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Illustrations related to Hungary in Siegmund von Herberstein's publications

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Abstract

The diplomat Siegmund von Herberstein decorated his Russian travelogues and his autobiographical works with several illustrations, including some with references to Hungary. Augustin Hirschvogel created the depictions of the rulers Herberstein visited, as well as the illustrations of his European journeys. However, the rulers wearing ornate fictive armour were not authentic portraits: they were inspired by the woodcuts of Hans Burgkmair the Elder (*Genealogy*), as well as by the engravings of the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*. Hirschvogel later made busts in the shape of a medallion, which were more authentic, as they were

based on paintings, engravings and commemorative coins depicting the rulers. The number of the scenes about Herberstein's travels also increased: one genre scene depicted one of his most significant journeys, his visit to Suleiman's military camp at the Danube in 1541, after the capture of Buda. The negotiations have two other depictions as well. Herberstein also decorated his biographical publications with six full-length portraits depicting him in the various outfits of an ambassador. He wore one of them during his visit to Buda in 1541, and received another as a gift from Suleiman.

Keywords: Siegmund von Herberstein, Augustin Hirschvogel, Louis II of Hungary, armour, fictitious portrait, 16th century, Donat Hübschmann, *Genealogie*, *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*

Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein¹ (1486–1566), who was knighted by Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) on 26 September 1514, when he also began working in the emperor's court,² took part in almost 70 diplomatic trips between 1515 and 1553 in the service of Maximilian I, Charles V (1500–1558), Ferdinand I (1503–1564) and Maximilian II (1527–1576). The most significant and famous of these journeys were his two trips to Russia in 1516–1518 and 1526–1527. He wrote about his travels in his work titled *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, in which he was the first writer to introduce the Russian social system, religion, customs, geographical features and fauna to Europe. It was first published in Vienna in 1549, and later had several other editions, including in Italian, German, English and Czech languages.³ In 1516, following the order of Maximilian, Herberstein travelled to the Danish king, Christian II (1481–1559), and from 20 April 1518 until the end of June to Buda, where, as a diplomatic representative of the Eastern politics of the Habsburgs, he negotiated with King Louis II

of Hungary (1506–1526). He wrote about his experiences during the diet in Rákos in 1518; compared to the magnificent banquets and the luxurious wealth of the participants, the king lived in great squalor.⁴ He later also often visited Hungary (sometimes several times in a year), from 1520 to 1526 almost every year: he travelled to Buda, Bratislava and Prague a total of 14 times because of Hungarian-Czech issues.⁵ In 1541, asked by Ferdinand I, Herberstein travelled to Buda again to negotiate the peace with Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1494–1566).

From the second half of the 1550s onwards, Raphael Hoffhalter (circa 1525–1530–1568)⁶ and Michael Zimmermann published Herberstein's autobiographical writings with various titles and more or less differing texts in Latin and German languages, most of which also included illustrations. Herberstein himself, in addition to the portraits of the rulers who played an important role in his life and his deeds as a diplomat, as well as to the scenes of his travels, commissioned six illustrations, which he published in several publications,



1. Donat Hübschmann, *Siegmund von Herberstein*, woodcut in: *Gratae Posteritati Sigismundus Liber Baro in Herberstein Neyberg & Guentehag...*, Wien, Raphaël Hofhalter, 1558 (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár és Információs Központ)

Donat Hübschmann, *Siegmund von Herberstein*, *drvorez u: Gratae Posteritati (...)*, 1558.

mainly in his autobiographies. On these illustrations, as an unusual example of self-representation in the middle of the 16th century, which also emphasized his identity as a diplomat, he appears in full figure, dressed in ornate coats worn when he met the rulers on his diplomatic journeys or which were given to him as gifts from the rulers he visited from his first journey to Poland and Moscow in 1517 to his diplomatic trip to Buda in 1541.⁷ We also know about half-length versions of these portraits. A volume kept in the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (RM IV 231) for example has six coloured, gilded portraits glued onto different pages of the four-page booklet (fig. 1).⁸

* * *

Engravings related to Hungary can be found both in Herberstein's travelogue about his journey in Russia and in his autobiographies. The full-length depictions of the rulers who played an important role in his diplomatic career, including Louis II of Hungary, were published in Vienna in 1549 in the first edition of *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, where he wrote about his travel experiences in Russia. The diplomat most likely wrote the first part of his travelogue about his journey in Russia in the 1530s, and began publishing it in the 1540s. Presumably in 1544 he contacted Augustin Hirschvogel (1503–1553),⁹ a glass painter, draughtsman, engraver and cartographer from Nuremberg, who started to work in Vienna in that year. Hirschvogel was commissioned by Herberstein to illustrate his travelogue about his journey in Russia, which he was planning to publish. In

1546, a map titled *Moscovia Sigismundi Liberi Baronis in Herberstein. Neiperger, et Gutenhag. MDXLVI. Hanc tabulam absolvit Augustinus Hirsfogel* was published in Vienna.¹⁰ In the same year the engraver made the series for the earlier mentioned first edition of the Russian travelogue (*Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*) published in 1549 about Herberstein's important journeys – Denmark (horse), Russia (sled),¹¹ Spain (ship), Hungary (carriage) –, and he also depicted the rulers with whom the diplomat had important negotiations during his travels. He created full-length depictions of Maximilian I, Charles V, Ferdinand I, Christian II of Denmark, Louis II of Hungary,¹² and the Polish kings Sigismund I the Old (1467–1548) and Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572) wearing imaginary armour, marked with the date 1546 and his monogram.¹³

The exemplars of the 1549 publication I know of were illustrated differently. In the volume kept in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Rar. 2082), for example, there are coloured illustrations (a map, depictions of Russian warriors and weapons, a travel scene with a sled) related to the journey in Russia. Images connected to Russia – the above mentioned illustrations, as well as a portrait of Vasili III of Russia (1479–1533), the Grand Prince of Moscow – decorate a copy in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (63.B.2 ALT RARA), and in another copy of the library (63.A.15 ALT PRUNK) we see only Herberstein's uncoloured coat of arms at the beginning of the book. In an ornate volume of the Russian travelogue¹⁴ also kept there, which once belonged to the k. k. Familien-Fideikommissbibliothek founded by Francis II (1768–1835), and was presumably made for a person of outstanding importance, on the other hand, we can find 12 coloured engravings of Hirschvogel placed between the first and second parts. The first six depict European rulers mentioned above, with the exception of King Sigismund II of Poland. The images include the handwritten names of the rulers, and the coat of arms are also carefully filled with the correct motifs and coloured by hand.¹⁵

Wearing richly decorated armour and facing the viewer, Louis II holds a sword with a bird's head on its hilt in his left hand, and the chain of a coat of arms in his right hand. In two fields of the shield divided into four parts, which has a red base colour, we can see the Czech coat of arms, in the other two the Hungarian coat of arms. The inscription related to the coat of arms is: AD LUDOVICUM (fig. 2). The fictive, imaginative pictures of the armoured rulers – as seen for example on the full-length, 203 × 100 mm engraved depiction of Louis II – were very different from the contemporary portraits of the depicted rulers which are believed to be authentic.

After the six rulers are the portraits of Suleiman – whom Herberstein, as we have seen, met in Buda in 1541 – and Vasili III of Russia.¹⁶ In an engraving with an empty background dated 1547, inscribed *Ad Süleimanem*, the Turkish sultan looking to the right is sitting on a bench. The crescent moon is in a blue field in the coat of arms. The other portrait, which depicts the Russian ruler sitting on a throne-like furniture, looking to the left, was also made in 1547. The portraits are



2. Augustin Hirschvogel, *Louis II of Hungary*, etching in: *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, Wien, Aegidius Adler and Hans Kohl, 1549
 Augustin Hirschvogel, *Ludovik II. Ugarski, bakropis u: Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii (...)*, 1549.

followed by the four earlier mentioned travel scenes with the year 1546 added to them. The second of the scenes is an illustration of a Hungarian journey (fig. 3):¹⁷ we can see on the image a carriage driven by three horses and a coachman raising his whip. The Austrian diplomat and his companion are sitting in the carriage. On the left side is the Hungarian coat of arms divided into seven fields, on the right the Turkish coat of arms with the Turkish crescent moon in a blue field and a stylized human face in it. That both coats of arms appear on the image either refers to how parts of Hungary were already under Turkish rule by that time, or to the fact that Herberstein negotiated with both Hungarian and Turkish people during his journey in Hungary. In the foreground



3. Augustin Hirschvogel, *Siegmund von Herberstein's Hungarian Journey*, etching in: *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, Wien, Aegidius Adler and Hans Kohl, 1549

Augustin Hirschvogel, *Putovanje Siegmunda von Herbersteina Ugarskom, bakropis u: Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii (...)*, 1549.

of the composition are three boats on the river, presumably a reference to Herberstein's journey on the Danube. On the bottom left, next to the year, is the artist's monogram.¹⁸ At the end of the volume is a map dated 1549 and engravings related to the journey in Russia – Russian soldiers on horseback, a more detailed travel scene than before, in which there are also two skiers next to the sleds (on both images on the first sled Herberstein is sitting wearing a fur coat and hat), and an uncoloured sitting picture of Vasili III.

