diplomats, translators and publishing houses, and many others participated in the diffusion of Spanish literature beyond the sphere of the Spanish monarchy. An important role in this process was played by the Jesuits, who had established a wide network of Jesuit colleges and schools all over the Empire; in these centres Spanish ideas and writings were interpreted and Spanish hagiographical literature was used as models for theatre performances at the colleges.⁴⁶¹ The writings of Spanish mystics and moralists were translated into Latin and later into other European vernaculars, and their ideas were spread over all of Europe and they moulded the

In: Bulletin du bibliophile 2 (1994), pp. 409-414. Particularly interesting in the context of the present study are the contributions on Spanish literature in Czech noble libraries edited by Helena Zbudilová (ed.), *La literatura española de los siglos XVI-XVIII en las bibliotecas de Chequia, Moravia y Eslovaquia*. Conferencia Internacional, Český Krumlov 2002, České Budějovice 2002. An excellent overview of libraries and their history in the different European countries, as well as further literature, is provided in Bernard Fabian, (ed.), *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, Österreich und Europa*, Hildesheim 2003. This online book was consulted at the following link. <http://www.b2i.de/fabian?Europa> (02.04.2008)

⁴⁵⁹ Brunner, *Adeliges Landleben* p. 166. See also *Ibidem*, *Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte: Kapitel XIV. Österreichische Adelsbibliotheken des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts als geistesgeschichtliche Quelle*, Göttingen ²1968, pp. 281-293.

⁴⁶⁰ Alberto Martino, *Von den Wegen und Umwegen der Verbreitung Spanischer Literatur im Deutschen Sprachraum (1550-1750)*. In: Hans Feger (ed.), *Studien zur Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts: Gedenkschrift für Gerhard Spellerberg (1937-1996)*, Amsterdam 1997, pp. 285-344, here p. 289. Literary scholars have intensively studied the impact of Spanish literature on German baroque literary productivity. Among the large literature see Frank Baasner (ed.) *Spanische Literatur. Literatur Europas*. Wido Hempel zum 65. Geburtstag, Tübingen 1996; Barbara Becker-Cantarino, *Spain in German Literature of the Seventeenth Century*. In: Gerhard Hoffmeister (ed.), *German Baroque Literature. The European Perspective*. New York 1983, pp. 109-123; Alberto Martino (ed.), *Beiträge zur Aufnahme der italienischen und spanischen Literatur in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Amsterdam 1990; Dietrich Briesemeister, *La recepción de la literatura española en Alemania en el siglo XVII*. In: *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 33 (1984), pp. 285-310.

⁴⁶¹ See for instance Franz Hadamowsky, *Das Theater in den Schulen der Societas Jesu in Wien (1555-1761)*. Daten, Dramen, Darsteller. Eine Auswahl aus den Quellen in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna 1991, Jean-Marie Valentin, *Les jésuites et le théâtre (1554-1680)*. Contribution à l'histoire culturelle du monde catholique dans le Saint-Empire romain germanique, Paris 2001.

literary trends of the age.⁴⁶² Albertinus Aegidius, writer and librarian at the court in Munich translated writings by Antonio de Guevara into German and used them as model for his own literary works, for example.⁴⁶³ But what was more significant to the development of German literature was his translation of Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, published in 1615 as *Der Landstörtzer Gusman de Alfarache oder Picaro genannt*. This work crucially influenced later poets like Grimmelshausen. Aegidius lived for several years in Spain before he was employed at the Court in Munich and he therefore had the necessary language skills as well as being knowledgeable in Spanish literature.⁴⁶⁴

In the Austrian territories, the nobleman Hans Ludwig Kuefstein ranks as one of the most prominent noble literary figures who distinguished himself particularly by the translations of Romanic literature into German, like for instance the translation of Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana*, which was published in 1619. Also, his second novel, *Carcel de Amor oder Gefängnis der Liebe*, published in 1624, is a translation of a Spanish novel, the allegorical love novel by Diego de San Pedro (ca. 1437-ca. 1498).⁴⁶⁵ His contribution as an intermediary of Spanish literature in the German-speaking area is unchallenged in scientific literature.⁴⁶⁶

Additionally, it happened that books by Spanish authors were published first outside of Spain, as was the case of the Spanish diplomat and literary figure Diego Saavedra Fajardo. His book *Idea de un príncipe político christiano* was first published in Munich in 1640, as well as his other work *Corona góthica, castellana y austriaca*, which was published in Münster in 1646. Others were re-printed in different

⁴⁶² See Dietrich Briesemeister, *La diffusion europea de la literatura española en el siglo XVII a través de traducciones neolatinas*. In: *Iberoromania* N. F. 7 (1978), pp. 3-17; Martino, *Von den Wegen und Umwegen*, pp. 306-316.

⁴⁶³ Herbert Walz, *Der Moralist im Dienste des Hofes: Eine vergleichende Studie zu der Lehrdichtung von Antonio de Guevara und Aegidius Albertinus*, Frankfurt/Main 1984.

⁴⁶⁴ Hans Gerd Rötzer, *Spuren der spanischen Novela Picaresca in der deutschen Romanliteratur des 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: Heinz Duchhardt – Christoph Strosetzki (eds.), *Siglo de Oro - Decadencia. Spaniens Kultur und Politik in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts / La cultura y la política de España en la primera mitad del siglo XVII*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 1996, pp. 33-39, here p. 35.

⁴⁶⁵ See Martin Bircher, *Johann Wilhelm von Stubenberg (1619-1663) und seine Freunde*, Berlin 1968, p. 11. Also Gerhard Hofmeister, *Diego de San Pedro und Hans Ludwig von Kufstein. Über eine frühbarocke Bearbeitung der spanischen Liebesgeschichte *Cárcel de amor**. In: *Arcadia* 6 (1971), pp. 139-150.

⁴⁶⁶ Tersch, *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse*, p. 672.

European countries or translated into other vernaculars shortly after they had been published in Spain. Above all, publishing houses in the Netherlands played an important role as »trading centres for Spanish literature«. ⁴⁶⁷ A similar role was played by the printing offices in the Italian cities of Venice, Ferrara, Rome, Naples and Milan. Many nobles from the Austrian territories profited from the »geographical proximity to these cities, where they could acquire books by Spanish authors, either in the original language or a translation«. ⁴⁶⁸ In the Holy Roman Empire, the fairs in Leipzig and Frankfurt were the major reloading points for book trade. However, as regards the representation of Spanish books at these fairs the scholar van Gemert came to a surprising result. By studying the catalogues of the fairs, he could reveal that from 101,395 titles, which were recorded in catalogues in the period between 1601 and 1700, only 141 were in Spanish. ⁴⁶⁹ Yet, if we remember that Spanish literature was widely read in German speaking territories, this result is indeed striking. An explanation is offered by Alberto Martino, who suggests that »the regular clientele of the booksellers at these fairs had been scholars, who had little interest in literature in Romance languages, but their book consumption was closely related to their education at Latin schools and universities, as well as to their profession«. ⁴⁷⁰ As a result of this situation, they privileged books about scientific topics, which were written in Latin. Thus the catalogues of books sold at the fairs do not exactly reflect the interest of German readers. The situation was completely different among the nobility. In noble circles as well as among educated patricians the reading of Spanish literature – poetry, prose as well as moral and theological writings – was quite popular and noble libraries often contained huge stocks of Spanish literature. The nobility used different channels in order to augment their libraries with literature from abroad, however. In the

⁴⁶⁷ Guillaume van Gemert, *Die Niederlande als Umschlagplatz spanischer Literatur des Siglo de Oro für den deutschen Sprachraum. Ein Aufriß*. In: Peter J.A.N. Rietbergen – Frans M. A. Robben (eds.), *Tussen twee Culturen. De Nederlanden en de Iberische Wereld, 1550-1800*, Nijmegen 1988, pp. 11-38.

⁴⁶⁸ Martino, *Von den Wegen und Umwegen*, pp. 286-287.

⁴⁶⁹ Van Gemert, *Die Niederlande als Umschlagplatz spanischer Literatur*, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁷⁰ Martino, *Von den Wegen und Umwegen*, p. 293 and pp. 297-298.

following pages we focus therefore on the circulation of books, and to what extent aristocratic networks contributed to the spread of Spanish literature.

Before casting our attention on this aspect, we should first of all be clear as to the quantity we are discussing. Certainly, the nature of noble libraries, their size and composition with regard to the genres as well as the language in which the books were written, varied considerably and depended of course on the personal interest of the collector. Nonetheless, as regards Spanish literature we do not talk about single cases. Works by famous Spanish writers like Cervante's novel *Don Quijote* or the treatises by Antonio de Guevara and Saavedra were bestsellers not only in Spain but in all of Europe and they belonged in almost every noble library of the epoch. The library of the Lamberg family in Upper Austria included for instance the Spanish edition of Guevara's famous *Epístolas familiares* published in 1600 as well as an early French translation entitled *Les epistres dorees moralles et amilieres*, published in 1566, and a German translation with the title *Güldene Sendtschreiben*, published in 1634. Also Guevara's well known *Reloj de príncipes* is found in this library, in a French translation (published 1576), a Latin one (published 1606) and a German edition (published 1634).⁴⁷¹ A rough estimate of the Spanish works in this library reveals more than a hundred volumes written in Spanish language published before 1700.

Even more voluminous is the Spanish section in the library of the Harrach family. An inventory from the eighteenth century lists in total 5,120 volumes, from which 891 volumes are in Spanish; 165 of them are grouped under the rubric of theological works, 7 volumes under medicine, and the remaining 710 volumes involve diverse comedies, poetry and prose, as well as books about moral and political ideas, such as Saavedra's *Idea de un príncipe político christiano*, or his other work entitled *Res publica literaria*. Also included in the remaining volumes are books about the history of Spanish, such as the famous work by Bernardo José de

⁴⁷¹ I am deeply grateful for the assistance I received from Dr. Sabine Wagner, who put an inventory of the library at my disposal.

Aldrete, *Del origen de la lengua castellana, o romance oy se usa en España*, as well as grammar books, books about the art of conversation, and literature on different topics of Spanish, Portuguese and Spanish-American history, including the history of kings and outstanding personalities of Spain. The amount of Spanish literature in this inventory is only surpassed by books written in French, which include 2,654 volumes. Latin books rank third, with 724 volumes, followed by Italian with 415 volumes. Surprisingly, a meek 398 books were collected in the family's native German tongue. The remaining 38 volumes include maps and engravings.⁴⁷²

In Bohemia, the library of the Lobkowitz family ranks as »the most visible representation of the great influence Spanish culture had in this region during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries«. ⁴⁷³ According to a profound evaluation in the 1990s, it contains over six hundred volumes in Spanish and Portuguese, wherefrom the majority are precious treatise from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The core of the collection of *Hispanica* was formed by the books of the Spanish noble lady María Manrique de Lara, who had brought her private library to Prague, when she married the Bohemian noble Vratislav Pernstein in 1555.⁴⁷⁴ Her book collection clearly reflects the intimate relation María Manrique de Lara maintained with her native country and its culture during her married life in Bohemia. It has to be remembered that the strictly Catholic noble lady was exposed to a mainly Protestant environment from which she doubtlessly wished to distance herself. Her readings included, outside of Spanish literature, Spanish translations of classical literature like those of Seneca and Cicero, as well as works by Erasmus of Rotterdam and a Spanish version of Castiglione's book of the courtier. At the beginning of the seventeenth century she bestowed parts of her library to her

⁴⁷² AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 206 (Index Titulorum Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Harrachianae).

⁴⁷³ Jaroslava Kašparová, *Španělské Tisky. Marie Manrique de Lara y Mendoza dochované v Roudnické lobkowiczské knihovně. Spanish-printed Books of María Manrique de Lara y Mendoza preserved in the Roudnice Lobkowitz Library*, Praha 1995, p. 21.

⁴⁷⁴ The Czech scholar Jaroslava Kašparová could clearly identify the books in the Lobkowitz library as being those of María Manrique de Lara. Kašparová, *Španělské tisky Marie Manrique de Lara y Mendoza*.

daughter Polyxena Lobkowitz. The remaining part she donated to the *Colegio San Clemente de los Jesuitas* in Prague.⁴⁷⁵

How did such enormous quantities of Spanish books come into the possession of these aristocratic families? Admittedly, seeking to answer these questions one soon has to realise the limits of such an enterprise as well, which are related to the sources available. Although inventories of noble family libraries are the first source, most of the time they do not indicate who had collected the books. In many cases, inventories were compiled at a later date, which makes it nearly impossible to determine when and by whom the books had been acquired.⁴⁷⁶ Just as vague, only from the opposite point of view, are the account books individual aristocrats kept. Although they provide evidence of the growing interest nobles had in accumulating books and that some acquired books on a frequent basis, on the other hand, they mostly do not specify the acquisitions, but instead merely record the amount paid for books. However, this chapter does not aim at giving a complete evaluation of Austrian noble libraries, which is hardly possible in the framework of this study, but rather it provides an examination by means of selected examples and seeks to reveal some channels in which books circulated. I attempt to identify the various avenues noble book collectors had in order to augment their libraries with literature from abroad, during an era when bookshops were not to be found on every corner. While we certainly do not know in each single case how and when a book came into the possession of a particular family, nonetheless some paths the books took can be traced.

The easiest way was of course to acquire books directly from abroad, either during trips or during longer stays abroad in the course of a diplomatic mission, for instance. Young nobles frequently bought books in the countries which they visited

⁴⁷⁵ Jaroslava Kašparová, En torno a la biblioteca de María Manrique de Lara y Mendoza. Estudio sobre los impresos españoles. In: *Ibero-Americana Pragensia* 29 (1995), pp. 137-148.

⁴⁷⁶ For instance, several catalogues of the library of the Harrach family survived in the family's archive. These were compiled only in the eighteenth century or even later.

during their Grand Tour. Recently Jill Bepler emphasised that »book purchases while travelling often form the core of later dynastic book collections«, as was the case of the famous Wolfenbüttel library for instance, which has its origin in the books collected by »Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg while studying in Leuven and travelling in France in the 1550s«. ⁴⁷⁷ Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein explicitly instructed his son to acquire books (as well as other goods) during his Grand Tour. ⁴⁷⁸ The two brothers, Bartholomäus and Paul Khevenhüller, acquired classical and religious literature during their travels through the Netherlands and France. ⁴⁷⁹ Similarly, the young Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, who once informed his uncle that he had acquired a book about Cardinal Richelieu in Brussels, which he described as the most useful book in order to learn about French politics. ⁴⁸⁰ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach was beyond any doubt a well read nobleman, who during all his life collected books and he acquired many during his various stays abroad. We can assume that a large portion of the Spanish books, which are listed in the aforementioned inventory of the Harrach library, had been purchased by Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach in Spain during his two ambassadorial stints. As we have seen already in the previous chapter, Harrach was a regular customer to the *almonedas* in Madrid, where he acquired not only the many paintings he collected but also a large number of books. For instance, on the 23rd of July 1674 he noted that he had bought about 300 books at the *almoneda* of the Count of Casa Rubias. According to an entry in the diary, he spent the whole day cataloguing these books. ⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁷ Bepler, *Travelling and posterity*, p. 194.

⁴⁷⁸ Heiss, *Ihro keiserlichen Mayestät zu Diensten*, p. 166.

⁴⁷⁹ HHStA Vienna, FA Khevenhüller, Carton 10, sin fol. (Ausgaben des Bartholomä und Paul Khevenhüller Oktober bis Dezember 1607). Items mentioned include a bible and a Psalter in French which was bound in leather, as well as French comedies also bound in leather.

⁴⁸⁰ »[...] *aber politsche und historibuecher thue ich gar gern lessen undt kann mir der hoffmeister zeignuß geben, das ich mich mit solchen delectire undt alle schöne undt nuczl. buecher, wo ich eines in der statt weiß, entlehe undt solche lise, habe zu diesen ende l'Historie du Ministere du Cardinal de Richelieu eingekauft, welhes man für das nuczlichste und politiste in Frankreich halt, meine also das ich mit diesem euer Gn. beehl erfüllen werde undt mich dero affection würdig machen [...]*« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Albrecht Harrach, Brussels, s.d. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 443, Konv. s.d. fols. 7rv.

⁴⁸¹ »*Ich habe heundt frueh auß des Conde de Casa Rubias verlassenschaft 300 etliche büecher gekauft undt den ganzen tag selbe zu registriren zuegebracht.*« In AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 214r.

Unfortunately this inventory has not survived, which is why we do not have more information on his acquisitions. Although Harrach mentions the purchase of books at different *almonedas*,⁴⁸² or that he had booksellers to his house from who he bought books,⁴⁸³ we have hardly any further information about his literary preferences, the content of his books, and the language in which they were written.

We are considerably better informed about the bibliophile interest of Ferdinand Bonaventura's daughter Maria Josefa Harrach. Maria Josefa lived for some years in Spain with her family. Five years after her return to Austria, she married Count Johann Josef Kuenburg. Maria Josefa Harrach spent much time at Château Mladá Vožice, south of Prague, which her brother-in-law Count Franz Ferdinand Kuenburg, later the archbishop of Prague, had acquired in 1678, and where he had already established a huge baroque library. In the mid-twentieth century the Czech scholar Vaclav Černý made a remarkable finding in this library. He discovered a copy of Calderón's almost forgotten drama *El Gran Duque de Gandia*, which most probably came into the library in the course of the marriage of Countess Harrach and Count Kuenburg. It can be assumed that Maria Josefa had commissioned the copy in Madrid.⁴⁸⁴

The library contains further treasures of Spanish baroque literature, whose origins are closely linked to Countess Harrach and the time she spent in Madrid. Besides the aforementioned copy, four further manuscripts of Spanish baroque poetry belong to the library; all of them works by Calderón.⁴⁸⁵ The signature »La

⁴⁸² See for instance the entry in the diary from April 12th 1674, where he noted that he had bought twenty books in the almoneda of the archbishop Masquereña (fol. 166r.), and once again on the 18th of April (fol. 169r). Or on August 11th of the same year he acquired books in the almoneda of Don Jusepe Gonzales (fols. 224v-225r.) AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1.

⁴⁸³ For instance on June 13th 1674 he noted: »[...] gegen mittag ist ein buechführer zu mir komen, von deme ich etliche bücher gekauft [...]«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 198r.

⁴⁸⁴ *El Gran Duque de Gandía*. Comedia de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca, ed. (with introduction and notes) by Václav Černý, Prague 1963.

⁴⁸⁵ They are the works *El postrer duelo de España*; *El monstruo de los jardines*; *Eco y Narcis*, and *El gran príncipe de Fez*. *Don Baltasar de Loyola*. Quoted in Martino, Von den Wegen und Umwegen, p. 318. Another manuscript, entitled *No hay que creer ni en la verdad*, is said to be the work of Calderón as well. Henry W. Sullivan, Calderón in the German lands and the Low Countries,

condessa de Harrach» on the title page of the copies clearly indicate that Maria Josefa Harrach was owner of these books. The fact that she signed her books in Spanish and not in German, her mother tongue, indicates her affection for Spanish, which is also reflected in her correspondence with her father. Many of her letters to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach were written in Spanish.⁴⁸⁶

Apart from these manuscripts, forty one further printed volumes were signed by Countess Harrach. Twelve volumes of them contain Spanish *comedias*, each including twelve pieces by different Spanish poets. Three further volumes with *comedias* have survived in the library, which most probably belonged to Maria Josefa Harrach as well, although the ex-libris is missing. Overall, the library contains a 183 pieces of different Spanish *comedias*, bound together in fifteen volumes.⁴⁸⁷ Ten of these fifteen volumes also contain the signature »*Soi de D. Fran. Marquez Messia natural de la villa de Villacastin*«, which clearly indicates that Countess Harrach had acquired these books second-hand during her stay in Spain.⁴⁸⁸

The number of pieces by Calderón in her collection is striking. Like her father, who almost daily attended the theatre during the theatre season in Madrid and sometimes even commented the performances in his diary, Maria Josefa also developed a passion for Spanish theatre in her youth.⁴⁸⁹ Between 1673 and 1676 Maria Josefa was a *menina* (lady of honour) of the Spanish Queen Mariana, and we can assume that the young Countess became acquainted with Calderón's writings at

Cambridge 1983, p. 98. See also Václav Černý, Una nueva comedia de Calderón. In: *Atlántida* 4/22 (1966), pp. 394-419.

⁴⁸⁶ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 262, Konv. Kuenburg Maria Josepha. Of 36 letters, located in this carton, 30 are in Spanish, 5 in French and only one in German. As regards the content of the letters, they all include mainly greetings and Christmas and New Years wishes to her father. Other letters to her father are located in AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 248, Konv. Harrach Gräfin Maria Josepha. Surprisingly, these letters are mainly written in German, and their content extends beyond mere greetings.

⁴⁸⁷ Petr Mašek, *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Europa. Vol II: Tschechische Republik. Schloß- bibliotheken unter der Verwaltung des Nationalmuseums in Prag*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1997, pp. 141-143.

⁴⁸⁸ *Hispanica* in the library of Mladá Vožice, consulted at the following link of the King's College London. <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/content/1/c6/03/17/29/MladaVoziceCatalogueweb.doc> (13.11.2007).

⁴⁸⁹ The theatre performances Ferdinand Bonaventura attended in Madrid have been studied in Arnold G. Reichenberg, *The Count Harrach and the Spanish Theatre*. In: *Homenaje a Rodríguez-Moñino. Estudios de erudición que le ofrecen sus amigos o discípulos hispanistas norteamericanos*, vol. 2, Madrid 1966, pp. 97-103.

the Madrilenian court, where she probably also saw performances of his plays.⁴⁹⁰ The remaining imprints, which point to the ownership of Maria Josefa Harrach, are devotional works by Spanish writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁹¹

Considering now that Maria Josefa Harrach lived for only slightly more than two years in Madrid, it is indeed surprising that the young Countess had acquired so many books during this time. It also has to be remembered that she was only ten years old when she arrived in Spain in August 1673. Thus, it is also possible that she acquired or received some of the books on a later date. In addition, in five volumes of her collection the signature »*Juana Teresa de Lamberg*« also appears.⁴⁹² Thus, these books originally belonged to her mother, whose bibliophile interest is demonstrated by several references in her letters.⁴⁹³ As a former court lady of the Spanish Queen, Johanna Theresia too became familiar with Spanish culture in her youth, and the many years she spent at the Madrilenian court beyond any doubt influenced her life in cultural respects. In her will Johanna Theresia Harrach decided that all her Spanish books should go into the possession of her daughter Maria Josefa, except ten volumes which she bequeathed to the Spanish ecclesiastical order of the Holy Trinity. We can assume therefore that even more of the *Hispanica* in the library of Mladá Vožice originally belonged to Johanna Theresia Harrach, although only five have her ex-libris.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁰ On the 26th of September 1673, only a month after his arrival in Spain, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach recorded in his diary, that his wife had taken Josefa Maria to the court and the Queen had accepted her as lady of honour. »[...] *Mein gemahlin hat heindt unser dochter die Josepha naher hoff geführt, deren ihr Mt. die konigin die gnadt gethan, undt sie zu einer Menina und hofdama angenommen*«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 77v.

⁴⁹¹ Catalogue of library of Mladá Vožice.

⁴⁹² It includes a book by Gabriel de León, a book by Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, one volume of the aforementioned comedias, as well as a book by Juan Baptista de Lezana, and Cervantes' *Don Quijote*.

⁴⁹³ For instance in August 1665 she wrote to her husband: »[...] *naher angefangen ein spanische comedi zu lesen 2 jasnados*«. Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, Vienna, 1665 August 16. AVA Vienna FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol.

⁴⁹⁴ The German books should be divided, according to her will, between her two daughters Maria Josefa and Rosa »[...] *alle meine spanische büecher, sambt den 2 schwarz baissten (gebeizten) kästen, darzu mueß aber darvon den spänischen geistlichen der hl. dreyfaltigkeit 10 büecher geben, und mein namen drein schreiben, das sies vom mir zur gedächtnuß behalten. Die teutsche büecher mueß mit ihrer schwestern gleich theillen*«. AVA Vienna FA Harrach, Carton 205 (Testament von Johanna Theresia von Harrach, 19. Dezember 1706).

Yet an interesting detail comes into sight by looking at the year and place of publication of Countess Harrach's books. From the 45 Spanish prints that have the signature of Maria Josefa Harrach only three were published outside of Spain (one in Rome, one in Brussels and one in Vienna). In the case of one book, no place is indicated. The remaining books were all published in Spain; the majority (31 books) in Madrid. As regards the year of publication of the books, they were published between 1621 and 1697. It is striking that only two of them were published after 1676, the year in which Maria Josefa returned to Vienna.⁴⁹⁵ Although the year of publication is certainly no absolute indicator of the date in which a book was acquired, it nonetheless is very likely that either Maria Josefa or her mother purchased the books during their respective periods in Madrid.

Shifting our attention now to the Lamberg family, a remarkable finding of Spanish poetry can be made in the archive of this family. It contains a copy of poems by Luis de Góngora y Argote, a contemporary of Lope de Vega.⁴⁹⁶ So far, this manuscript has received no attention, neither by historians nor by literary scholars. Góngora's poetry is associated with an extravagant, highly artificial elaboration of style, which is characterised by its »obscurity« and difficult metaphorical structure; a style that became known as *Culteranismo* or, *Gongorism*, after its founder.⁴⁹⁷ Thus, Góngora's poetries demanded highly elaborate language skills. But more importantly, his writings were well received among the Spanish aristocracy, not least because they regarded this literature as a sign of distinction. But outside Spain too Góngora became a well-known name, especially through the networks by Spanish nobles. The Count of Villamediana for instance distributed copies of Góngora's poems *Polifemo* and *Soledades* in Italian literary circles, in which he

⁴⁹⁵ Catalogue of library of Mladá Vožice.

⁴⁹⁶ OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr FA Lamberg, Hs. 1555 (Spanische Gedichte).

⁴⁹⁷ See Alonso Dámaso, *Estudios y ensayos gongorinos*, Madrid 1955. *Ibidem*, *Obras Completas*, vol. 7: *Góngora y el gongorismo*, Madrid 1984.

moved during his exile. Villamediana himself was active in literary pursuits and in his own works the influence of Góngora is visible.⁴⁹⁸

Coming back to the manuscript in the archive of the Lamberg family, it includes almost all of the famous poems of the author such as the *Sonetos heroicos*, *Sonetos satyricos*, *Fabula de Poliphemo y Galathea* or the *Soledades al Duque de Bejar*, and many others. On the first page the signature of Johann Maximilian Lamberg appears. When and where Lamberg acquired the book remains unclear however. He could have commissioned the copy as young man, when he had visited Spain in the course of his Grand Tour. Alberto Martino emphasised that »foreign students at Spanish universities often returned to their home countries equipped with abundant manuscripts, which they had copied either themselves or had commissioned by professional copyists«. ⁴⁹⁹ It is similarly possible that Lamberg had acquired the copy later, during his ambassadorial role at the Spanish court. In any case, we can be certain that he knew about the high reputation Góngora's work enjoyed in Spanish aristocratic circles. Also, the library of the Lamberg family in Château Steyr contains an edition of Góngora's *Todas las obras*, published in 1633 and which was added to the library with utmost probability by Johann Maximilian Lamberg as well. Lamberg was however not a single case. Also, in the inventory of the Harrach family two entries refer to works by this author.⁵⁰⁰

As mentioned above, the Lamberg library includes quite a remarkable number of Spanish books. Besides the aforementioned book by Góngora, another book deserves some commentary in this study: Saavedra's work *Idea de un príncipe político christiano*, which is included in the library in the first edition from the year 1640. As already indicated, Saavedra's works were well-received outside Spain.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁸ Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer (ed.), *Spanische Literaturgeschichte*, Stuttgart-Weimar 2006, p. 120. As to Villamediana see: *Conde de Villamediana, Poesía* ed. by María Teresa Ruestes, Madrid 1992.

