

**FINAL SCIENTIFIC REPORT**

*Beyond Scylla and Charybdis*

**European Courts and Court Residences outside Habsburg**

**and Valois/Bourbon Territories, 1500–1700**

**30 April – 2 May 2012**

**Copenhagen and Hillerød, Denmark**

*Organized by*

ESF Research Networking Programme PALATIUM

The National Museum of Denmark

The Museum of National History, Frederiksborg Castle

The Royal Danish Collections, Rosenborg Castle

**1. SUMMARY**

**Basic data**

**CONVENORS:**

Birgitte BØGGILD JOHANSEN (The National Museum of Denmark)

Konrad OTTENHEYM (University of Utrecht)

**SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE:**

Uwe ALBRECHT (Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel), Krista DE JONGE (University of Leuven), PALATIUM Chair, Annemarie JORDAN GSCHWEND (Universidade Nova de Lisboa), Pieter MARTENS (University of Leuven), PALATIUM Coordinator, Charles McKEAN (University of Dundee), Sebastian OLDEN-JØRGENSEN (University of Copenhagen), Fabian PERSSON (Linneus University, Kalmar), Marco Rosario NOBILE (Università di Palermo), Nuno SENOS (Universidade Nova de Lisboa), Mara R. WADE (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

**VENUES:**

The National Museum of Denmark, Frederiksholms Kanal 12, DK 1220

Copenhagen K <http://www.nationalmuseet.dk> - Det Nationalhistoriske

Museum - The Museum of National History, Frederiksborg Castle, DK 3400 Hillerød

<http://www.dnm.dk> - Rosenborg Castle, Øster Voldgade 4A

CALL FOR PAPERS, PROGRAMME AND ABSTRACTS: <http://www.courtresidences.eu>

## Basic intention

The political dominance of and the ongoing rivalry between Spain-Austria and France were factors of major importance, also to be reflected in international court culture during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. This colloquium placed its particular focus upon the autonomous or almost independent courts *beyond* the Habsburg and Valois-Bourbon spheres in Northern, Eastern, Central and Southern Europe. The main questions to be addressed were the following: How did these courts visually expose their distinctive character as well their loyalty or dissociation from the paradigms of the 'superpowers'? Four interdisciplinary topics were especially discussed: Sovereignty's Space and its Rituals during Formal or Informal Interaction - Between Conflicting Confessions: Creating Sacred Spaces at Court – Powers of the Past – From Invention to Construction: Building the Residence.

## 2. DESCRIPTION OF THE SCIENTIFIC CONTENT OF AND DISCUSSION AT THE EVENT

In early modern times the political landscape of continental Europe was dominated by two opponent powers, the French kingdom of the Valois and Bourbon monarchs at one hand and the Habsburg territories of Spain and the Holy Empire on the other. As a matter of fact the rivalry between the Habsburg and the Valois/Bourbon monarchies was based on age old disputes between the nations involved about their seniority and precedence. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century at any major diplomatic happening wherever in Europe, there were always troubles and quarrels between the Spanish and the French ambassadors about certain privileges and right of precedence. Diplomatic and political rivalry stimulated both parties to distinguish themselves from each other. In the course of time, during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, the set of consciously created differences between one party and the other touched essential aspects of court life including courtly etiquette and diplomatic ceremonies, and by result it also determined court architecture. Different rituals of formal receptions requested different kind of state apartments, with a different routing and a distinct number and function of antechambers, bedchambers, privy chambers etc. with differences in the right of access according to various ideas about privacy. The 'satellite' courts, related to these 'superpowers', might visually expose their loyalty to a specific faction by following the system of codes of its 'leader'. But what were the strategies of the independent, though less dominant European courts *beyond* the Habsburg and Valois/Bourbon spheres? How did they respond to these overwhelming cultural influences, as 'neutral' neighbors, as allies or even as enemies? The objective of this conference was to focus upon these autonomous courts in Northern, Central and Southern Europe, while at the same including the associated, almost independent courts within The Holy Roman Empire, like those of the electors or those in Italy. The main questions addressed were the following:

- \* How did these courts react to rival Habsburg and French models for palace architecture and its use as a place to display court life?
- \* How were their ambitions for attaining the level of these paradigms, reflected in court life – or, on the contrary, how did they express a deliberate dissociation from the enemies' example?
- \* Were these courts only blind followers of the most prominent fashions and idioms, belonging to the great powers? Or did they instead develop a 'third' language of court culture in a discourse with native and traditional ways of expression, often of age old origins and quite as venerable as Habsburg and Valois/Bourbon examples?