Some of the standing images of the rulers wearing fictive armour bear a clear resemblance to some of the depictions of a series of woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531), which depicted Maximilian I's family tree (*Genealogie*).¹⁹ As a court artist of Maximilian I, Burgkmair, between 1509 and 1512, made 77 mostly monogrammed, 310 × 210 mm woodcuts, on which, as we can see on the pages of the series kept in the manuscript collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, he depicted in part fictitious ancestors.²⁰ 13 woodcuts of Burgkmair, made between 1516 and 1519 according to studies, were also related to the topic, the reproduction of which was first published in 1889 by Theodor Frimmel (1853–1928), continuing the previous numbering until 90, which was added to the study about 77 woodcuts of Burgkmair published in the previous year.²¹ The series remained unfinished and unpublished, but through its proofs it was well-known in the 16th century and was often used as an inspiration for new works.²² For example, Hirschvogel's page depicting Ferdinand I²³ was inspired by the woodcut no. 49 (Meroveus), Maximilian I²⁴ by no. 46 (Marcomirus), Sigismund II²⁵ by no. 45 (Priamus Ruland Rex Ungariae) in the *Genealogie*. Although the portrait of Louis II in Herberstein's publication differed more, it also shares significant similarities with the woodcut no. 11 depicting King Banathias in the *Genealogie* (fig. 4).²⁶

We can find similarities between the depictions of Hirschvogel and the engravings made by Hans Burgkmair the Elder and the Younger around 1530 according to recent studies,



4. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *King Banathias*, woodcut for the *Genealogie* of Maximilian I, circa 1509–1512

Hans Burgkmair Stariji, Kralj Banathias, drvorez za Genealogiju Maksimilijana I., oko 1509. – 1512.



5. Hans Burgkmair the Younger–Heinrich Vogtherr, *The Herald of the Breuning Family Holding their Coat of Arms*, etching in: *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*, circa 1545–1547

Hans Burgkmair Mlađi – Heinrich Vogtherr, Grbonoša obitelji Breuning, bakropis u: Augsburger Geschlechterbuch, oko 1545. – 1547.

which often used the *Genealogie* as an inspiration. These engravings appear after the biographies of the ancestors of the Waldburg family in the handwritten *Pappenheim Chronik* made between 1527 and 1530, commissioned by Georg von Waldburg (1488–1531) from Matthäus Marschalk von Pappenheim (1458–1541), a canon and humanist from Ausburg, written about the ancestors and history of the Waldburg noble family.²⁷ The coloured woodcuts and handwriting indicate that the chronicle was probably made in only a few copies.²⁸ Hirschvogel's fictive image of Louis II shows a clear resemblance to a woodcut on the 75v page of the Munich chronicle. Although here the figure isn't facing the viewer but is shown slightly from the side, the shape of the helmet, armour and sword are very similar.

Hirschvogel's standing portrait of Louis II is even more similar to a graphic reproduction (fig. 5) depicting the Breuning family's herald in the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*, a book of genealogy made between 1545 and 1547, but only later printed,²⁹ showing the coats of arms of the Augsburg patrician families³⁰ with imaginatively drawn heraldic figures holding

the coats of arms. The inspiration of the artwork was also the woodcut depicting Banathias in Maximilian I's *Genealogie*.³¹ The series of 44 drawings and 53 etching proofs, stolen by an American soldier in 1945 and, after a long trial, returned to the Staatsgalerie Graphische Sammlung in Stuttgart in 2010, as shown by the cover draft including the year 1545 and the words "He : Vogtherr" and "H : Burgkmai[r]", was made by Hans Burgkmair the Younger³² (1500–1562) and Heinrich Vogtherr³³ (presumably the younger, 1513–1566/1568).³⁴ The engravings of the *Genealogie*, which were inherited by his son from Burgkmair the Elder, who died in 1531, provided a solid foundation for the artists: they reproduced the depictions sometimes in their entirety, sometimes with minor or major changes.³⁵ The close connection of the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch* with the *Genealogie* is indicated by the four woodcuts from the *Genealogie* that had previously been glued into the Stuttgart volume, which Karl Ludwig Weisser (1823–1879) took out in the 19th century and moved into another collection.³⁶

It therefore appears that Hirschvogel's direct inspiration was not the *Genealogie* or the *Pappenheim Chronik*, but instead

the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*. This is also indicated by the details of the depiction of the ground on the images of the armoured figures of the mentioned series. In the uncoloured version of the woodcuts of the *Genealogie* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 8018) the figures are in front of an empty background, while in the coloured version (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 8048) they are placed on green and yellow hill-like elevated places (fig. 4).³⁷ The figures of the *Pappenheim Chronik* also stand on a green island with no details,³⁸ while the armoured warriors of the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch* – just like the seven rulers of Hirschvogel – are seen on a more meticulously detailed, grassy, bumpy ground (fig. 5, fig. 2). Hirschvogel may also have known the proofs of the *Genealogie*, as the inspiration of his sitting depictions of some of the rulers made for Herberstein's travelogue can be found here: there are no sitting images in the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*, only standing portraits. It is noteworthy, however, that although in the *Genealogie* there is a sitting image depicting Maximilian I with features similar to the surviving portraits of the ruler, when Hirschvogel depicted Maximilian, he used not this, but the depiction of one of the emperor's fictional ancestors, Marcomirus.

The influence of the *Genealogie* and the *Pappenheim Chronik* can be seen in the illustrations of the Augsburg book of genealogy written and printed by Paul Hektor Mair (1517–1579) around 1540–1545, slightly earlier than Burgkmair the Younger and Vogtherr's. The two masters from Strasbourg, Christoph Weiditz II (circa 1517–circa 1572) and David Kandel (Kannel) (circa 1520–circa 1590), who created the 98 woodcuts, however, did not directly copy them, but treated the images they used as inspirations more freely and imaginatively than the son of Burgkmair and Heinrich Vogtherr.³⁹ The depictions, some of which appear several times, are more closely related in their character instead: we encounter much more energetic movements, sometimes almost grotesquely overdrawn poses compared to the static figures and gestures of the *Genealogie* and the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*. There does not appear to be a direct connection between the two Augsburg books of genealogy, they were most likely created independently of each other. Nor do we know about pictures that could have been used for Hirschvogel's engravings in this earlier publication, only the character of the depictions is similar.

In the 1550s, several series intended to be sold were made from Burgkmair the Younger and Vogtherr's depictions. A complete series is kept in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and in the Landesbibliothek in Oldenburg, and several incomplete series can be found in various collections. Burgkmair the Younger and Vogtherr's work, perhaps because the book published earlier by Weiditz had already met the needs of the patricians of Augsburg, was printed only in 1618, with the addition of a new series of graphic reproductions made by Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann (?–1630) and Noah Zimmermann.⁴⁰ We can recognise the figure who represented King Banathias in the *Genealogie*, the figure holding the coat of arms of the Breuning family in Burgkmair the Younger and Vogtherr's engraving, and King Louis II in Hirschvogel's

illustration, in this book as well (number 33), in which he is the herald of the Winckler family.⁴¹

That the armoured figures were used as inspiration multiple times is an illustrative example of the 16th century practice of using the same motif to depict different people and events, and – as seen in the case of the fictional armoured portrait of Louis II – not only for distant or fictitious ancestors of whom there were no portraits made of, but also to create images of contemporary rulers, about whom there was a more or less authentic portrait.

Hirschvogel's fictive portraits of rulers are first mentioned in the end of the 18th century,⁴² and in an 1888 study there is already a mention of the analogy between Burgkmair's *Genealogie* and Hirschvogel's fictive images of rulers, but without linking the latter to Herberstein's publication.⁴³ The connection between the armoured depictions of the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch* and the *Pappenheim Chronik* and Hirschvogel's images of rulers is first brought up in a 1915 study, but Herberstein's travelogue isn't mentioned here either.⁴⁴ Interestingly, the latest catalogues about the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch* and the *Pappenheim Chronik* do not mention Hirschvogel's fictive images as an analogy.⁴⁵

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It seems that Herberstein, for good reasons, was not satisfied with the authenticity of the fictive armoured depictions of the rulers, and so in his later publications we no longer encounter these images. The travel scenes and the standing portraits of Suleiman and Vasili III of Russia, on the other hand, appear several times in his published and printed memoirs in different sizes and techniques (e.g. woodcuts), on their own and together with other images.⁴⁶ From Hirschvogel he commissioned to make a series of portraits⁴⁷ of the seven rulers who played an important role in his life, which were circa 116 mm in diameter, and the new images, without signature and date, presumably made around 1548, and their variants decorated his later publications. According to the opinions at the time, these depictions were more authentic than the full-length fictive images, as their antecedents were engravings, paintings and medallions made of the depicted rulers.