⁴⁹⁹ Martino, *Von den Wegen und Umwegen*, p. 316. On the significance of copying manuscripts in early modern time see Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito. Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid 2001.

⁵⁰⁰ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 206, Nr. 284 *Obras de Gongora* (fol. 51v.) and Nr. 317 *Todas las Obras de D. Luis de Gongora en varios poemas* (fol. 52r).

⁵⁰¹ Jaroslava Kašparová, *Fajardo's Empresas políticas in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Bohemian library collections*, Prague 2006.

What is interesting in the case of Lamberg is the fact that he was quite well acquainted with the author. Both Saavedra as well as Lamberg participated in the peace negotiations in Münster and Osnabrück. In his diary, Lamberg mentions several reunions with Saavedra in the years 1644 and 1645, thus shortly after Saavedra's work was published.⁵⁰² Whether they discussed Saavedra's literary activities during these meetings can not be said with certainty, since Lamberg's diary entries are rather brief in this respect. Considering however that Saavedra's political theories were influenced by his numerous diplomatic missions, we can assume that they had been an issue for discussion with Lamberg in one way or another.⁵⁰³

Turning our attention to the library of the Eggenberg family in Castle Krumlov, which included a remarkable collection of Spanish literature as well, a similar development can be noticed. Here again acquisitions directly from Spain formed the basis of the Spanish collection in this library. Two inventories of the library survive; one compiled in 1649, and the other in 1721 when the family branch in Bohemia died out and the entire property passed into the hands of the Schwarzenberg family. In the first inventory, 1,100 titles are mentioned, most of them referring to Spanish, Italian and Latin literature, whereas books in French and German were represented by a comparatively small number that time.⁵⁰⁴ Over the course of the second half of the century the size of the library doubled and it also developed a new linguistic outlook. In the second inventory, French literature predominated with 788 titles, followed by German literature with 632 titles, Italian literature with 557 titles and Latin literature with 141 titles. Spanish literature was represented by 124 titles.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰² Johann Maximilian Lamberg, *Diarium Lamberg*, pp. 33-34, and p 101.

⁵⁰³ Diego Saavedra Farjardo, *Empresas políticas*, ed by Francisco Javier Díez de Revenga, Barcelona 1988; Hans-Otto Mühleisen, *Diego Saavedra Fajardo, der spanische Botschafter beim Westfälischen Friedenskongress*. In: Duchhardt – Strosetzki (eds.), *Siglo de Oro – Decadencia*, pp. 43-60.

⁵⁰⁴ Gerhard Bernd Marauschek, *Die Fürsten von Eggenberg unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Kunstmäzenatentums 1568-1717*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Graz 1968, p. 255.

⁵⁰⁵ *Catalogus über die in der hochfürstlichen Schwarzenbergischen Bibliothek zu Böhmischen Krumau befindliche in der deutschen, französisch, wälisch, lateinisch und spanischen Sprache bestehende Bücher, welcher anno 1721 errichtet worden*. The catalogue is located in the state archive

The foundation of the library was laid by Hans Ulrich Eggenberg at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and he clearly privileged Spanish literature. According to the historian Marauschek, who studied the art patronage of the family, about eighty percent of his acquisitions were works by Spanish authors. Many of the works had been purchased by Hans Ulrich Eggenberg during his travels to Spain in 15988/98 and in 1606 and which is demonstrated by the entries Eggenberg himself made in the books. Besides his signature, Eggenberg noted also the place and date of his acquisitions.⁵⁰⁶ The great number of plays by Lope de Vega that Eggenberg collected is striking. Altogether, the library contains eight volumes of his work, each including twelve plays. Six of the eight volumes were acquired by Hans Ulrich Eggenberg.⁵⁰⁷ Besides the works by Lope de Vega, the library contains numerous other writings of Spain's Golden Age, such as literature by Cervantes, Quevedo, and many others, as well as Spanish translation of classical works like those of Seneca, Cicero, and Homer.⁵⁰⁸ Spanish literature was represented in the library of the Eggenberg family also in various French translations, including several French editions of Cervante's *Don Quijote*, several translations of works by Luis de Granada, as well as some by Antonio de Guevara, Saavedra, Quevedo and others. These were added to the library mainly by Maria Ernestine Eggenberg, born Countess Schwarzenberg in the second half of the century.⁵⁰⁹

Books were exchanged also between families and friends. In studying the reception of Castiglione's famous *Courtier*, Peter Burke pointed to the importance

in Český Krumlov, Hs. 418. Quoted in Jitka Radimská, *La literatura española en las traducciones francesas en el fondo de los Eggenberg de la biblioteca del castillo de Český Krumlov*. In: Zbudilová (ed.), *La literatura española*, pp. 113-154, here p. 115.

⁵⁰⁶ Marauschek, *Die Fürsten zu Eggenberg*, pp. 255-256.

⁵⁰⁷ See Josef Hejnic – Jiří Zálaha, *Die Sammlung von Theatralia in der Schlossbibliothek von Český Krumlov*. In: Jitka Šimáková – Eduarda Macháčková (eds.), *Teatralia zámecké knihovny v Českém Krumlově*, Vol. 2, Prague 1976, pp. 25-39.

⁵⁰⁸ Regarding the library in general see Jaroslava Kašparová, *La literatura española de los siglos XVI y XVII conservada en los fondos de los países Checos y el lector checo contemporáneo*. In: Zbudilová (ed.), *La literatura española*, pp. 27-69.

⁵⁰⁹ Radimská, *La literatura española*. In: Zbudilová (ed.), *La literatura española*, pp. 113-154.

of networks of readers, friends and acquaintances, for the spread of literature.⁵¹⁰ Family members who lived in Spain provided their relatives in Austria with books, as the following example clearly reveals. The Spanish noble lady Beatrice de Mendoza mentioned in several letters to the secretary of her brother, Cardinal Franz Dietrichstein that she will send books to Bohemia, *»que [la] parece muy honrado entreteniendo y ganado el cardenal con tanto provecho«*.⁵¹¹ In a particular letter, Beatrice de Mendoza referred to books by the Spanish theologian and writer Fray Luis de Granada, and one by the female writer Mother Juana de la Cruz. In case Dietrichstein would be too busy to read them, he should give them to her nieces' son, she wrote.⁵¹² In numerous other letters Beatrice de Mendoza talked about books and other goods she was sending to her brother.⁵¹³ We can presume that Beatrice de Mendoza was not a single example in this respect, but that it was a common practice that family members abroad supplied their relatives with all sorts of foreign goods, including literature from the respective countries in which they lived.

As already mentioned, the family Dietrichstein cultivated close relations with the Spanish nobility. In addition, Cardinal Dietrichstein and his brother Maximilian were raised and educated in Spain and we can assume that the cultural stamp in their youth crucially influenced their life, in religious, political as well as cultural terms. The contacts the family maintained with their Spanish relatives and friends

⁵¹⁰ Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier. The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 150-152.

⁵¹¹ Beatrice de Mendoza to Johann Gottfried Reitenspies (secretary of Cardinal Dietrichstein), Madrid, 1618 May 22. MZA Brno, Rodinný Archiv Ditrichštejnů G140, Carton 436, Fasz. Mendosová Beatrice, fol. 6v.

⁵¹² *»[...] teme que de embiar algunas libros que me parece muy honrado entreteniendo y ganado el Cardenal con tanto provecho y asy procurare lo sean los libros que todos los de Frey Luys de Granada entiendo estan reduzidos asy ytaliano, franzes y aleman. Con todos embiare el compendio y otros nuevos al Cardenal my Señor. Tengo embiados algos pidalos, uno del reyno de dios de Santa Juana dela Cruz, la vida de un S. Isidor y como su S. esta tan ocupado no tiene lugar de leerlos, un los passe entretanto que vayan estos al hijo de mi sobrina la S. Poplin [...]*« Beatrice de Mendoza to Johann Gottfried Reitenspies (secretary of Cardinal Dietrichstein), Madrid, 1618 May 22. MZA Brno, Rodinný Archiv Ditrichštejnů G140, Carton 436, Fasz. Mendosová Beatrice, fol. 6v.

⁵¹³ See for instance her letter from June 20 1618 in which she wrote: *»[...] Con este padre embio quatro libors, el compendio no se puede embiar que es muy grande y el padre no se quiere cargar [...]*« Beatrice de Mendoza to Johann Gottfried Reitenspies, Madrid 1618 June 20. MZA Brno, Rodinný Archiv Ditrichštejnů G140, Carton 436, Fasz. Mendosová Beatrice, fol. 12v.

contributed beyond any doubt to the spread of Spanish cultural goods in the Austrian territories. Aside from the aforementioned libraries of the Eggenberg and Lobkowitz families, the Dietrichstein library ranks among the best known representations of Spanish literature in Bohemia in early modern time. Its foundation was already laid in the second half of the sixteenth century by Adam Dietrichstein. According to Seuffert, Adam Dietrichstein's ex-libris and motto appears in hundreds of volumes. Many of these books he had acquired during his ambassadorial stay in Madrid. His collection included a precious treatise about the order of Calatrava, which was, according to Seuffert, a present from Philip II.⁵¹⁴ We can assume that his wife, the Spanish noble lady Margarita de Cardona, also possessed books which she took to Bohemia; just as her contemporary María Manrique de Lara had. The destiny of the library was however different to those already discussed. When, towards the end of the Thirty Years' War, Swedish troops invaded large parts of Moravia and Bohemia, Castle Mikulov fell victim to the hauls of alien troops and the library was finally brought to Stockholm in 1647, where it is located today.

Besides kinship relations, friendship and acquaintances also offered channels for the circulation of books. The library of the Lobkowitz family contains, for instance, the famous pastoral novel *Segunda Parte de la Diana* by Jorge de Montemayor. On the title page the signature »M. Dietrichstein« appears which points to the original owner of the book, who was most probably Maximilian I Dietrichstein. Although we have no further evidence, it is very likely that the book was a present made by Maximilian Dietrichstein to Prince Lobkowitz. Several Spanish notes on the margin of different passages, as well as the fact that single phrases are underlined, shows that the work was thoroughly studied. Whether these notes were made by Maximilian Dietrichstein or a member of the Lobkowitz family cannot be proved with certainty.⁵¹⁵ Both families had a strong affinity to Spain and were familiar with

⁵¹⁴ Burkhard Seuffert, *Bibliothek und Archiv auf Schloss Nikolsburg in Mähren von 1645*, Leipzig 1925, here pp. 6-7. Additionally Jaroslava Kašparová, *Acerca de dos Impresos españoles procedentes de la Biblioteca de Dietrichstein*. In: *Ibero-Americana Pragensia* 23 (1989), pp. 177-182.

⁵¹⁵ See Kašparová, *Acerca de dos impresos españoles*, p. 178.

Spanish culture. The pro-Spanish and Catholic aristocracy of the Austrian and Bohemian territories, which included among others the Dietrichstein, Lobkowitz, Pernstein and Eggenberg families, had close contacts with each other. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the so-called »Pernstein Salon« was the meeting-place of the pro-Spanish aristocracy and the Spanish ambassadors to Prague. Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, Juan de Borja and Guillén de San Clemente as well as other foreign envoys were frequent guests in the house of the three Pernstein ladies, María Manrique de Lara, her niece and daughter-in-law also called María, and her daughter Polyxena. It was an important hub for the spread of novelties from abroad, which is clearly expressed in a report from 1601, in which the following is said:

»Die Pernstein witwe hat alle tag die Spanischen und päbstlichen und anderer frembden potschafter und gesanten bei sich, und wird alles verkuntschaft.«⁵¹⁶

Besides foreign ambassadors, Austrian and Bohemian aristocrats were also frequent guests in the Pernstein salon, such as the aforementioned Count Dietrichstein or Prince Lobkowitz, the husband of Polyxena. The Pernstein Palace was beyond any doubt the »most important centre of Spanish culture in Bohemia from the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth centuries«,⁵¹⁷ and it can be taken for granted that at these get-togethers political issues and current affairs were not the only topics discussed. It is commonly acknowledged in historiography that early modern salons were significant institutions of cultural transfer; places where current cultural standards, artistic trends, and the latest literature had been discussed, and also books most probably were exchanged.⁵¹⁸ As Burke emphasised,

⁵¹⁶ *Discurs und bericht den zustand der ksl. Mt. und des ksl. regiments betreffent, den 3. Junii anno 1601.* Quoted in Leopold von Ranke, *Sämtliche Werke*, Bd. 7: *Zur Deutschen Geschichte. Vom Religionsfrieden bis zum dreißigjährigen Krieg*, Leipzig 1868, p. 283.

⁵¹⁷ Kašparová, *Španělské tisky Marie Manrique de Lara y Mendoza*, and the literature quoted therein.

⁵¹⁸ Regarding the significance of early modern salons for cultural transfer processes, and the role women played in the creation of this new form of sociability see recently Margarete Zimmermann, *Kulturtransfer in Salons des 16. Jahrhunderts*. In: Gesa Stedman –Margarete Zimmermann (eds.),

»a system of oral communication underlay the circulation of printed texts« in the early modern era.⁵¹⁹

Last but not least, the imperial ambassadors to Madrid need to be mentioned as important mediators of foreign literature. In the 1660s, Count Pötting was in a constant search for books in Spain on behalf of the Emperor. Leopold I was an enthusiastic book collector and he reminded his ambassador emphatically of his passion: »Whenever you come across new Spanish books in Madrid, I will be glad if you will send them to Vienna«, he once wrote to Pötting.⁵²⁰ The ambassador informed the Emperor for instance about a very rare edition of a bible by the Spanish cardinal and statesman Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, which he had discovered in Madrid. Another time a precious print of the *Triumphis Maximiliani primi* was offered to the Emperor for the respectable sum of 700 dobles.⁵²¹ Also the voluminous library of Don Pedro de Navarra y de la Cueva, the Marquis of Cabrega, came into the possession of the imperial library through the mediation of Pötting. In November 1669, the Emperor heard for the first time that »*el dicho marques tenia una biblioteca de mas que 5000 libros todos españoles*«. ⁵²² Immediately he entrusted Pötting with the negotiation about the acquisition of this library. Leopold knew that the Marquis was an elderly man and that according the Spanish practice his belongings would be sold after his death.⁵²³ Pötting immediately started the

Höfe – Salons – Akademien. Kulturtransfer und Gender im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit, Hildesheim 2007, pp. 41-64.

⁵¹⁹ Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, p. 8.

⁵²⁰ »Wann immer mal allda was neues von spanischen büechern zue finden, so sin gran embarazo könne auf der post oder sonsten herausgeschickt werden, so wird es mir allzeit gar lieb sein.« Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna, 1669 December 14, Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, vol. 2, pp. 54-56.

⁵²¹ Franz Eusebius Pötting to Leopold I, Madrid 1670 November 12. In: Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, vol. 2, p. 134.

⁵²² Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna, 1669 November 30. In: *Ibidem*, vol. 2, p. 53.

⁵²³ »[Weil] ich auch ein großer liebhaber der büecher bin, gedachter marques auch schon alt sein solle und mir bekannt ist, dass allda der brauch ist, nach dem tod alles per almoneda aut subhastatione zue verkaufen, also habe ich euch erindern wollen, damit ihr wollet achthaben, wann etwan gedachter marques sterben solle und sodann seine mobilia sollten verhandelt werden, ob man gemeldte bibliotec um ein billiches erhandlen kunnte.« Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, vol. 2, p. 53. Already some month later, Pötting sent the indices of Cabrega's library to the Emperor. *Ibidem*, vol. 2, p. 148.

negotiations for the purchase of the library and he consulted on this matter with his friend the Count of Mondéjar, who was known for his remarkable literary knowledge.⁵²⁴ A year later, Pötting could finally inform the Emperor that he had acquired the library, which consisted of approximately 3,500 volumes of most splendid and rare books; among them also unique and *curious* manuscripts which, according to Pötting, cannot be found anywhere else.⁵²⁵ The organisation for the shipment to Vienna lasted another year however. Finally, merchants brought the library from Malaga to Hamburg and from there to Vienna.⁵²⁶

The Emperor's passion for books is mirrored also in the following example. In July 1671, Pötting informed Leopold that a fire in the Escorial destroyed large parts of the Spanish royal library. In a letter written to Pötting, the Emperor deplored the irrecoverable loss of the many precious treatises which had been destroyed:

»Wie leid ist mir um das abgebrunnene Escorial und halt ich es selbst vor kein kleines unglück, aber ach, um nix ist mir leider als um die manuscritta, dann sein die verloren, so können sie durch kein geld erstattet werden, und habe ich noch den trost, dass ich a tempo den indicem bekommen habe, dass ich aufs wenigst weiß, was allda gewest ist.«⁵²⁷

In several further letters he expressed his deepest regrets concerning this and he asked Pötting to send him a detailed relation about the accident.⁵²⁸ At least the Emperor was informed about »the treasures that had been destroyed forever«,

⁵²⁴ Franz Eusebius Pötting to Leopold I, Madrid 1670 August 6. Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 106

⁵²⁵ »Es sind ungefähr dritthalbtausend bände von lauter köstlichen, raren und theils nicht mehr befindlichen büchern, darunter theils überaus curiose manuscripta vorhanden.« Franz Eusebius Pötting to Leopold I, Madrid 1670 October 29. Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 131. In reality, the library consisted of 2,498 volumes. Nieto Nuño, Fondos hispánicos, vol. 1, pp. 58-165, and a transcription of the inventory of this library in vol. 2, pp. 1-218.

⁵²⁶ »Was die libreria anlangt, wann ihr den vorschlag der kaufleut von Malaga für thunlich halt, so bin ich wohl damit zufrieden, allein muß man sodann von allem die nachricht haben«, wrote Leopold in December 1671. Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I, vol. 2, p. 204.

⁵²⁷ Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Vienna, 1671 July 15. Ibidem, vol. 2, pp. 172-174.

⁵²⁸ »Breve relacion del infeliz suceso del incendio ayustada ... segun las cartas del Prior de S. Lorenzo el real y otras noticias, Madrid 17. Julio 1671«. Cod. 8135. Viennes Hofbibliothek:

since Pötting had commissioned an inventory of the royal library for the Emperor before it was destroyed by the fire.⁵²⁹

Pötting certainly acquired books for himself as well. Unfortunately no inventory of his personal library survives. It is only from his diary that some conclusions can be drawn in regard to his reading habits. In January 1664 he noted for instance that he had bought the book »*Navidades de Madrid y noches entretenidas en ocho novelas*« written by the Spanish noble lady Doña Mariana de Carvajal y Saavedra, who was one of the few female writers of Spain's Golden Age who was much read already during her lifetime.⁵³⁰ It is interesting in this context that the book, which is sort of a guide book of courtly behaviour, was dedicated to Count Pötting.⁵³¹

All these examples illustrate the interest the Austrian aristocracy had in Spanish literature and in establishing vast libraries. The extent to which these books had actually been read by their owners is difficult to say. »An enthusiastic book collector must not be invariably always an enthusiastic reader as well«, remarked the scholars Brown and Elliott.⁵³² Little evidences survive that point to the impression a particular book left on its reader. One of these rare examples stems from Cardinal Dietrichstein, who apparently enjoyed the lecture of Don Quijote. In 1620, his agent at the archducal court in Brussels, Baron Somogyi, sent him an edition of the second part of the novel, with the words: »[que] *se divertiera en aquellos tiempos turbulentos con la lectura sobre las aventuras y desgracias que acaecían a ese caballero en sus andanzas*«. ⁵³³ Even more interesting is that Dietrichstein actively

⁵²⁹ »Und weilien wir in materia libreria begriffen, wollet ihr sehn, ob die in dem zettel begriffne biblia complutensis allda möchte können zue handen gebracht werden, wie ein catalogus der escurialischen königlichen bibliothek.«. Leopold I to Franz Eusebius Pötting, Ebersdorf, 1670 October 8. In: Pribram – Landwehr von Pragenau (eds.), Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I, vol. 2, p. 115.

⁵³⁰ Nieto Nuño, Diario del conde de Pötting, p. 10 (Entry: 13th of January 1664).

⁵³¹ See the preface of the book where it says: »*Dedicado al exelentissimo Señor Don Francisco Eusebius Petting*«. Mariana de Carvajal y Saavedra, *Navidades de Madrid y noches entretenidas en ocho novelas*, Madrid 1663. On Mariana de Carvajal y Saavedra see Noël Valis, *The Spanish Storyteller Mariana de Carvajal*. In: Katharina M. Wilson – Frank J. Warnke (eds.) *Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century*. Athens, 1989, pp. 251-282.

⁵³² Brown – Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, p. 23.

⁵³³ Quoted in Josef Polišenský, *Hispania de 1614 en la Biblioteca de los Dietrichstein de Mikulov*. In: *Ibero-Americana Pragensia*, 6 (1972), pp. 199-203, here, p. 199.

used the image of the confused knight Cervantes created in his novel. In one of his letters, Dietrichstein labelled the Bohemian winter king Friedrich Elector Palatine as *Don Quijote*.⁵³⁴

Yet, considering that nobles often acquired numerous books or even whole libraries in a single go, it is rather doubtful that all these books were read. In many cases, libraries instead served to create the image of an erudite and well-read collector. Libraries, hence, »have more to tell us about owner than about readers«, Peter Burke underscored.⁵³⁵ The Spanish contemporary Tomás Quixada clearly disapproved nobles' obsession with accumulating books, books they never read, as he claimed. »I don't go searching in those libraries owned by archbishops, dukes or by marquises, for boasting's sake assembled, just for looks, since rarely do their owners read their books«, he mocked.⁵³⁶ As Fernando Bouza has emphasised recently, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed two extreme attitudes as regards the ownership of libraries. »Lettered men as the quoted Quixada on the one hand considered books as inherently useful and they assembled mainly books related to heir field of specialisation, whereas the ownership of libraries by nobles on the other, often had been just another sign in the rhetoric of distinction.« Certainly, these two attitudes »are rarely manifested in their extreme forms«, Bouza suggested, but in practice it was instead a blend of both.⁵³⁷ However, it is unquestioned that the preoccupation with literature, be that as collector or be that as avid reader, gained importance in early modern noble society, and in this sense the nobility's contribution to the spread of literature and ideas cannot be overlooked.

⁵³⁴ Kašparová, *Acerca de dos Impresos españoles*, p. 179.

⁵³⁵ Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, p. 7.

⁵³⁶ Quoted in Fernando Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*, Philadelphia 2004, p. 65.

⁵³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

7. Consuming Luxury: Austrian Aristocrats face the Rise of Chocolate

»[...] heindt hab ich von der spanischen zocolate genomen, hab woll klaubt ich sein im himble, so woll hadt es mir geschmezt [...].«⁵³⁸

Johanna Theresia Harrach

It was common for luxury goods to be used by early modern aristocrats as a sign of distinction; consumed in order to signal wealth, prestige and social rank. Conspicuous consumption of exotic goods from overseas, expensive spices, the use of laces and precious textiles from Brussels or Paris, and the like enabled the upper class to set itself apart from the masses, and likewise served as weapons in the social competition among the nobility itself. A luxury good of paramount symbolic and economic value, which was entrenched in seventeenth century aristocratic circles, was chocolate. Encountered by the Spaniards in the New World in the sixteenth century, chocolate came to be one of the most exquisite consumer goods of the Baroque Age. The European elite acquired a taste for the exotic brew, which became associated with wealth, good taste, and connoisseurship. Strongly sweetened and flavoured with expensive spices such as cinnamon, cloves, and nutmeg, chocolate enjoyed the highest prestige among the three hot beverages – coffee, tea and chocolate – in the seventeenth century.⁵³⁹

Information about chocolate and the high status it enjoyed in indigenous consumption and medical practice reached Europe shortly after the first Europeans came into contact with the beverage in the Americas. In a letter written to Charles V

⁵³⁸ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol. (Note from April 22nd 1677).

⁵³⁹ Nikita Harwich, *Histoire du chocolat*, Paris 1992; Sophie D. Coe – Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, London 1996; Marcy Norton, *New World of Goods: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Spanish Empire, 1492-1700*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Berkeley 2000. On chocolate in Aztec and Mayan society see Françoise Fontaine, *Le cacao, boisson des rois dans le Nouveau Monde*. In: *Chocolat. De la boisson élitaire au bâton populaire, XVIe-XXe siècle*. Catalogue de l'exposition organisée par la CGER. Brussels 1996, pp. 17-34.

in 1520, for example, Hernán Cortés informed the Emperor about the »almond like fruit cacao, which the indigenous people hold to be of such value, that they use it as money throughout the land«. ⁵⁴⁰ Another European described chocolate as being »the most healthful and most nutritious aliment of all known to the world, for one who takes a cup of it, though he may make a long journey, can pass all day without taking another thing«. ⁵⁴¹ Colonists and missionaries – above all the Jesuits – as well as physicians and travellers to the New World played a key role in transferring knowledge about New World consumer goods, plants and their medical properties. ⁵⁴²

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a time of great interest in the study of nature and both the newly discovered continent and its flora and fauna awoke particular interest. Particularly at the courtly centres, »natural studies boomed and books about nature as well as natural objects, exotic plants, and animals were in great demand«. ⁵⁴³ One of the first detailed descriptions of chocolate and its use in indigenous medical practices is an account in the botanical work *Historia de las Plantas de España Nueva* (1577) by the Spanish court physician Francisco Hernández. By order of King Philip II he had voyaged to New Spain in 1570 to study and collect New World plants. A spate of literature on chocolate's nature and qualities followed and was rapidly distributed throughout the whole of Europe. The work by Colmenero de Ledesma, *Curioso tratado de la naturaleza y calidad del chocolate*, for instance, was translated into different European vernaculars shortly

⁵⁴⁰ Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*. Translated and ed. by Anthony Pagden, with an introduction by J. H. Elliott, New Haven-London 1986, p. 94.

⁵⁴¹ Anonymous Conqueror, *Narrative of Some Things of New Spain and of the Great City of Temestitan, México*, written by Anonymous Conqueror, a Companion of Hernan Cortés. Translated and edited by Marshall Howard Saville, New York 1917, p. 41. Cited also in Coe – Coe, *True history of Chocolate*, p. 86.