Diplomatic vocabulary and political hierarchies could be expressed in architecture by the symbolic use of space (especially during court ceremonies). Specific meanings could be accentuated or modified by a consciously chosen decoration program of paintings and sculpture (both at the exterior and in the interior of the residence) and by its architectural design in general by using referring to classical antiquity or to the local past, knighthood and chivalry. These topics were discussed in five sessions. Speakers of the sessions were both senior and junior scholars. A sixth session (in fact session IV) had the character of an open session and was destined for young scholars in the field presenting their work on residential architecture and art beyond the strict limits of the conference's aim. The importance of exceeding the European frontiers as well and integrate comparative observations on residence architecture and culture at the Ottoman, Mogul and Chinese courts was stressed in particular by the key note speaker (Jeroen Duindam). The six sessions had the following titles:

- *Session I. Sovereignty's Space and its Rituals: Staging Diplomatic Interaction*
- *Session II. Beyond the Formal Spaces*
- *Session III. Between Conflicting Confessions: Creating Sacred Spaces at Court*
- *Session IV. Open session for young scholars*
- *Session V. The Powers of the Past: Displaying Lineage, Kinship, and Tradition*
- *Session VI. From Invention to Construction: Building the Residence*

*Conclusion:*

A full report on the outcome of this conference will be published as an introduction to the planned proceedings (cf. below). A preliminary statement is as follows:

The territories outside the French and Habsburg zones of influence did not act as a monolith block. In the various countries under consideration in this conference, a manifold of different solutions to the questions addresses above were represented. Within some of these regions other confrontations were even more dominant than the reflection or opposition to France or Habsburg, like the Danish – Swedish rivalry. Nevertheless, some general mutual aspects can be pointed out, aspects, which everyone shared. In general, during this period there existed all over Europe a high sensibility for arrangements in time and space, i.e. in court rituals and their architectural settings, reflecting precedence and rank. The various independent courts had their own traditions, though many had the same roots in the medieval past and shared several aspects. Yet, it is in the details that differences became evident. Within these courts an orientation towards cultural paradigms of Burgundy/ the Habsburg or the French monarchies may be detected, though nowhere in the 'independent' courts these systems were fully copied. Differences remained, motivated by conscious references to their own traditions, a strict personal taste of a certain ruler or by other particular circumstances - and last but not least due to different economical situations. Introduction of certain elements from one of the dominant courts is sometimes evident, like introducing the ceremony of eating in public (and in full state), in its origin a Burgundian tradition, but widely spread among Europe from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Another 'imported' ceremony is the formal reception in a state bedroom, for which a public bed room (which in most cases is not the sleeping room) with a state bed was introduced. In its essence this was a typical French tradition but in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century it was also introduced in some semi-independent courts within the Holy Empire.

During the general process of comparison, it became important to keep in mind the differences in scale of nobility: the typology must fit before conclusions can be drawn( a ducal residence cannot be compared with a royal palace, a Roman-Catholic chapel as a building type differs completely from a Lutheran or Calvinist chapel, etc.). Studying the crossovers one should also notice the difference between fashion and court system: some 'fashionable' items or elements from other courts could be imitated without actually changing the current court system itself. In addition national or regional characterizations should be studied carefully: what does it mean at a certain time in a certain place when a building or a part of is called 'French' or 'Burgundian'? Does this refer to a specific style of the building, its spatial organization or even just to its building material (sometimes 'Burgundian' or 'Dutch' is used to indicate brick construction). These kinds of qualifications sometimes have no connection to a country but more to a style (f. i. the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger wrote that the best examples of Italian architecture can be found in France...).

Comparison of the original functions of various rooms in the formal residences under consideration revealed once more the problems incumbent, dealing with the identification of the original functions of those rooms and the multifunctionality, still in the 16<sup>th</sup> century of various spaces. At the same time it was frequently noted, how contemporary descriptions of receptions etc. and post mortem inventories of the period just were 'snap shots' of a certain moment, differing at other moments of the day or at other occasions.

All together the conference demonstrated clearly the importance of the integration of the scholarly circles of court historians with a social historical background (who are mostly only interested in the activities happening at court) and of architectural and art historians (who sometimes have been only interested in the physical appearance of palaces). In this conference we hope to have stimulated the connection between those who study the 'soft ware' of court life (diplomacy, court organization and rituals etc.) and those working on the 'hard ware' (the buildings).A complete Europe wide comparison in a helicopter view of the various interlinked court systems is not yet possible but this conference has brought together many important stepping stones, enabling us to pursue research in the above mentioned fields.