The "circular inscription" of the medallion-shaped engraved portraits featured the name, rank and, with the exception of Christian II of Denmark,⁴⁸ the age of the rulers. From the latter we can conclude that the images which inspired the portraits date from different times: Maximilian, for example, was depicted based on an earlier image created of him at the age of 55, in 1514, Charles V at the age of 32, in 1532, Louis II in 1526, the year of his death at the age of 20, and so on.

The question arises what could have been the inspiration for Hirschvogel's medallion portrait of Louis II (fig. 6),⁴⁹ as the portrait of the ruler who died in the Battle of Mohács in 1526 could only have been made by the artist around 1548 based on an earlier portrait. The problem requires further research, as with the one or two earlier portraits of Louis



6. Augustin Hirschvogel, *Louis II of Hungary*, etching, circa 1548
Augustin Hirschvogel, Ludovik II. Ugarski, bakropis, oko 1548.



8. *Mary of Hungary and Louis II of Hungary*, woodcut, Košice, Východošlovenské múzeum
Marija Ugarska i Ludovik II. Ugarski, drvorez



7. *Louis II. Medaillon*, after 1537, before 1719, in: Sándor Szilágyi, *A magyar nemzet története. A Hunyadiak és a Jagellók kora (1440–1526)*, Vol. IV, Budapest, Athenaeum, 1896, 459 (drawing by Károly Cserna)
Medaljon s likom Ludovika II., poslije 1537., prije 1719.

II⁵⁰ we offered only a few possibilities. Similarities can be discovered, for example, with the design of, as well as the hat and clothing depicted on a medal (fig. 7) based on the game board of Hans Kels (1537),⁵¹ as well as with other commemorative coins made after his death.⁵²

According to the Hungarian literature, it is possible that Hirschvogel's portrait of Louis II was the inspiration of the



9. *Louis II of Hungary*, ivory, 16th century (?), Hungarian National Museum
Ludovik II. Ugarski, bjelokost, 16. st. (?)

depiction of Louis II in a woodcut of Mary and Louis II's portraits facing each other (fig. 8).⁵³ Contradicting this, however, is an item in a catalogue describing the woodcut, which states that "the graphic depictions in the medallion were made based on an alabaster bust made in 1526".⁵⁴ According to Zoltán Erdős, "based on the similarities of the portraits, it seems that this engraving [i.e. Hirschvogel's, J. P.] was used by Michael Hohenauer and Hans Daucher, the makers of commemorative coins also made after 1526".⁵⁵ Since Hans Daucher died in 1538, Hirschvogel's engraving made in 1546 or later could not have been an inspiration of the alabaster carving. What we know for certain is that the

woodcut dual portraits' depiction of Louis II shows a striking resemblance to a 16th century portrait⁵⁶ painted on ivory kept in the Hungarian National Museum and is in part similar to Hirschvogel's medallion portrait (fig. 9).

Hirschvogel's medallion portraits appear on a 285 × 195 mm map of Eastern Europe, made the earliest in 1548.⁵⁷ At the upper part of the map there are portraits of the seven rulers, with seated portraits of Suleiman and Vasili III on either side, and a portrait of Herberstein below (dated 1547) accompanied by four genre scenes of his travel experiences (travels in Hungary, Spain, Denmark and Russia).⁵⁸ The travel scenes show less than the original engravings: from the Hungarian image, for example, the river in the foreground and the ships on it are missing. The engraving may have originally been made as the title page of *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, published in 1549, but was eventually not used there.⁵⁹

The smaller (46 mm diameter) engraving version of the seven medallion portraits – including Louis II's portrait –, as well as the full-length portraits of Vasili III and Suleiman and the six woodcut standing depictions of Herberstein in ornate outfits were all included in the *Gratae Posteritati...* as well. Each portrait was published on the pages where Herberstein writes about his encounter with the depicted people: in the text above the bust of Louis II, for example, we can read that the diplomat arrived in the king's presence in Buda on 20 April, 1518.⁶⁰

A newer version of the illustrations appears in the four-page publication titled *Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstain / Neyperg / und Guttenhag / Oberster Erbcamrer und Oberster Drucksas in Kärnthn / dreyer Ro. Kaysern in Kriegen / Rathn unnd Postschafften hienach verzeichnet zway und fünfftzig Jar gedienet*, published by Raphael Hoffhalter in Vienna in 1558. On the page after the title page are the medallion portraits of Maximilian I, Charles V and Ferdinand I as images inserted between the texts, and on the following page, with no text, can be seen the medallion portraits of Louis II, Christian II, Sigismund I the Old and Sigismund II Augustus, as well as the full-length sitting pictures of Suleiman and Vasili III in low-quality woodcuts. The next page, which also contains text, shows five scenes from the journey: to the previous four images a fifth genre scene not included in the earlier mentioned ornate Viennese edition of the 1549 Russian travelogue is added (fig. 10).

The new image depicts Herberstein's visit in Hungary in 1541, during which he negotiated with Sultan Suleiman in the military camp near Buda, which was one of the highlights of his diplomatic career (fig. 11).⁶¹ In the foreground of the picture we can see the Danube with boats, while in the background there is a Turkish camp of tents, behind which a mountain rises on both sides, each with a castle on its summit. Also in the foreground, two people can be seen walking towards the camp.⁶² Since during the capture of Buda in 1541 the Habsburg troops stationed there were destroyed by Suleiman and he then declared war on Ferdinand I, peace had to be made with him at all cost to prevent him from invading Austria and marching against Vienna. On 27 August 1541, Ferdinand I sent Herberstein to Sulei-



10. Five travel scenes, woodcut in: *Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstain / Neyperg / und Guttenhag...*, Wien, Raphael Hofhalter, 1558 (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest)

Pet prizora s putovanja, drvorez u: Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstain (...), 1558.



11. Siegmund von Herberstein's Travel to Buda in 1541 as an Ambassador in the Military Camp of Suleiman I, woodcut in: *Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstain / Neyperg / und Guttenhag...*, Wien, Raphael Hofhalter, 1558 (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest)

Putovanje Siegmunda von Herbersteina u Budim 1541. u svojstvu veleposlanika: u vojnom taboru Sulejmana I., drvorez u: Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstain (...), 1558.

man's camp in Buda to negotiate with him. The number of the members of the entourage and servants is unknown, we only know that the delegation received three tents in the



12. Donat Hübschmann, Sigismund Baron Herberstein, 1559, woodcut in: *Gratae Posteritati (...)*, Wien, Raphael Hofhalter, 1560 (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest)

Donat Hübschmann, Barun Sigismund Herberstein, 1559., drvorez u: Gratae Posteritati (...), 1560.



13. Donat Hübschmann, Sigismund Baron Herberstein, 1559, woodcut in: *Gratae Posteritati (...)*, Wien, Raphael Hofhalter, 1560 (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest)

Donat Hübschmann, Barun Sigismund Herberstein, 1559., drvorez u: Gratae Posteritati (...), 1560.

camp. In Esztergom, they received from Bishop Pál Várdai (1483–1549) two other members, a secretary and an interpreter. Kasim Bey was waiting for them here, then they left the Habsburg territory on a Turkish warship, arriving to the military camp before Buda on the evening of 6 September. On 8 September, they met Suleiman, to whose throne they were led, where they kissed his hand and gave him the gifts. On September 10, they received their farewell gifts, which were, according to the Eastern custom, ornate silk clothes. On 11 September, they attended a final meeting with Suleiman, then left the camp the next day and went home by ship. Although Herberstein could only achieve a ceasefire instead of a peace treaty, their contemporaries considered the negotiations successful as they were able to protect the country from Turkish attacks and looting.⁶³ The depiction of two men walking into the hostile Turkish camp despite the danger therefore did not accurately reflect what actually happened, but it was a great way to show the dramatic nature of the situation and emphasize the courage and tenacity of the two men leading the embassy.