⁵⁴² See recently Londa Schiebinger – Claudia Swan (eds.), *Colonial Botany. Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, Philadelphia 2005. On the Jesuits as transmitters of indigenous medical knowledge see the study by Sabine Anagnostou, *Jesuiten in Spanisch-Amerika als Übermittler von heilkundlichem Wissen*, Stuttgart 2000, and recently *Ibidem*, *Jesuits in Spanish America and their contribution to the exploration of the American material medica*. In: *Pharmacy in History*, 47 (2005), pp. 3-17. Also Harwich, *Histoire du chocolat*, pp. 68-71 and pp. 95-96. More general Renate Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer neuen Welt: Amerika im Nachrichtennetz des Habsburgischen Imperiums 1493 – 1598*, Mainz 2000.

⁵⁴³ Paula Findlen, *Courting nature*. In: Nicholas Jardine – Jim Secord – Emma Spary (eds.), *Cultures of Natural History*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 57-74.

after it was published in 1631. The writings of Antonio de León Pinelo, *Question moral si el Chocolate quebranta el ayuno ecclesiastico* (1638), Nicolas Blégny, *Le bon usage du Thé, du Caffé, et du Chocolate pour la preservation et pour la guerison de maladies* (1687), and Philippe Sylvestre Dufour, *Traitez Nouveaux et curieux du Café, du Thé de du Chocolate* (1685), are just some of the numerous seventeenth-century works about the new hot beverages.⁵⁴⁴

From the late sixteenth century onwards regular shipments of cacao beans reached the port of Seville and over the following two centuries they increased tremendously. Between 1650 and 1770 cacao export from New Spain increased from 28 tonnes to approximately 3,000 tonnes. The rise of the Netherlands, England and France as colonial powers played an important role in the growing import of cacao to Europe.⁵⁴⁵ First associated with merchants and lettered man, chocolate became a highly sought-after luxury good of the elite. By 1620 it had secured its place in Spanish aristocratic consumption practices, and from there it embarked on its European-wide success story. Some years later Colmenero de Ledesma wrote:

»Es tanto el numero de gente que oi dia bebe Chocolate, que no solamente en las Indias, adonde tuvo su origen y principio esta bebida, sino que tambien en España, Italia y Flandes, es ya muy usual y particularmente en la Corte [...]«.⁵⁴⁶

This chapter seeks to explore chocolate's presence in seventeenth-century Austrian aristocratic society. Although the significance of chocolate as an aristocratic status symbol and expensive luxury good is commonly acknowledged in historiography, surprisingly little attention has been given to the Central European

⁵⁴⁴ Wolf Müller, *Bibliographie des Kaffee, des Kakao, der Schokolade, des Tee und deren Surrogate bis zum Jahre 1900*, Bad Bocklet-Vienna 1960.

⁵⁴⁵ Peter Kriedte, *Vom Grosshändler zum Detaillisten. Der Handel mit «Kolonialwaren» im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. In: *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1 (1994), pp. 11-36, here p. 19. For further literature see Carla Rahn Phillips, *The Growth and Composition of Trade in the Iberian Empires, 1450-1750*. In: James D. Tracy (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires. Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World 1350-1750*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 34-101.

⁵⁴⁶ Colmenero de Ledesma, *Curioso tratado de la naturaleza y calidad del chocolate*, Madrid 1631, p. 1.

process of diffusion of the beverage.⁵⁴⁷ In particular, chocolate's progress to regions north of the Alps has received little attention so far.⁵⁴⁸ There is a general agreement in the historiography that in France, Italy, the Netherlands and England chocolate was consumed by the elite around 1650. Its consumption at the imperial court is, surprisingly, hardly ever mentioned for this period.⁵⁴⁹ The most frequent suggestion in the literature is that in Vienna chocolate did not gain popularity until the beginning of the eighteenth century, under the reign of Emperor Charles VI.⁵⁵⁰ It was the time when Pietro Buonaventura Metastasio wrote his famous *Cantata alla Cioccolata*. As mentioned earlier, Charles lived in Spain for several years, defending the Austrian Habsburgs claims to the Spanish throne in the Spanish War of Succession. When he returned to Austria in 1711 he was accompanied by a large entourage of Spanish courtiers. Scholars such as Wolf Müller regard the rise of chocolate's popularity in Vienna as a consequence of the arrival of these Spaniards who continued their consumption habits at the imperial court.⁵⁵¹ It is certainly accurate that in Vienna chocolate manufacture did not develop as a trade until the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1764 Johann Michael Dannemayer, a

⁵⁴⁷ Only recently Marcy Norton contended that »scholars have failed to recognize the primacy of chocolate in the pantheon of tropical imports. [...] At best, it is ignored; more often, scholars wrongly assume that chocolate *followed* coffee. This mistaken view has led many to explain the diffusion of chocolate as a consequence of the popularity of coffee«. Marcy Norton, *Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics*. In: *The American Historical Review*, 111/3 (2006), pp. 660-691, here p. 666.

⁵⁴⁸ Among the few notable exceptions rank the recently published works by Ronald Graf, *Adeliger Luxus und Städtische Armut. Eine sozialkulturelle Studie zur Geschichte der Schokolade in Mitteleuropa vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 2006, and Roman Rossfeld, *Schweizer Schokolade: Industrielle Produktion und kulturelle Konstruktion eines nationalen Symbols 1860-1920*, Baden 2007. Both scholars focus however primarily on the eighteenth century and on the development of a local chocolate manufacturing.

⁵⁴⁹ Wolf Müller devoted only a paragraph to chocolate consumption in Vienna. Wolf Müller, *Seltsame Frucht Kakao. Geschichte des Kakaos und der Schokolade*, Hamburg 1957. The remarkable study by Annerose Menninger, *Genuss im kulturellen Wandel. Tabak, Kaffee, Tee und Schokolade in Europa, 16.-19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2004, focus on the socio-economical impact of new consumer goods in Europe. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Das Paradies, der Geschmack und die Vernunft. Eine Geschichte der Genußmittel*, Munich-Vienna 1980, also ignored the consumption of chocolate in seventeenth-century Vienna. Also, the brief study by Günther Schiedlausky, *Tee, Kaffee, Schokolade. Ihr Eintritt in die Europäische Gesellschaft*, Munich 1961.

⁵⁵⁰ Müller, *Seltsame Frucht Kakao*, p. 66. See also Roman Sandgruber, *Bittersüße Genüsse. Kulturgeschichte der Genußmittel Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1986* and *Ibidem – Harry Kühnel (eds.), Genuss und Kunst. Kaffee, Tee, Schokolade, Tabak, Cola. Ausstellung Schloß Schallaburg 1994*, Innsbruck 1994.

⁵⁵¹ Müller, *Seltsame Frucht Kakao*, p. 66.

member of the Viennese chocolate guild, credited the introduction of the art of chocolate making in Vienna to the Spanish courtiers in the entourage of Charles.⁵⁵² With the burgeoning chocolate fabrication the number of consumers also increased. Although still an expensive luxury good, chocolate became accessible and more wide-spread among the Viennese population.

However, the close dynastic links between the Spanish and Austrian Habsburg monarchies render it possible that chocolate was introduced to the imperial court during the seventeenth century.⁵⁵³ Yet, what is striking is the fact that little archival evidence survives regarding chocolate consumption at the imperial court. Among the few documents that do mention chocolate is a note in the diary of the imperial ambassador to Spain, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach. In 1674 he noted that the Spanish Queen had sent presents to her relatives in Vienna; besides jewellery, the gifts also included a box of chocolate.⁵⁵⁴ A year later, chocolate is mentioned for the first time in a toll regulation.⁵⁵⁵

There are however many pieces of evidence which suggest that Austrian aristocrats had also acquired an appetite for chocolate by the mid-seventeenth century. Knowledge of chocolate circulated in the widely ramified networks of the European elite. Information about exotica and new fashions usually quickly spread. Austrian aristocrats most probably got into contact with the beverage during travels abroad. Furthermore, contemporary literature about chocolate was widely available. The Harrach family's library, for instance, included all the famous writings on chocolate of the epoch.⁵⁵⁶ Although it is difficult to determine when exactly these books were added to the library, it can be assumed that knowledge about the

⁵⁵² »1712 ist das bis dahin unbekannt gewesene Cioccoladamachen durch die mitgekommenen Spanischen Minister zum allerersten mahl endecket [worden].« Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (WSLA), Alte Registratur, Bericht 220/1766. Quoted also in Ronald Graf, *Adeliger Luxus und Städtische Armut*, p. 107.

⁵⁵³ Graf, *Adeliger Luxus und Städtische Armut*, p. 67.

⁵⁵⁴ AVA, Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fol. 171 v.

⁵⁵⁵ Graf, *Adeliger Luxus und Städtische Armut*, p. 78.

⁵⁵⁶ See the entries in the library catalogue: AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 34 and Hs 34a (Alphabetischer Katalog der Bibliothek, angelegt im 18. Jh).

beverage, its preparation and the medical merits attributed to chocolate reached the Austrian aristocracy through these sources.

One of the first reliable sources concerning the consumption of chocolate among Austrian aristocrats dates from the year 1644. In the summer of that year, the Archbishop of Prague, Cardinal Ernst Adalbert Harrach attended the conclave for the election of a successor to Urban VIII in Rome. In a note written on the 9th of September Harrach mentioned that he had drunk chocolate for the first time. The Archdeacon of Burgos, Egidio Carrillo de Albornoz had served him the beverage.⁵⁵⁷ These notes, which the Cardinal called »*Tagzettel*«, were an important source for the spread of novelties among the Austrian aristocracy. They were added to the official correspondence and they circulated among family members and friends. Especially among members of the family Harrach it was a very popular way to communicate with relatives and acquaintances abroad.⁵⁵⁸

Back from Rome, the Cardinal seems to have introduced the beverage into the local noble society in Prague and Vienna. Shortly afterwards we find chocolate being mentioned in the diary of his brother, Count Albrecht Harrach.⁵⁵⁹ In the following years the Cardinal frequently noted that he had served chocolate to his guests, or presented it as a gift to fellow aristocrats.⁵⁶⁰ His residence seemingly became the first place to go for the local elite who liked the exotica. He once remarked for instance that he was running out of chocolate because

⁵⁵⁷ »*Ho provato la prima volta que dentro appresso Albornoz la ciuocolada*«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 203, sin fol. (Entry September 9th 1644). I am grateful to Alessandro Catalano for this reference.

⁵⁵⁸ In their style and transmission these *Tagzettel* resemble handwritten newspapers. See Alessandro Catalano, *Die Tagebücher und Tagzettel des Kardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*. In: Josef Pauser – Martin Scheutz – Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16. – 18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*, Vienna 2007, pp. 781-789. An edition of the Cardinal Harrach's *Tagzettel* is forthcoming.

⁵⁵⁹ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 320a, fol. 11 and fol. 112.

⁵⁶⁰ For instance, on March 15th 1654: »*Sono stato a desinare dal burgravio. E regalai la sua moglie d'un libretto d'orationi del Conrado di Starnberg, e d'una guantiera di tela d'oro con 2 dozzine e mezza di aliorras di ciuocolata, et una imagnetta in taffetà di S. Domenico e la misura del santo in una fettuccia di seta venuta da Soriano, dentro.*« AVA, FA Harrach, Hs 460, sin fol. (I am grateful to Alessandro Catalano for this reference).

»die fürwizigen weiber, wie sie gern alle winckhel außspühren, sein dem cardinal uber seine ciuccolada in zelten khommen, und haben ihms zimblich gemauset.«⁵⁶¹

Chocolate, as with many other exotic drugs and plants, was first introduced to European consumption habits as a medical product. Scholars like Jordan Goodman or the food historian Alan Davidson explain the success of goods like tobacco, chocolate or maize as a consequence of their ability to fit them into the European scheme of things, or because analogies to pre-existing medical paradigm could be established.⁵⁶² Cardinal Harrach seems to have been well aware of its curative properties. In 1647 he related that a physician provided him with a special mixture, which he called cacao. »Putting a small piece of it into your mouth and letting it melt under the tongue frees you from catarrh and makes you feel stronger. Though it initially tastes bitter, it becomes sweeter after a while and it stimulates the appetite«, described Cardinal Harrach in regard to one of his first experiences with chocolate as a remedy.⁵⁶³ Six years earlier the German apothecary Johann Christian Schröder had mentioned chocolate in his work *Pharmacopoeia medico-chymica*, which became the most important pharmaceutical manual of the epoch. He recommended dissolving chocolate in beer or wine. Drunk warm it would serve as an excellent restorative.⁵⁶⁴ The whole range of curative effects attributed to the

⁵⁶¹ AVA, FA Harrach, Hs 400, sin fol. (Entry February 19th 1663) I am grateful to Dr. Katrin Keller for providing me with this source.

⁵⁶² Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence*, London 1994, pp. 38-39; Alan Davidson, *Europeans' Wary Encounter with Tomatoes, Potatoes, and Other New World Foods*. In: Nelson Foster – Linda S. Cordell (eds.), *Chilies to Chocolate. Food the Americas gave the World* Tuscon-London 1992, pp. 1-14, here p. 3. See also the seminal study by John H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*, Cambridge 1970. Marcy Norton in contrast argues that medical discourse on chocolate followed not preceded chocolate's insinuation among Spanish consumers in Europe. Marcy Norton, *Tasting Empire*, p. 690.

⁵⁶³ »Il medico mi portò una certa mistura d'una robba dell'Indie, che il speciale chiama cacao, ma le genti dell'ambasciator di Spagna lo chiamano cattò, della quale un pezzo piccolo posto in bocca e lasciato squagliare sotto lalingua, provoca il sputare, et tira giù dalla testa li catarri, fortificandola, pare da principio amara, ma sull'ultimo indolcisce la boccae genera buon appetito per mangiare.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 477, sin fol. (Entry October 24th 1647). I am grateful to Alessandro Catalano for providing me with this reference.

⁵⁶⁴ Johann Schroeder, *Pharmacopoeia medico-chymica sive thesaurus pharmacologicus*, Ulm 1641, p. 216. Cited in Wolf Müller, *Bibliographie des Kaffee, des Kakao*, p. 191.

beverage is described very tellingly in an anonymous document entitled *Modo de hazer el Chocolate y sus virtudes*, which survives in the archive of the family Lamberg in Upper Austria. In addition to a detailed description of how to prepare chocolate, the document provides an enthusiastic assessment of its medical properties:

»[...] El chocolate es alma del stomago, y le conforta por excelencia y aquel que lo bebe por la mañana puede estar mucho tiempo en ayunos sin daño alguno, conforta el calor natural y bebido sobre la comida ajuda a la disgestion [...]. No es medicanto, sino alimento nobilissimo, pues haze prorogar la vida, fortifica la vejes; es muy util a los hombres que estan ocupados en negocios [...]. Continuado conforta el cerebro y quita los dolores de cabeza. Es excelentissimo remedio y que lo uzan todos los dias se preservan de la peste, y de la gota coral [...].«⁵⁶⁵

The famous Italian physician Francesco Redi also regarded the medical benefits of chocolate as an important reason for the beverage's enormous success.⁵⁶⁶

Yet, as the historian Piero Camporesi emphasised, taste for chocolate did not emerge immediately nor was everybody equally enthusiastic about the new beverage. As in the case of most New World goods, chocolate also sparked a lively debate among contemporaries. While some praised it as an all-round cure and were attracted to its taste and symbolic meaning at once, others warned of overindulgence or refused it vehemently respectively.⁵⁶⁷ Girolamo Benzoni, a

⁵⁶⁵ OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 1239, Fasc. 29, Nr. 570,4. On chocolate as a medicinal product see Annerose Menninger, *Drogen aus der Neuen Welt. Tabak und Schokolade als Paradigmen für Interkultur- und Medizingeschichte*. In: Friedrich Edelmayer (ed.), *Lateinamerika 1492-1850/70*, Vienna 1995, pp. 115-136; also Teresa L. Dillinger – Patricia Barriga – Sylvia Escárcega – Martha Jimenez – Diana Salazar Lowe – Louis E. Grivetti, *Good of the Gods: Cure for Humanity? A Cultural History of the Medicinal and Ritual Use of Chocolate*. In: *The Journal of Nutrition* 130 (2000), pp. 2057S-2072S.

⁵⁶⁶ Cited in Piero Camporesi, *Exotic Brew. The Art of Living in the Age of Enlightenment*, Cambridge 1994, p. 109.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 110.

Milanese traveller who voyaged to Mesoamerica in the 1550s, famously claimed that »chocolate is a drink for pigs rather than people«, and the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta noted in his work about the natural and moral history of the Indies that one has to become accustomed to the foamy drink which initially provokes a feeling of nausea.⁵⁶⁸ The Italian theologian Giuseppe Girolamo Semenzi, too, warned of overindulgence and of flavouring chocolate too much with all sorts of spices, since he believed such gluttony would overheat the blood and turn remedy to poison.⁵⁶⁹ The confusion chocolate provoked is most tellingly reflected in the famous correspondence of Madame de Sévigné. Whilst at times she recommended chocolate as a reviving beverage after a sleepless night or as a remedy to cure indispositions, elsewhere she vehemently warned of chocolate's hidden danger to cause fatal fever. On another occasion she wrote to her daughter that »the Marquise de Coëtlogon had drunk so much chocolate during her pregnancy that she gave birth to a small boy, black as the devil, who died«. ⁵⁷⁰ Her contemporary Madame d'Orléans, the German Princess Elisabeth of the Palatinate, too, had a deep dislike for the three new fashionable drinks chocolate, tea, and coffee. To her half-sister Amelie Elisabeth she wrote that she hardly can imagine why people are so fond of these beverages. Tea tastes like hay and dung, coffee has a bitter, sooty taste and creates bad breath, and chocolate is too sweet and provokes pain in the stomach.⁵⁷¹

However, as ambivalent the attitude towards the exotic beverage was, contemporary sources are unequivocal as regards its rise as a luxury good for the elite. By 1660 drinking chocolate was a widespread habit among the Austrian

⁵⁶⁸ Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, Venice 1565, fol. 102. José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, Seville 1590, fols. 163r-164v. Quoted among others also in Coe – Coe, *True History of Chocolate*, p. 109 and p. 112, also in Marcy Norton, *Tasting Empire*, p. 668.

⁵⁶⁹ Piero Camporesi, *Exotic Brew*, p. 112.

⁵⁷⁰ Marie de Rabutin-Chantal de Sévigné, *Lettres*, ed. É. Gérard-Gailly vol 1, Paris 1956, p. 409 (Lettre du 25 octobre 1671). Quoted also in Wolf Müller; *Seltsame Frucht Kakao*, p. 43; Coe – Coe, *True History of Chocolate*, pp. 158-159; Nikita Harwich Vallenilla, *Le chocolat et son imaginaire, XVIème-XVIIIème siècles: le monde américain dans une tasse*. In: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, 32 (1995), pp. 103-122, here p. 120.

⁵⁷¹ Cited in Klaus J. Mattheier, *Deutsche Eckkultur am Versailler Hof Ludwigs XIV. Über die kulinarischen Vorlieben und Abneigungen der Elisabeth Charlotte von Orléans*. In: Teuteberg – Neumann – Wierlacher (eds.), *Essen und kulturelle Identität*, pp. 148-154, here p. 153.

aristocracy. It was both an appreciated remedy, taken to cure stomach problems, as well as a luxury good consumed for pleasure and taste. Countess Johanna Theresia Harrach, for instance, consumed it every morning for breakfast.⁵⁷² In a letter to her husband she once remarked: »Today I had some Spanish chocolate and it tasted so good that I felt as though I were in heaven.«⁵⁷³ Johanna Theresia Harrach was indeed enthusiastic about the pleasures of drinking chocolate as she wrote these lines in 1677. She had learned of the beverage and acquired a taste for it most probably in Spain during her time as court lady of Queen Mariana. She was most probably also an eyewitness to a pivotal moment in the history of chocolate in Spain: In 1654 the Duke of Albuquerque presented chocolate to the royal family and the king's favourite Luis de Haro as a gift, for which he spent the enormous sum of 50,000 reales. This grandiose gesture was of paramount symbolic meaning; chocolate had become a luxury good of such high prestige that it was suitable as a royal gift. As Marcy Norton revealed, it had moved from the salons of the high aristocracy to the court, and started to play an increasingly important role in Spanish royal ritual.⁵⁷⁴

In Vienna, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach and his wife played a key role in the spread of chocolate among the Viennese aristocracy. Reading their private documents one cannot help noting that the Harrach palace had become a meeting-place for all the chocolate-loving aristocrats of Vienna, and Count Harrach occasionally had difficulties keeping up with the demand.⁵⁷⁵ In a letter to his uncle he once remarked:

⁵⁷² For instance in April 18th 1677 she wrote: »Heindt bin ich umb 7 munder worden und zocoläde genomen wie sonst [...]«. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol.

⁵⁷³ [...] heindt hab ich von der spanischen zocolate genomen, hab woll klaubt ich sein im himble, so woll hadt es mir geschmeget [...]. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol. (Note from April 22nd 1677).

⁵⁷⁴ Marcy Norton, *New World of Good*, p. 377.

⁵⁷⁵ See for instance the entries in the *Tagzettel* of Johanna Theresia Harrach in 1677. »Heindt ist der Sigmundt Dietrichstein komen, ich soll ihmb ein zocolate geben, es duen ihn der magen weh.« (Entry from June 28th); »Heidt wie sonst auffgestanden, ist die von Eckhenberg umb 10 zu mir komen, bei mir zocolate zu nehmen.« (Entry from August 11th); or »[...] so kombt die von Wirmb und Orsanto und Wuque und bitten umb ein zocolate, die hab ich ihnen geschwindt machen lassen.« (Entry from September 12th). AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol.

»[...] Die Gräfin Maximiliana ist vom meiner chocolate uble informirt, dann einmal ist sie noch nit hier, werde ihr nit vil darvon geben können, dann ieder man will vom mir haben.«⁵⁷⁶

This remark is interesting for two reasons. On the one hand it attests to the fact that drinking chocolate had become increasingly fashionable among the Austrian aristocracy. On the other, it indicates that commercial trade could not yet satisfy the growing demand. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, local chocolate manufacture did not develop until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although it can be assumed that travelling vendors occasionally passed through Vienna and sold chocolate, the aristocracy nonetheless depended on its own personal networks and imported the desired good themselves.⁵⁷⁷ Prince Dietrichstein, for instance, once asked his half-brother Count Lamberg whether he could send him some chocolate. The physician had prescribed it as a cure for his wife's stomach ailments, but chocolate was not available at the local pharmacy in Mikulov.⁵⁷⁸

Due to his close contacts and frequent visits to Spain, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach became a key figure in the informal chocolate networks of the Austrian aristocracy. The arrival of the fleet from the Indies in Seville was an important factor in this respect. In 1665, while on official duties in Madrid, Harrach informed his uncle that the price of chocolate had increased tremendously because the fleet from the Indies had not brought any cacao. He nonetheless promised to acquire

⁵⁷⁶ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Cardinal Ernst Adalbert Harrach, Vienna, 1666 April 14. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Harrach Gf. Ferdinand Bonav. I, fol. 256r.

⁵⁷⁷ Roman Rossfeld suggested that in Switzerland chocolate was sold by Italian and French travelling vendors until local production developed in the eighteenth century. Roman Rossfeld, *Mit Stillstand zum Fortschritt. Über Handel, Verarbeitung und Konsum von Schokolade in der Schweiz bis 1800*. In: Internationaler Arbeitskreis für Kulturforschung des Essens. *Mitteilungen*, 11 (2003), pp. 24-35, here p. 25.

⁵⁷⁸ »Der medicus hat meiner gemahlin wegen ihres magen die schogolata verordnet, weilen nun in der apodeken kein gerechts zu bekommen, daher bitte ich, nemb ein kleines gestadels [mit].« Ferdinand Dietrichstein to Johann Maximilian Lamberg, Nikolsburg, 1662 September 6. OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 1240, Fasz. 30, Nr. 672.

some and added that he would be pleased to share it with his uncle.⁵⁷⁹ On another occasion he informed his wife that he had ordered chocolate from the Netherlands on behalf of a good friend.⁵⁸⁰ During his time as imperial ambassador in Spain in the 1670s, he was frequently contacted by friends and relatives from Vienna who asked him to supply them with chocolate. To give an example: In August 1674, shortly after he had arrived in Madrid, Count Harrach received a request from his father-in-law, Count Lamberg, to purchase some chocolate and other luxury goods from overseas. Harrach replied that the fleet was expected to arrive any day and that he would therefore be able to purchase chocolate at a reasonable price.⁵⁸¹ Possessing the necessary contacts at the Spanish court, he was usually well-informed about news from the Indies. When soon afterwards the Duke of Albuquerque informed him that the fleet had finally arrived, Harrach immediately organised the purchase of cacao in Seville, its fabrication into chocolate and its transport to Vienna.⁵⁸² For the purchase of approximately 3,5 kilograms of chocolate and the shipment to Vienna Harrach spent the enormous sum of 5,395 reales.⁵⁸³ In comparison, he once

⁵⁷⁹ »Die chocolate ist theyer worden, das pfundt Cacao, welhes man sonst umb 6 reales bezallet, kostet iecz 20, die ursach ist, das mit denen galeonen keiner komen ist, mit allen dem aber lasse ich mir 2 zenten machen vor welcher ich für euer Gn. auch werde mit theillen können.« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Franz Albrecht Harrach, Madrid, 1665 September 10. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 443, Konv. 1665, fols. 64r-65v.

⁵⁸⁰ »[...] es wirdt ein brifel auß Niderlandt an mich lautent komen, das hebe sie unterdessen auf, es ist chocolate darinnen, die ist aber nit mein, sonder eines andern guetn freindt, so sie unter meinen namen hat komen lassen [...].« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Johanna Theresia Harrach, Madrid, 1665 October 9. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 321, sin fol. On November 25th, she responded with the information that the chest with chocolate had arrived. (»die truchen mit der zocoladte ist ankomen, ich laß derweill auffheben«) AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol.

⁵⁸¹ »[...] die chocolate, so euer fstl. Gn. verlangen, will ich mit absonderlichen fleiss machen lassen undt treffen sie gar ein gute gelegenheit aniezo an, dann bey ankunfft der erwartenter flota der cacao gar wolfeil sein solle, daher o euer fstl. Gn. diselbe viel wollfeiler undt frischer werden haben kundten.« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Johann Maximilian Lamberg, Madrid, 1674 August 15. OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 1237, Fasz. 27, Nr. 483, 40.

⁵⁸² On October 31st he noted in his diary: »[...] der Duque de Albuquerque berichtet mir das die Flota aus Indien angelant seye, welches nit ein schlechte freüdt verursacht.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1 fol. 255r. Shortly afterwards he informed his father-in-law about the purchase of the desired goods »Aus beiligender nota werden euer fstl. Gn. ersehen, was die flotta mitgebracht, so baldt der cacao hier ankomet werde ich euer fstl. Gn. die begehrt chocolate machen lassen undt uberschücken [...].« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Johann Maximilian Lamberg, Madrid, 1674 November 7. OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 1237, Fasz. 27, Nr. 483, 26.