### **3. ASSESMENT OF THE RESULTS AND IMPACT OF THE EVENT**

#### Projects linked to the conference:

The colloquium was organized as part of the “Working Party 3: Networks of Courts (1500-1700)” of the ESF-RNP research programme: “PALATIUM. Court Residences as Places of Exchange in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (1400-1700)” ([www.courtresidences.eu](http://www.courtresidences.eu)). The colloquium and its contents were developed in continuation and close relation to the results and discussions at previous PALATIUM conferences at Madrid (“Felix Austria. Family Ties, Political Culture and Artistic Patronage between Habsburg Court Networks in European Context (1516-1715)”), Paris (“Le Prince, La Princesse et Leurs Logis”), Vienna (“The Habsburg and their Courts in Europe, 1400-1700. Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism”) and Lisbon (“Inventories and Courtly Spaces”). At the end of the colloquium was presented the program of a related research project, the Salzburg Residence Project (University of Salzburg).

#### Publicity:

The conference was announced at universities, research institutes, museums, libraries and to an interested public by color brochures (125), posters (15) and in particular by national and international email lists or websites ([www.kunsthistoriker.dk](http://www.kunsthistoriker.dk); [www.kukua.dk](http://www.kukua.dk); [NNRS@hum.ku.dk](mailto:NNRS@hum.ku.dk) (The Nordic Network for Renaissance Studies); [www.courtresidences.eu](http://www.courtresidences.eu)). On 3 May 2012, immediately following the conference, the event was presented on the front page and the following two pages in the culture section of the leading Danish newspaper on culture and politics, “Weekendavisen” (Tine Eibye, “Pomp, pragt og pli”).

#### Audience:

The total number of scholars directly involved in the colloquium includes 6 chairs, 2 convenors and 31 speakers (incl. 1 chair and 1 convenor) – was 37. Beyond this number were 49 free formal inscriptions (university and PhD students, researchers, professors). In all the conference was attended by 86 individuals from 11 (12) different European countries, USA and Australia. One registration from the Slovak Republic was cancelled immediately before the beginning of the colloquium (cf. list of registration).

#### Proceedings:

The conference proceedings will be published, preferably in paper (a volume in the series, published by The National Museum of Denmark, PNM) or in an online version. Editors will be Konrad Ottenheim and Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen. The dead-line, as stated in the letter already issued for the authors, will be 1 December 2012, to be followed by the appearance of the publication in 2013.

## **4. FINAL PROGRAMME**

### **MONDAY 30 APRIL**

**The National Museum of Denmark, Festsal**

9h00 Registration

9h30 **Welcome remarks and introduction**

Per Kristian MADSEN (Director of The National Museum of Denmark)

Krista DE JONGE (Chair of the PALATIUM Steering Committee)

Birgitte BØGGILD JOHANNSEN (The National Museum of Denmark)

Konrad OTTENHEYM (University of Utrecht)

### **SESSION I – SOVEREIGNTY'S SPACE AND ITS RITUALS: STAGING DIPLOMATIC INTERACTIONS**

10h15 **Introduction**

Chair: Jørgen HEIN (Rosenborg Castle)

10h30 ***Visiting the King in Lisbon: Etiquette between Europe and the Sea***

Nuno SENOS (Universidade Nova, Lisbon)

11h00 ***A War of Magnificence. England's Royal Palaces in the Reign of Henry VIII***

Lee PROSSER (Historical Buildings, Hampton Court Palace)

11h30 ***Visual Culture and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Diplomacy outside the Habsburg and Valois Territories: The Tudor Court***

Tracey A. SOWERBY (Keble College, Oxford)

12h00 Lunch break

**SESSION I (continued)**

13h30 **Introduction**

Chair: Steffen HEIBERG (The Royal Library, Copenhagen)

13h45 ***Visual Culture and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Diplomacy outside the Habsburg and Valois Territories: The Muscovite Court***

Jan HENNINGS (St John's College, Oxford)

14h15 ***Space and Ceremony at the Swedish Court***

Fabian PERSSON (Linnaeus University, Kalmar)

14h45 ***Staging Diplomatic Interaction at the Danish Court 1600–1670***

Juliette RODING (University of Leiden)

15h15 ***Spanish Tradition – French Fashion: The Residence of Duke Vittorio Amedeo II in Turin***

Elisabeth WÜNSCHE-WERDEHAUSEN (Munich)

15h45 Coffee break

16h15 **Keynote lecture: *Servants at Court: A Global Perspective***

Jeroen DUINDAM (University of Leiden)

17h00 **Presentation of the Exhibition “Europe meets the World” at The National Museum of Denmark**

Poul GRINDER-HANSEN (The National Museum of Denmark)

18h00 Wine reception at The National Museum of Denmark

**TUESDAY 1 MAY**

**Museum of National History, Frederiksborg Castle**

8h00 Departure from The National Museum of Denmark (bus from Ny Vestergade)

9h00 Guided tour in Frederiksborg Castle

**SESSION II – BEYOND THE FORMAL SPACES**

10h45 **Introduction**

Chair: Badeloch NOLDUS (Owner Heritage & Transformation Consultancy, Copenhagen)