The embassy in Buda in 1541 was also depicted in two other illustrations. One of the earlier mentioned six full-length portraits depicted Herberstein in the knee-length ornate outfit he wore there (fig. 12), and another in the full-length attire which he, as we have seen, received as a gift from the sultan (fig. 13).⁶⁴ The first woodcut depicts Herberstein in contemporary courtly attire, similar to what he wore as a marshal of the court at the wedding of Elizabeth of Habsburg and Sigismund II Augustus, king of Poland in 1543.⁶⁵ The inscription of the pictures, which differ in the various editions, inform the reader in detail about the important event,⁶⁶ and, in the case of the second picture, of the fact that Herberstein received the long kaftan as a gift from the sultan.⁶⁷

We can find other contemporary examples of the depictions of the diplomats' Turkish outfits. Melchior Lorck (1527–1583), a Danish painter and wood engraver, was a member of the embassy of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592) from 1555 to 1559 in Constantinople. A page of his series of woodcuts, which were published in the 17th

century in several editions without explanatory texts as an album of his drawings made in 1582 in Turkey, containing 128 images⁶⁸ – originally intended to be illustrations in a book about Turkish customs, clothing, architecture, military and so on – “depicts one of the ambassadors of the Christian rulers in Istanbul in the kaftan he received as a gift during the time of the embassy, which he had to wear when meeting the sultan.”⁶⁹ The bestowal of the kaftan to Christian ambassadors, leaders and rulers was a common custom in Turkish diplomacy.⁷⁰ On the Hamburg edition of Lorck's engravings from 1683–1684 with explanatory texts titled *Türckis. Estats- und Krieger-Bericht* we can read on the page depicting the diplomats' clothes that the Grand Vizier sent the ambassadors a certain number of expensive Turkish clothes called kaftans, which they had to wear over their own clothes during their visit to the sultan.⁷¹

The gifts of clothes received from the rulers he visited therefore show as trophies the high social status of the depicted. Their importance is also emphasized by the captions of Herberstein's portraits, which explain the history of the clothes. For example, in a portrait connected to his travels to Moscow in 1517 and 1526, he wears a fur-collared brocade kaftan, which looks exotic to European viewers, and a sable headwear, gifts from the Grand Duke of Moscow, typically worn in the court when Herberstein visited them.⁷²

At the bottom left of a woodcut page consisting of the seven medallion portraits, the portraits of Suleiman and Vasili III and the small reproductions of the travel scenes, there is also the fifth scene about the travel to Buda in 1541. In the middle of the picture composition the following text can be read: *Sygmundt Freyhern zu Herberstain, Neyperg und Guttenhag, Oberster Erbcamrer und Oberster Erbdrucksas in Kärnthn, des Röm. Khayser Ferdinanden Ratt, Camrer und president der Niderösterreichischen Camer. Mein Alters im 74. Den Vierdt Khayser erlebt, Den Dreyen In Kriegen ... 45 Jar gedient. M.D.LIX. in Decemb.*⁷³ The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek has a two-page printed item (*48.D.10*), on the beginning of which there is this woodcut page as a cover. The same compilation of the 15 images, together with Herberstein's coat of arms, is found in the aforementioned *Picturae Variae...* published by Hoffhalter in 1560, only here a Latin poem can be read between the images instead of the title (fig. 14).⁷⁴ This autobiography also contains six full-length pictures of Herberstein in the clothes of an ambassador.

A page with somewhat different text but with the same pictures⁷⁵ can be found towards the end of Herberstein's autobiography written in German, published in Vienna in 1561, this time by Michael Zimmermann. The page is not part of the first, undated edition, but six woodcuts depicting the diplomat in ornate outfits are included in both editions. The full-length woodcuts depicting Herberstein were used only by Hoffhalter's press between 1559 and 1580, but from



14. Depictions of Siegmund von Herberstein's travels as an ambassador, woodcut in: *Picturae Variae quae Generosum ac Magnificum Domi. Dominum Sigismundum liberum Baronem in Herberstain Neyperg et Guttenhag etc. varias legationes obeuntem exprimunt*, Wien, Raphael Hofhalter, 1560

Prizori s putovanja Siegmunda von Herbersteina u svojstvu veleposlanika, drvorez u: Picturae Variae (...), 1560.

1561 “the printing stereotype owned by the nobleman were used by Michael Zimmermann.”⁷⁶ Most of the depictions were based on the engravings Hirschvogel made around 1547, but some of the medallion images were new.⁷⁷ A copy of the 1562 Latin publication described in Alfred Nehring's book published in 1897 (*1562. Sigismundi liberi Baronis in Herberstain Neyperg et Guetenhag, Supremi Carinthiae Camerarii et Dapiferi, Tribus Imperatoribus Servitia Bello, Consilio et legationibus, Ab Anno 1506. usque 1562. praestita descripta et depicta. Viennae Austriae Excudebat Michael Zimmerman, Anno MDLXII. kl. 4^o.*), in which the five travel scenes, the sitting portraits of Suleiman I and Vasili III and the medallion-shaped portraits of the rulers all appear, also included the woodcut bust of Louis II.⁷⁸

Translated by Rebeka Szaló

Notes

- 1
FRANZ KRONES, *Sigmund von Herberstein. Ein Lebensbild mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Beziehungen Herbersteins zur Steiermark und seine Schriften*, Graz, Verlag des Verfassers, 1871; SIGMUND FREIHERR VON HERBERSTEIN, *Beschreibung Moskaus der Hauptstadt Russlands samt des Moskowitzischen Gebietes 1557* (ed. Bertold Picard), Graz – Köln, Verlag Styria, 1966; BERTOLD PICARD, *Das Gesandtschaftswesen Ostmitteleuropas in der frühen Neuzeit. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Diplomatie in der ersten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts nach den Aufzeichnungen des Freiherrn Sigmund von Herberstein*, Wien – Köln – Weimar, Böhlau, 1967; GERHARD PFERSCHY (ed.), *Sigmund von Herberstein. Kaiserlicher Gesandter und Begründer der Russlandkunde und die europäische Diplomatie*, Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1989; HARALD TERSCH, *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit (1400–1650). Eine Darstellung in Einzelbeiträgen*, Wien – Köln – Weimar, Böhlau, 1998, 193–213; EDGAR HÖSCH – FRANK KÄMPFER – REINHARD FRÖTSCHNER (eds.), *450 Jahre Sigismund Von Herbersteins Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii 1549–1999. Jubiläumsvorträge*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2002; WOLFGANG GEIER, *Russische Kulturgeschichte in diplomatischen Reiseberichten aus vier Jahrhunderten. Sigismund von Herberstein*, Adam Olearius, Friedrich Christian Weber, August von Haxthausen, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2004; KARL A. E. ENENKEL, *Die Erfindung des Menschen. Die Autobiographik des frühneuzeitlichen Humanismus von Petrarca bis Lipsius*, Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 2008, 546–574; BARBARA DENICOLÒ, Auftrag und Erkundung: Sigmund von Herberstein, *historia.scribere*, 2 (2010), 291–308; detailed literature: 305–307; TILMAN G. MORITZ, *Autobiographik als ritterschaftlichen Selbstverständigung. Ulrich von Hutten, Götz von Berlichingen, Sigmund von Herberstein*, Göttingen, Unipress, 2019, 141–195.
- 2
In his biography, when he writes about the events of 1514, we can read the following: on 26 September, Maximilian, together with two other soldiers in Innsbruck, “mit ritterlicher Wirde zierlichen begabte...” *Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstein / Neyperg / und Guetenhag / Obrister Erb-Camrer / und Obrister Trucksäß inn Cärndten / Denen Gegenwürtigen und Nachkommenden Freyherrn zu Herberstein...*, Wien, Zimmermann, 1561. The event is depicted in the illustration of the first German edition of his Russian travelogue, and the inscription of the picture also refers to it. *Moscovia der Hauptstat in Reissen / durch Herrn Sigmunden Freyherrn zu Herberstein...*, Wien, Zimmermann, 1557. See BERTOLD PICARD (note 1), 166; GERHARD PFERSCHY – PETER KRENN (eds.), *Die Steiermark. Brücke und Bollwerk* (catalogue of the exhibition), Graz, Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, 1986, 547; HERMANN WIESFLECKER, *Der Mensch Sigmund von Herberstein*, in: GERHARD PFERSCHY (note 1), 4, 9; BARBARA DENICOLÒ (note 1), 293; mistakenly writes about being knighted in 1508; MARSHALL POE, *Sigismund von Herberstein and the Origin of the European Image of Muscovite Government*, in: EDGAR HÖSCH et al. (note 1), 133.
- 3
See MICHAEL DENIS, *Wiens Buchdruckergeschicht bis M.D.LX.*, Wien, Wappler, 1782, no. 705, 656–657; J. A. BÖRNER, Ueber das Kupferstichwerk des Augustin Hirschvogel. Nach Aufzeichnungen des verstorbenen, *Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste*, 12 (1866), I und II. Heft. 73–100 (90–91, 93); ALFRED NEHRING, *Über Herberstein und Hirsfoegel. Beiträge zur Kenntnis ihres Lebens und ihrer Werke*, Berlin, Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897; URSULA MENDE, *Westeuropäische Bildzeugnisse zu Rußland und Polen bis 1700. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Bildkunde* (PhD dissertation, Universität zu Köln), Bamberg, 1968, 6–13, 82–84; WALTER LEITSCH, *Probleme bei der Edition von Herbersteins Moscovia*, in: GERHARD PFERSCHY (note 1), 165–178; FRANK KÄMPFER (ed.), *Das Rußlandbuch Sigismunds von Herberstein “Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii” 1549–1999. Beiträge zu Ehren der internationalen Tagung im Oktober 1999 an der Universität Münster*, Hamburg, 1999; MARSHALL T. POE, “A People Born to Slavery”. *Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1748*, New York, Cornell University Press, 2000, 117–144; BIRGIT SCHOLZ, *Von der Chronistik zur modernen Geschichtswissenschaft. die Warägerfrage in der russischen, deutschen und schwedischen Historiographie*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2000, 119–140; MARSHALL POE, *Sigismund von Herberstein and the Origin of the European Image of Muscovite Government*, in: EDGAR HÖSCH et al. (note 1), 131–172; WOLFGANG GEIER (note 1).
- 4
ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 3–4.
- 5
JÓZSEF FÖGEL, *II. Lajos udvartartása* [The Court of Louis II], Budapest, Hornyánszky Viktor, 1917, 97; ELFRIEDE RENSING, Sigmund von Herberstein am Hofe König Ludwigs II. von Ungarn, *Jahrbuch des Wiener Ungarischen Historischen Instituts*, 1 (1931) 72–97; BERTOLD PICARD (note 1), 168–169; BÁLINT LAKATOS, *Áttekintő jegyzék Andrea dal Burgo, Johann Schneidpeck és Sigmund von Herberstein követek jelentéseiről a magyar-cseh királyi udvarból* [A Reviewed List of the Reports of Ambassadors Andrea dal Burgo, Johann Schneidpeck and Sigmund von Herberstein from the Hungarian-Czech Royal Court] (1521–1525), *Acta Historica*, 142 (2017), 91–139.
- 6
See most recently about the typographer from Poland who worked from 1563 until his death in Debrecen, Várad and Alba Iulia: SZILVIA BÁNFI, *A sokszorosított grafika szerepe Raphael Hoffhalter tipográfus tevékenységében* [The Role of Graphic Reproductions in the Works of Typographer Raphael Hoffhalter], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 68/1–2 (2019), 5–31.
- 7
JOHN L. NEVINSON, Sigmund von Herberstein. Notes on 16th Century Dress, *Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, Dritte Folge, 1–2 (1959), 86–93 (89–90); JOHN L. NEVINSON, Origin and Early History of the Fashion Plate, in: *United States National Museum Bulletin 250. Contributions from The Museum of History and Technology. Paper 60*, Washington, Smithsonian Press, 1967, 65–92 (67–70); BERTOLD PICARD, Herberstein als habsburgischer Diplomat, in: GERHARD PFERSCHY (note 1), 101–116; FRIEDRICH POLLEROS, Gesandte im Bild. Repräsentationsformen der Diplomatie, in: Gunda Barth-Scalmani – Harriet Rudolph – Christian Steppan (eds.), *Politische Kommunikation zwischen Imperien. Der diplomatische Aktionsraum Südost- und Osteuropa* (Innsbrucker historische Studien, 29), Innsbruck, De Gruyter, 2013, 41–67; POLONA VIDMAR, *Diplomat in njegovoj imenitnoj oblaci: ilustracije v Herbersteinovih Gratae posteritati*, in: Mira Petrovič – Matjaž Neudauer (eds.), *Gratae Posteritati. Studijska izdaja*, Ptuj, Knjižnica Ivana Potrča Ptuj, 2014, 234–254; POLONA VIDMAR, *Cæsari in mis omni hora fidelis servivi: The Portraits of Sigismund Herberstein and Walter Leslie in Diplomatic Robes*, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 43 (2019), 75–90; SZILVIA BÁNFI (note 6), 13–14.