⁵⁸³ »Verzeichnuß, waß die 200 lt. Schocolade, so vor ihr hochgräfl. Exellenz herrn Gf. von Lamberg gemacht worden in alles kosten:

Cacao 150 lt. a 22 ½ R	3375 Reales
Zuckher 84 lt a 4 ¾	399 Reales

paid merely 450 reales for a painting by El Greco.⁵⁸⁴ This example clearly demonstrates the high value of chocolate. Harrach himself had spent a fortune on the good during his stay in Madrid. Almost daily he received high ranking guests and foreign diplomats in his house, to whom he served the exquisite beverage.⁵⁸⁵

In Vienna, chocolate remained a luxury good throughout the entire seventeenth century, consumed exclusively in the salons of the aristocracy. Contrary to the situation in Spain or England, public sales grew slowly in Vienna. Marcy Norton revealed that in Madrid chocolate was already sold in the streets around 1630 and by 1680 public sales were wide spread in the city. According to the scholar, towards the close of the century also »more humble subjects had opportunities to partake in chocolate, if not as frequently or with as expensive materials« as the aristocracy.⁵⁸⁶ There was a similar situation in London, where the first chocolate house opened in 1659.⁵⁸⁷ In Vienna, in contrast, the first public places where coffee, tea, and chocolate were served did not emerge until the close of the century. In 1700 only four *Kaffeesieder* (coffee brewers) were granted the privilege to manufacture and to sell coffee, tea, chocolate, sorbet and the like in public places. The Emperor was eager to keep the number of coffee houses as low as possible. In a patent dating from the year 1714 it was argued that »only suspect individuals would meet in coffeehouses, who gamble and who often also dishonour the name of God.«⁵⁸⁸ In

Vaynillas 300 Stuckh a 1½ R 450 Reales
Zimmet 1 ½ lt. a 60 R 90 Reales
Die Schocolade zu machen 304, ½ Reales

Vor zwey verschläg, gewächßte leinwandt, fuhrlohn, undt alle Mauth von hier nacher Alicante bezahlt in allem 777 Reales.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 2550, sin fol. 1 lot (lt.) is the equivalent to approximately 17,5 grams.⁵⁸⁴ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 774, Konv. Velazquez, sin fol.

⁵⁸⁵ In the account book, which he kept during this time we find almost weekly entries for expenses on chocolate. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 2979 (Rechnungen Madrid und Varia).

⁵⁸⁶ Marcy Norton, *New World of Goods*, p. 361.

⁵⁸⁷ Coe – Coe, *True History of Chocolate*, p. 169.

⁵⁸⁸ »[...] nichts als lauter liederliche Leuth [sich] aufhalten, alle üble Gesellschaften zusammenkommen, und allerhand Spielereien geübet [werden], auch der Name Gottes öfters dabei verunehrt worden.« Cited in Ronald Graf, *Adeliger Luxus und Städtische Armut*, p. 105. On the introduction of coffee to Vienna and the first *Kaffeesieder* see Karl Teply, *Die Einführung des Kaffees in Wien*. Georg Franz Kolschitzky – Johannes Diodato – Isaak de Luca, Vienna 1980.

addition, high custom duties inhibited a significant spread of chocolate. In a toll regulation from the year 1675 the import of one hundredweight cacao was taxed with 38 gulden, and one hundredweight chocolate with 73 gulden. When in 1708, the noble lady Eleonore Elisabeth Althan applied for a licence to sell chocolate, it was denied under economic pretexts. With the import of cacao and other ingredients too much money would leave the country, the authorities argued. The primary reasons for the refusal of her request were however of a socio-political, rather than mercantile, nature. Authorities aimed in the first place to limit luxury consumption by individuals of lower social standing. Only in princely households was chocolate to be consumed, it was argued in a letter to Lady Althan.⁵⁸⁹

Chocolate became a symbol of a cosmopolitan elite and an icon of refined aristocratic culture. »On the princely table one should always find all sorts of rarities and exquisite dishes«, Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein once advised his son on the importance of conspicuous consumption.⁵⁹⁰ The exotic beverage was perfectly suitable for aristocratic display. Served in porcelain cups and linked to a distinct ceremonial chocolate became a symbol for connoisseurship and distinguished lifestyle.⁵⁹¹ Endowed with a refined expertise in all matters of taste and equally familiar with fine arts, luxury goods and aristocratic socializing, the noble connoisseur became one of the great archetypes of the Baroque Age. Chocolate consumption was indeed one area in which connoisseurship could excel, and exquisite chocolate recipes were therefore much in demand. The Spaniards enjoyed

⁵⁸⁹ Ronald Graf, *Adeliger Luxus und Städtische Armut*, p. 106.

⁵⁹⁰ Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein's instruction for his son was as follows: »so die taffl ohne dieses in allen raritäten und gutten bisseln soll versehen sein.« Cited in Haupt, Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein, p. 61.

⁵⁹¹ At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the German Eberhard Werner Happel reported that »Die Porcellain-Geschirre sind niemahls in Teutschland so beliebt und in Usance gewesen, als zu itziger Zeit, da die edle Gewohnheit des Thee- Caffee- und Chocolate-Trancks der Indianer schier naturalisieret worden, in dem [...] schier ein jeder, der sich für ein gallant homme zu itziger Zeit passiren will, sich dergleichen schöne Geräte anschafft.«. Cited in Friedrich Polleross, *Spanische Chocolate und Indianische Cabinete. Köstlichkeiten aus der Neuen Welt und exotisches Ambiente*. In: Friedrich Polleross – Andrea Sommer-Mathis - Christopher F. Laferl (eds.), *Federschmuck und Kaiserkrone. Das barocke Amerikabild in den habsburgischen Ländern*, Vienna 1992, pp. 105-124, here p. 111.

the highest reputation for their superb chocolate preparation.⁵⁹² In September 1674 Johanna Theresia Harrach wrote the following chocolate recipe from a certain Lady Manriquez down in her notebook: »One takes fifty lt. cacao, adds 32 lt. sugar, half a lt. of cinnamon, an ounce of pepper and 120 vanilla beans. If one likes it piquant, one adds Indian spices.«⁵⁹³ The latter referred to chilli pepper, a very common ingredient in early modern chocolate preparations. From an entry in her husband's diary we learn that on September 17th, the Countess had been invited to lunch by Lady Manriquez.⁵⁹⁴ It is very likely that Countess Harrach was served a specially prepared chocolate drink on this occasion and that she asked her friend for the recipe. Several more chocolate recipes have survived among Ferdinand Bonaventura and Johanna Theresia Harrach's documents and all of them were from Spanish aristocrats.⁵⁹⁵ Thus, not only the good itself, but also the recipes for its preparation circulated among the aristocracy and were passed along among Spanish-Austrian networks. Count Harrach once assured his father-in-law that he would eagerly search in the most distinguished aristocratic houses in Spain for chocolate recipes and send them to Vienna.⁵⁹⁶ It is highly likely that the above mentioned document *Modo de hazer el Chocolate, y sus virtudes*, which has survived in the archive of the Lamberg family originates from these circles of esteemed chocolate experts in Madrid.

In conclusion, the spread of chocolate constitutes an intriguing example for the aristocracy's role in cultural transfer. Throughout the seventeenth century,

⁵⁹² An English traveller once noted: that »*The Spaniards being the only People in Reputation of making Chocolate to perfection.*« Quoted in Coe – Coe, *True History of Chocolate*, p. 134.

⁵⁹³ »Abschrift wie die Manriquez die zocolata machen last. Auf 50 lt. Cagau 32 lt. zuckher, ein halbß lt. zimet, 2 unczen pfeffer und 120 veinillos, und waß man von indianischen derzue will duen eß bicändt zu machen.« AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 116, sin fol. (entry: September).

⁵⁹⁴ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 6/1, fols. 237rv.

⁵⁹⁵ For instance: »*Memoria como se haze el chocolate negro de Benito Martin criado del Duque Medina Celi*«, or »*Memoria de como se labra el chocolate en casa del Almirante*«. AVA Vienna FA Harrach, Carton 331, Konv. Rezepte und Verwandtes, sin fol.

⁵⁹⁶ »[...] wir [haben] von den vornembsten häusern die recept begehrt, wie sie gemacht wirdt und hoffe euer fstl. Gn. sollen woll bedient werden [...]«. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Johann Maximilian Lamberg, Madrid, 1674 November 7. OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 1237, Fasz. 27, Nr. 483, 26.

chocolate enthusiasts among the Austrian aristocracy largely relied on personal contacts and informal networks to satiate their craving for the exotic drink. Influential individuals like the Harrach family with their excellent connection to the Spanish court, were in a position to provide their friends and relatives in Austria with a steady supply of the coveted drink. Professional trades took over the chocolate trade no earlier than the eighteenth century. The first chocolate makers opened their business around 1725, and their number increased steadily over the century. Public places where hot chocolate was sold emerged and their growing number over the course of the eighteenth century witnessed the increasing popularity of the good among the Viennese public. In 1787, a contemporary remarked that in nearly every street of Vienna chocolate maker and coffeehouses could be found.⁵⁹⁷ As distribution and production were popularised and professionalized, consumers no longer needed access to personal networks to acquire the prestigious good. Although still an expensive luxury good, chocolate now became more accessible and also more modest people had the possibility to indulge in chocolate.

⁵⁹⁷ Ignaz de Luca, *Wiens gegenwärtiger Zustand unter Josephs Regierung*, Vienna 1787, p. 41.

8. Beyond Transfer: The Impact of Cultural Transfer on Aristocratic Self-Representation

»Das Weislichste ist, jeder Nation nachzuthun, was jede zum besten hat. Danenhero disfahls der Deutsche billich zu loben, dass er von sich selbst kein eigene Manier, Thun und Lassen hat, so ihme allein zustiende, wie die anderen Nationes, so jede besondere Siten und Ahrt hat. Er aber ist disfahls der Weislichste, thuet nach und erwehlet, was von dehnen andern Nationen das Beste ist, und also sein Manier und Ahrt zu Leben auch die allerbeste werden kan [...].«⁵⁹⁸

Karl Eusebius Lichtenstein

Prince Liechtenstein's remark can be read as an appeal to cultural transfer; a clear plea for an open culture whose development can only profit from cultural borrowings. To adopt the positive features of foreign cultures, in his opinion, leads to the perfect way of life. His description of what is worthwhile and reasonable to imitate from other countries gives a vivid image of noble self-representation, values and ideals. He recommended, for instance, adopting the seriousness of the Spaniards concerning political affairs, their knowledge of the art of horse breeding, and the eagerness and purity with which they defend and exercise the Catholic faith. From the French, he suggested adopting the gallant lifestyle, the way they dress and design their houses, and above all their elegance in rhetoric, riding, fencing and dancing. The Italians, on the other hand, should be emulated for their enthusiasm for fine arts, painting and magnificent architecture, whereas the English he regarded as exemplary in the field of hunting.⁵⁹⁹

Liechtenstein's reflections create the image of a cosmopolitan aristocrat, who was well aware of the symbolic meaning of material culture and how to employ it for representational purposes. This approach to cultural borrowings is addressed in the following chapter. We return to the strategies seventeenth-century aristocracy had developed in order to meet the challenges of the era, discussed above in

⁵⁹⁸ Liechtenstein, *Werk von der Architektur*, p. 194.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 194-195.

Chapter 2.2. It also asks about the symbolic meaning of foreign cultural goods, the images they transported, and how their adoption supported the aristocracy's aspiration for social and cultural superiority.

8.1. The Development of an »International« Cuisine: Eating Culture as a Sign of Social Distinction

In November 1665, Johanna Theresia Harrach wrote a letter to her husband in Spain, asking him to bring some tomato seeds to Vienna since she wished to grow tomatoes in her garden. »*Dan sie schmeckhen mir haubt woll, ih weiß schon wie manß kockhen duet auff spanisch*«, she wrote. He was also asked to look for cookbooks and books of remedies in Madrid.⁶⁰⁰ In the family archive in Vienna, two Spanish written manuscripts survive that contain recipes for dishes and remedies, as well as for cosmetic preparations such as hand lotions, hair powder, perfumes, toilet water, and the like.⁶⁰¹ Also recipes for the manufacturing of porcelain are recorded.⁶⁰² In one of the manuscripts handwritten notes on the margin of the recipes attest to the frequent use of the cookbooks.⁶⁰³ Both manuscripts date back to the first half of the seventeenth century. In one of the two recipe collections, the entries even reveal the precise date, the place and the person the recipes were recorded by.⁶⁰⁴ Whether these are the cookbooks Johanna Theresia Harrach asked

⁶⁰⁰ »[...] *er vergiß nidt den samb von den domates mitzubringen, dan sie schmeckhen mir haubt woll, ih weiß schon wie manß kockhen duet auff spanisch, mein saz kauff mir ein kohbuch, man hadter trin getrugte genuh undt etwan ein einmahbuh auh getrugt, hadt manß, eß sten auh meine arzeneisahen trin.*« Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, Vienna, 1665 November 4. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol.

⁶⁰¹ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 30 (Sammlung verschiedener Rezepte in Spanischer Sprache) and Hs 482 (Spanische Recepte verschiedene Speisen und Getränke zu bereiten). The entries range from »*pastilles de Doña Francisca de Cardonas*« and »*perfumes de cabeza de mi señora la condessa*« till »[recipe] *como dicen que adoba Doña Juana los guantes*« (Hs. 482, sin fol.).

⁶⁰² AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 30, fol. 42v.

⁶⁰³ For instance, on the margin of the formula for »*Vinagre para el verano*« it is noted that »[...] *mi amo gustava de aquella frescura de vinagre y no le echava aquas de olor furerte sino rosada de murta y semejantes sin ambar. Memoria como se hace vinagre para el Verano. Diome esta receta mi señora la Marquesa de Castel Rodrigo en Roma el año 1635*« Ibidem, fols. 8v-9r.

⁶⁰⁴ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 30. The entries range from »*Memoria del vinagre de la condessa de Chinchon. Receta dela Condessa de Chinchon, Madrid henero 1656*« (fols. 40v-41r), to »*Memoria*

her husband to buy in Madrid cannot be said however with certainty. Neither book indicates its original owner. Johanna Theresia herself could have collected the recipes, or commissioned a copy of a cookbook from one of her noble friends in Spain when she lived in Madrid; the latter was a frequent practice among early modern noble ladies in general. Several documents in the family archive provide evidence of the fact that Countess Harrach, as well as her husband, gathered recipes during their stays in Spain; like for instance instructions for the preparation of chocolate.⁶⁰⁵

What is, however, most striking in Countess Harrach's letter is her desire for tomatoes and the remark that she made indicating that she knew how to prepare them »*a la español*«. This is even more interesting taking into account that the letter dates from the middle years of the seventeenth century, a time in which the culinary use of tomatoes was not very common. At this time, in large parts of Europe the tomato was still believed to be poisonous. In contrast to other goods from overseas, like cacao, maize, or tobacco, the tomato received surprisingly little attention by contemporaries and its assimilation into European cuisine was rather slow. Certainly, tomatoes had a strange, somewhat exotic air on account of their origins, and they were cultivated in the botanical gardens of the nobility, but served rather as ornamental plants than for cooking. It was only in the Mediterranean regions of Spain and Italy, that the tomato had been accepted and recognised as a culinary ingredient earlier. But even there it was not until the last decades of the first half of the seventeenth century that the tomato was adopted into regional culinary practice.⁶⁰⁶

de Aqua de clavos de Terranova. Esta receta me embio mi señora la duwuesa de Terranova desde Palermo, Henero 1641« (fols. 2v-3v).

⁶⁰⁵ See Chapter 7.

⁶⁰⁶ See Rudolf Grewe, *The Arrival of the Tomato in Spain and Italy: Early Recipes*. In: *The Journal of Gastronomy*, 3 (1987), p. 67-82; Peer Schmidt, *Der Anbau amerikanischer Nahrungspflanzen in Europa (16.-19. Jahrhundert)*. In: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, 32 (1995), pp. 57-105. Recently also Stephen Quilley – Huw Beynon, *From Andean Weed to Culinary Staple: The Assimilation of the Tomato into Anglo-American Economy and Culture*. In: *Food and History*, 4/1 (2006), pp. 169-220.

Similar to the case of chocolate, it seems reasonable to assume that Johanna Theresia Harrach learned about the tomato as a culinary product during her time as a court lady in Madrid. Although she emphasised in her letter that she liked the taste of tomatoes, we can presume that an additional reason was to distinguish her household by serving exotic dishes to her noble guests in Vienna. However, broad acceptance of the tomato among the Viennese society did not occur in this period. Hardly any sources survive that point to its adoption in seventeenth century local cuisine. The Harrach family was surely a pioneer in this respect. Even some twenty years after Countess Harrach's first mention of the culinary use of tomatoes, the prevailing opinion still was that they were inedible. In a letter written in 1689, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach described to his daughter a visit to the monastery of the Capuchins in Vienna, and that the monks used tomatoes as decoration for the altar. When he asked whether he could have one to eat, they refused vehemently, arguing that they were poisonous apples. It was only because Harrach had persisted that he could finally convince the monks to let him have some for lunch.⁶⁰⁷

Although this example points to a »failed« or at least »delayed« cultural transfer – it would still take some time for tomatoes to conquer Central European eating tables – it nonetheless reveals the role the aristocracy played in the spread of new goods and (eating) practices. It became fashionable in early modern aristocratic society to enrich traditional, regional cuisine with foreign dishes and special creations, in order to demonstrate social status, exclusivity and above all, good taste.⁶⁰⁸ Needless to say that it served also the display of economic capital, that one could afford expensive spices or imported luxury goods. The social symbolism of culinary extravaganzas, however, contained more subtle messages than just a

⁶⁰⁷ »Dahier habe ich tomates bey denen Capucineren auf den altar gesehen, so habe ich umb eine gebeten, sie haben es aber anfangs nit geben wollen, sondern giff (oder giff) äpfel genendt, eindtliche haben si sich bereden lassen, undt heben sie zu mittag gessen sag diße geschicht der f. muete« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Rosa Harrach, 1689 October 10. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 750, sin fol. I am grateful to Maria Röhsner for this reference.

⁶⁰⁸ On food and representation see the contributions in Lothar Kolmer – Christian Rohr (eds.), *Mahl und Repräsentation. Der Kult ums Essen. Beiträge des internationalen Symposions in Salzburg* (29. April – 1. Mai 1999), Paderborn-Munich-Vienna-Zurich²2000.

pretentious display of wealth. A distinguished eating culture became an indicator of cosmopolitanism, a virtue highly esteemed in early modern noble society.⁶⁰⁹ »Like humanist culture itself, humanist cuisine was cosmopolitan«, Brian Cowan emphasised in his recent study on food fashions after the Renaissance.⁶¹⁰

Many fruits and cultivated plants from all different regions of the world were traded as luxury goods and they satisfied the nobility's desire for being different. Peaches, apricot and melons were imported from Spain already in the sixteenth century. The demand in these fruits, stones or fruit tress which were unknown in the Austrian lands, is a recurrent topic in the correspondence of the Emperors and their ambassadors in Spain, especially in the sixteenth century.⁶¹¹ Shortly after its import to the Austrian territories, the apricot was cultivated in noble gardens and the fruit was served in different variations at noble tables.⁶¹² In the seventeenth

⁶⁰⁹ For the English elite Linda Levy Peck asserted for instance that they "increasingly identified themselves as cosmopolitan through the appropriation of continental luxuries". Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 18.

⁶¹⁰ Brian Cowan, *New Worlds, New Tastes: Food Fashions after the Renaissance*. In: Paul Freedman (ed.), *Food: The History of Taste*, Berkeley 2007, pp. 196-231, here p. 208. There is a large literature on the history of early modern cookery and changes in diet, as well as the significance of eating culture for social distinction. See for instance Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food. Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Oxford 1985; Jean-Louis Flandrin (ed.), *Food. A culinary history from antiquity to the present*. New York 1999; *Ibidem*, *Der Gute Geschmack und die soziale Hierarchie*. In: Philippe Ariès – Roger Chartier (eds.), *Geschichte des privaten Lebens*. Vol. 3: *Von der Renaissance zur Aufklärung*, Frankfurt/Main ⁴1994, pp. 269-311; *Ibidem* – Philip Hyman, *Regional tastes and cuisines: Problems, documents and discourses on food in Southern France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. In: *Food and Foodways* 2 (1986), pp. 1-31; Barbara K. Wheaton, *Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789*, Philadelphia 1983. The aspect of identity and food and dining culture is intensively discussed in the two volumes edited by Hans Jürgen Teuteberg – Gerhard Neumann – Alois Wierlacher (eds.), *Kulturthema Essen. Ansichten und Problemfelder*, Berlin 1993 and *Ibidem*, *Essen und kulturelle Identität. Europäische Perspektiven*, Berlin 1997.

⁶¹¹ »*Ich bin allerunderthenigister hofnung, euer ksl. Mt. werden den Magnetstain alß auch die melaun phersich und mariln khern so ich jungstlich per Flannern überschickht empfangen haben [...]*«, wrote the imperial ambassador Hans Khevenhüller to the Emperor in 1675. Hans Khevenhüller to Maximilian II, Madrid, 1575 December 16. HHStA Vienna, Spanien Dipl. Korr., Carton 9, (Konv. Khevenhüller 1575-1576), fol. 219v; or in August 1576 he wrote: »[...] *Will auch die opskhern mit höchstem vleiss zuesamen bringen, alsdann euer ksl. Mt. aines und das ander zue erster unf pester glegenhait zuesenden.*« Hans Khevenhüller to Maximilian II, Madrid, 1576 August 26. HHStA Vienna, Spanien Dipl. Korr., Carton 9, (Konv. Khevenhüller 1575-1576), fol. 283v. See also Laferl, *Die Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 148-149.

⁶¹² See for instance the recipes for syrup, jam, puree and compote made of apricot mentioned in the cooking book of Katharina Volckensdorf, born lady Liechtenstein (1572-1643). »*Khochbuech von allerley eingemachten sachen, von zukher, henig und allerley frichten von mier, Catharina frawen von Volkhensdorff ein geborne Herrin von Liechtenstain beschriben*« Fürstlich Liechtensteinische Fideikommiß-Bibliothek, Vienna, Hs. 164, pp. 118-122.

century, Orangeries and glass buildings, in which tropical fruits were cultivated, became standard items in aristocratic gardens.⁶¹³ Foreign trees and rare plants were regarded as the most valuable decoration of a noble garden, not least because they enhanced the reputation of a prince, as Prince Liechtenstein remarked:

»Diese auslendische Paum seint was schwer in dehnen kalten Lendern zu erhalten, destwegen aber nicht zu unterlassen sein, dan quod rarum charum ist, und destwegen mehreres sich dehnen zu befließen, dan sie dehnen Garten greste Zierde geben und zu schätzen, dieweilen sie in disen Lendern nicht so gemein sein.«⁶¹⁴

Together with differences in appearance and lifestyle, the consumption of foreign goods created a distance between the aristocratic society and its subordinates. Ronald Asch pointed to the changes in the »relationship of the nobility with peasant society in that time. Although north of the Alps noble culture and peasant culture still had a great deal in common in the sixteenth century, rich nobles increasingly adjusted to a new ideal of high culture which set them apart from their own tenants and peasants.«⁶¹⁵ Increasing urbanisation and the fact that aristocrats spent much of the year at the imperial court contributed to an increasing spatial as well as cultural distance between the ruling class and the ordinary folk. Certainly, differences in what was served at noble and at peasant tables existed already in earlier periods and it is by no means an invention of early modern time. However, these differences increased in the seventeenth century, not only in terms of what was eaten but also in terms of how one ate. Luxurious table utensils as well

⁶¹³ »Die Pommerantschenheusser, [...] werden gar hoch und vor fiernehm iberall, besonders in Deutschlandt geachtet. Danenhero sollen unsere Gärten 2 deroselben haben [...]«, wrote Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein in his discussion of architecture. Liechtenstein, *Werk von der Architektur*, p. 147.

⁶¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 151.

⁶¹⁵ Asch, *Nobility in Transition*, p. 152.

as table manners became signs of distinction, just as the consumption of expensive and foreign goods and dishes did.⁶¹⁶

Early modern cookbooks clearly illustrate this trend. Though they do not »always reflect precisely culinary praxis, but rather indicate new, unknown, foreign as well as unusual dishes«, they nevertheless point to the development of what we today call an international cuisine.⁶¹⁷ Most of these early cookbooks were written for noble households or had been compiled by noble women themselves. One of the earliest printed cookbooks in the Austrian lands is the »*Freiwillig auffgesprungener Granat-Appffel des christlichen Samaritans [...]*«, compiled by Eleonora Maria Rosalia Eggenberg, born Countess of Liechtenstein, and which was first published in 1695.⁶¹⁸ Besides traditional fish and meat dishes and all sorts of remedies, it contains different recipes for French and English pâté, Polish and Hungarian Soup, Italian confectionery, orange and lemon pies, purees from figs, apricots or almond. It also includes recipes for roasted turkey and »Indian partridge«, which should be served in noble houses, as recommended in the cookbook, with citrus fruits or seeds from pomegranates.⁶¹⁹

A status symbol at the noble table was the *Olla podrida*, which is a sort of stew consisting of all different kinds of meat and vegetables.⁶²⁰ At the imperial court the

⁶¹⁶ See for instance the instruction, which Johann Maximilian Lamberg wrote for his two sons' education, in which one point addresses table manners: »7. Bei der tafl sollen sie zichtig sein und nit geizig und unsauber essen, gravitetisch sitzen, nit hin und herwetzen, mit den fuessen stampfen, auf dem tische lainen, oder urpartig sein, ir reden nit schreyen noch zu allen überlaut lachen, weilen solches allein die kinder und unwitzige thun.« OÖLA Linz, HA Steyr, FA Lamberg, Carton 1232, Fasz. 21, Nr. 332, sin fol.

⁶¹⁷ Trude Ehlert, Regionalität und nachbarlicher Einfluß in der deutschen Rezeptliteratur des ausgehenden Mittelalters. In: Teuteberg –Neumann – Wierlacher (eds.), Essen und kulturelle Identität, pp. 131-147.

⁶¹⁸ Herta Neunteufel could prove that parts of Countess Liechtenstein's recipe book are identical to a cooking book which was published thirteen years earlier in Graz. Herta Neunteufel, Kochkunst im Barock. Aus der Welt der steirischen Küche um 1686, Graz 1976; Ibidem, Das erste Grazer Kochbuch. In: Biblos, 23 (1974), pp. 285-297.