11h00 ***The Importance of the Informal Setting. The Use of Non-Official Space in Private, Political and Diplomatic Activities of King Frederik II of Denmark (1559–1588)***

Poul GRINDER-HANSEN (The National Museum of Denmark)

11h30 ***The Spaces and Rituals of the Royal Hunt during the Reign of Frederik II of Denmark***

John Robert CHRISTIANSON (Luther College, USA)

12h00 ***French, English or just different? Ceremonial and Privacy in the Scottish Court and its Palaces***

Charles MCKEAN (University of Dundee)

12h30 Lunch break

**SESSION III – BETWEEN CONFLICTING CONFESSIONS: CREATING SACRED SPACES AT COURT**

14h00 **Introduction**

Chair: Nuno SENOS (Universidade Nova, Lisbon)

14h15 ***Two in One: The Oratory in the Evangelical Palace Church in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>***

***Northern Europe***

Hugo JOHANNSEN (The National Museum of Denmark)

14h45 ***Magdalena Sibylle (1617–1668). The Dynastic Woman and the Confessional Space of Female Cultural Agency***

Mara R. WADE (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

15h15 ***The Sacred Space of the Double Funeral at the Roman Court***

Martine BOITEUX (École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris-Rome)

15h45 Coffee break

#### **SESSION IV – PRESENTATION OF CASE STUDIES BY EARLY CAREER RESEARCHERS**

- 16h15 **Introduction**  
Chair & Respondent: Krista DE JONGE (University of Leuven)
- 16h30 ***Interpreting the Past: The Performativity of Adrian de Vries' Sculptures in the Garden of Drottningholm***  
Rikke Garfield LAGERSTED-OLSEN (Bakkehus Museet, Copenhagen)
- 16h50 ***The Commemoration of the Anti-Ottoman Wars as reflected in the Art and Architecture of Noble Residences in 17<sup>th</sup> Century Poland-Lithuania***  
Sabine JAGODZINSKI (University of Leipzig)
- 17h10 ***Standing on Scylla and Charybdis: Iconography and Symbolism in the Visual and Aural Embellishment of the Palazzo Medici***  
Jennifer HALTON (National University of Ireland, Maynooth)
- 18h00 Return to Copenhagen by bus

**WEDNESDAY 2 MAY**

**National Museum of Denmark, Festsal**

#### **SESSION V – THE POWERS OF THE PAST**

- 9h00 **Introduction**  
Chair: Konrad OTTENHEYM (University of Utrecht)
- 9h15 ***Architecture as a Reference to the Past. Different Models of Antiquity at the Court of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1545) and their Sources***  
Stephan HOPPE (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich)
- 9h45 ***The Stirling Heads: an Essay in Nobility***  
Sally RUSH (University of Glasgow)
- 10h15 ***The Statua Danielis as a Political Image of the Translatio Imperii***  
Barbara UPPEKAMP (University of Hamburg)
- 10h45 Coffee break
- 11h15 ***'Antiquum magis quam splendidum'. Appropriating Anachronism: The Case of Copenhagen Castle***  
Birgitte BØGGILD JOHANNSEN (The National Museum of Denmark)
- 12h15 ***Dignity of the King's Architecture. Translation and Reception on the Edges of the Holy Roman Empire***  
Herbert KARNER (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)
- 12h45 ***The Great Baronial Houses of Post-Restoration Scotland 1667–1682***  
Charles WEMYSS (Scotland)
- 13h15 Lunch break

#### **SESSION VI – FROM INVENTION TO CONSTRUCTION: BUILDING THE RESIDENCE**

- 14h30 **Introduction**  
Chair: Charlotte Merton, Lund (Ingrid CIULISOVÁ (Slovak Academy of Sciences))
- 14h45 ***Keeping in Control: The Building Administration of Northern European Courts in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries***  
Merlijn HURX (University of Utrecht)
- 15h15 ***Building the Representation. Artists and Architects at the Courts of the Polish Kings, Sigismund III Vasa and Laislaus IV Vasa (1587–1648)***  
Franciszek SKIBINSKY (University of Utrecht)
- 15h45 Coffee break

**REVIEW AND PREVIEW**

- 16h15      **Presentation of the Salzburg Residence Project**
- Ingonda HANNESSCHLÄGER and Gerhard AMMERER (University of Salzburg)
- 16h45      **Announcement of forthcoming PALATIUM events**
- 17h00      **Concluding remarks**  
                    Konrad OTTENHEYM (University of Utrecht)
- 17h30      End of the Conference
- 18h00      **Visit to Rosenborg Castle**
- 19h00      **Closing dinner at Rosenborg** (for speakers and chairs only)