- 8
Sigismundus Liber Baro in Herberstain Neyberg & Guettenhag..., Wien, Raphael Hofhalter, 1558.
- 9
 JOHANN GABRIEL DOPPELMAYR, *Historische Nachricht von den Nürnbergischen Mathematicis und Künstlern*, Nürnberg, Adelbulnern, 1730, 156, 199; ADAM VON BARTSCH, *Le peintre graveur. Neuvième Volume*, A Vienne, Degen, 1808, 170–207; G[EORG]. K[ASPAR]. NAGLER, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon...*, Sechster Band, München, Fleischmann, 1838, 194–197; JOSEPH BERGMANN, *Medaillen auf berühmte und ausgezeichnete Männer des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates...*, Erster Band, Wien, Tendler & Schaefer, 1844, 280–296; CHARLES LE BLANC, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, Paris, P. Jannet, 1856, Tome II, 360–363; G[EORG]. K[ASPAR]. NAGLER, *Die Monogrammisten und diejenigen bekannten und unbekanntenen Künstler aller Schulen...*, III. Band. GK-IML, München, Georg Franz, 1863, 193–196; J. A. BÖRNER (note 3); ALFRED NEHRING (note 3); ALFRED NEHRING, Hirsfoegel's Beziehungen zu Herberstein's Werken, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*. XX. Band, Berlin – Stuttgart, 1897, 121–129; KARL SCHWARZ, *Augustin Hirschvogel. Ein deutscher Meister der Renaissance*, Berlin, Bard, 1917 (Reprint: New York, 1971); *Katalog der Gedenkschau Augustin Hirschvogel*, Wien, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1953; *The Illustrated Bartsch 18. Formerly Volume 9, Part 1. German Masters of the Sixteenth Century* (ed. by Walter L. Strauss – Jane S. Peters), New York, OPAL Publishing Corporation, 1982, 95–363; TILMAN FALK (ed.), *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700. Vol. XIII*, Blaricum, Van Gendt, 1984, 145–242; CATHERINE JENKINS et al.: *The Renaissance of Etching*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019, 97–100, 112–116; SZILVIA BÁNFI (note 6), 15.
- 10
 See for example Vienna, Albertina, DG 1930/2243; London, British Library, G 7215. See SZILVIA BÁNFI (note 6), 15, 28.
- 11
 See ADAM VON BARTSCH (note 9), no. 20, 176; WILHELM EDUARD DRUGULIN, *Historischer Bilderatlas. Verzeichnis einer Sammlung von Einzelblätter zur Cultur- und Staatengeschichte von fünfzehnten bis in das neunzehnte Jahrhundert. Erster Theil*, Leipzig, Leipziger Kunst-Comptoir, 1863, no. 964, 41. Vienna, Albertina, DG1930/2096.
- 12
 “16) Autre homme semblable. It est vu de face, tenant son sabre de la main gauche, et de l'autre une courroye attachée à un écusson qui est en blanc. Le chiffre et l'année 1546 sont gravés à la droite d'en bas.” ADAM VON BARTSCH (note 9), no. 16, 175; CHARLES LE BLANC (note 9), no. 218, 361–362; SIMON LASCHITZER, *Die Genealogie des Kaisers Maximilian I., Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 7 (1888) Wien, 1–46. (46.); ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 30, 41; ALFRED NEHRING (note 9), 24; KARL SCHWARZ (note 9), no. 16, 166, 204; *The Illustrated Bartsch 18* (note 9), no. 16, 224; TILMAN FALK (note 9), no. 132.7, 229–230.
- 13
 ADAM VON BARTSCH (note 9), 175. nos. 10–12 and 13–16 – without the mention of the name of the rulers; CHARLES LE BLANC (note 9), nos. 215–221, 361–362; SIMON LASCHITZER (note 12), 45–46; ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 29–31, 39–40; ALFRED NEHRING (note 9), 121–122; 123–129; J. A. BÖRNER (note 3), 88–100; KARL SCHWARZ (note 9), 29–35, 164–170; URSULA MENDE (note 3), 7–11; *The Illustrated Bartsch 18* (note 9), nos. 10–16, 218–224; TILMAN FALK (note 9), nos. 132.1.–23, 226–239. Copies depicting Louis II: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (Kupferstichkabinett), Dresden (A 1925–85); Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett – Sammlung der Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik, Berlin (85–1896); National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection (1950.17.197). The Albertina in Vienna has, in addition to the depiction of Louis II (DG1930/2090), 27 uncolored and colored illustrations of travel scenes related to Herberstein's Russian travelogue (*Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*), published in 1549, as well as the standing pictures and medallion portraits (Louis II's portrait: DG1930/2111) (<https://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/#/query/29c2ee38-b25c-4986-8f9f-c97a7dce7ed3>).
- 14
Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii..., Viennae, Singriener, 1549. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, signature: 261764-D (261764-D FID MAG FID). See ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 29–30; KARL SCHWARZ (note 9), 30–31, 200; TILMAN FALK (note 9), no. 132, 225; WALTER LEITSCH (note 3), 173–174, 177.
- 15
 ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 29–31, 39–40; ALFRED NEHRING (note 9), 121–122; 123–129.
- 16
 ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 8; POLONA VIDMAR (note 7), 76.
- 17
 HARALD TERSCH (note 1), 199.
- 18
 ADAM VON BARTSCH (note 9), 179, nos. 19–21 (Hungarian image: no. 21); G[EORG]. K[ASPAR]. NAGLER (note 9), no. 14, 195. (Hungarian image: no. 14c); CHARLES LE BLANC (note 9), nos. 210–212 (Hungarian image: no. 212), 361; J. A. BÖRNER (note 3), no. 21, 79, 93. (He believes that the travel scene with the carriage refers to both his travels to Louis II and Suleiman); ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 27, 42 (fig. 4); ALFRED NEHRING (note 9), 125–126; KARL SCHWARZ (note 9), no. 21, 167–168, 204; *The Illustrated Bartsch 18* (note 9), no. 21, 229; TILMAN FALK (note 9), no. 132.12, 232.
- 19
 See SIMON LASCHITZER (note 12); HILDEGARD ZIMMERMANN, Hans Burgkmair des Älteren Holzschnittfolge zur Genealogie Kaiser Maximilians I., *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen (sic!) Kunstsammlungen*, 36 (1915), I. Heft, 39–64; HILDEGARD ZIMMERMANN, Katalog der erhaltenen Probedrucke zu Hans Burgkmair des älteren Holzschnittfolge zur Genealogie Kaiser Maximilians I., *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 36 (1915), Beiheft, 1–20. We also know about contemporary genealogies where the first ancestor of the House of Habsburg is Priamos (for example SIMON LASCHITZER /note 12/, no. 18, 38) or Noah (for example SIMON LASCHITZER /note 12/, no. 19, 39; HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (eds.), *Das Augsburger Geschlechterbuch – Wappenpracht und Figurenkunst. Ein Kriegsverlust kehrt zurück*, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, 2012, 13).
- 20
 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 8018. (with 77 uncolored woodcuts); Cod 8048. (with 77 colored woodcuts). About the *Genealogie* see for example: SIMON LASCHITZER (note 12); HANS RUPÉ, Hans Burgkmair the Elder as an Illustrator of Books, *Print Collector's Quarterly*, 10 (1923), April, 167–195 (179–181); RUDOLF BUCHNER – HEINZ-OTTO BURGER – H. THEODOR MUSPER, *Kaiser Maximilians Weisskunig. I. Textband*, Stuttgart,