⁶¹⁹ »Zu dem gebratenen ist gebräuchlich, daß man jederzeit Salat gebe, welchen ein jeglicher nach seinem belieben gemischt, oder allein geben kan, bey vornehmen orthen gibt man auch von allerhand wällischen Fruchten, Lemoni, Pomeranzen, so mit Granatäpfelkerner regulirt auch allerhand Salsen, wie jeder will.« Eleonora Maria Rosalia Liechtenstein, *Freiwillig auffgesprungener Granat-Appffel des christlichen Samaritans oder ... Gehaimbnuß vieler vortrefflicher, sonders-bewährter Mittel und Wunder-Heylsamen Artzneyen wider unterschiedlichen Zustand vnd Übel* (etc.), Vienna 1720, p.45.

⁶²⁰ In German cookbooks the dish was frequently called »*Spanische Suppe*«. For example in the recipe collection of Katharina Volkensdorf, »*Khochbuech von allerley eingemachten sachen, von*

dish was introduced during the reign of Ferdinand I, and at »the imperial Hofburg a separate »*Spanische Suppenkücke*« was installed, where specially trained chefs were responsible for the preparation of the dish». ⁶²¹ The aristocracy's appetite for foreign dishes and eating habits, in the truest sense of the word, crucially moulded the local culinary practise. Many foreign dishes and ingredients, which were initially traded as luxury goods, were adopted and integrated into the local cuisine in the course of the century. According to the historian Roman Sandgruber, the culinary diversity at the imperial court played a central role in the formation of the Austrian cuisine. ⁶²²

Culinary practice changed not only through the adoption of new foodstuffs. The development of new ways of preparation had a similar impact. In the seventeenth century French cooks had refined and created new dishes and towards the close of the century French cuisine became a synonym for good taste. Above all the development of rich sauces and the increasing use of butter and cream in dishes distinguished French cooking. ⁶²³ In the second half of the seventeenth century, it became fashionable in elite circles to employ French chefs, which, as a long term consequence, profoundly changed regional culinary practices and traditional diets. In studying English cookery, Valerie Mars emphasised, however, the ambivalent attitude towards French culinary influence in England. On the one hand, an anti-French rhetoric was evident in this period and attempts were made to prevent English culinary traditions from foreign influences. On the other hand, the English elite were enthusiastic at displaying cosmopolitanism by adopting fashions from the continent. By the mid eighteenth century it was a common practice in English

zucker, henig und allerley frichten von mier, Catharina frawen von Volkhensdorff ein geborne Herrin von Liechtenstain beschriben« Fürstlich Liechtensteinische Fideikommiß-Bibliothek, Vienna, Hs. 164, p. 252 (Die Spanische Suppe zu machen).

⁶²¹ Hans Ottomeyer, *Olla podrida und Pot d'oille: Leitfossile europäischer Tafelkultur*. In: Teuteberg – Neumann – Wierlacher (eds.), *Essen und kulturelle Identität*, pp. 164-175, here, p. 173.

⁶²² Sandgruber, *Österreichische Nationalspeisen*, p. 187.

⁶²³ Cowan, *New Worlds, New Taste*. See also Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Le goût et le nécessités. Sur l'usage des graisses dans les cuisines d'Europe occidentale (XIVe-XVIIIe siècle)*. In: *Annales* 1983, pp. 369-401.

upper-class households to employ French chefs, and new cooking technologies were imported thereby to England. Thus although there was a »tension between patriotism and cosmopolitanism«⁶²⁴, cultural influences in eating culture succeeded in the end.

A similar development can be observed in the case of the Austrian Habsburg monarchy. Here too a critical attitude towards French influence can be noticed. They nonetheless found their way into Austrian noble culture also. As regards the ambivalence towards new styles of cooking, an excellent example is seen in the household of Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach and his wife Johanna Theresia. When in 1676 Countess Harrach returned to Vienna from her stay in Madrid, a French cook was in her entourage.⁶²⁵ The employment of the chef seemingly happened at the request of her husband and it was a matter of prestige rather than of personal preference for French cuisine, at least in the case of Countess Harrach. In the following year she repeatedly complained about the cooking of the new chef, addressing above all the greasy and rich way in which he prepared the meal, which she did not like at all. She once wrote to her husband:

»Ich [hab] kein bisen essen kennen, so ibel und krauslich ist als gewest [...], was ich friß, mecht oft kein hundt«.⁶²⁶

Curiously, in comparing the prices of single food items and ingredients in the kitchen account books of the Harrach family, it is striking that butter was

⁶²⁴ Valerie Mars, Die angelsächsische Einstellung zu Küche und Speisezimmer. N: Elfie Miklautz – Herbert Lachmayer – Reinhard Eisendle (eds.), Die Küche. Zur Geschichte eines architektonischen, sozialen und imaginative Raums, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar 1999, pp. 115-159, here p. 118.

⁶²⁵ Pils, Schreiben über Stadt, p. 117.

⁶²⁶ Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, Vienna, 1677 August 8. AVA FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol. See also an earlier letter on this matter: »[...] *ich will nur segen [sehen] wie ihmb [=Ferdinand] daz gefräß von franzesischen koch wirdt schmeckhen, er mist ganz nichtß alß wie sonst die franzosen duen, aber er kocht feisch und ibel [...]*« Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, 1677 August 8. AVA FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol. Quoted also in Pils, Schreiben über Stadt, p. 117.

comparatively much more expensive than other items, such as artichokes, figs, peaches and apricots.⁶²⁷

Countess Harrach also lamented about the bad condition in which the kitchen was kept since the new chef was employed, as well as about his wasteful manner, putting aside the fact that she accused him of stealing.⁶²⁸ Another time she remarked cynically that he would be more suitable as a court chef, due to his idleness.⁶²⁹ However, since the local female cook prepared separate meals for the children, she unfortunately had to get on with him. The only reason she did not argue with him was that she feared he would interpret it as hostility against the French, she informed her husband in a letter.⁶³⁰ Her complaints were endless and included the whole spectrum of assigning stereotypes, however to no avail. Her husband apparently very much liked the idea of having a cosmopolitan household and against the wishes of his wife, he sent a second French cook to Vienna in June 1677.⁶³¹ Apart from the chefs he had also employed more French servants, which also caused some disagreement between the couple.⁶³² Johanna Theresia's father

⁶²⁷ See for instance the entry in the kitchen account book from the 22nd of August 1653: for peaches 3 kr. [= kreuzer] were spent, for apricots, grapes and sour cherries also each 3 kr., for artichokes 9 kr., and for figs and pears each 6 kr., whereas for butter 42 kr. had been paid. Only meat and fish had been more expensive. Two days earlier butter was bought for 24 kr. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 2550, Konv. Wien Rechnungen 1653, sin fol. (Entries 20th and 22nd of August 1653). Unfortunately no measure is given, thus, we do not know, how much butter was used.

⁶²⁸ »Was der koch alß stilt, ist nicht zu sagen und wass alß auffgedt, aber ich sag zu allen nichtß, dan wan ich kleich krein los, so hilft es nicht [...] wan die kech mein keredten [gehören würden], so hedt ichs lengst gejagt, dan es ist die kuchel ein rechter saustall, aber wanß ihmb recht ist, mir auch, dan ich is so nichtß alß bradenß, eß ist ja ein elendt mit unsern leiden«. Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, 1677 September 29. AVA FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol.

⁶²⁹ »[...] guedt zu ein hoffkoch daugen, der franzoß, dan er macht alle dach ein pfifferling und nichtß nuz und schwimbt alß in fösten [=im Fett], er last ihn aber nichtß abgewenen.« Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, Vienna, 1677 March 31. AVA FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol.

⁶³⁰ »[...] mues [ihn] auß nodt kochen lassen, weil die kechin fir die kindter und menscher besonder kocht [...] aber, weil er ein franzos ist, und er klaubt, ich verfolg se, so sag ich nichtß [...]«. Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, 1677 August 8. AVA FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol.

⁶³¹ Countess Harrach, not particularly delighted about that, wrote to her husband: »[Ich werde] gar nichtß kochen lasen bis er [=Ferdinand Bonaventura] kombt, dan ich werd zu der ganzen ndern kuchel nie kein wordt sagen, ihn [= Ferdinand Bonaventura] nicht harb zu machen [zu verärgern], dan ich weis sohn, wies gen wirdt, und wird er dermit zufriden sein, daz doch sein geldt kost, so kan ichß auch sohn leiden«, Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, 1677 June 18. AVA FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol.

⁶³² »[...] ich hab sohn oft geherdt, daz mir haben daz hauß voller franzosen, daz ich recht harb [= ärgerlich] kan werden.« Quoted in Pils, Schreiben über Stadt, p. 124.

also watched this development with suspicion. »Your Lord has Frenchmen as servants, coachmen, chamberlains and barbers; you'd better take care that he does not turn into a Frenchman himself«, Johann Maximilian Lamberg once jeered in his daughter's presence.⁶³³ His cynical criticism has to be seen, however, in the context of his political anti-French attitude, rather than as critique of adopting foreign life-style or fashions in general.

Similar to the case of England, described by Valerie Mars, an anti-French rhetoric is evident in the Austrian Habsburg monarchy as well, which grew out of the permanent rivalry between the two monarchies. Above all in pro-Spanish circles, to which Lamberg and his daughter beyond doubt belonged, France's advance as a trend-setter was watched with mixed sentiments, although there is no way one could ignore this development. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, French influences increasingly gained a foothold in the Austrian monarchy, just as they did in other European countries as well.

8.2. Fashion and Appearance: Self-Expression and Expression of Noble Values

The impact of cultural transfer is probably most visible by studying noble portraits. Many Austrian noble portraits from the beginning of the seventeenth century depict noblemen and –women in sober, black costumes with elaborate ruffs. Portraits from the end of the century show the nobleman and women in colourful and ornate garments that had lost the former severe and high-necked form. Stiff ruffs had also disappeared. Noblemen now wore long haired wigs as unmistakable symbols of social rank. It is neither extraordinary nor is it surprising that fashion would change over a period of one hundred years. Baroque fashion was generally characterised by more frequent alterations in styles of dressing, than had been in earlier centuries.⁶³⁴ What is of interest here is the fact that both

⁶³³ »Dein Herr hadt franzosen zu kech, zu guzi [= Kutscher] zu kamerdiener, zu balwirer [=Barbier], schau, daz er dir auch nit franzesisch kombt.« Quoted in Ibidem, p. 124.

⁶³⁴ Annemarie Bönsch, *Adelige Bekleidungsformen zwischen 1500 und 1700*. In: *Adel im Wandel*, pp. 169-193, here p. 171.

manners of clothing – at the beginning as well as at the end of the century – include features that indicate foreign influences. In both of the described fashions, cultural borrowings had been made in styles and fashionable accessories. The first one refers to the so-called Spanish fashion, whereas the second indicates the increasing influence of France as the supreme trend-setter.

At the same time, fashion reflects noble self-perception and how nobles wanted to be seen by their environment. Thus appearance, with clothes as its most visible feature, was central in self-presentation. It goes without saying that clothing fulfilled not merely practical functions, thus to cover and to protect the body, but at any time it had also a symbolic meaning. Fashion communicated values and ideals.⁶³⁵ »External things often bear witness to inner things«, Castiglione wrote in the *Book of the Courtier* and he advised the courtier »to consider what appearance he wishes to have and what manner of man he wishes to be taken for, and dress accordingly; and see to it that his attire aid him to be so regarded even by those who do not hear him speak or see him do anything whatever«.⁶³⁶

In the period under scrutiny, it was no longer bravery and military prowess that distinguished a »good« noble, but civilised behaviour and gracefulness in manner and appearance. Developed in sixteenth-century Italian courtesy literature and rapidly adopted by writers outside Italy, the newly emerging ideal of gallant appearance, politeness, grace and dignity in posture and gesture, was spread across all of Europe and gradually replaced »the more violent ideal of the heroic

⁶³⁵ See Ulinka Rublack, Clothing and Cultural Exchange in Renaissance Germany. In: Roodenburg (ed.), *Forging European Identities*, pp. 258-288, here above all p. 258, where she writes: »Clothes were intended to provide key markers of hierarchy in a society of ranks. [...] Urbanisation and commercialisation changed German consumption patterns, enabling people of different ranks to use clothing to express social identities [...]«. Additionally Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing. Dress and Fashion in the “Ancien Régime”*. Cambridge 1994, especially chapter 8: The triumph of appearances: nobilities and clothes, pp. 184-220. Further see Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion. A New History of Fashionable Dress*. Manchester – New York 1995, especially pp. 69-72, and with further discussion of the topic provided in Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite. Clothes in Early Modern England*, Oxford 2003.

⁶³⁶ Baldasar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*. The Singleton Translation, ed. by Daniel Javitch, New York – London 2002, Second Book, Chapter 27, pp. 89-90. See also Isabelle Paresys, *The Dressed Body: The Moulding of Identities in sixteenth-century France*. In: Roodenburg (ed.), *Forging European Identities*, pp. 227-257, here p. 234.

warrior». ⁶³⁷ Grete Mecenseffy claimed in a booklet entitled »*Wiener Erinnerungen an das alte Spanien*«, that the expression »*Küss die Hand*« (I kiss your hand) is a translation of the Spanish »*Beso las manos*«, thus a manner which was adopted from the Spaniards in the seventeenth century. ⁶³⁸ Even today the phrase is a frequently quoted assumption that addresses the gallant, to some degree old-fashioned, behaviour of late nineteenth, early twentieth century Viennese bourgeoisie. The phrase emerged in noble correspondence at the beginning of the seventeenth century. ⁶³⁹ Whether here a transfer of a particular behaviour from Spain to Austria took place is, however, difficult to ascertain. Early modern noble society in general witnessed an »increasing interest in gesture«, as demonstrated by the growing literature on appropriate body language. ⁶⁴⁰ Noble gestures should be elegant, well-bred and above all controlled.

In its quest for exclusiveness the aristocracy increasingly mixed foreign styles, fabrics and accessories with regional styles of dressing. In the second half of the sixteenth and still at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, Spanish fashion was the predominant dress code at the imperial court, and at most European courts. It was, however, not merely a courtly phenomenon. The fashion spread over the monarchy, not least due to the closely kin relations of the nobility which communicated the latest fashion from the courtly centre to the periphery of the monarchy. The immigration of Spanish nobles and their integration into different regions of the Austrian hereditary lands, including marriage alliances with Austrian

⁶³⁷ Asch, *Nobilities in Transition*, p. 53. Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*, pp. 25-32.

⁶³⁸ Grete Mecenseffy, *Wiener Erinnerungen an das alte Spanien*, Vienna 1967, p. 4. Unfortunately Mecenseffy does not provide any information about the sources she used for her study and which prove her argument.

⁶³⁹ For instance: »[.....] *hab mein herr ich auch mit diesem briefl die hendt küßßen und ihme avisiren wöllen*, [...]« Meggau to Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, Vienna, 1619 January 15. HHStA, Vienna, FA Khevenhüller, Carton 220 (gebundene Briefbücher 1619/1), fol. 62r. Nr. 133. On the *Handkuss* as part of court ceremonial in the case of the imperial court see the recent study by Ruth Frötschel, *Mit Handkuss. Die Hand als Gegenstand des Zeremoniells am Wiener Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Irmgard Pangerl – Martin Scheutz – Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonialprotokolle (1652 – 1800)*, Innsbruck 2007, pp. 337-356.

⁶⁴⁰ Peter Burke, *The language of gesture in early modern Italy*. In: Jan Bremmer – Herman Roodenburg (eds.), *A Cultural History of Gesture. From Antiquity to the Present Day*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 71-83, here p. 72.

noble families in the sixteenth century, additionally contributed to the spread of the fashion trend across the monarchy.⁶⁴¹

Characteristic of the Spanish fashion was its sobriety and the use of black fabrics, which expressed authority as well as self-contained elegance. In addition, the colour black was expensive in its fabrication and it demanded skilled labours, so-called blackeners.⁶⁴² Members of the imperial family frequently instructed the ambassadors in Spain to purchase Spanish cloth, especially from Segovia which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was famous for its cloth industry.⁶⁴³ One of the main characteristics of the fashion was, however, the elaborate ruff, which became an unmistakable symbol of status that additionally restricted uncontrolled gesticulating; hence, it enhanced the ideal of controlled body language.⁶⁴⁴ In general, Spanish fashion was rather stiff and was characterised by modest elegance, which matched perfectly with the moral attitude of the Counter-Reformation. A further distinguished feature of the fashion was the cloak.⁶⁴⁵ It survived in a modified form in imperial ceremonial fashion until the early eighteenth century. Known as »*Spanisches Mantel=Kleid*«, the cloak over time had little to do with either contemporary or former styles of Spanish dressing.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴¹ See the contribution by Annemarie Bönsch, who compared several portraits of members of the imperial family with portraits of members of the nobility. Bönsch, *Adelige Bekleidungsformen*. In: *Adel im Wandel*, pp. 169-193.

⁶⁴² As to old colours see Emil Ploss, *Ein Buch von alten Farben*. *Technologie der Textilfarben im Mittelalter mit einem Ausblick auf die festen Farben*, Heidelberg 1962; as well as Annemarie Bönsch, *Formengeschichte europäischer Kleidung*, Vienna 2001.

⁶⁴³ »*Wie ir mir dann auch ain sonders gefallen erzaigen wurdet, wann ir mir zwai stuckh des spänischen thuechs de Segovia doch recht schwarz und andere zway stukh Messlas tunckel gesprengt ebenmessig, erhandlen und mit eheisten hieher liffen lassen khonde*«, wrote Ferdinand (II) to Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, Graz, 1618 January 30. HHStA Vienna, Spanien, Dipl. Korr, Carton 15, Konv. 299, fols. 14r-15r.

⁶⁴⁴ Paresys, *The dressed body*. In: Roodenburg (ed.), *Forging European Identities*, p. 229.

⁶⁴⁵ The widespread distribution of the fashion of wearing a cloak according to the Spanish fashion is also expressed in the adoption of the Spanish word »*capa*« in the English language (cape). The word is first found in Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae*, published in 1565, where the word *Chlamys* is translated as »*a cloak: a Spanish cape*«. Quoted in the introduction of Juan de Alcega, *The Tailor's Pattern Book*, 1589, translated by Jean Pain & Cecilia Bainton, with Introduction and notes by J. L. Nevinson, Bedford 1979, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁴⁶ See the description of the imperial court ceremonial by Küchelbecker, which includes a description of the prevailing court fashion under the reign of Charles VI. »*Vom Spanischen Hofzeremoniell, das der röm. ksl. Hof und das andemselben gewöhnliche Ceremoniel biß jetzo nach Spanischer Art eingerichtet, jedoch in vielen Stücken vernünfftig temperiret ist, also, daß es der allerhöchsten Grandezza der ksl. Mt. gar wohl anstehet, und den Splendeur des ksl. Hofes um sehr*

For a long period of time, the adoption of Spanish fashion in Europe was associated with Spain's political power, which made Spain a leading centre in cultural respects as well. In studying the history of clothing, it is evident that political powerful centres again and again provided impulses for fashion trends. Recently, Isabelle Paresys offered a different explanation, arguing that the »Europe-wide vogue for Spanish fashion was connected to something which was neither political nor Spanish, but was related to the new emerging ideal of self-control, which the Spanish court perhaps sensed first«.⁶⁴⁷ Fashion is doubtlessly a mirror image of the prevailing *Geisteshaltung*. Castiglione considered the calm gravity, which characterised the Spaniards as more appropriate for a courtier than for instance the vivacity in the movement of French people, an ideal which found its expression in the Spanish fashion.⁶⁴⁸

Due to the close dynastic links between the two Habsburg monarchies Spanish fashion persisted at the imperial court much longer than at other European courts. When at other courts, including the Spanish one, fashion had already altered gradually and garments became again less sombre and more colourful and ornate, Austrian courtiers still wore Spanish fashion, at least during official ceremonies. In 1617, Count Meggau informed Franz Christoph Khevenhüller of the forthcoming coronation ceremonies of Archduke Ferdinand as King of Bohemia, which would take place in Prague. Among others he mentioned that most of the nobles in attendance would appear in traditional Spanish fashion. Khevenüller had apparently informed his friend of the new clothing style at the Spanish court, whereupon

vielvermehret. Die sämtliche Hofstatt, so zu solcher Zeit die Aufwartung hat erscheint in Spanischer Kleidung, und zwar, so gar auch diejenigen, so Livrée tragen, als Edel=Knaben, Trabanten, Laquayen etc. Die ksl. Ministres und andere vornehme des Hofes tragen Spanische Mantel=Kleider, von schwarzen wollenen oder seydenen Zeugen, nach eines jedwedem Stand und Bedienung. Die kls. Livrée ist ebenfalls von schwarzen Tuch, mit gelben seidenen Borten besetzt, und sind auch die schwarzen kurzen Mäntel, welche zu denen kurzen Spanischen Wämßgen angeleget werden, auf dergleichen Art bebrämet. [...] Befindet sich der ksl. Hof aber a la Campagne, e.g. zu Laxenburg oder in der Favorita, so werden die Spanischen Kleider ab = und an deren statt die teutschen angeleget, und die Ministres und andere vornehme des Hofes erscheinen ebenfalls wie ksl. Mt. in teutschen Habit, solches tun auch die andern geringern von der Hofstatt. Zu solcher Zeit ist der ksl. Hof überhaupt viel freyer als wenn er in der Stadt ist, und bindet sich nicht an das sonst gewöhnliche Ceremoniael.«

⁶⁴⁷ Paresys, *The dressed body*. In: Roodenburg (ed.), *Forging European Identities*, p. 234.

⁶⁴⁸ Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Second Book, Chapter 37, p. 98.

Meggau replied: »Die neue tracht vermein ich ihnen wohl nit nachzuthuen, ist sie ein unförmlicher aufzug«. ⁶⁴⁹ For the entire first half of the seventeenth century the official clothing style at the imperial court privileged the Spanish pattern. Bound by the rigid court ceremonial, the imperial court, it seems was less flexible and less open to changes in styles, at least in the first half of the century. The following example illustrates this conservative, not to say restrictive attitude towards new styles. In 1634, the future Empress Maria Anna travelled to Passau to meet her brother. Her court ladies were dressed in the high-necked and austere Spanish fashion, whereas the local noble women in Passau had already adopted the new fashions of showing some décolleté. Cardinal Dietrichstein, who accompanied the Queen and who related the incident to Ferdinand (III) mentioned that the appearance »*alla moda*« of the local noble ladies struck the Spanish court ladies as being rather strange and odd. ⁶⁵⁰ The flamboyant French fashion was often regarded by opponents as being morally questionable, and did not correspond either with the baroque piety of the strongly religious imperial court or the Protestant philosophy. »*Die Deutschen sollen sich nicht wie die französischen Affen herausputzen*«, the German writer and scholar Johann Michael von Loen once argued. ⁶⁵¹

Shifting our attention to the symbolic meaning of clothing, needless to say fashion was used as a sign of distinction by the early modern aristocracy. Precious textiles, elaborate garments, and chic accessories had always been used to distinguish nobles from non-noble society. Sumptuary laws additionally controlled the appearance of a person and aimed at maintaining a social order, restricting

⁶⁴⁹ Meggau to Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, Prague, 1617 July 24. HHStA, Vienna, FA Khevenhüller, Carton 219 (gebundene Briefbücher), fols. 148r-150r, Nr. 164. Around 1620 puffy bloomers became fashionable, which were decorated with a tie or a rosette at the knee. Jürgen Stockar, *Kultur und Kleidung der Barockzeit*, Stuttgart 1964, p. 22. See also Carmen Bernis, *El traje y los tipos sociales en el Quijote*, Madrid 2001.

⁶⁵⁰ »Die stendt [haben] im schiff ihr Mt. die hendt gekhusset und darauff das frauenzimmer gefolget under wellechen die anwerste weiblin *alla moda* gekleidet und vorm oben was entplest welleches den spanischen damas etwas selzamb vorkomben.« Cardinal Dietrichstein to Ferdinand (III), s.d. (The trip to Passau took place in August 1634). HHStA Vienna, Ältere Zeremonialakten, Carton 2 (1611-1639), Konv. 18, fols. 30rv.

⁶⁵¹ Quoted in Martin Dinges, *Der „feine Unterschied“: Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft*. In *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 19 (1992), pp. 49-76, here p. 56.

certain items to a privileged group.⁶⁵² The aristocracy, driven by its restless pursuit of being different and demonstrating social distinction, increasingly demanded foreign fabrics, luxury items; in short, anything that was exclusive and precious. To have dresses made of Spanish or Italian silk, decked with laces from Brussels or Paris, or with furs imported from Northern Europe, supported the display of good taste and likewise demonstrated wealth and power. Moreover, it gave the possibility of showing most visibly one as being cosmopolitan. In a letter, written to her husband in 1676, Johanna Theresia Harrach remarked:

»Ich bin schon ganz eine franzesin, daz er sich verwundern wirdt, was ich vir ein schen damä bin«.⁶⁵³

Vanity alone cannot explain why the aristocracy attached so much importance to clothing or material culture in general. Just as significant was the symbolic meaning of goods. In the baroque age, one of the most distinguished sign of status and power in the field of fashion was the wig. Already in the mid-sixteenth century Queen Elisabeth of England used wigs after she lost her hair due to illness and wig-wearing became fashionable among English noble ladies, yet the fashion had no cross-cultural weight at that time. The heyday of the wig was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it replaced the elaborate ruffs as unmistakable signs of splendour and rank. The first impulse therefore was given around 1630 by Louis XIII, but it was only under his successor Louis XIV that it started its European-wide success story, and wig-wearing became fashionable among the European noblemen. In 1658, when Count Schönkirchen wore a wig during the coronation solemnities of Leopold I in Frankfurt, Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach related the following to his uncle: »Though Count Schönkirchen was initially hardly recognised

⁶⁵² See Gertraud Hampel-Kallbrunner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kleiderordnungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Österreichs*, Vienna 1962.

⁶⁵³ She continued: »[...] freilich het ich zu Lion vill gekauft, wan ich gelt het gehabt, ich hoff er wirz duen, zu den feierfarben rockh mues ich golt und silberne spiz kauffen, daz ich wos anzulegen hab, wan die keiserin kombt.« Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach. 1676 December 5. Quoted in Pils, *Hof/Tratsch*, p. 98.

by all others because of the wig he wore, it nonetheless fits him much better than his scanty and thin natural hair«. ⁶⁵⁴ Thus, wigs became welcomed accessories, allowing noblemen to adhere to the dictates of fashion of wearing long hair. Johanna Theresia Harrach, on the other hand, recommended that her husband wear a wig because it would protect his head from cold, putting aside the aesthetic criteria. ⁶⁵⁵

It goes without saying that fashions of any type never develop neither over night, nor because of single individuals. Certainly, outstanding personalities or centres of political power provided certain impulses by favouring a particular fashion. Nonetheless, it always needs a broader acceptance to allow a fashion become a wide-spread trend. It is striking that the development of new fashions often coincides with changes in mentality and in world view. As indicated above, the wig was temporarily fashionable in Elizabethan England. However, it was still some decades before a gradual release from the sombre Spanish fashion with its controlled forms of expressions took place. It was only with the disappearance of the ruffs, which demanded a short haircut, that it became fashionable again among noblemen to have long hair.