- W. Kohlhammer, 1956, 39–41; F. W. HOLLSTEIN, *German Engravings Etchings and Woodcuts Ca. 1400–1700. Volume V. Brucker – Coriolanus*, Amsterdam, Sound & Vision, 1957, 110–111; PAUL GEISLER, Hans Burgkmair's Genealogie Kaiser Maximilians I., *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 40 (1965), 249–261; TILMAN FALK et al., 1473 – 1973. *Hans Burgkmair: Das graphische Werk*, Augsburg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen, 1973, nos. 150–166; HERMANN WIESFLECKER, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit. Band 5. Der Kaiser und seine Umwelt. Hof, Staat, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, Wien, Böhlau, 1986, 362–365; PETER KATHOL, Alles Erdreich ist Österreich Untertan. Studien zu genealogischen Konzepten Maximilians I. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der "Fürstlichen Chronik" Jakob Mennels, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 106 (1998), 365–376; MARIANNE POLLHEIMER, *Genealogie und Gedechnus Maximilian I. Jakob Mennel und die frühmittelalterliche Geschichte der Habsburger in der "Fürstlichen Chronik"* (diploma thesis, Universität Wien), 2005, 28–47; BEATE KELLNER – LINDA WEBERS, Genealogische Entwürfe am Hof Kaiser Maximilians I. (am Beispiel von Jakob Mennels Fürstlicher Chronik), *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*, 147 (2007), 122–149; LARRY SILVER, *Marketing Maximilian. The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2008, 41–76; EVA MICHEL – MARIA LUISE STERNATH (eds.), *Kaiser Maximilian I. und die Kunst der Dürerzeit*, München – London – New York, Prestel Verlag, 2012, 96–97, nos. 19–20, 168–169; HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 13, 206–209.
- 21
THEODOR FRIMMEL, Ergänzungen zu Burgkmair's Genealogie des Kaisers Maximilian I. aus der Bibliothek der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 10 (1889), CCCXXV–CCCXXVI. Frimmel dates the proofs between 1516 and 1519.
- 22
For example it could be the inspiration of Jörg Breu the Younger's (after 1510–1547) series of 15 ink drawings of figures in ornate armours holding coats of arms, kept in the Staatsgalerie Graphische Sammlung in Stuttgart, the Albertina in Vienna and the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin. See also GUIDO MESSLING, Abklatsch, Umzeichnung und Miniatur zu einer Gruppe von Zeichnungen Jörg Breus d. J. und ihren Funktionen, *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, 40 (2003), 7–32; STEFFEN EGLE, *Wappenkunst und Schildhalterfiguren: Zur Geschichte einer noblen Kunstaufgabe*, in: HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 33–43 (41).
- 23
The Illustrated Bartsch 18 (note 9), no. 10, 218; TILMAN FALK (note 9), no. 132.1, 226 (with earlier literature); POLONA VIDMAR (note 7), 236–237.
- 24
The Illustrated Bartsch 18 (note 9), no. 11, 219; TILMAN FALK (note 9), no. 132.2, 227 (with earlier literature).
- 25
The Illustrated Bartsch 18 (note 9), no. 13, 221; TILMAN FALK (note 9), no. 132.4, 228 (with earlier literature).
- 26
For the literature about the engraving depicting Louis II see note 44. Banathias's depiction could also have been the inspiration for one of Jörg Breu the Younger's pages. See also GUIDO MESSLING (note 22), 21–22, fig. 13.
- 27
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 1292. See HILDEGARD ZIMMERMANN (note 19), 60–62; TILMAN FALK ET AL. (NOTE 20), NOS. 220–221; CHRISTOPH EMMENDÖRFFER – HELMUT ZÄH (eds.), *Bürgermacht und Bücherpracht: Augsburger Ehren- und Familienbücher der Renaissance*, Luzern, Quaternio Verlag, 2011, no. 25, 188–189; HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 13–14; HANS MARTIN KAULBACH, Der Stuttgarter Band (S), in: HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 191–218 (209–210); EDITH SEIDL, Die Künstler des Augsburger Geschlechterbuchs: Hans Burgkmair der Jüngere und Heinrich Vogtherr der Jüngere, in: HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 19–32 (23); CATHERINE JENKINS et al. (note 9), 62–63. Burgkmair and Vogtherr created 79 full-length fictive images and the portrait of the author. In the printed version of the chronicle published in 1777 in Memming (*Herrn Matthäus von Pappenheim... , Chronik der Truchsessen von Waldburg, von ihrem Ursprunge bis auf die Zeiten Kaisers Maximilian II. durch Anmerkungen, Zusätze, Abhandlungen, und genealogische Tabellen erläutert*) the images of the armoured figures do not appear.
- 28
HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 13; HANS MARTIN KAULBACH (note 27), 209.
- 29
In German territory, the heyday of illustrated genealogical books or books about a family, which helped to express the self-esteem of the nobility and the strengthened urban patrician families and achieve or maintain high social or political positions, was between 1490 and 1630. HARTMUT BOCK, *Bebilderte Geschlechterbücher*, in: CHRISTOPH EMMENDÖRFFER – HELMUT ZÄH (note 27), 57–65. See STEFFEN EGLE (note 22).
- 30
The origins of the figures holding the coats of arms date back to the 12th century, and at the end of the 15th century they also appear in graphic reproductions. Artworks – sometimes humorous, grotesque or satirical – that give the artists a chance to use their imagination are most commonly found in 16th century genealogies and family histories. In the 16th century, the armoured figures holding coats of arms became popular, whose guardian role was occasionally indicated not only by their armour, but also by their posture and gestures. STEFFEN EGLE (note 22); HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 205–216.
- 31
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, 21,5 × 14,4 cm, inv. nr. D 2010/777, 76 (KK). See SIMON LASCHITZER (note 12), 11; HILDEGARD ZIMMERMANN (note 19), no. 11, 3; HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 198.
- 32
EDITH SEIDL (note 27), 21–27.
- 33
EDITH SEIDL (note 27), 28–32.
- 34
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. Nr. D 2010/777 (1–100) (KK). The detailed, scientific catalogue of the exhibition organised on the occasion of its return: HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19). See CHRISTOPH EMMENDÖRFFER – HELMUT ZÄH (note 27), 64, no. 24, 184–187 (assuming that the older Vogtherr is the artist); HANS MARTIN KAULBACH (note 27), 217–225 (assuming that the younger Vogtherr is the artist); EDITH SEIDL (note 27), 19 (not decided whether the older or the younger Vogtherr is the artist);

CATHERINE JENKINS et al. (note 9), no. 26, 62–63. About the item containing 37 engravings, found in the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek in Augsburg, Rar 114 (4° R 26b), see CHRISTOPH EMMENDÖRFFER – HELMUT ZÄH (note 27), no. 26, 190–193.

35

HILDEGARD ZIMMERMANN (note 19), 62.

36

HANS MARTIN KAULBACH (note 27), 208.

37

EVA MICHEL – MARIA LUISE STERNATH (note 20), nos. 19–20, 168–169.

38

HANS MARTIN KAULBACH (note 27), 209.

39

Bericht vnd anzeigen aller Herren Geschlecht der loblichen Statt Augspurg so vor Fünffhundert vnd mehr Jaren..., Straßburg, Paul Hector Mair. On the cover page below: Getruckt zu Straßburg durch Christoffel Widitz und Dauid Kannel. A revised, expanded Augsburg edition in German and Latin (*Declaratio et demonstratio omnium patricii loci atque ordinis Familiarum...*) was illustrated with 156 woodcuts, often used more than once, also published by Paul Hector Mair in 1550. After the execution of Mair in 1579, the woodcut blocks were bought by Sigmund Feyerabend, a publisher in Frankfurt, who had a cover page and three illustrations made by Jost Amman for the book, and in 1580 published it again with the title *Geschlechterbuch der Löblichen Kayserlichen Reichs-Stadt Augspurg...* See CHRISTOPH EMMENDÖRFFER – HELMUT ZÄH (note 27), no. 22, 176–179, no. 23, 180–183; HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 14–16, 205, 245–247; CATHERINE JENKINS et al. (note 9), 62–63.