8.3. »A Nobleman has to be Curious«: Investment in Glory and Fame

With the changes in noble values forms of aristocratic representation also altered. Rooted in the ideal of a cultured and humanistic educated aristocracy, early modern aristocrats no longer presented themselves as knights, but they realised that a sophisticated preoccupation with fine arts most perfectly supported their

⁶⁵⁴ »Der Schonkürchen ist heudt mit einer Peruke erschienen, haben in anfangs die wenigsten erkant, stehet ihm besser an als sein kleines härl«. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Cardinal Harrach, Frankfurt, 1658 May 25. AVA FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Harrach Gf. Ferdinand Bonav. I, fol. 44r.

⁶⁵⁵ »[...] ich mein er soll vir sich selber losen barockhen machen wan er mit den keiser ausgedt, daz erß auffsetzen kann, dan so in der keldten alleweil so mit blosen haubt zu sten, mecht mein herz schaden. [...] Der Dietrichstein tragt auch krosse baruckhen, stedt ihmb gar guet an.« Johanna Theresia Harrach to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, 1676 December 19. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 350, sin fol.

claim to social and cultural superiority. Certainly, military merits were still important and increased the glory of many aristocrats. However, also prominent military commanders, such as Wallenstein, Piccolomini or Prince Eugene of Savoy, used art as valuable resource for pompous self-fashioning and as a means of pageantry. Today, Prince Eugene is just as known for his art patronage and the splendid palaces he built as for his military career. »Art, architecture and aesthetic ideals were adopted as signifiers of a distinct set of social and cultural values«,⁶⁵⁶ and supported the aristocracy's efforts to reassert its cultural hegemony.

Having fully internalized this philosophy, Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein once advised his son not to save money for the construction of his palace, but instead to build it beautifully and steadily. Eternal glory and honour would be the reward.⁶⁵⁷ Already in the sixteenth century, Castiglione advised the courtier to »built great edifices, both to win honour in his lifetime and to leave the memory of himself to posterity«⁶⁵⁸. Liechtenstein was, beyond doubt, familiar with the famous book. In reading much of his writing, such as the instruction for his son's education, one even gets the impression that Castiglione had been his role model, as much of what he writes resembles Castiglione's advices. An eloquent testimony of aristocratic art of representation is Liechtenstein's treatise *Werk von der Architektur*, in which he elaborated on the art of architecture as well as on collecting and art patronage. Written most probably in the mid seventies of the seventeenth century, and thus a moment in which Liechtenstein was at the zenith of his life as art patron, it reflects his vast knowledge of architecture and the fine arts, and it presents him as erudite and experienced collector and connoisseur. His examples in the field of architecture

⁶⁵⁶ Arnolds, *The Illusion of Grandeur?*, p. 101.

⁶⁵⁷ »Wer bauet, muß die spesa nicht anschauen, wann er es nur schön undt statlich machet, dann der ewige ruhm hiervon ist seine belohnung und nutzen. Dann von allen thaten der weldt hat mann nichts anderes alß den ruhmb und das lob: daß ist schon genueg von den angewendten unkosten. Dann das lob traget der mensch auch in die andere weldt, also daß er auch nach seinem todt gerühmet wiert vor die schöne thatten, so er gethan unndt hinterlassen hat. Daß gelt niehmet er nicht mit, das lob aber verbleibet. Muß mann also im gebew nicht karch sein unndt unterlassen, waß nothwendig ist. Kann mann es nicht auf einmahl thuen, so beschehe es nach undt nach.« Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein to Johann Adam Andreas Liechtenstein, Feldsberg 1681 June 25. In: Haupt, *Von der Leidenschaft zum Schönen*, Quellenband, p. 288.

⁶⁵⁸ Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Fourth Book, Chapter 36, p. 232.

were the great masters of Italian Renaissance, Serlio, Palladio, and Vignola, whose theoretical works on classical architectural styles Liechtenstein had studied thoroughly, and to whom he referred frequently. Above all, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's book *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*, served him as theoretical basis, as he himself noted.⁶⁵⁹ From the architect Giovanni Tencalla, Liechtenstein also acquired Vignola's second book *Le due regole di prospettiva practica*, as well as the two volumes *delli Palazzi di Genova*.⁶⁶⁰ The latter contains engravings of sixteenth-century aristocratic palaces of Genoa, published anonymously by Peter Paul Rubens.⁶⁶¹

Liechtenstein apparently wished to pass his knowledge and experiences on to his descendants, reminding them repeatedly that one of the most important virtues of a prince is to be curious. As mentioned earlier, Liechtenstein was completely convinced that a nobleman distinguishes himself from the ordinary man by his ability to acquire good taste and competence, which enables him to contextualise artworks and to differentiate between the beautiful and the ugly. The ordinary man, in contrast, who in Liechtenstein's opinion is of simple nature, is not able to achieve these accomplishments. In addition, it is the investment in beautiful and magnificent artworks, which will testify to the glory and fame of the family for eternity, Liechtenstein suggested. The miserly and less curious will remain without memory. A noble's essence, however, is to admire, to love and to demand what is beautiful, noble, rare and artificial, he argued.⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁹ On Liechtenstein as an architectural theorist see Michael Krapf, *Architekturtheorien im 17. Jahrhundert. Die Rolle des Fürsten Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein*. In: Gertrude Stolwitzer (ed.), *Le baroque autrichien au XVIIe siècle*, Rouen 1989, pp. 93-102. On aristocratic baroque architecture more generally see Hubert Christian Ehalt, *Schloß- und Palastarchitektur im Absolutismus*. In: Hannes Stekl (ed.), *Architektur und Gesellschaft von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Salzburg 1980, pp. 161-249.

⁶⁶⁰ Haupt, *Von der Leidenschaft zum Schönen, Quellenband*, pp. 184-185. Several further entries in the account book of the family refer to the acquisition of architectural literature by Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein. See for instance the entry from October 18th 1666: »vor 5 neu erkauffte archidectur bücher [...], zahlt 9 fl. r. 30 kr.« Ibiem, p. 79.

⁶⁶¹ Piet Lombaerde (ed.), *The reception of P. P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova during the 17th century in Europe*, Turnhout 2002.

⁶⁶² »Den geitzigen oder wenigen curiosum wollen wier schon verlassen: er mag ohne alle gedechtnus verbleiben, so doch nicht eines adeligen gemiets ist, dessen wehsenheit jedoch sein solte curios zu sein, was schenes, rares und kinstliches ist, zu schatzen und zu lieben, zu verlangen und zu

Liechtenstein's remarks most tellingly reflect seventeenth-century aristocratic thought. Art patronage served in the first place to exhibit wealth, power and knowledge. As mentioned above, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a veritable collecting-mania, which began with the chambers of curiosities.⁶⁶³ Contacts with foreign, non-European cultures had changed Europeans conceptions of the world, and *Wunderkammern* aimed at depicting the new image one had gained of the world.⁶⁶⁴ Amazing collections emerged, juxtaposing all sorts of natural and artificial objects, ranging from strange and unknown animals, ostrich eggs, sea shells and the like to antique sculptures and coins, marvellous artefacts made of gems or ivory, to precious watches, paintings and globes. The Baroque Age saw »*Americanism*« emerge in the truest sense of the word, much like its fascination with Chinese and Ottoman cultures. Apart from collecting objects from overseas, such as feathered headdresses or clothes, it became additionally en vogue among the European elite to decorate palaces with tapestries and frescos that depicted exotic landscapes, animals, and Indians.⁶⁶⁵ The philosophy was to collect everything which was rare, exclusive, marvellous and curious, or as Emperor Maximilian II once

ieben, und dergleichen ebige Gedechtnus seiner Spesen zu hinterlassen [...]«. Liechtenstein, *Werk von der Architektur*, p. 94.

⁶⁶³ Studies on early modern *Wunderkammern* and early modern collecting practices have increased enormously in the last decades. Here only a small sample is cited: Arthur MacGregor, *Collectors and Collections of Rarities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries*. In: *Ibidem* (ed.) *Tradescant's Rarities: Essays on the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1983, pp. 70-97; and more recently *Ibidem*, *Curiosity and enlightenment. Collectors and collecting from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century*, New Haven 2007. Also Harry Kühnel, *Die österreichische Adelskultur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der Kunst- und Wunderkammern*. In: *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 13 (1969), pp. 433-445; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Remarks on the Collection of Rudolf II: The "Kunstammer" as a Form of Representation*. In: *Art Journal* 38 (1978), pp. 22-38; and more recently *Ibidem*, *From Treasury to Museum: The Collections of the Austrian Habsburgs*. In: John Elsner – Roger Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting*, Chicago 1994, pp. 137-154; Robert J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World. A Study in Intellectual History 1576-1612*, Oxford 1973; Monika Kopplin, *Was fremd und seltsam ist. Exotica in Kunst- und Wunderkammern*. In: *Exotische Welten – Europäische Phantasien*, Stuttgart 1987, pp. 296-317; Christian Feest, *Spanisch-Amerika in Kunstkammern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Ibidem* (ed.), *Gold und Macht. Spanien in der Neuen Welt. Eine Ausstellung anlässlich des 500. Jahrestages der Entdeckung Amerikas*, Vienna 1986, pp. 41-44, as well as *Ibidem*, *The Collecting of American Indian Artefacts in Europe, 1493-1750*. In: Karen Ordahl Kupperman, (ed.), *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, North Carolina 1995, pp. 324-360.

⁶⁶⁴ Anthony Alan Shelton, *Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World*. In: Elsner – Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting*, pp. 177-203.

⁶⁶⁵ See the exposition catalogue: *L'Amérique vue par l'Europe (Exposition, Grand Palais, 17.9.1976 – 3.1.1977)*, Paris 1976, particularly chapter »*L'Americanerie*«, pp. 131-150. Also Polleross – Sommer-Mathis – Laferl (eds.), *Federschmuck und Kaiserkrone*.

remarked in a letter to his ambassador in Spain Adam Dietrichstein: »*Quanta rariora tanta meliora*«. ⁶⁶⁶

A veritable trade of both natural as well as artificial objects and exotica developed. Due to the central position of maritime trade of both the Spanish as well as Portuguese Empire, and the regular shipping traffic between Seville and the colonies in overseas, the Iberian Peninsula became an important hub and a key reloading point for the trade of non-European luxuries and exotica, at least until the English and Dutch too, started to participate in the lucrative trade with the Far East and the overseas colonies. As revealed in the previous chapters, the imperial ambassadors in Spain played a central role in the transmission of all sorts of luxuries and rarities. Due to their wide-spread information networks in the Iberian Peninsula they were perfectly suitable for the procurement of desired goods. But family members also contributed to the spread of all sorts of curiosities. Beatrice de Mendoza, who we encountered earlier in connection with the transmission of Spanish books, frequently sent all sorts of remedies and rare items like bezoars to her brother, Cardinal Dietrichstein. ⁶⁶⁷ The latter were highly desired collectible objects in this epoch, not least due to their curative and magical powers one attributed to them, and one finds them in different forms and artistically processed in the chambers of curiosities of the European aristocracy. ⁶⁶⁸

In addition, items of exotica were highly popular gifts among the aristocracy, which endorsed prestige and reputation for both the bestower and the recipient. The attraction to and fascination with the exotic is evident in a letter written by

⁶⁶⁶ Maximilian II to Adam Dietrichstein, Vienna 1572 July 5. Quoted in Karl Rudolf, *Die Kunstbestrebungen Kaiser Maximilians II. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Madrid und Wien. Untersuchungen zu den Sammlungen der österreichischen und spanischen Habsburger*. In: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien* 91 (1995), pp. 165-256, here p. 170.

⁶⁶⁷ See her correspondence in MZA Brno, *Rodinný Archiv Ditrichštejnů G140, Carton 436, Fasz. Mendosová Beatrice*, fols. 16r-17v; fols 98r-99v, fols. 106r-109v, fols. 196r-197v with reference to the transfer of different goods, medicine and bezoars.

⁶⁶⁸ On bezoars see the article by Renate Pieper, *Papageien und Bezoarsteine. Gesandte als Vermittler von Exotica und Luxusartikel im Zeitalter Philipps II.* In: Friedrich Edelmayer (ed.), *Hispania-Austria II. Die Epoche Philipps II. 1556-1598*. Vienna-Munich 1999, pp. 215-224. More generally on the trade of art objects and luxury goods is the scholar's article *Ibidem*, *The Upper German Trade in Art and Curiosities before the Thirty Years War*. In: Michael North – David Ormrod (eds.), *Art Markets in Europe 1400-1800*, Aldershot 1998, pp. 93-102.

Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach in 1658, in which he described the festivities that took place on the occasion of the coronation of Leopold I in Frankfurt. During these celebrations, Prince Johann Moritz of Nassau-Siegen, who had earlier been governor of the Dutch provinces in Brazil, organized a special event. Several nobles, who had been in Brazil with the Prince, performed a ballet, all dressed up as »Indians«. In addition, they presented the Emperor with several objects, a horn and weapons which they had brought from the Indies.⁶⁶⁹

In the course of the seventeenth century collecting practices altered and a gradual shift from encyclopaedic art collections and chambers of curiosities to collections of paintings took place.⁶⁷⁰ Certainly, sixteenth-century princely and royal art collections included paintings as well. As is well-known, Philip II of Spain had established an outstanding painting collection, which apparently impressed the young Austrian Habsburg Rudolf, when the latter lived in Spain. Following his uncle's example, Rudolf II also collected paintings on a large scale. The seventeenth century, however, saw an enormous growth in the demand for paintings. Paintings became »sings of learning«.⁶⁷¹

In the sixteenth century, paintings achieved a higher status, furthered by theoretical literature on painting. Starting in Renaissance Italy with the painter-theorists Giorgio Vasari and Paolo Pino as the best known representatives of this genre, theoretical literature on painting proliferated and art theorists like Vicente Carducho (1576-1638), and Francisco Pacheco (1564-1654) in Spain, or Roger de Piles (1635-1709) in France, followed the Italian example. They all sought to advance painting from it being a manual craft to becoming a liberal art. In the absence of antique writings on painting, sixteenth and seventeenth century art

⁶⁶⁹ »[...] wehrent der malzeit hat der Prinz Maurice von Nassau etl. seiner leüte, so mit ihme in Indien gewesen, wie die indianer angelegt, geschükt einen ballet zu danzen undt haben in der ersten entree ihr Mt. [...] ein horn sambt andern indianischen sachen undt waffen vererth undt darauf ihren ballet getanzt welher gar woll passiern können.« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Ernst Adalbert Harrach, Frankfurt, 1658 August 4. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Harrach Gf. Ferdinand Bonaventura I, fols. 69rv.

⁶⁷⁰ Morán Turina – Checa Cremades, *El coleccionismo en España*.

⁶⁷¹ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, New Haven 2000, p. 47.

critics borrowed antique literary ideas in order to strengthen their argument. By comparing painting with the art of poetry these writers established the doctrine *ut pictura poesis*, as is painting so is poetry. In studying humanistic theory of painting, Lee Rensselaer has observed that Aristotle's *Poetics* and Horace's *Ars poetica*, who both had »suggested analogies between poetry and paintings«, were »chiefly responsible for the development of this theory«. ⁶⁷²

A survey of the large body of sixteenth and seventeenth century's art theoretical literature goes beyond the remit of this chapter. Besides Lee Rensselaer, scholars like Jonathan Brown, Robert Williams, Carroll Westfall or Karin Hellwig, to mention only some, have thoroughly examined the impact of this literature on the elevation of painting to a higher status. ⁶⁷³ What is of interest in this study is the socio-cultural milieu in which these writings circulated, thus the readership, and the significance it had for aristocratic collecting practises. Besides artists, this literature primarily addressed collectors. In the catalogue of the Harrach family library several of these early art treatises are recorded, such as Pino's *Dialogo di pittura* (1548), as well as Vasari's *Le Vite dei Pittori* in an edition from 1648. Also a work entitled *Descripcion del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*, published in Madrid 1698, is listed in the catalogue, which was acquired with utmost probability by Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach. Due to his interest in painting, and the desire to establish his own collection, as discussed earlier, it is also most likely that the two other treatises were acquired by Ferdinand Bonaventura; at least in the case of Vasari's book this seems obvious. ⁶⁷⁴

It is certainly difficult to determine whether Harrach had actually read these books, and if so, the extent to which this literature influenced his approach to art.

⁶⁷² Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis, The Humanistic Theory of Painting*. In: *The Art Bulletin* 22/4 (1940), pp. 197-269, here p. 199.

⁶⁷³ Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, pp. 228-244. Also Robert Williams, *Art, Theory, and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy: From Techne to Metatechne*, Cambridge 1997; Carroll W. Westfall, *Painting and the Liberal Arts: Alberti's View*. In: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 30/4 (1969), pp. 487-506; Karin Hellwig, *Die Spanische Kunstliteratur im 17. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt/Main 1996.

⁶⁷⁴ AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 34 and Hs 34a (Alphabetischer Katalog der Bibliothek, angelegt im 18. Jh. 2 Vols., A-H, J-Z), sin fol. Recorded are also Roger De Piles' *Abregé de la vie des peintres* and Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della Pittura*, both editions from the early eighteenth century, acquired probably by Alois Thomas Raimund Harrach.

However, considering the great importance he attached to art and the ability to converse in a sophisticated way about art, as well as the way he described and discussed paintings and artworks in his diary, we can assume that he was familiar with the theoretical literature of art of his day. Harrach belonged to the generation in which the type of connoisseur emerged who separated himself from the customarily collector, and who distinguished himself by his knowledge of art. In scholarly debates, opinions on the development of connoisseurship differ. Scholars such as Ann Bermingham or Carol Gibson-Wood argue that the connoisseur, who possessed an aesthetic appreciation for the objects he amassed and the necessary sophistication, did not emerge until the eighteenth century.⁶⁷⁵ Before, paintings were collected for their prestige rather than for their aesthetic value. Scholars as Jonathan Brown or Brian Cowan, in contrast, suggest that »connoisseurship began well before the word itself was introduced«,⁶⁷⁶ and seventeenth-century princely collectors, »who regarded themselves as promoters of cultural processes were more or less obliged to own and to understand fine paintings«.⁶⁷⁷

Although I agree with the first set of scholars as regards the purpose for which paintings and art works in general had been acquired by seventeenth century collectors, nonetheless, in the course of this research I also came across evidence that supports the Brown's argument that a growing sophisticated examination of art had already developed during the seventeenth century. In his treatise about architecture, mentioned earlier in this chapter, Prince Liechtenstein dedicated several pages to collecting paintings and his observations attest to the fact that he was more than merely a passionate collector who aimed at emphasising his social status and prestige by amassing paintings. One is almost astonished by his vast theoretical knowledge of the art of painting, and one gets the impression that he had thoroughly studied contemporary literature on the topic. His judgement of what is a valuable painting clearly reflects the zeitgeist and corresponds greatly with

⁶⁷⁵ Carol Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*, New York 1988, p. 99; Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, p. 47.

⁶⁷⁶ Brian Cowan, *An Open Elite: The Peculiarities of Connoisseurship in Early Modern England*. In: *Modern Intellectual History* 1/2 (2004), pp. 151-183, here p. 154.

⁶⁷⁷ Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs*, p. 244.

the aesthetic guidelines established in art theoretical literature. »*Jehe natierlicher nun alles ist und lebendiger representieret wiert, jehe besser und vornehmer ist das Gemahl*«, he emphasised at one point, which reflects the predominant ideal of a precise imitation of nature by art.⁶⁷⁸

This theory of painting's merits as the supreme art of imitating nature was also spread in early modern literature on courtesy, and thus was well-known by the European courtly elite.⁶⁷⁹ Liechtenstein repeatedly emphasised how important it is to acquire profound knowledge and recognising a good painting and being able to distinguish a genuine painting from a copy. In order to achieve these accomplishments, he urged his son »to learn some drawing, not in order to distinguish himself as a painter, but in order to achieve the skill necessary to judge paintings«. ⁶⁸⁰ Only on high-quality paintings should one spend money, was his advise because such works would enjoy a high reputation among collectors at home as well as abroad, and the owner would be praised and honoured as a »*Curiosum und Wolverstendige[r]*«⁶⁸¹, and thus he would be recognised and acknowledged as connoisseur.

Liechtenstein addressed a key aspect of early modern collections: artworks were collected not for private satisfaction, but for public display. News of outstanding collections, as well as the reputation of collectors, travelled fast. Prince Johann Adam Liechtenstein followed the advice of his father. His reputation as a collector and art lover was known far beyond the borders. When his son Franz Dominik visited Wolfenbüttel in 1709, the Duke himself guided the young Liechtenstein

⁶⁷⁸ Liechtenstein, *Werk von der Architektur*, p 196. See therefore the dialogue on painting *L'Areino* by Ludovico Dolce (1557), in which the author argued: »[...] *la Pittura non essere altro che imitatione della Natura: e colui, che più nelle sue opera le si avvicina, è più perfetto Maestro*«. Quoted in Lee *Ut Pictura Poesis*, p. 204. Dolce himself received the ideas from painters and art critics of his ages like Raphael, Alberti or Vasari.

⁶⁷⁹ See Castiglione's discussion of painting and sculptures. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, First Book, Chapter 50 and 51, pp. 58-60.

⁶⁸⁰ Quoted in Heiss, *Ihro keiserlichen Mayestät zu Diensten*, p. 160.

⁶⁸¹ [...] *dan es seint nur gemeine Werk, umb welche kein Gelt auszugeben ist, sondern nur um vornehme und rare Sachen, bei welchen ein Lust und Her, solche zu haben, ist und hierumben ein Spesa und Ausgab zu iehren, dieweil dergleichen iberall in hoher Estimation ist und die Forestieri und Auslander dergleichen Kunstgallerie allenthalben gehrn besehen und den Possessorem derhalben loben und riehm als einen Curiosum und Wolverstendigen.*« Liechtenstein, *Werk von der Architektur*, p 197.

personally through his gallery. Moreover, having already heard so many splendid things about the Liechtenstein collection in Vienna, the Duke expressed his desire to Franz Dominik to see his father's collection, and in return the Duke offered to show Johann Adam Liechtenstein his own collection.⁶⁸² This example clearly reveals that collectors knew each other, and it can be assumed that objects circulated within these networks. In addition, travellers, diplomats and young noblemen that toured around Europe, described the collections of the European elite.⁶⁸³ As Irene Baldriga examined, »thousands of letters were sent all over the continent in order to describe museums and galleries, to allow people to visit collections, to deliver items of various kinds, or simply to share the pleasures of collecting«. ⁶⁸⁴ Moreover, from the late seventeenth century onwards, catalogues and descriptions of outstanding collections were published, which were wide-spread among collectors.⁶⁸⁵

To conclude, collecting and art patronage was part of early modern aristocratic self-representation. Outstanding collections, as well as the universal libraries established in this epoch, reflected their owner's distinguished taste and erudition, and thereby aimed at indicating the aristocracy's ability to rule; an opinion which was underscored and spread by contemporary writers like Henry Peacham. As Marjorie Swann emphasised, in Peacham's opinion »the ownership and display of art objects bespoke a collector's mastery of humanistic knowledge about art and thus his rightful status as a cultural leader within cosmopolitan Europe«. ⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸² Quoted in Heiss, *Ihro keiserlichen Mayestät zu Diensten*, p. 164.

⁶⁸³ Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach related from Rome that he had visited the Vatican »*welch auch gar schön und unter andern absondere schöne gemalthe gallerie hat, wir haben auch aldorten die bibliothec gesehen, welhe gar vil rariteten hat, under anerm 2 oder 3 gar künstl. Bücher von miniatur gemahlen.*« Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach to Ernst Adalbert Harrach. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Carton 140, Konv. Harrach Gf. Ferdinand Bonaventura I, fol. 116v.

⁶⁸⁴ Baldriga, *The role of correspondence in the transmission of collecting patterns*, p. 188.

⁶⁸⁵ See the entries in the library catalogue of the Harrach family where among others the following prints are recored: *Descripcion del real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Madrid 1698*; *Descriptions de divers ouvrages de Peinture faits pour le Roi, Paris 1699*; *Description des ouvrages de peinture & sculpture existans dan les Eglises Couvens & lieux public d'Anvers a Anvers, 1699*. AVA Vienna, FA Harrach, Hs 34 and Hs 34a (Alphabetischer Katalog der Bibliothek, angelegt im 18. Jh. 2 Vols., A-H, J-Z), sin fol.

⁶⁸⁶ Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, p. 21. See also Ronald Lightbown who observed that »the history of royal and princely collection in the sixteenth century is in many ways the history of how the tastes of lettered humanists became the tastes of the great.«. Ronald W. Lightbown, *Charles I and the Tradition of European Collecting*. In: Arthur MacGregor, (ed.), *The Late King's Goods. Collections,*

Conspicuous consumption became a symbol of a leisured elite who possessed cultural and social capital as well as the necessary financial resources that allowed for costly pageantry. As Robert Forster emphasised, »the higher one went in the social scale, the more demanding the obligation of magnificence became«. ⁶⁸⁷ Certainly, not all aristocrats shared in the endeavour and the remarkable interest in art, like that of the Liechtenstein and Harrach families, who undoubtedly serve as shining examples in this study. Yet the European cultural landscape, as we know it today, is coined by the pageantry of individuals like Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein and Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, who saw the patronage of art as an investment in symbolic capital, which should witness the family's glory and fame for eternity.

Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories, London-Oxford 1989, pp. 53-72.

⁶⁸⁷ Robert Forster, *The House of Saulx-Tavanes: Versailles and Burgundy, 1700-1830*, Baltimore 1971, p. 114

9. Cultural Patriotism: Opponents of Foreign Influences

»[...] einem Teutschen [gefällt] in summa nicht was sein eygen ist / sonder nur auß fürwitz / frembder sitten / gang / kleyder / sprach / geberde [...] also das Germania ietz voll Teutscher Frantzosen / Teutscher Walhen und Spanier ist [...] so vil farb und gestalt hat ir rede / kleyd / gang / sprach / ein volck das öffisch alles allen lendern will nachtohn und reden.«⁶⁸⁸

Sebastian Franck

Cultural influences, which caused shifts in traditional customs and culture, were not always unrestrictedly welcomed and appreciated. As Heiko Droste pointed out in the case of Sweden, the ever-growing French cultural influence was regarded by the Swedish as more and more of a threat to the particularities of the Swedish culture. From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, a counter-movement developed that »reinforced “national” symbols, like language, history and regional customs«. Yet Droste emphasised that »the success of these measures was limited«. ⁶⁸⁹

A similar development can be noticed in the German territories. Already at the beginning of the sixteenth century single voices emerged that complained about the Germans’ enthusiasm for everything foreign. »Like monkeys, Germans imitate all foreign fashions, gestures, customs, languages, some even dye their hair in order to resemble the French, Italians and Spaniards, and they import all sorts of bad habits to Germany«, wrote Sebastian Franck in the preface of his work *Germaniae Chronicon* (1538). »There are no other people which deny their language, clothing and customs as much as the Germans do«, he argued. »A Hungarian, a Bohemian, a Frenchman, an Italian or a Spaniard can be recognised by his language and clothes.