40

Ernewrtes Geschlechter Buch. Der löblichen deß Heiligen Reichs Statt Augspurg Patriciorum..., Augspurg, Zimmermann, 1618. See CHRISTOPH EMMENDÖRFFER – HELMUT ZÄH (note 27), no. 27, 194–197; HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 16–18; HELMUT ZÄH, *Beschreibung der Frühdruck-Exemplare der Augsburger Geschlechterbuchs sowie der Ausgabe von Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann*, in: HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19), 228–244 (238–240).

41

“Register dises Buchs. Zeigt an / wo eines under den 51 Alten Geschlechter Namen und Wappen zufunden sey / mit anzeigung was farben der Wappen zu weiterem Illuminiren oder mahlen gebührt”. [1.] 33: “Winckler. Der Schildt waß / die flügel auff dem Helm auch weiß / die Gilgen [én: liliom] roht / die Helmdeckin oben weiß / und unden blau.” [3.] Although Hirschvogel is named in the online database of the Bibliotheca Hertziana as the creator of a graphic reproduction series of more than 40 images depicting armed warriors, the photographs made of the engravings actually depict the proofs of the *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*, made by Burgkmair the Younger and Heinrich Vogtherr. <https://www.bildindex.de/ete?action=queryupdate&desc=hirschvogel%20augustin%20krieger&index=obj-all>.

42

MICHAEL DENIS (note 3), 541, 657.

43

SIMON LASCHITZER (note 12), 45–46.

44

HILDEGARD ZIMMERMANN (note 19), 60–64.

45

CHRISTOPH EMMENDÖRFFER – HELMUT ZÄH (note 27); HANS MARTIN KAULBACH – HELMUT ZÄH (note 19); CATHERINE JENKINS et al. (note 9), 62–63.

46

POLONA VIDMAR (note 7), 76–77. There are also only engravings connected to Russia in the first, Italian edition of the travelogue: *Comentari della Moscovia et parimente della Russia...*, Venetia, Pedrezzano, 1550.

47

ADAM VON BARTSCH (note 9), 178–179, nos. 29–35; JOSEPH BERGMANN (note 9), 285–286; CHARLES LE BLANC (note 9), nos. 202–208, 361; J. A. BÖRNER (note 3), 92; ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 31, 85–86; ALFRED NEHRING (note 9), 128–129; KARL SCHWARZ (note 9), 33–34, nos. 29–35, 168–169; *The Illustrated Bartsch 18* (note 9), nos. 29–35, 238–244; TILMAN FALK (note 9), nos. 132.14.–20, 234–236; SZILVIA BÁNFI (note 6), 15, 28.

48

ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 31 (mistakenly dating his death as 1523); KARL SCHWARZ (note 9), 34; *The Illustrated Bartsch 18* (note 9), no. 15, 223; TILMAN FALK (note 9), no. 132.6, 229 (with earlier literature). See LARS HENDRIKMAN, Portraits and politics. Evolution in the depiction of King Christian II of Denmark during his reign and exile (1513 – 1531), in: Hanno Brand (ed.), *Trade, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange. Continuity and change in the North Sea Area and the Baltic c. 1350–1750*, Hilversum, Uitgeverij Verloren, 2005, 186–210. Christian II looks different in the medallion portrait appearing in Herberstein's travelogue than in his portraits, but the inscription makes it clear that he is the one depicted here. Op. cit. 207.

49

ADAM VON BARTSCH (note 9), no. 32: “Louis, roi de Hongrie et Bohème.” 17; J. A. BÖRNER (note 3), no. 32, 80; G[EORG]. K[ASPAR]. NAGLER (note 9), no. 20, 195; CHARLES LE BLANC (note 9), nos. 202–208/4, 361; TIVADAR ORTVAY, *Mária, II. Lajos magyar király neje (1505–1558)*. (Magyar történelmi életrajzok) [The Wife of the Hungarian King Louis II (1505–1558). (Hungarian Historical Biographies)], Budapest, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1914, 95; KARL SCHWARZ (note 9), no. 32, 169, 205; *The Illustrated Bartsch 18* (note 9), no. 32, 24; TILMAN FALK (note 9), no. 132.17, 235; ZOLTÁN ERDŐS, II. Lajos ikonográfiája a 16. században [The Iconography of Louis II in the 16th Century], *Turul*, 87 (2014), 4, 121–148. (130, no. 27, 144); SZILVIA BÁNFI (note 6), 14.

50

About the iconography of Louis II see recently ZOLTÁN ERDŐS (note 49).

51

MÁRTON GYÖNGYÖSSY – HEINZ WINTER, *Münzen und Medaillen des Ungarischen Mittelalters 1000–1526*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2007, no. 1780. 140; ZOLTÁN ERDŐS (note 49), 128, no. 17, 143. HEINZ WINTER, *Die Medaillen und Schaumünzen der Kaiser und Könige aus dem Haus Habsburg im Münzkabinett des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, Wien, 2013, Nr. 1.5, 109.

52

MÁRTON GYÖNGYÖSSY – HEINZ WINTER (note 51), nos. 1781–1784; ZOLTÁN ERDŐS (note 49), nos. 24, 31–32.

53

ORSOLYA RÉTHELYI (ed.), *Habsburg Mária, Mohács özvegye. A királyné és udvara 1521–1531*. [Mary of Hungary. The Queen

and Her Court 1521–1531.] Budapest, BTM, 2005, 205, no. V-1; ZOLTÁN ERDŐS (note 49), 129, no. 23, 144.

54

ORSOLYA RÉTHELYI (note 53), 205.

55

ZOLTÁN ERDŐS (note 49), 129.

56

Unknown master: Colored profile portrait of Louis II. 16th century. Ivory, tempera, 7,3 × 6 cm, inscription with gold letters: Ludowicvs Rex ... ng... Hungarian National Museum, Hungarian Historical Gallery, The Graphic Collection, inventory number: 407.

57

Sigismund II Augustus, who appears on the engraving as Polish king (Rex Pol.), was crowned in 1548. The date 1547 appearing on the image likely refers to the creation date of Herberstein's portrait. ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 10; KARL SCHWARZ (note 9), 35.

58

ADAM VON BARTSCH (note 9), 179. no. 36; G[EORG]. K[ASPAR]. NAGLER (note 9), no. 22, 195; CHARLES LE BLANC (note 9), no. 209, 361; G[EORG]. K[ASPAR]. NAGLER (note 9, 1863), 194; J. A. BÖRNER (note 3), no. 36, 80–81, 92–94; KARL SCHWARZ (note 9), 34–35, no. 36, 169–170; ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 10; ALFRED NEHRING (note 9), 127–128; URSULA MENDE (note 3), 9; *The Illustrated Bartsch 18* (note 9), no. 36, 245; TILMAN FALK (note 9), no. 132, 21, 237; ZOLTÁN ERDŐS (note 49), 131, no. 27a, 144; POLONA VIDMAR (note 7), 76–77; SZILVIA BÁNFI (note 6), 15, 28. One copy of the page is in the British Museum (1862,0208.117.), and another in the Viennese Albertina (DG 1930/2115). About the copy placed into the hand-written Herberstein memoirs (DF III 8) found in the Strahov Monastery in Prague see SZILVIA BÁNFI (note 6), 15, 28.

59

ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 10. In the travelogue about the journey in Moscow published in 1557 in Vienna in the previously mentioned German edition (*Moscouia der Hauptstat in Reissen...*) there is a map, on the upper part of which are the four scenes, among them the journey with the carriage. See J. A. BÖRNER (note 3), 98; WALTER LEITSCH, *Sigismund Freiherr von Herberstein. Ein österreichischer Forscher und Diplomat der Epoche Karls V., Alte und moderne Kunst*, 3 (1958), Nr. 11, 34.

60

JOSEPH BERGMANN (note 9), 285–286; ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 65–69, 78; URSULA MENDE (note 3), 9; SZILVIA BÁNFI (note 6), 15–16.

61

The same images and layout are found in a publication published in 1536 in Vienna by Michael Zimmermann with a slightly different title (*Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstain Neyperg / und Guetenhag / Oberster Erb Camrer und Oberster Drucksatz in Kärntn: Dreyen Rö: Kaysern in Kriegen / an Höfen / in Rätth / und hie verzeichenden Botschafften gedient angefangen 1506.*), which was much longer.

62

“Ferner liefs er das türkische Lager und seine Fahrt auf der Donau...” ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 7. Karl Schwarz mistakenly connects the engraving depicting the Hungarian journey on a carriage to Herberstein's travel to Buda in 1541. KARL SCHWARZ (note 9), 32. Heinz Schöny is uncertain about the location of the scene, and thinks that it may be the Turkish camp at Visegrád. HEINZ SCHÖNY, *Ein Holzschnitt Donat Hübschmanns nach einer Vorlage Augustin Hirschvogels?*, in: *Studien aus Wien*, Wien, 1957, 49–58 (56).