⁶⁸⁸ Sebastian Franck, *Germaniae Chronicon* (1538), quoted in William Jervis Jones, *Sprachhelden und Sprachverderber. Dokumente zur Erforschung der Fremdwortpurismus im Deutschen* (1478-1750), Berlin 1995, p. 22.

⁶⁸⁹ Heiko Droste, *Diplomaten Schwedens*, pp. 223-224.

A German's manner, his clothes and language, in contrast, are of such a mixture that it is hardly possible to say who he is«, Franck complained.⁶⁹⁰

Over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these reproaches increased in number. Opponents condemned the ambitions of their compatriots, high ranking as well as ordinary people, in imitating every new foreign fashion, and they regarded this behaviour as a serious threat to their own culture and traditions. The theologian Cyriacus Spangenberg, for instance, wrote in his famous *AdelsSpiegel*:

»Es ist leider dahin kommen, das schier nichts deutsches, ich geschweige denn etwas altes mehr in der kleydung gilt bey dem Adel: es muss alles ausländisch sein.«⁶⁹¹

A lively debate on the pros and cons of cultural borrowings developed, especially within the educated urbane class. The speech of the German scholar Christian Thomasius, on the topic »*Welcher Gestalt man denen Frantzosen in gemeinem Leben und Wandel nachahmen solle*«, given at the University of Leipzig in 1687, is a valuable clue as to how ambivalent the perception of foreign influences was. In general, Thomasius argued in favour of cultural openness and that those foreign examples that prove to be valuable for the cultural and spiritual development of the country should be adopted. On the other hand he agreed at the same time that foreign influences had increased tremendously in German territories, which as a

⁶⁹⁰ »[...] dann Teutsche seind von art ein volck / das nicht von seim ding helt / nur fremb ding gut ding / [...] und in summa wie die affen alle allerland verderbte sitten und kleyder anmaßen / und in Teutschland pringen [...] so gar / das etlich mit kunst auß gelben weißem hare / darumb das es Teutsch ist / schwartz / Frantzösich / spanniolisch oder Welsch hare lassen machen / [...]. Es ist kein volck / es bleibt bei seiner spraach und kleydung / dunckt sich der gemeyd sein / und rhümpft sich deren / will auch das mans darbey erkenn. Allein die Teutschen verleugnen ire spraach und kleydung / und geen in frembder seltzamer mummerey herein. [...] Ein Hunger / Behem / Frantzoß / Walhen / Spanier / kent man bei seiner spraach und kleydung / aber ein Teutschen bei seiner torheit / unfleiß / onsorg / sauffen und kriegen / sein sitt / kleyd und spraach ist so vil und mancherley / das du nit kanst wissen wer er ist [...] so vil farb und gestalt hat ir rede / kleyd / gang / spraach / ein volvk das öfffisch alles allen lendern will nachthon und reden.« Jervis Jones, Sprachhelden und Sprachverderber, p. 22.

⁶⁹¹ Spangenberg, *AdelsSpiegel*, vol. 2, Schmalkalden 1594, p. 443.

consequence, led to profound changes in local culture and customs.⁶⁹² Above all, he addressed the low estimation of German language by his compatriots,⁶⁹³ an opinion which he shared with many prominent members of seventeenth-century language societies who made an appeal to culture and language patriotism in their writings.

The reasons that lay beneath the burgeoning hostility against foreign influences were manifold, ranging from political and confessional concerns to simple prejudices against one or the other country and its culture. The military conflicts and the presence of foreign troops, as well as the permanent rivalry between the French and Austrian Habsburg monarchies provided a breeding ground for the creation of stereotypes and hostile images of the foreign, and consequently a growing antipathy towards foreign influences. The following pages aim at providing a space for those voices that appealed for a variety of reason to cultural patriotism.

9.1. »Das kommt mir Spanisch vor«: Criticism of Spanish Influences

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Countess Christina Losenstein sharply criticised the new fashion of mixing the German language with Spanish words, and remarked that the courtly society made such a fuss about gallant behaviour. The reason for her critique was the forthcoming engagement of her daughter Elisabeth to Count Reichart Puchheim. Objecting to the new way in which young noblemen courted ladies, the Countess made certain observations in a letter she wrote to the mother of the future fiancé: »They all use a lot of Spanish words,

⁶⁹² »Solten wir uns nun nicht billig schämen (so wir ja nichts anders bedencken wolten) daß wenn unsere Vorfahren einen Blick in die ieszige Welt thun solten / sie an statt ihres gleichen in Teutschland anzutreffen dasselbige mit teutschen Frantz-Männern besetzt finden würden / welche von den uralten Gebräuchen so gar abgewichen sind / daß von selbigen fast nicht das geringste mehr / welches uns von den vorigen eine Anzeigung geben könnte / übrig blieben [...]. Es ist von Anfang der Welt in den meisten Republicquen so hergangen / daß die Sitten und Manieren zu leben sich hin und wieder verändert haben [...]. Aenderungen sind wohl ins gemein gefährlich / aber deswegen nicht allemahl zuwerwerffen / weil man auch daß gute selten ohne Gefahr erhalten kan.« Christian Thomasius, Discours Welcher Gestalt man denen Frantzosen in gemeinem Leben und Wandel nachahmen solle. In: Ibidem, Deutsche Schriften, ed by Peter von Düffel, Stuttgart 1970, p. 9.

⁶⁹³ Ibidem, p. 29: »In Franckreich redet niemand teutsch / außer etwan die Teutschen untereinander / so sich darinne aufhalten; Allein bey uns Teutschen ist die Französische Sprach so gemein worden / daß an vielen Orten bereits Schuster und Schneider / Kinder und Gesinde dieselbige gut genug reden [...].«

as it is currently the habit in the whole world. However, not everybody is enthusiastic about this development, or is used to foreign languages.« On the contrary, she would quite prefer the young nobleman to be faithful and a devout Christian instead of being pretentious. »In former times, when one had not known anything about all these Spanish words, people had married as well, and they had lived together much better, as it seems they do today«, Countess Losenstein concluded«. ⁶⁹⁴

Countess Losenstein's account is interesting for various reasons. First of all, it is a valuable indication of the changes in noble behaviour at the turn of the century, and the extent to which foreign elements were involved in the new ideal of courtly-noble comportment. It became a fashionable practice among the courtly nobility to use foreign words, such as »*Galan*«, »*Grandezza*«, »*Exzellenz*«, »*Estimir*«, »*Favor*«, »*Satisfaction*«, and many others, in order to emphasise education. ⁶⁹⁵ Already Castiglione had advised his courtier to pay attention to elegant and sophisticated conversation and to include Spanish and French vocabulary in language. ⁶⁹⁶ Countess Losenstein's remark points secondly to the differences between the urbane, courtly society and the country nobility. By taking the example of language, the Countess clearly criticised the courtly society and its comportment. And thirdly, her critique indicates one of the key problems in the confrontation between Spanish and

⁶⁹⁴ »[...] *ir geliebter her son solle lang aufwarden und fill gälan sein und fill spänischer word wies hiezt bei fillen der prauch ist machen, nun beger ich auch soligs gar nicht, den ich gar woll erachten kann das nicht ein yeder lust zu soligen hatt, oder nicht gewont oder in prauch hatt, und gefelt mir meiner fr m lieber her son also fill peser das er fein styl und gotts firchtig ist als aber der hiezt welt prauch nach will gälan sein und spanisch wordt macht. [...] den hatt man doch for zeiten auch geheirat und hatt von solchen spänischen wordn wie hiezt preuchlich wird nichts gewist, man hatt darnach pösser miteinander gehaust in der ehe als man hiez leider herd von dem meisten fällt.*« Christina Losenstein to Elisabeth Puchheim, Krems, 1603 February. Quoted in Bastl, *Das Österreichische Frauenzimmer*, p. 364.

⁶⁹⁵ Regarding the import of Spanish words and expression into German language see Gustav Siebenmann, *Wie Spanisch kommen uns die Spanier vor? Beobachtungen zur Verwendung dieses Volksnamens im Deutschen*. In: *Ibidem, Essays zur spanischen Literatur*, Frankfurt/Main 1989, pp. 35-53. A similar linguistic borrowing is attested also for France. See therefore the study by Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *The mirror of Spain: 1500-1700. The Formation of a Myth*. Ann Arbor 2000, especially pp. 346-350.

⁶⁹⁶ Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, First Book, Chapter 34, p. 41: »*Such is the manner in which I would have our Courtier speak and write; and let him not only choose fine and elegant words from every part of Italy, but I should praise him as well if sometimes he used some of those French or Spanish terms that are already current with us*«.

Central European culture at the beginning of the seventeenth century; the religious conflict. In order to understand Countess Losenstein's remark in its full meaning, her social and confessional background must be taken into consideration. Her disapproval of Spanish influences in local language tradition was surely related to the fact that she was Protestant. She descended from one of the most active Protestant families in Lower Austria. Her father, Wilhelm Roggendorf, was one of the Protestant leaders in the Archdukedom Austria below the Enns in the sixteenth century, and her second husband, Hans Wilhelm Losenstein too, was an avid Protestant, and founder of the Protestant *Landschaftschule* in Loosendorf. The Schallaburg, residence of Count Losenstein and his wife, was one of the most active Protestant cultural centres in Lower Austria.

Already in the second half of the sixteenth century the clash between different cultural and confessional practices had provoked tensions between the Spanish community and the local population in Vienna. Both sides clearly had difficulties with the religious practises of the other. The Spanish ambassador Count Monteagudo, for instance, saw the embassy in Vienna in the 1570s as a location of banishment, and he complained particularly about the permanent confrontation with Protestantism.⁶⁹⁷ On the other hand, the German saying »*Das kommt mir spanisch vor*«, also first appeared in this time and attests to the difficulties the local population had in dealing with the unfamiliar behaviour and costumes of the Spaniards.⁶⁹⁸ The phrase is still today a frequently used metaphor for expressing something strange or unfamiliar.

⁶⁹⁷ Quoted in Friedrich Edelmayer, *Habsburgische Gesandte in Wien und Madrid in der Zeit Maximilians II. Ein Vergleich der innerhabsburgischen Begegnung auf der Ebene der Diplomatie*. In: Wolfram Krömer (ed.), *Spanien und Österreich in der Renaissance. Akten des Fünften Spanisch-Österreichischen Symposions* (Wien, 21.-25. September 1987), Innsbruck 1989, pp. 57-70, here p. 62. As to the image the Spaniards had of the Empire in general see *Ibidem*, *Söldner und Pensionäre*, pp. 39-60.

⁶⁹⁸ Regarding foreign images see the contributions in Klaus Herbers – Nikolas Jaspert (eds.), "Das kommt mir spanisch vor". *Eigenes und Fremdes in den deutsch-spanischen Beziehungen des späten Mittelalters*, Münster 2004.

The rigorous confessional policy pursued by the Spanish monarchy in a time of religious upheaval, and the military actions connected to this – the attack of England by the Spanish armada in 1588, the permanent and at times warlike rivalry with France as well as the warlike conflict in the Netherlands – provided a breeding ground for the formation of a negative image of Spain.⁶⁹⁹ Anti-Spanish pamphlets emerged and circulated throughout Europe.⁷⁰⁰ Also in the Holy Roman Empire the hostility against the Spanish monarchy and its European-wide influence increased and the anti-Spanish rhetoric became more violent during the Thirty Years' War. As mentioned above (Chapter 2.1.) Spain played a prominent role in the Counter-Reformation. Supporting the Emperor, financially as well as militarily, in his re-Catholicisation policy, Spain became the archenemy of the Protestant movement.⁷⁰¹ Additional assistance in Catholic propaganda came from the Jesuits, who »had greatly contributed to the Catholic revival in Germany«. ⁷⁰² On request of Ferdinand I, the first Jesuits came to Vienna in 1552 and a year later the first Latin school was established in Vienna. They rapidly increased in number in the following decades and by the beginning of the seventeenth century Jesuit schools and universities were wide-spread in Central Europe.⁷⁰³ The Jesuits became a central institution for the reception of Spanish ideas and Catholic values.

Protestant propaganda, on the other hand, promoted the image of the violent, deceitful, bellicose, arrogant, artful, bragging, and idle Spaniard, to mention only

⁶⁹⁹ Henry Kamen – Joseph Perez, *La imagen internacional de la España de Felipe II. "Leyenda negra" o conflicto de intereses*, Valladolid 1980. As to Spain's policy at the eve of the Thirty Years' War see for instance: I. A. A. Thompson, *War and Government in Habsburg Spain, 1560-1620*, London 1976; Carlos Gómez Centurión, *La Invencible y la empresa de Inglaterra*, Madrid 1988; Geoffrey Parker, *Spain and the Netherlands; 1559-1659. Ten Studies*, London 1990; Robert A. Stradling, *Spain's Struggle for Europe, 1598-1668*, London-Rio Grande 1994. For further literature on Spain's foreign policy in the first half of the seventeenth century see Chapter 2.1.

⁷⁰⁰ Dietrich Briesemeister, „allerhand iniurien schmehkarten pasquill vnd andere schandlose ehrenrürige Schriften vnd Model“. *Die antispanischen Flugschriften in Deutschland zwischen 1580 und 1635*. In: *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge*. 4 (1981), pp. 147-189.

⁷⁰¹ See Peer Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie oder "teutsche Libertet"*. *Das spanische Imperium in der Propaganda des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, Stuttgart 2001.

⁷⁰² Bireley, *The Jesuits and The Thirty Years War*, p. 7.

⁷⁰³ Ulrike Denk, *Schulwesen und Universität*. In: Peter Csendes – Ferdinand Opll (eds.), *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol. 2: *Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert)* ed. by Karl Vocelka – Anita Traninger, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar, 2003, pp. 365-422.

some of the many stereotypes which circulated in Protestant pamphlets.⁷⁰⁴ Moreover, in order to emphasise the cruelty of the Spanish soldiers, they were often mentioned in the same context as the Ottomans. For instance, a pamphlet from 1619 was entitled: »*Spanischer Türck, Oder Wahrer Bericht, der grausamen unerhörten Spannischen und mehr als Türckischen Mordthaten, welche in dem Königreich Böhemb, hin und wider durch den Conde di Bucquoi und Graf Tampier an Mann und Weib, Auff vielerley Mörderische und unmenschliche art und weise geübt und gebraucht werden*«. ⁷⁰⁵ The adjective »Spanish« more and more became negative, and it became above all a synonym for Catholicism. Obviously, Spanish influences were regarded as a threat to the religious and moral conceptions.⁷⁰⁶

Language increasingly received a prominent place in the propaganda of both sides, the Catholic, pro-Spanish as well as the Protestant, anti-Spanish propaganda. For the adherents of the Counter-Reformation, German was the language of Luther, and thus the language of heresy, whilst Spanish was the language of the true faith. The confessional-ideological connotation of language in Heinrich Doergangk's work *Institutiones in lingua hispanicam* (1614) is clear. Doergangk was an eager defender of the Catholic faith and likewise of the Spanish language. In the preface of the aforementioned work he elaborated on the merits of the language, which he linked to the virtues of the Spanish people in defending the true faith:

»The Spaniards are the chosen people of God and the protectors of the true religion. They honour and defend the truth, and their language is consequently an instrument of the truth. Thus, one who worships God and Christ has to honour the Spaniards and likewise needs to honour and to learn the Spanish language.«⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁴ Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie*. Recently also Dietrich Briesemeister, *Spanien aus deutscher Sicht. Deutsch-spanische Kulturbeziehungen gestern und heute*, Tübingen 2004.

⁷⁰⁵ HHStA Vienna, Flugschriften 17. Jahrhundert, Nr. 40.

⁷⁰⁶ See Rostislav Smísek, *Důvěra nebo nenávisť? Obraz Španělův korespondenci císaře Leopolda I. s knížetem Ferdinandem z Dietrichsteina [= Vertrauen oder Hass? Das Spanienbild in der Korrespondenz von Kaiser Leopold I. mit dem Fürsten Ferdinand von Dietrichstein]*. In: *Časopis Matice moravské*, 123 (2004), pp. 47-76.

⁷⁰⁷ Briesemeister, *Spanien aus deutscher Sicht*, p. 101 and pp. 429-439.

The Protestant, anti-Spanish propaganda, on the other hand, was no less imaginative in its argumentation. In a Protestant pamphlet from 1618, which promoted the image of the false Spaniards, it was mocked:

»Die spanische Sprach seye die lieblichste under allen Sprachen, in masse die Schlang, da sie Evan betriegen wollte, habe spanisch geredt.«⁷⁰⁸

At the multi-cultural and polyglot imperial court the situation was completely different. There Italian and Spanish were the privileged languages throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, followed by French in the eighteenth century. German, in contrast, played a marginal role in the Habsburg ruling house. The writer Eucharius Gottlieb Rinck was even surprised that the Emperor was able to speak proper German, since »this language has almost the status of a foreign language in Austria«. ⁷⁰⁹ Apart from the fact that the Emperor promoted by example the use of Italian and Spanish at his court, the dominance of these languages over German certainly was related to the many Spanish and Italian courtiers who lived in Vienna and who hardly ever learned German. ⁷¹⁰

The choice of a particular language was not only for practical reasons, in order to communicate with foreigners. It was moreover a matter of prestige, a further emblem in the rhetoric of social distinction. It enabled the speaker to associate himself to a particular social group and it creates closeness to members of a social group he belonged or wished to belong to. Language is »one of the most important

⁷⁰⁸ Quoted in Dietrich Briesemeister, Kaspar von Barth (1587-1658) und die Frühgeschichte der Hispanistik in Deutschland. In: Manfred Tietz (ed.), Das Spanieninteresse im deutschen Sprachraum. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hispanistik vor 1900, Frankfurt/Main 1989, pp. 1-21, here p. 8.

⁷⁰⁹ »Hingegen sahe der käyser überaus gerne / wann man sich in der italienischen [Sprache] bey hofe bediente. Teutsch redete er mit solcher reinlichkeit und zierlichkeit / daß man sich darüber zum höchsten zu verwundern hatte / absonderlich da in Oesterreich diese sprache fast in einem fremden landes ist [...]«. Eucharius Gottlieb Rinck, Leopold des Grossen, Röm. Käysers, wunderwürdiges Leben und Thaten, Leipzig 1708.

⁷¹⁰ »Von fremden Sprachen, vornehmlich von Italiänischen, Spanischen, Französischen und lateinischen, mischet man gewaltig viel unter, welches, meines Erachtens, wohl daher rühret, weil allhier viel Spanier, Italiäner, und Franzosen sich etabliret und aufhalten; und das Latein lernen die meisten in ihrer Jugend in denen Clöstern. Bey Hofe redet man Spanisch, Französisch, vornehmlich aber Italiänisch.« Küchelbecker, Allerneuesten Nachricht, p. 395.

of the signs of collective identity«, Peter Burke underscored. »Speaking the same language or variety of language, as someone else is a simple and effective way of indicating solidarity; speaking a different language or variety of language is an equally effective way of distinguishing oneself from other individuals or groups.«⁷¹¹ Franz Christoph Khevenhüller, for instance, wrote his letters to his friend Leonhard Helfried Count of Meggau occasionally in Spanish. »*Weil ich weiß, das er ein liebhaber derselben ist*«, Khevenhüller once remarked.⁷¹² The court aristocracy clearly used foreign languages in order to create a distance from the ordinary people. At the same time, it was a reaction to the image of the violent, uncultured and uncivilised nobleman, created by lettered men. As discussed above, noble society encountered this image by giving more attention to education.

The importance the Austrian aristocracy paid to learning foreign languages is witnessed by numerous grammars, vocabularies and dictionaries, which belonged to the standard equipment of every noble library. In the archive of the Lamberg family a further interesting finding can be made. Here a manuscript entitled »*Cartas escogidas de Juan Francisco Peranda*« survives, which includes different samples of letters of recommendation (*cartas de recomendación*), petitions (*cartas de ruego*), eulogies (*cartas de alabanza*), and the like.⁷¹³ The manuscript dates from 1629 and on the first page we find the signature of Johann Maximilian Lamberg. He seemingly considered them as ideal way of writing such letters. Eloquence and sophisticated communication, whether in oral conversation or in written form, were noble values that gained in importance in early modern time, and at the courtly centres they were exercised to perfection.⁷¹⁴ Moreover, contemporaries were well aware that a courtier was almost forced to follow the current trend regarding linguistic

⁷¹¹ Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation*, Cambridge 1993, p. 70. See also James Amelang who discussed language as sign of identity in the case of the elites in Barcelona. Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona*, Chapter Eight: Signs of Identity.

⁷¹² Franz Christoph Khevenhüller to Leonhard Helfried von Meggau, Madrid, 1619 April 10. HHStA, Vienna, FA Khevenhüller, Carton 220 (gebundene Briefbücher 1619/1), fols. 148r-149r., Nr. 330.

⁷¹³ LA Linz, HA Steyr FA Lamberg, Hs. 1553 (Spanische Briefe).

⁷¹⁴ Fernando Bouza, *Escribir en la corte: la cultura de la nobleza cortesana y las formas de comunicación en el Siglo de Oro*. In: *Vivir el Siglo de Oro. Poder, cultura e historia en la Época Moderna*. Estudios en homenaje al profesor Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez, Salamanca 2003, pp. 77-100.

orientation in order to be acknowledged as a worldly man. In his book about appropriate conversation the contemporary Christoph Heinrich Amthor noted:

»Dann die heutige Welt bringet es nun einmahl so mit sich und wird ein geschickter Welt=Mann, der am Hofe lebt, besser thun, wann er in diesem Punct mit machet, als wenn er durch gezwungene Reinigkeit der teutschen Sprache vor allen andern etwas Sonderlichers voraus haben will.«⁷¹⁵

It is not surprising therefore that the most vehement opponents of this development are not to be found among the aristocracy but within intellectual and bourgeois circles. Poets and lettered men increasingly opposed alien fashions, which were spread via the courtly centres in the Empire. German culture, according to the basic tenor of their criticism, runs the risk of becoming entirely submerged by outside influences. Writers such as Johann Michael Moscherosch (1601-1669), Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607-1658), or Philipp von Zesen (1619-1689), to mention only some, made the »revival of national pride«, to an issue of their literary works.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹⁵ Quoted in Richard James Brunt, *The Influence of the French Language on the German Vocabulary (1649-1735)*, Berlin-New York 1983, p. 88.

⁷¹⁶ Kenneth G. Knight, *Johann Michael Moscherosch: An Early Baroque Satirist's View of Life*. In: *The Modern Language Review*, 49/1 (1954), pp. 29-45, here p. 29; and further elaborated in Knight's recent study, *Ibidem, Johann Michael Moscherosch, Satiriker und Moralist des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 2000.

9.2. Linguistic Societies and Bourgeois Cultural Patriotism

Language as an essential component in the formation of (national) identity,⁷¹⁷ became the major benchmark in a campaign, which is labelled in scholarly debate, at least since the works by Ferdinand van Ingen and Wolfgang Huber, as *Kulturpatriotismus* (cultural patriotism), a pre-national patriotism which, guided by moral and religious motives, objected to the growing imitation of alien fashions.⁷¹⁸ Calling on his compatriots to respect the mother tongue, and to use it with self-confidence, rather than to mix it with foreign words, the German poet Georg Neumark (1621-1681) wrote the following lines in one of his poems:

»Machst du die Sprach zur Magd: So wirst du werden
Knecht der Fremden / weil dir ist dein Vaterland zu
Schlecht. Nicht also / Patriot! Ach nein; bedenk dich
besser. Wird deine Nation / so wirst du selber größer
an Ehren und an Ruhm«. ⁷¹⁹

Neumark's contemporary, the jurist Johann Heinrich Schill (ca. 1615-1645) was even more cynical:

»Ja ist es nicht eine grosse Leichtfertigkeit / daß die
Teutschen ihre teutsche Sprach also verachten vnd
so vil an ihnen vnder die füß treten? Lieber wo
findet man andere Völcker / die da etwas von den
Teustschen / so wohl ihrer Sprach / als auch der
Kleidung entlehnen? Zwar keine / es seye dann die

⁷¹⁷ Here I follow the Baroque concept of nation, as it is defined for instance by the Moravian polymath Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670): »*Gens, seu Natio, est hominum eadem stripe prognatorum, eodem Mundi loco (veluti communi domo, quam Patriam vocant) habitantium, eodem Linguae idiomate utentium, eoque iisdem communis amoris, concordiae, et pro publico bono studii, vinculis colligatorum, multitudo*«. Johann Amos Comenius, *Gentis Felicitas*, quoted in Thorsten Roelcke, *Der Patriotismus der barocken Sprachgesellschaft*. In: Andreas Gardt (ed.), *Nation und Sprache. Die Diskussion ihres Verhältnisses in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Berlin 2000, pp. 139-168, p. 145.

⁷¹⁸ Ferdinand van Ingen, *Die Sprachgesellschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts: Zwischen Kulturpatriotismus und Kulturvermittler*. In: *Muttersprache* 96 (1987), pp. 137-146; Wolfgang Huber, *Kulturpatriotismus und Sprachbewußtsein. Studien zur deutschen Philologie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt/Main-Bern-New York-Nancy 1984.

⁷¹⁹ Quoted in Christoph Stoll, *Sprachgesellschaften im Deutschland des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1973, p. 20.

Teutschen damit zu verachten und ihrer zu spotten
[...].«⁷²⁰

Further examples could be added, which were of more or less the same content. Written in a time when Germans were only slowly recovering from the devastation of the Thirty Years' War, all these writings were an appeal to revitalising national pride, and to respect and cultivate culture, language and customs of the country. In the eyes of Baroque language purists, lacking language consciousness and the poor cultivation of language leads to the decline of language, and as a consequence also of the decline of power in general. This idea is certainly not an invention of the Baroque Age, but goes back to the Renaissance. Already in the late fifteenth century, the Castilian humanist Antonio de Nebrija noted in his *Gramática castellana* (1492), the first printed grammar of a vernacular: »*Siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio*«. ⁷²¹

In studying early modern European vernaculars Peter Burke came to the interesting conclusion that »Germans borrowed about nine hundred Italian words between 1350 and 1600, and even more than two thousand French words between 1575 and 1735«. ⁷²² This enormous influx of foreign words occurred not without any reaction by seventeenth century contemporaries. On the contrary, it encouraged at the same time the development of a language consciousness, and a lively debate developed on language purity, value, and history of German language. Critics proclaimed a revitalisation of culture consciousness and traditional values and developed a sense of »national« identity. Regarding the influx of foreign words as a

⁷²⁰ Quoted in Roelcke, *Patriotismus*, p. 147. Additionally Jervis Jones, *Sprachhelden und Sprachverderber*, p. 365.