63

ERNST D. PETRITSCH: Die diplomatischen Beziehungen Ferdinands I. mit den Osmanen. Techniken und Probleme, in: GERHARD PFERSCHY (note 1), 89–99 (92–96). See also BERTOLD PICARD (note 1), 124–127, 173; WOLFGANG GEIER (note 1), 182; TILMAN G. MORITZ (note 1), 173–174; ZEYNEP INAN ALIYAZICIOĞLU, *Avusturyalı Diplomat Sigismund von Herberstein ve Buda'da Osmanlı Elçiliğine Dair Anıları (1541), Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi - Journal of Turkish Research Institute*, 66 (2019), 611–631; POLONA VIDMAR (note 7), 75. About Herberstein's manuscript describing the embassy at Buda, found in the Viennese Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Handschrift Rot 11, fol. 313v–314r), see WILFRIED SEIPEL (ed.), *Kaiser Ferdinand I. 1503–1564. Das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie*, Wien, KHM, 2003, no. V.32, 419.

64

ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 6–7, 70; JOHN L. NEVINSON (note 7, 1967), 69–70; FRIEDRICH POLLEROS (note 7), 49–50; POLONA VIDMAR (note 7), 75, 80.

65

POLONA VIDMAR (note 7), 80.

66

Khayser Ferdinandts noch derzeit Römischen Khünigs Orat: zu Suleiman dem Türkischen Khay: 1541. Sigmundt Freyherr zu Herberstain ec. Gedruckt 1559. Seines Alters im lxxiiij; Ambo nos oratores tali veste ad Tvrcarvm imperatorem missi; Ferdinandi imp: tvnc regis Rom: orator ad Solemanvm Tvrcarvm imperat: M. D. XLI. Sigismvndvs liber baro in Herberstain &c. See POLONA VIDMAR (note 7), 80 (with the sources of the images).

67

Tvrcarvm imperator nos qvoqve vestibus donavit.; Ferdinandi Rom: regis orator a Svlmano Tvrcarvm imperatore tali veste donatvs. Sigismvndvs liber baro in Herberstain. M. D. XLI.; Sigmundt Freyherr zu Herberstain. Gesanter zu dem Türckhischen Khayser von dem also verehrt. M. D. Xlj. See POLONA VIDMAR (note 7), 80 (with the sources of the images). There is also a poem in the *Picturae variae* with the title *In effigiem Sigismundi ab Herberstain etc. tali veste a turcarum imperatore donati Anno M. D. XLI* added to the event.

68

Deß Kuntstreichen / Weitberühmbten vnd Wolerfahrnen Herrn / Melchioris Lorichii, Flensburgensis..., Hamburg, Gundermann, 1646 (earlier edition in 1626: *Dess Weitberühmbten Kunstreichen vnd Wolerfahrnen Herrn Melchior Lorichs...*), and we also know the cover page of a planned edition in 1619). See ERIK FISCHER (ed.), *Melchior Lorck. Volume 3. Catalogue Raisonné. Part one: The Turkish Publication*, Copenhagen, The Royal Library Vandkunsten Publishers, 2009, 7–12; AMANDA WUNDER, *Western Travelers, Eastern Antiquities, and the Image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe*, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 7 (2003), 1–2, 106; MARA R. WADE, *From Flensburg to Constantinople: Cosmopolitanism and the Emblem in Melchior Lorck's Self-Portraits*, in: Tamar Cholcman – Assaf Pinkus (eds.), *The Sides of the North. An Anthology in Honor of Professor Yona Pinson*, Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015, 37 (with a reference to the 1575 and 1619 planned, but not published editions). A facsimile edition of the album was published in 2009, ERIK FISCHER et al. (note 68), Vol. 2.

69

ÉVA GYULAI, *Turcissare – Verancsics Antal török-képe [Antal Verancsics's Depiction of the Turks]*, in: Enikő Békés – Péter Kasza – Réka Lengyel (eds.), *Humanista történetírás és neolatin irodalom*

a 15–18. századi Magyarországon [Humanist Historiography and Neo-Latin Literature in Hungary in the 15-18th Centuries], Budapest, 2015, 91–108 (95): 9. *Abriß: In was Habit und Kleydung Christlicher Herrschafft Legaten und Gesandten für den Türckischen Sultan gebracht werden...*, in: *Deß Kuntstreich...* (note 68). See JOSEPH WÜNSCH, *Der Wiener Maler und Formschneider Donat Hübschmann und sein Holzschnittwerk, Graphische Künste*, 36 (1913), Beilage (Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst) Nr. 1. 1–13 (2); ERIK FISCHER et al. (note 68), Vol. 1. *Biography and Primary Sources*, no. 104, 51; ERIK FISCHER et al. (note 68), Vol. 2, no. 104, 79; ERIK FISCHER et al. (note 68), Vol. 3, 226; ÉVA GYULAI (note 69), 95–96.

70
ÉVA GYULAI (note 69), 96.

71
ERIK FISCHER et al. (note 68), 227.

72
ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 70; FRIEDRICH POLLEROS (note 7), 49–50; POLONA VIDMAR (note 7), 77.

73
See MICHAEL DENIS (note 3), no. 740, 686–687; J. A. BÖRNER (note 3), 89–90.

74
ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 77–78.

75
Sygmundt Freyhern zu Herberstain, Neyperg unnd Guttenhag, Oberster Erbcamrer und Oberster Erbdrucksäs in Kärnthn, des Röm. Khayser Ferdinanden Rath, Camrer unnd president der Niderösterreichischen Camer. Under Kayser Friderichs Regierung im 1486. geporn, Hernach den dreyen Khaysern acht Jar in Khriegen, darinnen im 1514. mit Ritterlicher Wierde begabt, Auch an Höfen, in Räten, vilen Pottschaften nit on gefar, dann in Ambtern biß in May dieses 1561. Jars, und seines alters im 75. trewlich und fleissig gedient.

76
SZILVIA BÁNFI (note 6), 14.

77
Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstain / Neyperg / und Guetenhag / Obrister Erb-Camrer / und Obrister Trucksäß inn Cärndten / Denen Gegenwürtigen und Nachkommenden Freyherrn zu Herberstain. Seines Thuens, Diensten und Raysens mit trewer vermanung, sich zu Tugenden unnd guetem wesen zeschicken, Wien, Zimmermann, 1561. See ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 11; HEINZ SCHÖNY (note 62), 50–52.

78
ALFRED NEHRING (note 3), 81.

Sažetak

Júlia Papp

Ilustracije vezane uz Ugarsku u publikacijama Siegmunda von Herbersteina

Diplomat Siegmund von Herberstein, koji je djelovao u prvoj polovici 16. stoljeća, svoje je ruske putopise i autobiografska djela, koje je objavljivao od kraja 1540-ih godina, ukrasio s nekoliko ilustracija, među kojima su i neke koje se odnose na Ugarsku. Augustin Hirschvogel izradio je prikaze vladara koje je Herberstein posjetio (npr. Ludovika II.), kao i ilustracije njegovih europskih putovanja kao veleposlanika, uključujući putovanje kočijom po Ugarskoj. Međutim, vladari u kićenim fiktivnim oklopima nisu autentični portreti, nego su nadahnuti drvorezima Hansa Burgkmaira Starijeg, namijenjenim *Genealogiji* Maksimilijana I. oko 1509. – 1512., kao i bakrorezima iz djela *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*, koje je nastalo sredinom 1540-ih godina, ali je tiskano tek 1618. Hirschvogel je kasnije po Herbersteinovoj narudžbi izradio i poprsja u obliku medaljona, koja se danas smatraju vjerodostojnijima jer su se temeljila na slikama, bakrorezima i komemorativnim kovanicama s prikazima vladara. Iako se fiktivne slike više nisu pojavljivale u kasnijim izdanjima, portreti vladara u obliku medaljona i razni prizori (u različitim

žanrovima i rasporedima) uključeni su i u mnoge kasnije Herbersteinove publikacije.

Povećao se i broj prizora s Herbersteinovih putovanja te tako jedna žanrovska slika prikazuje jedno od njegovih najvažnijih putovanja u svojstvu veleposlanika: posjet Sulejmanovu vojnom taboru na Dunavu u jesen 1541., nakon što je sultanova vojska zauzela Budim. Dva druga prizora odnose se na pregovore zahvaljujući kojima Sulejman nije napao Beč. Herberstein je također ukrasio svoje biografske publikacije – kao primjer neobične i snažne samoreprezentacije – sa šest portreta čitavog lika koji ga prikazuju u raznim veleposlaničkim odorama. Jednu od njih nosio je prilikom posjeta Budimu 1541. godine, a drugu je dobio na dar od Sulejmana na kraju pregovora.

Ključne riječi: Siegmund von Herberstein, Augustin Hirschvogel, Ludovik II. Ugarski, oklop, fiktivni portreti, 16. stoljeće, Donat Hübschmann, *Genealogie*, *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*