⁷²¹ Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, ed by Antonio Quilis, Madrid 1989, p. 91. See also Eugenio Asensio, *La lengua compañera del imperio. Historia de una idea de Nebrija en España y Portugal*. In: *Revista de Filología Española*, 43 (1960), pp. 399-413.

⁷²² Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2004, p. 139. See also Brunt, *The Influence of the French Language on the German Vocabulary*, and the earlier work by William Jervis Jones, *A Lexicon of French Borrowings in the German Vocabulary (1575-1648)*, Berlin-New York 1976.

danger that sets off a change in habits and customs, the poet and language purist Justus Georg Schottelius (1612-1676) remarked:

»Auf die Enderung der Sprache folget eine Enderung der Sitten«. ⁷²³

Not as impulsive, but at the core of similar content is the judgment by Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen (1622-1676), who also warned against an entirely foreign infiltration of German culture. According to him, the adoption of foreign words itself is not the major problem, but the introduction of harmful alien morality connected to it is. ⁷²⁴ Many of these eager defenders of German language and culture belonged to the generation that had witnessed the devastations of the Thirty Years' War and the invasion of foreign troops, which crucially shaped their world view and attitudes towards the foreign, and which is also reflected in their writings. Grimmelshausen's well-known picturesque novel *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* is only one example of many.

A key moment in German language purism was the foundation of the language society the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (Fruitful society) in 1617. Founded in the Protestant environment of Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen, it followed the Italian example of the *Accademia della Crusca*. During a stay in Florence in 1600, Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen had become acquainted with the ideas of the *Accademia della Crusca*, to which he was accepted as the first German member. ⁷²⁵ As its Italian

⁷²³ William Jervis Jones, *Images of Language. German Attitudes to European Languages from 1500 to 1800*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1999, p. 30.

⁷²⁴ »die frembde Sprachen schaden an sich selbst nichts / sondern die angenommene mit eingeschlichene Sitten«. Quoted in Dieter Breuer, *Simplicianische Sprachkritik – Grimmelshausens Traktat Deß Weltberufenen Simplicissimi Pralerey und Gepräg mit seinem Teutschen Michel*. In: Axel Gellhaus – Horst Sitta (eds.), *Reflexionen über Sprache aus literatur- und sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht*, Tübingen 2000, pp. 1-12.

⁷²⁵ Anja Stukenbrock, *Sprachnationalismus. Sprachreflexion als Medium kollektiver Identitätsstiftung in Deutschland (1617-1945)*, Berlin-New York 2005, p. 70. Also Harald Weinrich, *Wege der Sprachkultur*, Stuttgart 1988. On the Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft exemplary Martin Bircher, *Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. Neue Forschungsergebnisse*. In: *Akten des V. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses in Cambridge 1975, Bern-Frankfurt/Main 1976 and Ibidem – Ferdinand van Ingen (eds.), Sprachgesellschaften, Sozietäten, Dichterguppen. Arbeitsgespräche in*

model, the major goal of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* was the cultivation of the vernacular, or as Kaspar von Teuteleben (1576-1629) described in a speech given on the occasion of the foundation of the society: to liberate German vernacular from the »burden of foreign languages (*Sprachenjoch*)«. According to Teuteleben, German should regain its ancient purity and innate grace:

»[...] dass bey dem bluttrieffenden Kriegsjammer /
unsere uralte unvollkommene Teutsche
Muttersprache / so uns gantz rein in der ersten Milch
gleichsam eingetreuffelt / nachmals aber durch
fremdes Wortgepränge / wäßrig und versaltzen
worden / hinwieder in uralte gewöhnliche und
angeborene Teutsche Reinlichkeit / Zierde und
Aufnehmen eingeführtet / einträchtig fortgesetzt /
von dem fremddruckenden Sprachenjoch befreyet /
durch alte und neue Kunstwörter befestiget / und
also endlichen in dem glorwürdigen Ehrentron
versetzt werden möchte.«⁷²⁶

Further language societies followed the example, the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* remained however the most exclusive one. In fact, it became a matter of prestige to be admitted to the society. Two thirds of its members were nobles, and most of them Protestants. Also several literary active Austrian nobles belonged to the circle, such as Georg Adam von Kuefstein, Johann Wilhelm Stubenberg, and Wolf Helmhardt Hohenberg. The most active members in terms of language purification and linguistic development (*Spracharbeit*) came however from bourgeois circles. Besides the above mentioned poets Neumark, Schill and Schotellius, the writers Johann Michael Moscherosch, Sigismund Birken, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, and above all, Martin Opitz ranked as the most prominent of its members and who likewise had the most impact on the development of German Baroque literature.⁷²⁷

der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 28. bis 30. Juni 1977. Vorträge und Berichte, Hamburg 1978.

⁷²⁶ Quoted in Huber, Kulturpatriotismus, p. 243.

⁷²⁷ Roelcke, Patriotismus, p. 142. For further literature see Markus Hundt, „Spracharbeit“ im 17. Jahrhundert. Studien zu Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, Justus Georg Schottelius und Christian Gueintz, Berlin-New York 2000.

The latter is often quoted in literature as »the father of modern German poetry«, a reputation which he received not least through his work »*Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*«, published in 1624.⁷²⁸ Their goal was to encourage German language in poetry and science and to »emancipate it within European literature«.⁷²⁹ Apart from purifying German from foreign influences, this enterprise also included a standardisation of German language as well as the preoccupation with questions about grammar, vocabulary and poetry in general. Whilst in other European countries, such as France, Italy, Spain and England, national vernaculars had already penetrated in former Latin domains and a literary productivity and scholarly debate in the vernacular gained in importance,⁷³⁰ in German territories scholarship and literature were still ruled to a great extent by Latin. The first German-speaking lecture at a university in the Holy Roman Empire was only given at the close of the seventeenth century by Christian Thomasius. Moreover, at the beginning of the seventeenth century the German language was far from being standardised. In fact, the contrary was the case. A multitude of varieties existed and were spoken in the different parts of the Empire, a circumstance which did not support a literary productivity in the vernacular to the extent it was already in Southern Europe, France, and England at that time.

There is a broad agreement among scholars that an essential »factor, relevant to the growth of German purism was a sense of political, economical and cultural

⁷²⁸ Michael M. Metzger – Erika A. Metzger, *The Thirty Years' War and Its Impact on Literature*. In: Gerhard Hoffmeister (ed.), *German Baroque Literature. The European Perspective*, New York 1983, pp. 38-51, here p. 43. Also Klaus Garber, Martin Opitz – „der Vater der deutschen Dichtung“. Eine kritische Studie zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Germanistik, Stuttgart 1976.

⁷²⁹ Stoll Sprachgesellschaft, p. 10. In the statutes of the Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft it says: »Soll auch den Gesellschaftern vor allen Dingen obliegen, unsere hochgeehrte Muttersprache, in ihrem gründlichen Wesen und rechten Verstande ohn Einmischung fremder ausländischer Flikkwörter, so wol im Reden, Schreiben, Getichten, aufs allerzier= und deutlichste zu erhalten und auszuüben [...] wider die einreissende Sprachverderbung ritterlich streiten [...]« Carl Gustav Hille, *Der Teutsche Palmenbaum*, das ist Lobschrift von der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft, Anfang, Statzung (etc.), Nürnberg 1647, p. 56. On standardization attempts by German writers see Maria Barbara Lange, *Bad Language in Germany's Past – the Birth of Linguistic Norms in the Seventeenth Century?* In: Nils Langer – Winifred V. Davies (eds.), *Linguistic Purism in the Germanic Languages*, Berlin-New York 2005, pp. 62-85.

⁷³⁰ Aldo Scaglione (ed.), *The Emergence of National Languages*, Ravenna 1984, and more recently the seminal study by Burke, *Languages and Communities*.

inferiority« and the desire to elevate German culture to European standards.⁷³¹ Martin Opitz's assertion that »German possesses the majesty of Spanish, the decorum of Italian and the charm of French«⁷³², has to be read against this background of elevating the status of German language to an international level, and as a consequence German culture in general. In doing so, poets and purists fabulously traced back the roots of German language to Babel, and even beyond. In their writings we frequently find the argument that German ranks among the oldest languages of Europe together with Latin, Greek and Hebrew. »The Romance languages, in contrast, are young vernaculars and they are only a crippled form of Latin«, Neumark argued. »Yet, Spaniards and Frenchmen use their vernacular with self-confidence«, he observed. »German people, who have every reason to be proud of their language, should do the same.«⁷³³ The lack of a vernacular literary language as well as the low level of appreciation of the German language in general, was regarded as »cultural deficit compared to countries like France, Italy, and Spain«. ⁷³⁴

It is unsurprising that these eager defenders of the German language viewed the polyglot society at the imperial court with suspicion, and likewise disapproved of the Emperor's promotion of Italian and Spanish at his court. Gottlieb Amadeus Count Windischgrätz, a member of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, once complained about the fact that his poetry received little attention at the imperial court. To his friend, Sigmund Birken, he complained: »The most honourable poetry receives little admiration in the imperial capital. This is, however, not surprising,

⁷³¹ Jones, *Images of Language*, p. 27; van Ingen, *Die Sprachgesellschaften*, p. 146; Hundt, „Spracharbeit“, p. 21.

⁷³² Quoted in Burke, *Languages and Communities*, p. 68.

⁷³³ »Ist unsre Sprache dann dort hinterm Zaun geboren? Ist sie von Babel nicht mit andern außgereist? Die unter vieren auch der ältesten eine heist. Der Frantz- und Welschman mit Eyfer ist geflossen / wie man mög sein Sprach in hohem Wollstand wissen; die doch ist jung / und nur verkrüppeltes Latein: und unsre Heldensprach soll nicht so würdig seyn? [...]«, asked Neumark in a poem. Quoted in Stoll, *Sprachgesellschaften*, p. 20.

⁷³⁴ Hundt, „Spracharbeit“, p. 21: »Es ging um das Aufholen eines als kulturellen Rückstandes erfahrenen Defizits gegenüber Ländern wie Frankreich, Italien und Spanien. Wenngleich stereotype Fremdwortabwehr in sprachkritischen Texten der Zeit die den Alamode-Stil und die damit verbundene Sprachmengerei kritisieren, geht es in diesen Texten jedoch nicht um die Abwertung der fremden Sprache und Kultur, sondern um die Aufwertung der eigenen.«

considering that so many people live in Vienna who all speak different languages. Most of them do not even understand the poetry, and those who do show little interest in German poetry.«⁷³⁵ Certainly, it needs to be mentioned that Windischgrätz did not rank among the most gifted of writers of the *Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft*, and his lamentation about the polyglot Viennese society that failed to understand and appreciate his poetry was surely also an excuse for his failure as a writer. Nevertheless, his conclusion about the status of German language and literature at the imperial court was not that inaccurate. In fact, German poets and writers hardly gained any foothold in Vienna and the imperial court did not rank as a centre where German speaking literature was patronized. It is no accident that all important German baroque writers descended from the Empire, and were patronized mainly by Protestant Princes. The imperial court played hardly any role in the development of German baroque poetry. Sigmund Birken, too, censured the little interest one attached to German literature in Vienna.⁷³⁶ The noble writers, Hohenberg, Stubenberg and Kuefstein, who are often quoted as the Austrian representatives of German baroque literature, were little involved in the imperial court. Instead they represented the type of humanistic educated country noble that visited the imperial capital only occasionally.

Although Viennese literary circles had been developed, like the *Accademia de Crescenti* founded by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in 1657, they had little in common with the language and literary societies in the Empire. First of all, the meetings had less literary significance, but were evening entertainments at the imperial court, putting aside the fact that the language in which one discussed a topic was Italian and not German. In front of the imperial family, members of the court society elaborated on a specific topic, which was usually formulated in rather general terms. Moreover, the debates ended most of the time with the praise of the

⁷³⁵ »Die aller hochschätzbarste arbeit lockt hier nur von gar wenigen ein große verwunderung ab, dann wo ein solches misch-masch von unterschiednen völkern, da ist nichts bässers zu hoffen, der wenigste theill versthehts, die es verstehn solten nehmen nicht zeith sich viell drum zu bekümmern.« Gottlieb Amadeus Windischgrätz to Sigmund Birken, 1654 August 21. Quoted in Martin Bircher, Johann Wilhelm von Stubenberg (1619-1663) und seine Freunde, Berlin 1968, p. 298.

⁷³⁶ Ibidem, p. 12.

imperial house.⁷³⁷ Though the number of participants at such events increased in the course of the seventeenth century, these circles remained a courtly phenomenon, thus, its members were exclusively courtiers. According to Otto Brunner, it was precisely the »lack of members from the educated bourgeoisie in these circles, which made it difficult for German, as a literary language, to develop in Vienna«. ⁷³⁸ It was only in the eighteenth century that the first German-speaking literary academy, based on the models of the Empire, was established in Vienna.⁷³⁹

Boundaries between adoption and rejection were certainly fluid. An essential part in the program of seventeenth century language societies and language purism was the translation of foreign literature. Many of the writers, who most vehemently argued against the ever-growing imitation of foreign models and the invasion of German by foreign words, distinguished themselves as translators, thereby making foreign literature accessible to a broad readership in German territories.⁷⁴⁰ In their attempts at establishing German vernacular in literature and science, language purists became important mediators in cultural transfer processes; or as the scholar Italo Michele Battafarano described it in the case of the poet and language purist Georg Philipp Harsdörffer: they were »translators of European culture«. ⁷⁴¹ Thus, both mediation of foreign culture and cultural patriotism, though at a first glance a contradiction, can not be strictly separated. On the contrary, in order to valorise one's own culture and raise it to a »European level, one adopted those aspects which were needed and considered as fruitful for the cultural development of the country«. ⁷⁴²

⁷³⁷ Anita Traninger, *Literatur und intellektuelles Leben*. In: Csendes – Opll (eds.), *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol. 2: *Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz*, pp. 423-452, here p. 429.

⁷³⁸ Otto Brunner, *Adeliges Landleben*, p. 234.

⁷³⁹ Traninger, *Literatur und intellektuelles Leben*, p. 429.

⁷⁴⁰ See Chapter 6.

⁷⁴¹ Italo Michele Battafarano, *Vom Dolmetschen als Vermittlung und Auslegung*. *Der Nürnberger Georg Philipp Harsdörffer – ein Sohn Europas*. In: John Roger Paas (ed.), *Der Franken Rom. Nürnbergs Blütezeit in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1995, pp. 196-212, here p. 200. See also Jean-Daniel Krebs, *Harsdörffer als Vermittler des „honnêteté“-Ideals*. In: Italo Michele Battafarano (ed.), *Georg Philipp Harsdörffer. Ein deutscher Dichter und europäischer Gelehrter*, Bern 1991, pp. 287-311.

⁷⁴² Van Ingen, *Die Sprachgesellschaften*, p. 146. See also Hundt, *„Spracharbeit“*, p. 21.

CONCLUSION

Cultural exchange is always taking place and leaving its traces. Scholars and artists have constantly contributed to cultural transfers by adopting ideas from other scholarly or artistic traditions. Overall, cultural transfers are vital for the development of societies and cultures and sometimes they even entail significant changes. For example, the import of American products, such as potatoes, maize, or tobacco to Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries started a revolution in European agriculture. Similarly significant was the import of cochineal, which became one of the most important sources for scarlet red dye after its introduction to Europe, and which crucially changed the European dyeing industry.⁷⁴³ The imitation of foreign clothing styles, architectural trends, culinary practices, and special styles of furniture also often provided decisive impulses for trade, handcraft and technical innovations. As we have seen, in early eighteenth century Vienna, the growing demand in foreign luxury goods, such as silk stockings and porcelain, led to the development of a specific trade and manufacturing so that these luxury items could be copied.

In this study, we have examined the cultural relations between the two Habsburg monarchies in the seventeenth century, placing significant attention on the role of the aristocracy in the import of foreign goods, expertises and cultural practices to Austria. As this study has shown, the Austrian aristocracy increasingly looked abroad and adopted foreign fashions and lifestyles. »Clothes of nobles no longer have regional and traditional features, but instead nobles all dress according to foreign fashions«, wrote the German writer Cyriacius Spangenberg at the close of the sixteenth century.⁷⁴⁴ Aristocratic travellers, and above all ambassadors, played a central role in the mediation of foreign goods and information about new fashions from abroad. Young nobles, while travelling through foreign countries during the

⁷⁴³ See Raymond L. Lee, American Cochineal in European commerce, 1526-1625. In: *The Journal of Modern History* 23/3 (1951), pp. 205-224.

⁷⁴⁴ Spangenberg, *AdelsSpiegel*, vol. 2, Schmalkalden 1594, p. 443.

Grand Tour, not only became familiarised with the cultural standards of the European elite, but also acquired books, rarities and art objects, fine textiles, laces, and fashionable accessories, which they brought home with them. In their letters to relatives and friends they described exotica and outstanding art collections, thereby contributing to the spread of collecting patterns. In order to illustrate the aristocracy's role as a carrier of cultural transfer, we only have to consider one of the examples referred to in this thesis. The establishment of the collection of paintings by the Harrach family was closely related to Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach's post as imperial ambassador to Spain in the second half of the seventeenth century. Harrach was not only fascinated by the flourishing world of art he encountered in Madrid, he was also inspired by the art collections of Spanish collectors such as the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo or the Duke of Medina del Río Seco, who were both close friends of his. He also acquired a large number of paintings in the *almonedas* in Madrid. Due to the remarkable quantity of masterpieces by Spanish painters, such as Murillo, Carreño de Miranda, Sánchez Coello, and Ribera, the collection ranks as one of the most significant testimonies to Spanish culture in the Austrian lands, even today.

The networks of the aristocracy provided excellent channels for a rapid spread of novelties from abroad and the transfer of goods, such as chocolate. As we have seen, chocolate was praised for its medical properties and was esteemed as an indicator of wealth and prestige. By the mid-seventeenth century, chocolate had secured its place in the Austrian aristocratic consumption practice. However, commercial trade could not satisfy the growing demand and aristocrats depended on their personal networks in order to satisfy their appetite for the exquisite luxury. They also circulated recipes for the preparation of the beverage through these networks. Additionally, the imperial court and the salons of the aristocracy, like the Pernstein salon in Prague, offered settings where individuals from different proveniences met and exchanged novelties and ideas. The Pernstein family cultivated close kinship relations with Spanish noble families and their palace was the meeting place of the Spanish ambassadors to the imperial court and other

influential pro-Spanish aristocrats from home and abroad. As the Czech scholar Jaroslava Kašparová emphasised, it was »one of the most important centres of Spanish culture in Bohemia at the beginning of the seventeenth century«. ⁷⁴⁵

Yet citing these examples should not imply that Spanish cultural influences predominated. On the contrary, transfer research shies away from the idea of a superior culture that impacts on other cultures, as was stressed for instance in earlier models of reception. It places attention on the variety of influences that make up cultures. In the period under review, neither the growing significance of France as a trendsetter nor Italian influences, be they in architecture, music, or painting, are unchallenged and can be ignored. From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, aristocrats from the Austrian Habsburg monarchy, like those from other counties, saw it as being fashionable to dress in the French style. They imitated the French approach to interior design and for their gardens they employed French garden architects and trick-fountain engineers. However, as this study has shown, a strong cultural relation existed between Spain and the Austrian lands, not least due to the close dynastic links between the two Habsburg monarchies.

In addition, cultural transfer research proceeds from active processes of adoption and it invites us to ask about the reasons as to why individuals or social groups are interested in foreign cultures. The aristocracy's openness to other cultures was rooted in the seventeenth century culture of curiosity, an »attitude of mind involving a fascination for the rare, novel, surprising and outstanding in all spheres of life«. ⁷⁴⁶ This attitude was related to a new established ideal of a learned and worldly aristocracy. The consumption of foreign goods identified aristocrats as being cosmopolitan and fashionable, and it served the dual purpose of fostering class boundaries and creating a distance from commoners, especially from social climbers and urbane elites, and at the same time it forged a common European aristocratic identity. Cultural transfer was an essential factor in the establishment of a shared elite taste.

⁷⁴⁵ Kašparová, Španělské Tisky, p. 21.

⁷⁴⁶ Katie Whitaker, *The Culture of Curiosity*. In: Nicholas Jardine – James A. Secord – Emma C. Spary (eds.), *Cultures of Natural History*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 74-91, here p. 74.

Early modern aristocracy was confronted with a gradual loss of former feudal functions, and at the same time it was forced to face the rise of urbane elites and university trained commoners, who increasingly took over functions at court and moreover, questioned the nobility's social superiority grounded in traditional virtues. The aristocracy realised that they had to re-define themselves. Pageantry through art patronage and the sophisticated preoccupation with culture received an increasingly prominent place in the public spectacle of aristocratic display, as clearly articulated by Prince Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein, who in 1683 wrote the following to his son: »By means of such rare edifices, beautiful paintings and sculptures, and also noble horse breeding, you will gain a great name in the whole world and you will lend honour and glory to the family for it has invested in and left behind the most wonderful works. [...] Being cultured and ruling wisely combined with curiosity and love for rarities constitutes the perfection of a Prince, who in both fields has to be flawless. For if he is only erudite, which although is an honourable virtue, he has nonetheless something *del petante*. Yet the appreciation of art [...] will remain for eternity, as the antiquities and noble places of Rome attest, and which reveal to what extent art and reason has been united in those people.«⁷⁴⁷

Of course, aristocratic pageantry and art patronage were not an invention of the seventeenth century. Yet in reading contemporary documents, such as the cited letter, one gets the impression that early modern aristocrats found a new task in the promotion of art, which allowed them to articulate social distinction, and which confirmed and supported hierarchies and status. The ownership of precious artworks, and above all the ability to recognise valuable artworks, enabled

⁷⁴⁷ »Und also durch dergleichen raritäten der gebeu, der schönen malerey undt sculptur, auch vornehmben roßzucht großen nahmben in der gantzen welt bekommen werden und ruhmb unserm hauß hinterlassen, daß sie die schönsten werkh angerichtet, erhalten und hinterlassen haben, so großes lob bey allen weith abgelegenen verursacht undt schätzen macht, [...] Nun, gelährt zu sein undt in allen weißlich sich zu regiren, mit zugethaner curiosität undt lieb der raritäten, geben die perfection eines fürsten, so in beeden perfect sein muß. Ist er es aber allein in der gelährtheit, so zwar das vornehmste ist, so hat es ein wenig del pedante, also muß die curiosität darbey auch vermischet sein, so erscheinet undt ewig verbleibet in denen vornehmben undt vielfältigen structuren, so auch noch die rudera undt eingang derselben erweißen, wie die vornehmben ohrt zu Rom die antiquitäten erzeigen, waß kunst undt vernunft in selbigen leüthen gewesen ist.« Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein to Johann Adam Andreas Liechtenstein, Feldsberg, 1683 June 26. In: Haupt, Von der Leidenschaft zum Schönen, Quellenband, pp. 323-324.

aristocrats to display taste, connoisseurship, and cultural competence, demonstrating their »rightful status as cultural leaders within cosmopolitan Europe«, as the contemporary writer Henry Peacham wrote in *The complete Gentleman*.⁷⁴⁸ Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein succeeded far beyond his wildest dreams by gaining glory and fame through the promotion of art. His name as an art collector and connoisseur was known far beyond the borders, and even today the Liechtenstein name is associated with the art treasures the family amassed over the centuries. As we have seen, Liechtenstein had a particular liking for Italian architecture and for the remodelling of his palace he employed Italian architects. In his own writings on architecture he actively received ideas from Italian architectural theorists. All this made Liechtenstein, and other aristocrats like him, important carriers and promoters of cultural transfer.

Certainly, it would be a mistake to assume that all aristocrats were equally as enthusiastic about fine arts, as members of the Liechtenstein family had been. Nonetheless, magnificent palace architecture, art and picture collections, and libraries founded by seventeenth century aristocrats today bear testimony to a rich baroque culture in which the aristocracy actively participated. Ultimately, due to their adaptability, the ability to adopt elements of humanism and urbanity and to convert them into noble values, the early modern aristocracy was far from decline and from losing its social and cultural hegemony. On the contrary, many families could strengthen their power. A cosmopolitan elite had emerged who understood how to employ culture for its own purpose, and, as this study has shown, who actively participated in the spread of baroque culture across Europe. Certainly, artists, scholars, merchants, labour and religious migrants as well as wandering craftsmen also contributed, consciously or unconsciously, to cultural transfers. However, in their aspiration for social distinction and modern appearance, aristocrats frequently provided a market for foreign goods.

Yet cultural transfer also shapes the awareness of one's own culture. In fact, the seventeenth century saw a curious ambivalence between growing interest in

⁷⁴⁸ Quoted in Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, p. 21.

foreign cultures, on the one hand, and attempts to prevent traditional culture from foreign influences on the other. Critical voices increased that censured peoples' enthusiasm in adopting all foreign fashion, manners, and even including linguistic borrowings, which they regarded as a threat to their own culture. »Like monkeys, Germans imitate all foreign fashions, gestures, customs, and languages [...]«, mocked the writer Sebastian Franck. But even worse, »they import all sorts of bad habits to Germany«. ⁷⁴⁹ Poets such as Moscherosch, Rist, Schotellius, and many others warned of the foreign infiltration of German language and culture. Having witnessed the devastation of the Thirty Years' War, they called for a renewal and revitalisation of cultural tradition and of national pride. As we have seen, the most vehement critics descended from literate urban classes, and many of them were members of the *Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft*, the first linguistic Society in the Holy Roman Empire, which dedicated itself to language purism and related to this, is what scholars such as Wolfgang Huber or Ferdinand van Ingen defined as cultural patriotism.

Cultural transfers are undoubtedly dialectical processes, which include both symbiosis and rejection. How closely entangled both features often can be, becomes clear in the speech by Christian Thomasius, to which we have referred in this thesis. While objecting on the one hand to growing foreign influences, especially on German vocabulary, he argued at the same time in favour of a reception of French cultural achievements, so that Germans would not to be seen as old fashioned. »Societies are all susceptible to change, which carries risks but brings reward«, was his conclusion. ⁷⁵⁰ Or, to put it in the words of the historian Fernand Braudel: »Pour une civilisation, vivre c'est à la fois être capable de donner, de recevoir, d'emprunter.« ⁷⁵¹

⁷⁴⁹ Jones, *Sprachhelden und Sprachverderber*, p. 22.

⁷⁵⁰ »Änderungen sind wohl insgesamt gefährlich / aber deswegen nicht allemal zu verwerfen / weil man auch das gute selten ohne Gefahr erhalten kann«. Thomasius, *Discours*, p. 3. Quoted also in Jones, *Images of Language*, p. 156.

⁷⁵¹ Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. Vol II, Paris 1949, p. 561.

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Hs 6/1, 6/2, 30, 34, 34a, 50, 53, 116, 134, 172, 203, 206, 320a, 400, 460, 467, 477, 482

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Carton 436

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Hs. 164: Katharina Volkensdorf, Khochbuech von allerley eingemachten sachen, von zukher, henig und allerley frichten von mier, Catharina frawen von Volkhensdorff ein geborne Herrin von Liechtenstain beschriben.

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